

A Comparative Analysis of Indigenous Displacement and the World War II Japanese American Internment

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The question of how Asian American studies and Indigenous studies might craft a comparative critique is a compelling one. Most scholars understand that as tempting as it might be to subsume the referents of the fields under the umbrella of nonwhite difference, it is much more complicated. First, Asian American studies established itself by uncovering and interpreting a history defined by race-based restrictions on immigration and citizenship. Indigenous studies has focused on colonialism, land dispossession, and genocide. Second, there are significant differences in how the U.S. collective imagination has cast Asian American versus Indigenous people, and the scholarship in the above fields has had to contend with these specificities. The former population is alternately cheap labor, military enemy, perpetual foreigner, and model minority. The latter has also seen shifts in representation across history, but the portrayals are dissimilar; Native Americans are perceived as brutal or noble savages, assimilable heathens, and romanticized relics of the past with no present or future. Given the structural conditions that have disenfranchised both Asian Americans and Indigenous Americans in differing ways and given the attendant differences in cultural representation, it might seem like there is little shared interest that can inspire either academic critique or activism. However, if we pan out to get a broader picture of how the U.S. nation-state's actions have impacted both racialized immigrants and Natives, we see that patterns of imperialist capitalism, military force, and carceral violence intimately link both groups.

To be sure, any proposition to conceptualize the political interests of Asian American and Native people in tandem needs to be

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attentive to the particularities that define each constituency. The scholarship that has been produced on the intergroup dynamics of settlers of Asian descent and Native Hawaiians can help us think through how this might work on the U.S. mainland. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura have laid important groundwork herein. Regarding Asians' reproduction of settler colonialism, they explain that "it is not colonial *intent* that defines the status of Asians as settlers but rather the historical context of U.S. colonialism with which they unknowingly became a part."¹ In other words, although people of Asian descent were not involved in the United States' actions that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, their ongoing presence and economic dominance in a space marked by the displacement of its Indigenous population implicates them in a system not originally of their own making. Moreover, as Lisa Kahaleole Hall shows, the practice of aggregating Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (especially common on the mainland's west coast) tends to erase the particularities behind the interests of Hawaiians. Stated intentions to build coalitions between the two groups often wind up silencing issues of sovereignty in the service of race-based activism more germane to Asian Americans.² We need to pay heed to how the uneven levels of access to structural power and political visibility play out in any claim to social critique that yokes these distinct populations, no matter how closely they may be bound in U.S. histories of imperialist capitalism.

Although conversations that bridge the fields of Asian American studies and Indigenous studies may be an early-twenty-first-century phenomenon, I want to suggest that they were taking place, even if in measured ways, in the realm of the literary arts several decades prior. This article places into proximity two pieces of fiction that appear to be each others' mirror image in their treatment of the Japanese American interment during World War II and the ongoing displacement of Native people on U.S. lands. Both Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Ceremony* (1977) and Hisaye Yamamoto's short story "The Eskimo Connection" (1983) foreground the potential cross-fertilization of analyses germane to Asian American studies and Indigenous studies—most notably through the theme of incarceration. I argue that these two narratives narrow the structural divides between Natives and settlers of color in order to enact a comparative critique that challenges the U.S. nation-state's actions in the recent and distant past. At the same time that I see a means to bridge

these entities, I issue the caveat that possibilities for such a comparative analysis are measured. The different (and differential) social locations, histories, and activist interests of Asian Americans and Indigenous people in the United States need to be understood and worked through in any coalitional project. Even as we acknowledge the limitations of such a commingling, we must maintain an interest in pushing its limits in intellectual and political work that challenges imperialism, capitalism, and the settler-colonial violence of the U.S. nation-state. Settlers of color and Indigenous populations can create coalitional bonds with one another to redress collective histories of injury, but only if they are careful.

In the context of Asian American and Native American histories pertaining to the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, Elena Tajima Creff illustrates one such example of a joint venture gone right. In *Imaging Japanese America: The Visual Construction of Citizenship, Nation, and the Body*, Creff reports on her participant observation research at the Manzanar Historic Site, whose interpretative materials track the string of displacements that have occurred on that land prior to its incarnation as an internment camp. The public historians responsible for its custodianship have gone above and beyond simply preserving the site's significance for Japanese Americans. The employment of select workers and the stories that site officials tell about the camp show an ethical engagement across multiple political contingents. The first official tour guide of Manzanar, Richard Stewart, was appointed in 1997 to lead group visits and provide a historical narrative about the location's multiple layers of displacement. Stewart, a Paiute man, began his lessons about the internment with "a discussion of. . .the site's indigenous peoples and their dislocation by white farmers as well as the latter's dislocation by the Los Angeles water wars."³ This confluence of the histories of Indigenous people, white agricultural families, and environmental damage from urban development in southern California effects a diachronicity whereby Japanese American wartime experiences can be made legible in a broader narrative about the structural violence wrought by interrelated settler occupations.

The Generative Possibilities of War Trauma

Ceremony recounts the story of a World War II veteran's reintegration into civilian life on a Laguna Pueblo reservation. Tayo, the protagonist, attempts to reenter a society consisting of a mot-

ley crew of assimilationist Indians, staunch traditionalists, and a small number of radical Native Americans. The internal cleavages in this small community are evident as different constituencies find solace in the United States' postwar patriotism, adherence to purportedly static customs and practices, or politicized thinking. These tensions run so high as to result in the death of a minor character at the novel's end following a fight. Throughout the narrative, Tayo is beset by symptoms of his diagnosis of "battle fatigue," what today would likely be called post-traumatic stress disorder. He is haunted by flashbacks of his combat experiences, episodes he describes as becoming invisible. He becomes disoriented and cannot locate himself in time and space in these instances. Silko suggests, however, that Tayo's disability, his neurological constitution, is potentially politically enabling. It is these very moments of disorientation that allow him to arrive at a complex understanding of the connections between injustices sustained by Indigenous and racialized populations.

Evidence of Tayo's psychosocial disability in effecting this thinking comes early in the novel. One of the first scenes shows him en route back home to the reservation after having been discharged from a Veterans Administration hospital. At the train station in Los Angeles, he is overcome by a moment of trauma and passes out on the platform. As he comes to, he begins to hear voices around him:

They spoke to him in English, and when he did not answer, there was a discussion and he heard the Japanese words vividly. He wasn't sure where he was any more, maybe back in the jungles again. . . . [H]e expected a rifle barrel to be shoved into his face when he opened his eyes. . . .

The Japanese women were holding small children by the hands, and they were surrounded by bundles and suitcases. One of them was standing over him. . . .

"We called for help," she said.⁴

At first, Tayo's mistaking of Japanese Americans for Japanese soldiers may seem like a replication of the troubling conflation that was the very cause of the internment. He interprets benign concern for potential threat, which was the same type of misrecognition operating behind the nation-state's actions. However, when contextualized within a recurring combat memory in which Tayo sees his uncle Josiah in one of the Japanese soldiers his battalion killed, it becomes clear that a different connection is

being made between Native and Japanese bodies. As if to echo the moment when Tayo was unable to shoot the soldier, he hallucinates a younger version of his cousin Rocky (who had died in the Philippines) in the face of one of the Japanese American children. The feared enemy turns into the kinship relation.

It is worthy to note that the Japanese American families, “surrounded by bundles and suitcases,” have just been released from camp. After he recovers from his episode, Tayo asks a staff member at the train station for clarification, “Those people. . . I thought they locked them up,” to which he is told, “Oh, that was some years back. Right after Pearl Harbor. But now they’ve turned them all loose again” (18). It is difficult to discern Tayo’s reaction to the man’s somewhat unsympathetic rendering of internees being released as if incarceration were the natural order of things during wartime. Tayo simply agrees that he did not have access to news in the hospital and so was unaware of this new development. There are two homecomings in this scene that cross paths: the Native man returns to the diminishing lands the United States has allocated for him, while Japanese American families are discharged from camp to resume lives that have undoubtedly changed due to displacement and property dispossession.⁵

Although much of the scholarship in Asian American studies on the internment takes for granted that connotations between “Japanese” and “Japanese American” are troubling within the United States’ racially delimited definitions of cultural citizenship,⁶ the authorial voice in *Ceremony* eschews the phobic tendency to maintain distance from the United States’ military enemy. Dehumanizing anyone, Silko suggests, only feeds the violence of multinational war that has been the hallmark of twentieth-century life. In his reading of a crucial flashback in Silko’s novel, Peter G. Beidler notes that a Japanese soldier’s killing of Rocky during the Bataan Death March gets framed as an act of mercy. The act allows Tayo and a corporal, who had been struggling painfully to carry the dying or possibly already dead Rocky on a stretcher, “to get back on the march and not stay behind to die.”⁷ In this incident, “we are led to feel some sympathy for the Japanese.”⁸ Along these lines, Matthew Mullins’s observation about a negatively characterized Native character in *Ceremony* focuses on this veteran’s habit of brandishing his favorite war trophy, a gruesome pouch of teeth harvested from a dead Japanese soldier. Here, Mullins suggests that Silko condemns the celebration of any military violence and excuses no perpetrators.⁹ Although

neither Beidler nor Mullins is claiming such, I want to advance that Silko seems to be inadvertently anticipating and intervening in the undergirding logics of the Japanese American redress movement—which made a staunch demand to citizenship-based rights—still yet to come. She shows how even its claims to a narrowly demarcated U.S.-based concept of citizenship had its limits when thinking about justice on a global scale.

As *Ceremony* progresses from this early scene where Tayo confuses Japanese and Japanese American people, it becomes clear that these misrecognitions are actually critical *recognitions* of the interwoven structures of multinational war, U.S. colonialism, and U.S. racism. Tayo experiences an epiphany after hearing his grandmother recount her witnessing of the first nuclear test at White Sands, seen as an unnaturally bright blaze of light in the middle of the night.

[T]he top-secret laboratories where the bomb had been created were deep in the Jemez mountains, on land the Government took from the Cochiti Pueblo. . . . There was no end to it; it knew no boundaries; and he had arrived at the point of convergence where the fate of all living things, and even the earth, had been laid. From the jungles of his dreaming he recognized why the Japanese voices had merged with Laguna voices, with Josiah's voice and Rocky's voice. . . . (246)

In an overwhelming flash of insight that mirrors the detonation of the atomic bomb, Tayo realizes that a shared history yokes the dispossession of Native people with the nuclear annihilation of Japanese bodies. Alan Wald astutely notes that this passage is where “Tayo comes to the realization that there is a tragic connection between the slaughter of Native American Indians for their land and the holocaust at Hiroshima.”¹⁰ To Wald's claim, I would add that when paired with the novel's earlier scene where Tayo crosses paths with Japanese American families, we see that the same Indigenous lands appropriated by the United States had been used to incarcerate its racialized subject-citizens, as Elena Creef's aforementioned work stresses. The critique that Tayo generates “knew no boundaries,” as it is transhistorical, transnational, and translocal in its invocation of Japanese, Native, and Japanese American histories.

In an insightful article, Troy J. Bassett argues paradoxically that it is the marginalization Tayo faces as a mixed race Indian that allows him to escape the virulent patriotism and assimilationism

of his peers on the reservation. His partially white lineage distances him from his aunt, who has been charged with raising him alongside her son, Rocky. She cruelly and conspicuously favors the latter over the former. The greater opportunities available while growing up to Rocky, as an Indian not stigmatized by biraciality, propel him into the world of U.S. whites because the reservation residents understand that structural and economic security lie in conformity.¹¹ Although I do not disagree with Bassett, I want to point out that Tayo's revolutionary politics may also be sparked by his altered state of consciousness wrought by psychosocial disability. The postmodern, nonlinear narration of the novel mirrors Tayo's war traumatized subjectivity as the story jumps back and forth between the present on the reservation and the past in the war's Pacific theater. The epiphany he experiences prompts Tayo to realize that "[h]e was not crazy; he had never been crazy. He had only seen and heard the world as it always was: no boundaries, only transitions through all distances and time" (246). His flashbacks are debilitating, to be sure, and are pathologized by the medico-scientific discourses to which he is subjected. However, these episodes are also politically generative. If scenes of combat in Asia continue to plague him long after he has returned home, it is because the histories of Indian removal and U.S. expansion in the Pacific are intricately linked. If he confuses Japanese America with Japan, it is because they, too, have a geopolitical connection—despite the tendency of many postwar Japanese Americans to disavow that association.

Connections, Some Missed and Others Not

There are deep resonances between *Ceremony* and "The Eskimo Connection," published only six years apart. Silko and Yamamoto were communing in the same political waters as they took their backward glances at World War II while immersed in the wake of movements deriving from anti-Vietnam War activism, Indigenous sovereignty, and the various power movements issuing from people of color. "The Eskimo Connection" is a fictional narrative about a correspondence between a young incarcerated Native man and an older Japanese American woman. The narration begins by describing the circumstances of the two main characters' initial contact over U.S. mail, mediated through literary institutions: "In the late winter of 1975 Emiko Toyama was really surprised when she got a letter from a young Eskimo. It seemed he'd come across a reprinted poem of hers that he'd read

in an Asian American publication that was several years old and as a fellow Asian American had taken a chance and written her in the care of the magazine.”¹² The man, named Alden, was a writer himself and inmate at a midwestern federal penitentiary. He had asked Emiko for feedback on writing he recently published in the prison newspaper. The declaration in this opening passage—that the narrator’s interlocutor, a Native man, self-identifies as Asian American—raises eyebrows. Given the radically divergent histories of Asian and Indigenous populations in the Americas, the man’s claim of kinship with Asian Americans seems curious. Moreover, the emergence of Asian American identity, a panethnic coalitional sensibility committed to antiracist and anti-imperialist work, would have taken place very recently in the period in which the story is set.

On the surface, this conspicuously unexplained statement may seem a presumptuous authorial choice that incorporates indigeneity into a Japanese American writer’s political self-actualization. However, rather than admonish Yamamoto for this mysterious declaration, it may be more generative to provide a historically contextual frame for it. In 1975, when the two-year occupation of Alcatraz by activists calling themselves Indians of All Tribes still existed in recent memory, the association of Native Americans with prisons would not have necessarily conjured pathological criminality but pro-sovereignty political action (which, to be sure, is also almost always criminalized). As an aside, it should be noted that Alcatraz is located close to Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, putting the two regulatory mechanisms of the prison and the immigration station into spatial as well as juridical and discursive proximity. The mid-1970s also marked the acceleration of the Japanese American redress movement, which was spurred by the same rights-based and revolutionary forces of the moment that gave rise to the American Indian Movement. A passing mention in “The Eskimo Connection” of Emiko’s time spent in camp when she was younger may seem gratuitous in that it does not advance the plot, but it sets the stage thematically for a comparative critique of incarceration.

In an extended meditation on the relationship between citizens and the state, Emiko reveals that she “was not sure that prisons were the answer to crime. It was a known fact, was it not, that prisons, as most of them were now constituted, rarely rehabilitated? . . . She agreed with the wise man who had called for a society ‘in which it was easier to be good’” (99). As some-

one who had been incarcerated herself, Emiko embraces the sentiment that it is the nation-state at-large that needs to be rehabilitated (and not individual unruly subjects) to gesture toward the shaky foundations of the internment's rationale. If "be[ing] good" enough to stay out of prison was defined by lacking Japanese ancestry at the time of the United States' war with Japan, then it is not difficult to see that concepts of criminality and the overall tracking of racially marked and Indigenous subjects into the prison system operates according to a hierarchy that makes it "easier" for some to escape this form of state control while making it more difficult or impossible for others to do so.

Yamamoto's comparative analysis of the 1970s-era prison system and the 1940s Japanese American internment camps is further articulated through the reference that Alden had been transferred from the unnamed prison where he initially made contact with her to McNeil Island Penitentiary, not insignificantly one of the two locations where Japanese American draft resisters were housed.¹³ Readers of this journal will be familiar with the questionnaire circulated inside internment camps in 1943, informally called the "loyalty oaths," which was used to recruit young men into the military. Those who joined the army under these circumstances were revered for their patriotism, which purportedly disproved the premises behind the internment. Conversely, draft resisters (many of whom had refused to serve on principle of not fighting for a country that had deprived them of their civil rights) were transferred into another camp, Tule Lake, designed specifically for potentially seditious members of the Japanese American community. From there, they awaited perfunctory trials that sentenced them to two- to three-year terms in federal prisons.¹⁴

"The Eskimo Connection" places Alden in the same physical and a similar geopolitical space as these defiant Japanese American subjects from a previous generation, suggesting that whatever his conviction—even if it is for the grisly murders and rape he narrates in one of his stories, presumed to be fiction—it be considered alongside "passionate cr[ies] against the despoiling of his native land" (99) and with it Indigenous forms of justice. Although the only other published piece of literary criticism on "The Eskimo Connection" takes it for granted that Alden is guilty of the actions described in his short story, there is no indication that Emiko knows for sure.¹⁵ In fact, the narration leaves it purposefully unconfirmed. Early in their correspondence, Emiko imagines that Alden is in prison for forgery, but the very

ambiguity of his conviction is a crucial part of the story, which would have been different had it been definitively established. The uncertainty surrounding Alden's conviction is similar to the American public's uncertainty about and fear of the Japanese American presence leading up to the wartime internment. This moment in the story prompts a rethinking of the actions of Japanese American draft resisters, then commonly considered traitors, within the coercive contexts from which their war participation was demanded. What landed these men in prison was the impossibility of "be[ing] good" in an unjust situation. The logics of crime and punishment in the United States' dealings with its racialized and Indigenous populations are revealed for their biases and injustices.

At the same time that Emiko contests the tendency to solve societal problems through an appeal to a flawed prison system, she is also uncomfortably aware of her uneasiness around inmates, despite her personal history of incarceration. When she receives an invitation from Alden to visit him at McNeil Island, a series of bureaucratic delays at the prison prevents her from receiving clearance in time before her visit to Seattle for another purpose. Her relief upon this intervention is palpable even as she admits to being "crestfallen" (101). Emiko and Alden's missed connection seems particularly welcome after she reads his story about the murders and rape, which "stunned" (103) her into providing only stoic and mechanical feedback involving generalized "corrections, suggestions, and remarks" (103) that tiptoed around the story's content. In the end, Hisaye Yamamoto's reach across the boundaries of social location that separate a Japanese American woman from a Native man acknowledges the limitations of this coalition even as it explores its enabling potential.

This dislocation between Emiko's professed prison abolition politics and the privilege of her structural location relative to her pen pal also emerges at the level of her unspoken approval of the uplift and reform that Alden embraces. On the one hand, Emiko can declare that prisons "rarely rehabilitated" (99), but on the other hand, she appears to express admiration for Alden's transformation. The references to his conversion to Christianity and enrollment in college courses signal his compliance with the imperatives of assimilation that the U.S. nation-state has leveled upon its Native populations since the nineteenth century. I do not want to solidify an outmoded binary between settler and Native cultures that overlooks the potential of resistant syncretism.

Notably, Yamamoto herself rejects this dichotomy by portraying Alden's wish to nourish pride in his history through his endorsement of a study of Alaskan natives conducted by researchers at Stanford University and his own goal to pursue a formal education at Tacoma Community College. Both the elite university and the community college are institutions issuing from the colonizing forces of the United States. However, it bears mentioning that differential levels of power cohere in Alden's metamorphosis that place him in a subordinate position *vis-à-vis* the forms of cultural authority to which he must submit in order to write himself into a legible teleology of rehabilitation.

It may be helpful to read "The Eskimo Connection" in conversation with another Yamamoto short story, the considerably more popular "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara" (1950). The titular character in this story is a young Nisei woman who is the source of much gossip in an internment camp because of her unsettling behavior, which the other characters read as "mad." She is sent to a psychiatric hospital, and after she returns, she exhibits a bizarrely cheerful and exuberant normativity. Soon, however, she reverts to her old ways, showing that the coercive effects of medico-scientific standardization are ineffective. Throughout the story, the determination with which the other internees go about their everyday lives is baffling. Miss Sasagawara's mental breakdown in camp seems to be the only reasonable reaction to the internment's injustice in the midst of the frustrating docility the other characters exhibit. Her psychosocial difference reveals the toxicity of anti-Japanese racism during World War II. When this story is juxtaposed with "The Eskimo Connection," we see that Alden's increasing compliance with normative standards of cultural citizenship somewhat—but not entirely—resembles that of Miss Sasagawara. This parallel hints at the cultural violence that underlies his narrative of reform and troubles the trajectory of hope it instills.

Returning to my original claim about the complexities that underlie comparative work between Asian American studies and Indigenous studies, we need to probe what is at stake in Hisaye Yamamoto's channeling of her internment critique through a late-twentieth-century fictional story about an incarcerated Native man. Published in 1983, while the redress movement was well underway and five years from effecting the Civil Liberties Act, "The Eskimo Connection" could be read as a means of legitimizing Japanese American efforts for redress through a presumably more visible critique of settler colonialism. Among the gen-

eral American public, the aforementioned occupation of Alcatraz tends to be better known and more energetically celebrated than Japanese American organizing for reparations. Yet, the relative structural success of the latter over the former reveals an uneasy fact about how Asian American calls for inclusion into the nation-state are more materially viable than Indigenous demands for freedom from it.

This is where my initial reasoning behind Yamamoto's possible intention in "The Eskimo Connection" seems specious given the differential social locations Japanese Americans and Native Americans occupied in the 1980s and, not to mention, now in the present day. Under the structural inequities of the late twentieth century, East Asian Americans saw their aggregate economic status rise steadily after the end of World War II. Postwar mortgage and housing policies that discriminated against African Americans and Latinos treated Asian Americans as honorary whites, which led to an increase in their net worth. Immigration reforms in 1965 lifted decades-long quotas on national origins and allowed middle-class professionals from East Asia along with other parts of the world to enter the United States. In the midst of these changes, Native Americans have only continued to experience the renegeing of treaties signed with the U.S. government. Given these phenomena, could the obverse be true, then, that perhaps Yamamoto wished to grant some of the momentum of the redress movement onto the cause of sovereignty? The fact that this question vexes us without resolution testifies to the thorny processes of doing comparative work. Sometimes, the lines between appropriation and collaboration are dangerously, but also productively, porous.

Conclusion: Alternative Critiques

In working through the feasibility of invoking Indigenous struggles for sovereignty when critiquing the Japanese American internment, and vice versa, I am reminded of what Paul Lai and Lindsey Claire Smith call "alternative contact," as opposed to "first contact," which takes place between Natives and European explorers.¹⁶ The concept of alternative contact, according to Lai and Smith, points in two directions that complicate common misconceptions about the narrowness of Native American political organizing. First, it sheds light on the coalition building that takes place between Indigenous people on the U.S. continent and in U.S. territories in the Pacific and other Indigenous people worldwide. Second, it aligns the political commitments of Na-

tive Americans with people of color and immigrants globally. Lai and Smith suggest that relegating Native organizing either solely to that concerning sovereignty or solely to that concerning the needs of one Indigenous nation or region simplifies the important work that can and is already being done across interest groups. Yet, when building coalitions between Native and non-Native settlers of color, striking, in Lai and Smith's words, "a balance between distinctiveness and shared struggle is important, even as we must refuse essentializing any of the categories."¹⁷ What *Ceremony* and "The Eskimo Connection" reveal is that there is genuine value to social critique and social justice movements based on this notion of alternative contact even if it still leaves more to be done. As we know, cooperation across political categories is always a process, never a goal attained.

If all of us, settler or not, understand that our interests are tied with the struggles for self-determination and sovereignty that define Indigenous activism, it is not so far fetched to imagine, as with Hisaye Yamamoto's Yupik character who self-identifies as Asian American, that these vectors of commitment run both ways. Certainly, when Leslie Marmon Silko's Laguna Pueblo character declares that we are all "united by a circle of death" (246), it speaks to a shared summons to address interrelated injustices through a circular exchange of life. By seeing multinational war, colonialism, and racist capitalism as inextricably bound, we can interrupt these circuits of violence at any point along that loop. In the collective effort to do so, however, we must continue asking the tough questions that any coalitional effort needs to ponder. Who within the collective effort has greater or lesser structural power and cultural visibility at any given point? Whose interests are and are not being heard and tended to? Whose responsibility is it to speak up when these disparities are acknowledged? Silko and Yamamoto show that these collaborations are absolutely necessary even as they are notoriously difficult.

Notes

1. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," in Fujikane and Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008): 20. Emphasis mine.
2. Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "Which of These Things Is Not Like the Other: Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders Are Not Asian Americans, and All Pacific Islanders Are Not Hawaiian," *American Quarterly* 67:3 (September 2015): 727-747.

3. Elena Tajima Creef, *Imaging Japanese America: The Visual Construction of Citizenship, Nation, and the Body* (New York: New York University Press, 2004): 141.
4. Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* (New York: Penguin, 1977): 17. All further references to the text will be cited by page number.
5. Many Japanese American ethnic enclaves on the west coast became home to African Americans, largely from the South, who migrated to fill jobs in the wartime economy. See Kevin Allen Leonard, "'In the Interest of All Races': African Americans and Interracial Cooperation in Los Angeles During and After World War II," in Lawrence B. De Graaf, *et al.*, eds., *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). In a collapsing of the fictional and the historical that resists the barriers of empiricism, I like to imagine that Hisaye Yamamoto was with the group of just-released Japanese Americans who Tayo encountered in the Los Angeles train station. Yamamoto was from Redondo Beach, a suburb of Los Angeles, and unlike many Nisei who were encouraged to settle in other parts of the country after the war, she returned to the area. Her first job upon her release was reporting for an African American newspaper in Los Angeles, and she writes about this experience in her nonfiction essay, "A Fire in Fontana" (1985).
6. Kandice Chuh takes a measured amount of enthusiasm about the transnational turn in Asian American studies beginning in the 1990s even as she locates her own work within it. She reminds us that it was the very fear of a Japanese transnation that "enabled the justification of internment as necessary to contain that threat." See Chuh, *Imagine Otherwise: On Asian Americanist Critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003): 59.
7. Peter G. Beidler, "Bloody Mud, Rifle Butts, and Barbed Wire: Transforming the Bataan Death March in Silko's *Ceremony*," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 28:1 (2004): 30.
8. *Ibid.* Beidler goes on to reference the significance of the time period during which Silko wrote *Ceremony*, in the milieu of anti-Vietnam War activism. "[S]he felt growing sympathies for the North Vietnamese people who were being killed by American soldiers. . . She wanted us to see that in both World War II and the Vietnam War, American Indian soldiers were wrongly forced to kill their Asian brothers and uncles" (31).
9. Matthew Mullins, "Material Foundations: Rethorizing Native Writing and Social Construction in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*," *Arizona Quarterly* 70:3 (Autumn 2014): 46-47.
10. Alan Wald, *The Responsibility of Intellectuals: Selected Essays on Marxist Traditions in Cultural Commitment* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1992): 140.
11. Troy J. Bassett, "'My Brother': The Recovery of Rocky in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 28:1 (2004): 36-37.
12. Hisaye Yamamoto, "The Eskimo Connection," *Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001): 96. All further references to the text will be cited by page number.

13. The other federal prison that held Japanese American draft resisters was Leavenworth. Eric Muller, *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001): 113.
14. *Ibid.*, 112-121.
15. Masami Usui, "Prison, Psyche, and Poetry in Hisaye Yamamoto's Three Short Stories: 'Seventeen Syllables,' 'The Legend of Miss Sasagawara,' and 'The Eskimo Connection,'" *Ningen Bunka Kenkyu* 6 (1997): 1-29.
16. Paul Lai and Lindsey Claire Smith, "Introduction," *American Quarterly* 62:3 (September 2010): 407-408.
17. *Ibid.*, 428.