UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Cold War Love: Producing American Liberalism in Interracial Marriages between American Soldiers and Japanese Women

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ethnic Studies

by

Tomoko Tsuchiya

Committee in charge:

Professor Yen Le Espiritu, Chair
Professor Ross Frank
Professor Takashi Fujitani
Professor Denise Ferreira da Silva
Professor Lisa Yoneyama

2011

Copyright

Tomoko Tsuchiya, 2011

All Rights Reserved

The dissertation of Tomoko Tsuchiya is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
Chair

University of California, San Diego

2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Signature Page……iii

Table of Contents……...iv

List of Figures……..v

Acknowledgements……..……..…vi

Vita…….……....ix

Abstract of the Dissertation ……...…….x

Introduction……..... 1

Part I
Love and Violence: Production of the Postwar U.S.-Japan Alliance…….36

Chapter One
Dangerous Intimacy:
Sexualized Japanese Women during the U.S. Occupation of Japan……...37

Chapter Two
Intimacy of Love: Loveable American Soldiers in Cold War Politics.…...68

Part II
The U.S. Cold War Empire:
Producing Cultural Pluralism and Multiracial Family……...….89

Chapter Three
Alien Intimacies: Impossible Marriages between American Soldiers and
Japanese Women…….……...…..90

Chapter Four
Producing Culturally Pluralist Nation:
Teaching Japanese Brides American Domesticity……..…128

Chapter Five
Producing Multiracial Family:
Mothering “Mixed Blood” Children and Pursuing the American Dream...162

Epilogue……..…….188

Bibliography…….....193

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Baby-san…….…....61

Figure 4.1 U.S. Military's Bride School Project…….……...…..…133

Figure 4.2 Graduation Ceremony……136

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who made my academic journey at the University of California, San Diego possible and helped me complete this dissertation.

First, I would like to thank the people who encouraged me to pursue a US doctorate in Ethnic Studies. Professor Noriko Shimada was my mentor and she taught me not only knowledge about American Studies but also the scholar's attitude to engaging in academic works. I sincerely admire her not only as a scholar but also as a person. I am glad to be able to devote this dissertation to her. I also appreciate Professor Kazuto Oshio who supported my research and gave me profound insight into academic study. My gratitude also goes to Professor Yujin Yaguchi who supported my research in the United States and gave me a lot of useful advice.

I appreciate the Fulbright program which supported my study in the U.S. graduate school. Not only did they provide financial support but they also attenuated my anxiety about overall life in the United States and graduate study through their helpful orientations before commencing my studies. I also thank Professor John Dower who took the time to write me a recommendation letter as a prospective Fulbrighter.

I thank my professors who supported me to write this dissertation at the University of California, San Diego. I cannot make this dissertation possible without Professor Yen Le Espiritu's heartful support. I cannot express enough gratitude to her. I learned from her what the grounded and reliable academic works should be, specifically as an Ethnic Studies scholar. She also understood my isolated life abroad and supported me by taking time to listen to me, and inviting me her house. I also thank my dissertation committee members, Professor Ross Frank, Takashi Fujitani, Denise

Ferreira da Silva, Lisa Yoneyama and all of whom also gave me deep insights into engaging in critical studies on the field of American history, immigration, and cultural studies.

Needless to say, I acknowledge my fellows, Angie Morril, Cathleen Kozen, Long Bui and Ma Vang. Their uncountable supports just make me cry. I owe my gratitude to them sharing our valuable and memorable time--writing together, sharing our academic anxiety together and drinking together to get away from the academic stress. Ma Vang was also my roommate for four years during which we shared both our academic and private lives. I could not have lived with anybody else except her for all these years. I also appreciate her boyfriend, Kit Myers who has also provided support and company. Outside of my cohort members, I appreciate Ayako Sahara who always stood by me as a writing partner and discussed our academic future. As a non-native English writer, it was very helpful that Julietta Y. Hua, Thuy Vo Dang, Traci Brynne Voyles, and Maria. T. Cesena spent time to read my papers and suggest sentence organization.

I would like to appreciate my interviewees who spent not only their time and energy, but told me their valuable personal stories. Kazuko Stout Umezu, the president of the Nikkei International Marriage Society, invited me to her organization's conventions. Through the organization, I established more friendships with its members and know their stories. Tsuchino Forrester who took over the work of the Society's organization renamed the International Marriage Friendship Association also had me stay at her house and told me valuable stories. Without their brave and sincere decision to share the stories, this work would not have been possible.

I engaged in the research project sponsored by Japanese Overseas Migration Museum owned by Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). I thank Professor Noriko Shimada who gave me the opportunity to join it which made my research much more comprehensive and thorough. As a project member, it was valuable to work with Professor Shigeyoshi Yasutomi and Ikumi Yanagisawa. Professor Yasutomi initially introduced me the Nikkei International Marriage Society and kindly shared information about the Society and its members.

Finally, I would like to thank my family who supported me to study in the United States in various ways. I know that they had mixed feeling about my going away abroad and were worried about me all the time. They sent me boxes filled with stuff from my home country and letters that always made my heart very warm. Without their support, I would never have been able to complete my Ph.D.

VITA

2011 Doctor of Philosophy Department of Ethnic Studies
University of California, San Diego
2007 Master of Arts Department of Ethnic Studies
University of California, San Diego
2005 Master of Arts Department of Literature, American Studies
Japan Women's University
2003 Bachelor of Arts Department of Literature, American Studies
Japan Women's University

PUBLICATIONS

"Hawai he Watatta Gunjin Hanayome [War Brides in Hawaii]: Jyosei Jishin ga Kataru Kekkon Seikatsu [Marriage Lives Narrated by Women]." In Nihon no Jyosei Iminshi no Hakkutsu: Syashin Hanayome to Senso Hanayome no Tadotta Michi [Excavaton of Japanese Women's Immigration History: Historical Path of Picture Brides and War Brides,] edited by Noriko Shimada. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2009.

"Kaihou Sareta Tekikoku no Jyoseitachi: Chinmoku ga Kataru Keiken ['Liberated Enemy Women': Experiences Told by Silence]," *JICA Research Annuals* 2 (2008): 37-51.

"Japanese Women's Marriages to American GIs under the U.S. Occupation of Japan: Their Silenced Voices and Experiences," *Veritas* 51 (2007): 57-70.

"Hawai he Watatta Senso Hanayome: Nichibei no Sengo Seiji no Hazama de Keisei Sareta Imeji to Keiken [Japanese War Brides in Hawaii: Images and Actual Experiences in the Context of Postwar American and Japanese Politics]," *Imin Kenkyu Nenpo* 12 (2006): 24-32.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

April, 2009 Invited by TJF Dissertation Workshop hosted by UC Santa Cruz
Oct. 2008 Matsushita Kokusai Foundation fellowship
May, 2008 Joseph Naiman Graduate Fellowship, Japanese Studies, UCSD
May, 2008 Mary Dashen Scholarship of the International Center, UCSD
April, 2008 Institute for International, Comparative, and Area Studies (IICAS) Travel Grant, UCSD
Sep. 2005 Fellowship of Japanese Ministry of Education for Graduate Study in the United States
Nov. 2004 Fulbright Fellowship for Graduate Study in the United States

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Cold War Love: Producing American Liberalism in Interracial Marriages between American Soldiers and Japanese Women

by

Tomoko Tsuchiya

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Studies

University of California, San Diego, 2011

Professor Yen Le Espiritu, Chair

This project analyzes how “Japanese war brides” who married American GIs as a result of the U.S. occupation of Japan became visible in the political context whereby the United States and Japan established an allied relationship. The marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women became controversial subjects in both the United States and Japan because they crossed the constructed racial line as miscegenation. They also became an ideological symbol of war politics between the victor and the defeated. This postwar period was the first time that American soldiers

and Japanese women became so intimate that their marriages became the subject of much discussion and concern in the U.S.-Japan history.

This dissertation examines how such controversial marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women became subjects that invigorated American Imperialism at the beginning of Cold War. First, I analyze how the intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women became visible within the shift of the political relationship between the United States and Japan as they moved from wartime enemy to postwar allies; as well as analyzing representations of intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women in the early 50's. I situate configuration of American soldier husbands within the U.S. occupation of Japan as liberation and rehabilitation whereby the marriages were understood as loving projects that liberated Japanese "enslaved" wives. Second, this dissertation captures the shifting moments when the United States realized its cultural pluralism whereby it asserted its capability of accommodating people regardless of race and confirmed its democratic principle. I analyze how mixed racial families consisting of American soldier husbands, Japanese wives, and their "mixed blood" children that were impossible subjects of miscegenation became possible subjects as a model family who self-evidently invigorate American cultural pluralism during the Cold War.

Introduction

> The Japanese women who internationally married have to keep in mind that we are grass-roots ambassadors between the United States and Japan. How did tens of thousands of Japanese women live in a different country? How did they leave their history to face the future? If we do not leave our trace by ourselves, we are erased from the history.[1]

On October 30, 1988, led by Kazuko Umezu Stout, 320 "Japanese war brides" who lived in the mainland United States, Hawaii and Australia gathered at a hotel in Olympia, Washington, not only to commemorate and deepen understanding among themselves, but also to clarify historical "misunderstanding" regarding "Japanese war brides" and emphasize their achievement in American and Japanese histories.[2] After the success of this convention, Stout established the Nikkei (Japanese) International Marriage Society. The Society held five conventions to date and also published quarterly newsletters. Through the conventions and newsletters, they have called for public recognition of their achievements as American citizens and their contributions toward establishing good relations between the United States and Japan as grass-roots ambassadors.[3]

Right after Japan's defeat in World War II, tens of thousands of soldiers came to occupy Japan. American GIs were seen all over Japan during the period of occupation. Japanese people had many informal contacts with American GIs, and as a

---

[1] Kazuko U. Stout, *"Nikkei Kokusai Shinboku Kai*," Nyusuletar 10, September 1993, 3.
[2] Shigeyoshi Yasutomi and Stout Kazuko U, *Amerika ni Watatta Senso Hanayome*[*War Brides in the United States*]: *Nichibei Kokusai Kekkon Paionia no Kiroku* [*Recorded by a Pioneer of International Marriage*] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2004), 233.
[3] Stout received the Orders of the Rising Sun, Silver Rays [Kyokujitsu Tanko Sho] from the Imperial court in April, 2010.This has been one of annual awards that the Imperial court gave people who contributed to Japan since 1875. About four thousand people received the awards in 2010.

result, a number of Japanese women married American servicemen[4]. However, these marriages came under question of legitimacy in both the United States and Japan. They became controversial because they crossed the constructed racial line as miscegenation and also became an ideological symbol of war politics between the victor and the defeated. This postwar period was the first time that American soldiers and Japanese women became so intimate that their marriages became the subject of much discussion and concern in the U.S.-Japanese history.

This dissertation critically engages with the question of how people know about past events—how the postwar marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women took place. There have been seemingly contradictory narratives about Japanese war brides: for example, as Stout asserted their "misrepresentation," these women were often narrated as prostitutes for American GIs in both nations in the postwar periods. However, Japanese war brides became sometimes more visible as model American wives and mothers since the mid 1950s. Later, in the 1980s, Empress Michiko of Japan propagated a view of these women as ambassadors between the United States and Japan. Recent scholarly works also tend to celebrate Japanese war brides as "loving" American wives and mothers as well as ambassadors between two nations.

[4] Since 1945 there have been recorded at the American Consulate, Tokyo, between 12,000 and 13,000 marriages of Japanese Nationals to American citizens-the large majority of whom are servicemen. Since 1950 there have been about 5,000 marriages in the Tokyo-Yokohama area alone. ("Brides' Schools" Sep 20 1955, Box 1280 RG 200 American Red Cross): The record of the Immigration and Naturalization Office showed that 5,111 entered the United States as wives of American citizens until 1952 when the occupation ended and additional 29,824 entered until 1959.

However, this project approaches knowledge production that is not foreign to political processes. Here, I follow Literary Critic, Laura Hyun Yi Kang's suggestion that scholars not assume racial differences as given but critically interrogate how and why we know racial and gender difference as such and ask how differentiated subjects are linked to U.S. global and imperial expansion.[5] Therefore, instead of celebrating Japanese war brides as American wives and mothers as well as grass-roots ambassadors between two nations, I situate figures of Japanese war brides as racialized and gendered subjects constituted within the U.S. imperialism invigorated during the Cold War. First, I closely pay attention to the shift of the political relation between the United States and Japan from wartime enemy to postwar allies and representation of intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women. Then, this dissertation also situates the marriages within the moment when the United States realized itself as culturally pluralist nation at the beginning of Cold War. In sum, this dissertation examines the process of producing liberal subjects within the universalist language of American democracy which occupies the postwar regime of "truth" and American Cold War empire without any crisis.[6]

Previous Studies

In the U.S. academia, the primary producers of academic knowledge about Japanese war brides are social scientists and social workers studying "interracial" and

[5] Laura Hyun Yi Kang, *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 17.
[6] I mean it as Foucaudian sense of "truth." Foucault (1978) explains that discourse-what has been said--has produced "truth" as a result of people's will to knowledge. Power operates in the production of "truth" and comes from everywhere rather than represses from the above (*History of Sexuality*, 92-3).

"intercultural" marriages. These scholars cast them within the assimilationist framework as one of the immigrant groups in an "American plural society." These studies impose a generalized narrative of immigration on the Japanese war brides thereby reducing the specificities of their marriages to a conventional story of racial assimilation. They are only concerned about whether they could assimilate into American mainstream culture and family structures as American wives and mothers.

The early sociologist works centered on the women's cultural differences and focused on the success of their marital adjustment.[7] The first sociological article on the Japanese war bride was released in 1954 by Anselm L. Strauss. His study was "drawn from a study being carried on University of Chicago under the joint sponsorship of the Family Study Center and the Race Relations Center."[8] The Chicago School of Sociology was interested in "interracial" marriages as "the perfect experiment for discovering how different cultures and races could coexist."[9] Social science cast these Japanese women within assimilation theory, which assured that "Orientals" would progress and eventually melt into the American culture. Under such an assumption, Strauss regarded the marriages as exogamy and implied that exogamy may be more successful than endogamy because of oriental women's assimilation. Following

---

[7] Critical social theorist, Denise Ferreira da Silva (2007), argues that sociologists rewriting racial difference as a signifier of cultural difference could only deploy the self-determined subjects, "the ones whose ideas and actions are always already determined by the presence of an inferior 'other,' a racial subaltern whose body and mind refer to other global regions" (154). In this logic, scholars institute the racial others as emancipatory subjects who could be enlightened and eventually included to universality within historical materialism--"the sociohistorical logic of exclusion" (xxiv). Rewriting racial difference as cultural differences thus always deploys the racial others as the belated. Therefore the scholars could also use the racial other's cultural attributes as "proof of the failure of assimilation" in the regime of the modern subject constitution (xxxiii).

[8] Anselm L. Strauss, "Strain and Harmony in Japanese-American War-Bride Marriages," *Marriages and Family Living* 16 (1954), 100.

[9] Ibid., 61.

Strauss's theory, Gerald Schnepp and Agnes M. Yui framed the marriages between Caucasians and Japanese women as intercultural marriages. They focused on marital adjustment asking whether these "culturally" different women could successfully assimilate into American way of life and concluded that the marriages tended to successfully facilitate their adjustment into American family life. This theory of successful "Interracial marriages" was also valorized in Hawaii. Chicago sociologists perceived Hawaii as the ultimate racial laboratory, a place where racial harmony and a melting pot had taken place. Influenced by Chicago sociologist, Romanzo Adams, who founded sociology at the University of Hawaii in 1919,[10] Tamiko Yamamoto (1950) and Yukiko Kimura (1957), contributed evidence to suggest that interracial marriages as stable regardless of cultural differences. Within the assimilationist framework, sociologists came to the conclusion that the Japanese women found little difficulty in adapting to the American life.

In line with the Chicago sociologists' works situating Japanese war brides as "a solution" to the American racial antagonism of the 1950s, some works in the 1960s and 70s represented Japanese war brides through the concept of the "model minority." After the sociologist works concluded that Caucasian-Japanese marriages seemed to be successful, some sociologists found the successful factors in Japanese women's willingness to adjust the adopted culture, high regard for education and family values, and strong work ethic. For example, Conner (1973) explained Japanese wives were likely to stay at home rather than working outside, stay in the United States rather than

[10] Romanzo Adams is a representative figure to view the interracial marriage as a resolution of racial antagonism. See Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation.* (NJ: Montclair, 1937).

in Japan for reason of comfort and children's education, and to attend bride school or English school in order to learn American way of life, as favorable indication of adjustment.[11]

Their arguments within the concept of the "model minority" were problematic because they promoted mainstream Caucasian values as the superior norm. Situating American Caucasian marriages as the control group, they uncritically assumed that the Caucasian way of life, family, wifehood and motherhood was the model for Japanese wives.[12] The "model minority" concept was also imbued with racial and cultural essentialism: The success of Japanese women' adaptation to American marital life was attributed to their culture, with their obedience to the hierarchy, the adopted culture and family values, high regard for education, and strong work ethic. Scholars often measured the successful adaptation of their marital lives by their children's achievement in higher education and careers.

Against the assimilationist frameworks, Asian American scholars began to renarrate Asian immigration stories since the late 1960s and 70s. While they attempted to produce different stories by excavating their "hidden" pasts or correcting "inaccurate" or "distorted" images, they unconsciously consolidated their differences

---

[11] John Conner, *A Study of the Marital Stability of Japanese war brides* (San Francisco: Rand E. Research, Inc., 1976), 58.

[12] Literary Critic, Caroline Chung Simpson (2001) argues that the effect of the subject construction, that is, the Japanese war bride as the early form of model minority. She delineates that narrative of "model minority" worked for delegitimizing black and brown political demands for economic and social equity. By citing Palumbo-Liu's argument, she discusses that William Petersen, entitled "Success Story, Japanese American Style," and other following articles use the Asian image of hard working as a counter of black and brown perception of disenfranchisement in attempt to remind people of the ideal that hard working could bring the success in America. The Japanese war bride became a model minority when imagined racial integration became a key for American Cold War identity and worked for covering and erasing other racial threats at that moment (174-5).

rather than interrogated the regime of racial differences. Asian American studies and immigration studies scholars initially situated Asian immigrants' experiences within the domestic context and attempted to make Asian immigrants "visible." They contested the inequality in society and urged for recognition of their oppressed social condition and desired for equal treatment. Bok-Lim Kim (1975) seemed to be the first scholar who made a counter-argument to the sociologists' celebratory narratives about the successful adaptation of Japanese war brides. While earlier sociologists tended to find the initial problems and their solutions within the cultures of the Japanese women, she called for looking at the social context where they faced racism and difficulties in adjustment.

Since the 1980s when the politics of representation became the popular analytic tool, scholars in Asian American studies started to contend for the recognition of their cultures and their communities within multiculturalism. They highlighted their alternative community building by focusing on their "agency" and focused on their "culture" as their own strategy for survival. Early Asian American scholars also tended to write Asian American women into visibility by assuming that they could fill in the void of American immigration history through a politics of inclusion. For example, feminist sociologist, Evelyn Glenn Nakano (1986) viewed Japanese war brides as "victims of triple oppression, trapped in work that is widely regarded as the most menial employment in our society, subjugated to institutional racism of the most virulent sort and subordinated at home by a patriarchal family system."[13] Then she

[13] Silva, *Toward Global Idea of Race*, xi.

argued that Japanese war brides were the ones who had the strength and tenacity to survival and highlighted Japanese cultural values for their economic success. Another scholar, Debbie Storrs (2000) conducted an interview with her "war bride" mother and focused on her autonomy against racial and gender oppressions. She framed her mother's life with the Japanese word, shikataga nai, or "it can' be helped," as her cultural strategy for coping with hardships. She made a point that a working class immigrant woman contributed white America through her work and demonstrated her as a "legible" subject within the nation. Debbie also showed that a working class immigrant woman strategically perceived her work as something for constituting her new identity with filling the gaps between her lives in two countries and corrected inaccurate images about working-class immigrant woman as a "victim" figure.

In their efforts trying to include these women into the national history, the scholars generally argued that the Japanese war brides' achievement to the white middle class lives, wifehood and motherhood was the most desirable. Kang points out that some scholars on Asian American women tend to only contested their *mis*representation and self-identity and protest their "victim" figures by securing a masculinist-subject-position as stable and neutral. However, Kang explains that these recent scholars, who hope to make marginalized women the "legible" subjects within the nation, consequently domesticated the figures into gendered criteria of U.S. citizenship, which emphasizes proper marriage and motherhood.[14] In order to counter the idea of unassmilable Asian American women, the scholars tend to write these

[14] Kang, *Compositional Subjects*, 154.

women as proper American wives and mothers who are able to fit to white middle-class womanhood. However, Kang critically suggests that Asian women figures are not "victims" caused by misrepresentation but "productive figures" to make the white American identity as stable and secure.[15]

Indeed, since the 1980s when social historian and multi-culturalist frameworks became popular, Japanese war brides have become academic subjects as the marginalized, if not the ignored, from history and scholars attempted to excavate their "unknown" experiences. They have tried to make these women visible within the national history and consider their differences as positive contributions to the "multicultural" American nation. As a result, they tend to essentialize and even enforce their differences. These academic frameworks thus have not successfully posed an epistemological challenge to how their cultural differences have been constituted or played a role in invigorating American empire.

Around the same time, Japanese scholars also focus on Japanese war brides' contribution to Japan. They have largely ignored Japanese women who married American soldiers as subjects of investigation until the 1980s. Right after the war, the ubiquity of these women who followed American GIs wounded national pride in general and masculine pride in particular.[16] In Japan, Japanese women's close involvement with GIs became a symbol of Japan's defeat and Japanese war brides came to signify a national shame. However, since the 1980s and 90s, Japanese scholars started to regard these marriages as the earliest signs of postwar international

[15] Kang, *Compositional Subjects*, 154.
[16] John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1999), 135.

marriages and viewed these women as pioneers of postwar Japanese immigrations into the United States. Journalist Tsuneo Enari (1984, 2000) led off by his photographic collection, *Hanayome no America*, and Anthropologists Fumiteru Nitta, Kazuyo Suzuki and Takeshi Ueki (1997, 1998, 1999), Takeshi Ueki (2002), journalist, and Kaori Hayashi (2002, 2004, 2005) conducted interviews with Japanese war brides to show their diverse lives against negative stereotypes. Anthropologist Ueki recognized these women who married American GIs as pioneers of the international marriages who opened up the door for following postwar international marriages and thus contributed to Japan's internationalization.[17] Anthropological co-research done by Ueki and Shigeyoshi Yasutomi exposed that Japanese war brides smoothly adapted to American culture while holding Japanese culture at the core and strategically used both of the cultures depending on context. These scholars deployed the Japanese war brides as "cultural hybrids" and "pioneers" who contributed to postwar Japan's internationalization (or recently so called globalization). All the scholars revised the history of the Japanese war brides and tended to endorse the idea that they overcame the pain and struggles after the war through establishing their American lives with Japanese culture at their core. In this framework, Japanese war brides were cast within the contributionist framework and narrated as "cultural ambassadors" who contributed to the Japanese nation.

As another framework, both American and Japanese scholars understood these marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women in relation to the meaning

[17] Takeshi Ueki, *"Senso Hanayome" Gojyunen wo Kataru* [*"Senso Hanayome" Narrating their Fifty Years*]: *Kusanone no Shinzen Taishi* [*Grass-Roots Ambassadors*] (Tokyo: Benseisyuppan, 2002), 286.

of the U.S. occupation of Japan. Most previous studies question why a large number of "interracial marriages" between American GIs and Japanese women occurred right after a hostile between two enemies. Most American scholars tended to explain the factors of the marriages happened within the conception that American occupation of Japan was relatively so philanthropic that the United States democratized and liberated Japan. In line with dominant representations of the "benevolent" American occupation of Japan, scholars pointed out the friendliness and gentleness of American soldiers and situated Japanese war brides as passive recipients of American benevolence. For instance, Teresa K. Williams explains that the marriages occurred where there is an amicable relationship between the conqueror and the conquered.[18] Within the context of amicable relationships, she demonstrated, "[Japanese women] continued to be attracted by their [American soldiers'] open friendliness and kindness."[19]

Other scholars explained the reason for the interracial/international marriages lies in the Japanese women's transformation as a result of American occupation of Japan. They furthered the argument that American mission of democratizing Japan transformed the male-dominated Japanese society and women became enfranchised, gaining their freedom and right to choose their partners. Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta provided a story of a Japanese woman, Julie Grant, who refused to marry a Japanese man her parents recommended.[20] Along with the stories of Japanese women's refusal to following the traditional arrangement of marriages, she

---

[18] Teresa K. Williams, "Marriage between Japanese Women and U.S. Servicemen since World War II," *Amerasia Journal* 17.1 (1991), 141.
[19] Ibid.,193.
[20] Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (CA: Presidio Press, 1988), 187.

showed Japanese women's marriages with American GIs as evidence of their newly achieved choice and freedom. While feminist historian, Regina Lark pointed out American colonial racist politics on sexual management through prostitution, she also pointed to Japanese women's transformation as a result of American occupation and demonstrated the "newly liberated Japanese woman" who gained her right to choose her own partner.[21]

Along with this perspective, Japanese Sociologist Shizuko Suenaga (1996) and Tsuneo Enari supported the idea that the Japanese war brides gained gender freedom which they would not have in Japan, thereby upholding the ideals of American gender freedom and idea of liberation. Enari explained, "Japanese war brides embraced the defeat of the nation and adapted to postwar internationalization of Japan through marriages with American GIs…These women were liberated and enjoyed gender freedom in the U.S."[22] Suenaga also claimed that the Japanese war brides successfully acculturated into American society because they were free from popular Japanese opinion (*seken*) and enthusiastically viewed American society, especially in regard to gender role, more favorably than that of Japan.[23] She compared the gender role in America with one in Japan in order to demonstrate the success of their acculturation.[24] These scholars who re-configured Japanese war brides as liberated from patriarchal

---

[21] Regina F. Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations: Marriages between Japanese Women and American GIs, 1945 to the Present," (Ph.D. Diss. University of Southern California, 1999), 183.
[22] Tsuneo Enari, "Amerika wo Ikiru [I live America]," *Shiso no Kagaku*. 7 no.131 (1990), 30-1. Translation Mine.
[23] Shizuko Suenaga, "Goodbye to Sayonara: The Reverse Assimilation of Japanese War Brides," (MA Diss. Boston College, 1996).
[24] Suenaga said, "The women quickly adapted to the gender roles in America, which were less rigid generally, and more favorable for women, than such roles in Japan…the war brides today have different perspectives on gender roles from their counterparts in Japan, due to household arrangements in their married lives in which their husbands have been relatively active participants in household chores."

Japanese society and culture helped to reify the United States as a land of gender equality. While these scholars productively focus on gender notions, these works left out racial factors.[25]

Framed by this, the Japanese war bride inevitably became a proof of how American occupation of Japan was a benevolent action which democratized and reconstructed Japan. Interestingly, Shukert's argument supported the idea that the United States saved these women from sexist Japanese culture in which Japanese women did not have autonomy or choice. By deploying Japanese war brides as "liberated" women, these prior narratives not only endorsed the United States as a provider of freedom and a rescuer but also suggested Japan's position as antithesis to the American national identity. Literary Critic, Lisa Yoneyama argues that liberation of Japanese women bolsters the idea that American occupation of Japan was so benevolent that the United States not only liberated the people of Asia but rescued Japanese people themselves. The dominant discourse carries "that those liberated by the United States were reformed into free and advanced citizens of the postwar democratic world."[26] Yoneyama calls an effect of dominant memory of American occupation of Japan the production of "just war" narrative and shows that such a

---

[25] Suenaga explained that war brides' highly successful acculturation to American society shows their regards toward American gender roles as freer and more equal than Japanese. She suggests, "[T]he war brides who failed to acquire such a favorable view were more likely to encounter psychological problems adjusting to the life in the United States." This notion reflects Silva's point that women whose gender ideals are different from American could only be considered those who failed to assimilate (Refer to *Toward Global Idea of Race*, xxxiii). Even though women's "failure" of seeing American gender ideal as favorable might have potentiality to destabilize the idea of the U.S. as a land of gender freedom and equality, Suenaga's deployment of the women as the failed to assimilate contained the potentiality.

[26] Lisa Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement," *American Quarterly* 57 no.3 (2005), 886.

memory enables people to anticipate and explain "that the enemy can be freed and reformed through U.S. military interventions and territorial takeovers."[27] The depiction of the "liberated" Japanese women not only allowed the United States to identify itself as a "world rescuer" but claimed their military action as legitimate and necessary. Scholars tended to narrate Japanese war brides in the way in which their existence served to proof of American ability to rescue people in rest of the world.

Theoretical Frameworks

This project is a critical investigation of American empire building and postwar U.S.-Japan relations which construct racialized and gendered subjects named Japanese war bride. I deploy the Japanese war bride as a *global racial-gender formation* in the U.S. Cold War empire and postwar U.S.-Japan alliance. Here, I borrow Kang's concept of Asian American women as "seditious figure[s] who have necessitated a more stringent definition of 'we, the people' at the various twists and turns of the nation's history," and claim that the Japanese war bride emerged as the "(early) Cold War seditious figure" to define Cold War American and Japanese national identities.[28] Significantly, this project deploys a transnational perspective in order to critically analyze the transnational process of the subject constitution. My project will analyze the meaning of the Japanese war bride not only within the United States but also Japan, paying attention to the transnational contacts between the two nations, which produced and defined the meaning of this figure. Using a transnational

[27] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 887.
[28] Kang, *Compositional Subjects*, 142.

framework, this project also illuminates the reciprocal aspect of knowledge production, which allows me to ask how the Japanese war bride figure defines the American and Japanese nations as well as how the American and Japanese nations define Japanese war brides.

The deployment of the Japanese war brides as "Cold War seditious figure[s]" allows me to make an argument about the Japanese war brides beyond the idea of inclusion and exclusion from the nation. Instead, I follow with Yen Espiritu's critical call to rethink Japanese war brides as "differentially included" subjects in the U.S. empire who play a critical role for American national identity and American empire building.[29] Espiritu asserts that immigrants of color were "differentially included" into the American nation--"a process whereby a group of people deemed integral to the nation, but integral only or precisely because of their designated subordinate standing."[30] This concept disrupts the conventional way to argue about how the immigrants are included/excluded by drawing attention to "the ways in which groups of color have been coercively and differentially made to be part of the nation."[31] In addition, this concept confronts the narratives of inclusiveness--"of welcoming America extending the promise of homes and citizenship to the world's poor and persecuted."[32] Instead she suggests that the process of inclusion for immigrants of color means "legal subordination, economic exploitation, and cultural degradation," and thus highlights the idea that immigration and inclusion into the nation are *violent*

---

[29] Yen Le Espiritu, *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries* (CA: University of California Press, 2003), 42.
[30] Ibid., 211.
[31] Ibid., 48.
[32] Ibid.

processes.[33] The framework of "differential inclusion" enables me to move away from the repressive narrative of Japanese war brides as immigrants in need of assimilation and inclusion and instead allows me to discuss how violently and inevitably Japanese war brides were incorporated into the nation.

With the framework of "differential inclusion," I see Amy Kaplan's work on American empire and cultural discourses and ideology is useful to engage a critical analysis of U.S. nation and empire. In an essay on culture and U.S. imperialism, Amy Kaplan (1993) links the study of domestic race relations, gender, and ethnicity to the study of empire by claiming that imperialism is not only a matter of the subjugation of colonized "others" but also of permeation of the domestic imperial culture. In this sense, imperialism is not only a matter of foreign policy or of economic necessity but also a way of life.[34] Kaplan furthers the idea that foreign policy and capitalism do not solely produce American imperial power, but cultural discourses and ideology are crucial sites to invigorate American empire.

In addition, this project carefully pays attention to how we know about the historical past. In the last decade, critical scholars from literature, cultural studies and other fields began to focus on the processes of historical knowledge production. "History" is not just innocently there, but Yoneyama claims that, "[H]istorical 'reality' can only be made available to us through the mediations of given categories of

---

[33] Yen Le Espiritu, *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*, 48.

[34] Kaplan Amy, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease. (Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 16.

representation and processes of signification."[35] Therefore, we should be aware that "the production of knowledge about past, whether in the form of History and Memory, is always enmeshed in the exercise of power and is always accompanied by elements of repression."[36] Here I rely on Walter Benjamin's radicalizing of the sense of time embedded in European modernity. In his "Theses on the Philosophy of History," Benjamin criticizes "universal history" which assumes the linear progressive sense of time that has sustained modernity. Instead, he considers a historical subject as a monad which let us know "there is a chance in the fight for the oppressed past."[37] Critical sociologist, Avery Gordon calls the monad a ghost and says that these ghosts haunt us everywhere in the present moment making their disappearance known and recognized. Benjamin and Gordon suggest that knowledge of the past is always contested and conflicted, entailing oppression. These ideas of radicalized sense of time and of ghostly mattered historical events prevent me from assuming that additive methods of history will allow one to excavate the hidden past within the linear developmental sense of time. Such a history is always constructed in the present moment for future purposes. Hence, this project does not search for an alternative or hidden past of the Japanese war bride but instead examines the very process of how the Japanese war bride comes into being as such by mediation of power.

Having said that, I am wary of racialized subject figuration, I am most interested in scrutinizing *racial differences* which are a crucial factor for constituting

---

[35]Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and Dialectics of Memor*y (CA: University of California Press, 1999), 28.
[36] Ibid., 27.
[37] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 65.

the Japanese war bride subjects. Here, I rely on Denise Ferreira da Silva's theory of "analytics of raciality": Racial differences constituted in global space become the modern (political) strategy of power, and "the primary effect of the power of race has been to produce universality itself."[38] With this framework, I deploy the Japanese war bride as an analytic rather than assuming their natural existence as the Japanese war bride. Instead of calling for a better understanding about the Japanese war bride, I carefully pay attention to the condition of subject existence and very structure of the knowledge in global historical context. In doing so, this project explains how and why the Japanese war bride was produced as a category of racial and gender difference and become visible and representable subjects. Thus, instead of assuming their natural existence in history, I will historicize the emergence and the conditions of their beings in order to make visible liberal promise that invigorates postwar American empire and U.S.-Japan alliances.

Marginalized Women's Narratives

My critical investigation of how the Japanese war bride becomes representable also pays attention to how people come to know about racialized marginalized women's experiences. Beginning in the late 1980's age of "multiculturalism," and

[38] Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. xxx-xxxi. Through an analytics of raciality--mapping the power of subject production, she finds that modern subject construction situates racial others as unbecoming subjects who eventually share western civilization and freedom--the logic of exclusion. Silva theorizes the globality (exteriority and spatiality) and historicity (interiority and temporality) as modern ontoepistemological (ontological as well as epistemological) descriptor to determine how the modern subjects emerge as either the "Transparent 'I'" who is self-determined and enjoys universality or the affectable Other, who exists outside of universality. Thus, the "Transparent 'I'" and affectable Other always relationally exists in the way in which the latter's lack of universality defines the former's universality: Silva, "Toward a Critique of the Socio-logos of Justice: The Analytic of Raciality and the Production of Universality. *Social Identities*, 7.3 (2001), 427.

against the dominant discourses, Asian American and Japanese scholars began to find alternative stories mostly by conducting interviews with women who identified themselves as Japanese war brides. While these works opened up new perspectives to see these women, they tended to use their "experiences" as the *irreducible evidence* for the knowledge about Japanese war bride. They left unquestioned how the legal category has been already constructed through the premise of racial difference in the first place.[39] Seeking to avoid the simple use of what the women recognized and narrated as "the origin of knowledge,"[40] I recognize that knowledge is only available "through the mediations of given categories of representation and processes of signification."[41] Feminist historian, Joan Scott insists that any experience is already an interpretation and suggests the inseparability of a subject's experience and language.[42] This project situates the women's experience within the question of "(un)knowability"--how we come to know the experiences of these women--rather than seeing it as "the origin of knowledge."[43]

The U.S. Occupation of Japan

World War II (WWII) has been commonly represented as a "good war" in which "the United States rescues desperate people from tyrannical government and

[39] The scholars tended to understand them as those who had the ability to know what they experienced outside of the external sociopolitical power imposing on them.
[40] Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Question of Evidence, Proof, Practice, and Persuasion Across the Disciplines*, ed. James McConkey. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 367.
[41] Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 28.
[42] Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," 388; Here, I assert that the regime of the postwar knowledge and representation delimits language to describe their experience.
[43] Ibid.

reforms them into free and advanced citizens of the postwar democratic world."[44] Within the "good war" narrative, recollecting the U.S. occupation of Japan between 1945 and 1953 is as crucial as its first postwar project at the beginning of the Cold War. At a time when the United States represented itself as a democratic and advanced nation, an antithesis of the communist and socialist Soviet Union, it was important to define the U.S. occupation of Japan as a benign and democratic project that successfully liberated and rehabilitated Japan. Previous studies assumed that the U.S. occupation reformed and liberated Japan, and argued how and to what extent Japan improved and is today a democratic nation. In the 1990s, canonical revisionist historian John Dower in his *Embracing Defeat* complicated the seamless story of democratization and demilitarization/peace achieved in Japan, and pointed out its undemocratic aspects. However, his work assumed that "the ideals of peace and democracy took root in Japan" through the occupation and he did not deconstruct the idea of the American liberation of Japan. Some Japanese scholars also engaged with a revision of how the American occupation of Japan was viewed. They followed the same course of John Dower by pointing out the undemocratic aspects of "democratization" and "liberation" of Japan though they still endorsed the fundamental idea that the United States established the peace and liberated Japan.[45]

In the discourses on the liberation of Japan, representations of Japanese women play an important role in validating the U.S. occupation as a form of liberation. Women's rights and freedom have become evidence of American success of the

[44] Yen Le Espiritu, "The 'We -Win-Ever-When-We-Lose' Syndrome: U.S. Press Coverage of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the 'Fall of Saigon,'" *American Quarterly* 58. no.2 (2006), 345.
[45] For example, Rinjiro Sodei and Eiji Takemae are canonical historians of this subject.

democratization of Japan. For example, Beate Shirota Gordon who was a member of the group and wrote the proposal for a postwar Japanese constitution, claimed stipulated equal rights for women as an American "gift" to the Japanese people.[46] In her autobiography, *1945nen no Kurisumasu*, or *Christmas in 1945*, Gordon claimed that she gave happiness to Japanese women by championing for women's rights,

[46] In *1945nen no Kurisumasu* or *Christmas in 1945* (1995), she emphasized that she was an ally for the Japanese women in their attempt to abandon "male chauvinism" in the Japanese constitution and support their equal rights with men for Japanese women's happiness (166). She also demanded human rights for Japanese women, claiming that otherwise they would forever be rooted in the conservative sexist Japanese culture (184). By narrating how low Japanese women's status was under the Japanese prewar/wartime constitution, she explained the importance of stipulating women's rights as human rights which she finally won for Japanese women. In her narrative, Japanese women appear as subjects who need American help to achieve their human rights. Her writings represent Japanese men and culture as unable of providing Japanese women with their human rights, while assuming that women are unable to achieve their rights themselves and always need help.

Gordon has been a symbolic figure of the American "gift" of Japanese women's equal rights with men. She is remembered as an American heroine who saved Japanese women. In 2005 the documentary film, *The Gift from Beate*, was released in Japan. In 2002, a former education minister, Ryoko Akamatsu asked film director Tomoko Fujiwara to make a documentary that examine how article 24, which defines women's equal rights with men, has become ingrained into Japanese women's lives and experiences. The film concludes that equal rights of women with men *have not been sufficiently achieved*. I find this Japanese feminists' view interesting because it represents Japanese women as eternally deferred to achieving gender equality and as subjects to be saved.

Additionally, Gordon writes that unless Japanese women become happy by gaining equal rights with men, Japan cannot achieve peace (159). In her narrative, Japanese women's liberation also helps to prove postwar Japanese "peace." She sees women's happiness as something that proves "peace." The official website of the film also enunciates Beate's message that women's human rights should be an international objective: "People need something that can be used for peace. If women aren't happy, the world won't be a peaceful place." (The Gift from Beate: The History of Japanese Women Who Fought to Establish their Human Rights in Japan, http://thegiftfrombeate.wordpress.com) It would be interesting to explore how ideals of women's rights connect to ideals of world peace within the given paradigm of liberal universality.

Yoneyama explains a type of feminism which only asserts "equality between the two sexes, autonomy, individual choice, and spontaneity" as "Cold War feminism." "Cold War feminism" insists on "a pure notion of gender by disavowing race, class, and other social relations," and prescribes "equal opportunity for men and women as well as the dissolution of gender inequalities and barriers within the given liberal public sphere." ("Liberation Under Siege," 899). Beate's gesture in calling equal status between Japanese men and women can be prescribed by disclaiming race, class, and other social relations. In my dissertation, I expand on this point by building from Silva's and Julietta Hua's argument that gender equality always contains racial "other." Along with an interrogation of how Japan has been defined relationally with the American identity, I also scrutinize how Japanese men and women have been differently yet relationally defined with American men and women. My dissertation does not assume the natural existence of categories "man" and "woman," but examines what kind of a "man" and "woman" emerges out of the discourses around the American occupation of Japan.

which would not have existed in Japan's male dominant culture.[47] Political scientist, Susan Phar also used Japanese women's visibility in the political arena as a barometer for measuring the successfulness of the American reform of Japan, calling it a means of "improving women's status."[48] She narrated that Japanese women's rights were one of the most successful reforms that American occupation introduced.[49] Yoneyama argues that Japanese women's suffrage and visibility in the national election showcased their political liberation and the success of the occupation policy.[50] Japanese women thus played an important role in defining the American occupation of Japan as that of liberation and rehabilitation.

My employment of the Japanese war bride as the "Cold War seditious figure," however, exposes contradictions to this alleged benevolent U.S. occupation of Japan, that is, the U.S. domination over Japan that constructed the "new" Japanese regime, which preferred American types of political and economic structures. I see the

---

[47] Beate Shirota Gordon, *1945 nen no Kurisumasu* [*Christmas in 1945*]: *Nihonkoku Kenpo ni Danjyo Byodo wo Kaita Jyosei no Jijyoden* [*Autobiography of a Woman who Stipulated Women's Equal Rights in Postwar Japanese Constitution*] (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 1995), 128-219.

[48] Susan Pharr, "The Politics of Women's Rights," in *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, ed. Robert E. Ward and Sakamoto Yoshikazu. (University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 222, 246.

[49] Pharr viewed the rights granted to Japanese women by American occupying force as far more progressive than the rights which American women had in their own country. She asked how and why a U.S. occupying force could conduct "one of the most radical experiments with women's rights" in Japan. She recognized that it was necessary to remove an antidemocratic family system considered by the Americans to be a factor of militarism and fascism so that granting women's rights in the family and in society was a basic step towards the democratization of Japan. However, she argued that the most radical reform in the world was achieved in Japan while as radical women's movements tended to fail in other Western countries. She felt that this success in Japan necessitates further explanation. Through two case studies, she demonstrated and concluded that political alliances between a group of low-ranking American women and a core group of Japanese women leaders brought the success of gaining women's rights in Japan. Here, she emphasized the American women's help and the successful "alliance for liberation" between the American female occupiers and Japanese activists. Pharr's analysis ignores the unequal relations between American and Japanese women and also the racial logic behind American and Japanese sisterhood in deploying a "woman" as a universal victim subject to patriarchy and male dominance. The deployment could only produce the excluded female global subject from universality.

[50] Yoneyama, "Liberation Under Siege," 886.

prostitution systems invigorated during the U.S. occupation of Japan as a symbolic gesture of U.S. domination. Calling the U.S. occupation of Japan colonial highlights the dominant power that turned local Japanese women into and represented them as prostitutes. Critical anthropologist Ann Stoler (1991) argues that controlling sex was a colonial strategy to distinguish between the colonizer and the colonized. Her argument gives us a tool to explore beyond the argument of a giver and taker, and to understand that controlling sex was a political system to "keep racial order," especially between white men and local men. Political scientist Katherine S.H. Moon (1997) also argues that the U.S. militarism politically internalizes the power that turned local women into prostitutes for U.S. soldiers. I argue that turning local Japanese women into prostitutes along with the proliferation of discourses on sexuality was fundamental to carrying out the project of occupation.

Concept of Love

This project thus does not uncritically assume the U.S. occupation of Japan as the benevolent project of liberation, but questions why it appears as such. This dissertation examines how love, as an idea, emerged and became visible within the political context of the postwar U.S.-Japan alliance building.[51] Previous scholarly works on Japanese war brides did not make the representation of love between Japanese women and American soldiers a subject of analysis. However, the idea of love played an important role in solving the occupation's problem of American

[51] Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (CA: Presidio Press. 1988); Regina F. Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations: Marriages between Japanese Women and American GIs, 1945 to the Present," (Ph.D. Diss. University of Southern California, 1999).

soldiers' sexual exploitation that contradicted its alleged benevolence. I juxtapose the romantic relations between American soldiers and Japanese women with the national relationship between the United States and Japan during the Cold War: Japan was tamed as a wife of the United States, placed in the subordinate position in the name of love. Here, I should clarify that my analysis of love as an idea does not deny a couples' psychological sense of love that is not subject of study.

This dissertation points out that how the idea of the U.S. occupation of Japan as a loving project masks the violent domination and turns it into something benevolent. Literacy critic, Naoki Sakai, argues how a story of international romance conceals the violent domination.

> Commercial movies which depict international romance between people from different nations, and ethnic and racial groups provide an allegory of foreign relations and international politics…A story of a romantic relationship finds a fantasist solution for conflicts between different races or different nations. The idea that it is love and not raping becomes most important when the colonizer asks for the idea and the colonized agrees to the form of the relationship; the colonized favors the colonizer even though the relation is operated by domination….Love stories from the movies mask the violent domination which is usually defined as raping, pamper masculine narcissism, and fatalistically resolve international contradictions and conflicts through the mediation of female figures.[52]

I see this female figure of the Japanese war bride as a revealing mediator who aborts the potential representation and action of raping and appears to make it as fantasist and romantic. Even though it was a political, economic, juristic, and military domination,

---

[52] Naoki Sakai, "Eizo to Jenda [Films and Gender]: Eiga no naka no Renai to Jikodoitsusei no Ryudosei [Romance in Films and Contingency of Identity]," in *Keizoku suru Shokuminchishugi*, ed.Iwasaki Minoru et al. (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2005), 277-78.

the U.S. occupation of Japan was something that could not be narrated by the allegory of raping. Here, I argue that an idea of love makes the dominant and the hierarchical relation consent and masks the idea of coercion.

In addition, my argument of love does not only refer to the engagement of the United States, but whom the United States loved, that is Japan. Japan became the American subjects to be rescued and liberated, but not as a passive recipient. My analysis of love highlights that Japan was represented as the one who was willing to participate in the U.S. project. The idea of love makes Japan an active agent and makes it a nation that desired to be liberated and rescued. I recognize that there were people such as Japanese anarchists and socialists who did not consider the U.S. occupation of Japan as liberation, but argue that when Japan engaged in having a relation with the United States, its relation was represented as something united through love.

White Cultural Pluralism

This dissertation also challenges the dominant notions of cultural pluralism that upheld the idea of American exceptionalism in the Cold War era. The pluralistic model of society became popular during WWII with the idea that the United States was fighting for democracy as a universal principle regardless of race. Out of the context of the war, the idea that the United States was “a harmonious nation made up of people from diverse ethnic, racial, national, and religious backgrounds” became the

widely accepted ideology of the nation.[53] Within the subsequent Cold War national ideology, cultural explanations came to replace biological theories of race: if racial differences are superficial cultural differences, culturally different people from all over the world could come to the United States and become assimilated and acculturated Americans. Given that Asia became an important site for the United States to secure its geopolitical hegemony in Cold War politics, the concept of cultural pluralism created the space where alleged "inassimilable" Asians could assimilate and acculturate into the nation. Indeed, achieving racial integration and becoming a democratic and morally superior nation was the nation's challenge during the Cold War era.

This dissertation presents how Japanese war brides were incorporated into the U.S. culturally pluralist nation. Japanese brides were indeed "a problem for immigration, miscegenation, and assimilation" as regards how to fit them into the U.S. nation. By showing how Japanese war brides were incorporated into the nation, I illuminate constituted racial subjections. This dissertation presents the contradictions emerging between the American claim of cultural pluralism and its racial ideas and analyzes how the racial differences were constituted in relation to white normative subjects.

First, this dissertation pays attention to the 1947 and 1951 Japanese War Bride Acts, which allowed some Japanese wives and fiancées of American servicemen to enter the United States exceptionally when persons who had more than fifty percent

---

[53] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (CA: University of California Press, 2003), 11.

Japanese blood were not eligible to immigrate to the United States on account of the 1924 Act.[54] These Acts were intended for American Nisei soldiers who desired to bring back their Japanese wives to the United States and it was clearly stated that the laws were intended for them to marry "girls of their own race." Here, I draw attention to the acts' racial factors that limited which Americans could marry the local Japanese women. However, the postwar pluralist nation's disavowal of racism that prevented stipulating racial components in the Acts consequently produced unexpected marriages between white American soldiers and Japanese women. These couples entered postwar American society where anti-miscegenation laws were effective more than half of the states in the domestic context.[55]

Second, this dissertation presents how the bride school projects conducted from the early to the mid-1950s by the Red Cross in Japan solved the newly emerged problem of Japanese brides' assimilation into the nation once they were allowed to enter the United States. By analyzing how the bride school taught them American ways of lives and domesticity, I illuminate how Japanese cultural differences were demonstrated in a way to invigorate the superiority of American wives. I argue that Japanese war brides were racialized as victims of Japanese patriarchy and as the enslaved to their husbands. This representation of Japanese enslaved wives produced the notion of gender freedom and equality that "were only available" to American wives.

---

[54] The Walter McCarran Act, enacted in June 1952, provided naturalization opportunities to all legally admitted residents regardless of race or national origin.

[55] Thirty states had anti-miscegenation laws as of 1945 when the occupation started. Out of them, fourteen states prohibited marriages between white and "Mongolians," and six states considered interracial marriages as void or illegal.

With this, I also argue that the discourse of cultural pluralism opened up a space for Japanese women to claim their place in the nation through introducing "Japanese culture" to the United States. The school instructed them of which Japanese culture they could be proud of and should introduce to their American neighbors. The bride school became a site where "Japanese culture" was defined. The Japanese culture that the school taught was a "product of centuries" that was not modern and new, but old and ancient. The school's sense of what things were American and what things were Japanese was also a part of the American "exceptional language" as well as an Orientalist view of Japan: Japanese things were all signified as anarchic, feudalist, and barbarically sexist traditions. All these notions legitimated American intervention as well as its mission to "rescue" by providing democracy and freedom.

Finally, this dissertation argues how the production of "half-white" babies allowed Japanese mothers to be incorporated into the nation within the pluralist nation. It became possible for Japanese women to celebrate their "half-white mixed blood" children to prove the legitimacy of their marriage and acculturation into the United States. Feminist Literary Critic Anne McClintock explains how colonized women assimilated into the nation by becoming mothers of "half-white" children.[56] However, narratives of Japanese women who married African American soldiers did not have access to the same discourses that became possible within the U.S. pluralist nation.

Methodology

[56] Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather*: *Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (NY: Routledge, 1995), 267-70.

This project is interested in "knowledge production," or discourses which sustain the Japanese war bride as legible, visible, and intelligible. I situate the foreign policies, cultural productions, and women's interviews in historical context, and read these materials dialectically.[57] Conventionally policies are considered as the site to produce the "real" knowledge, cultural productions are merely representation, and women's interviews discover "hidden" voices. This is not the way I am using the sources. Literary Critic, Melani McAlister explains that both foreign policies and cultural productions construct meanings in the same social system. Cultural texts are not outside of reality nor just do they merely reflect society, but the cultural field also exists in continuous relationship with the other fields in the larger social system and constructs the narratives that help make sense of policy within the same time framework.[58] I am interested in reading both foreign policies and cultural productions as texts which relationally produce meaning in a given moment.

Having said that, I use the newspaper and magazine articles published from beginning of the occupation in 1945 to end of the 1950s as a site to configure the Japanese war bride. Since this research examines Japanese brides' figures constructed

[57] Foucault introduces the idea that the historical a priori which is the "condition of the reality of statements, the positivity of a discourse, that which characterizes its particular unity throughout a particular discursive time (*Archaeology* 127). The archive is "The general system of the formation and transformation of statements," the "law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events" (*Archaeology* 127, 129). I see that foreign policy, cultural materials, and women's interviews exist within the same time framework and the same formation of rules and so I read all the sites to examine the paradigm of knowledge constituted in global historical context.
[58] Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and U.S. Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001), 5-6.

in the United States and relationally Japan, I read texts emerged in both countries.[59] In addition, this project also uses documents of SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers), which had the ultimate authority for permission of the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women during the U.S. occupation of Japan, to read how the policy also produced the Japanese war bride figures.

Women's interviews are another important site where I read the discursive meanings constituted within the given paradigm and time framework. With women's interviews, I scrutinize when they became speaking subjects, what kind of subjects emerge out of their narratives and become legible within "the given paradigm of historical knowledge."[60] Again, how I read their interviews as discourses does not deny their actual feeling about their marriages. Their psychological feeling about their marriages is not a subject of study. This project will be the first research using a large number of women's interviews, since existing studies did not use personal narratives of the Japanese war brides due to how these women were stigmatized and ostracized from the postwar Japanese society and Japanese American community in their marriages with American GIs. My interview research was sponsored by the Japanese Overseas Migration Museum, owned by Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). All the women agreed to the use of the interview records. Another interviewer, Shigeyoshi Yasutomi, has known some interviewees for over ten years and I have also known them for six years since I started this project and attended the Nikkei

[59] My primary analysis is how the U.S. discursive context configured Japanese war brides in the shifting moment when the U.S.-Japan relation moved from the enemy to the ally. Then, I see how the U.S. discourse influenced in the discourses of Japanese war bride in Japan.
[60] Yoneyama, "Traveling Memories," 60.

International Marriage Society's world convention held in Hawaii in 2004.[61] I conducted forty interviews for women: thirteen in Seattle, Tacoma, Oak Harbor, Yelm, and Sammamish, Washington, nine in Denver, Colorado, and eighteen in Honolulu, HI.[62] In addition, I conducted three interviews for their soldier husbands whose racial identities were all white. I also conducted a telephone interview in San Diego, CA.

This project also uses the Nikkei International Marriage Society's records of the five world conventions.[63] One of the Japanese war brides Kazuko Umezu Stout, established the Society in 1989 for sharing experiences of the Japanese war brides and rewriting their history so as to recuperate from their stigmatized past. They had their first world convention in Hawaii in 1994, followed by the second in Fukushima, Japan in 1997, a third in Torrance, California in 1999, a forth in Fukuoka, Japan in 2001 and Hawaii in 2004. The conventions were important for the members not only to make friends and socialize with each other but also discuss how to remember the past and

[61] Yasutomi and I asked to select and introduce us to some women who could tell their life stories in public. Most of these women were therefore living middle to upper class lives and kept their first marriages though some husbands had already passed away. Their husbands' racial identities were diverse.

[62] I conducted interviews in WA and CO with another researcher for the Japanese Overseas Migration Museum. Shigeyoshi Yasutomi, a professor in the field of Japanese American history and anthropology in Kaetsu Women's Junior College. Most women we conducted interviews with in WA belong to Nikkei International Marriage Society which Kazuko Umezu Stout established in 1989 for sharing experiences of Japanese war brides. Most women interviewees conducted interviews in CO belong to Shirakaba no Kai or White Birch Association. Most women in Hawaii are members of Kanagawa Kenjin kai or Association of people from Kanagawa Prefecture. My subjects married American men and immigrated to the United States by 1960, however, their identity as "Japanese war brides" is diverse. Each person talked about her life history for an hour, which was videotaped as well as tape-recorded.

[63] I also use pamphlets of the conventions, and letters exchanged between Umezu and the Mistress of the Robes (instead of the Empress Michiko).

understand oneself as a Japanese war bride. I view the conventions as important sites to see how the members redefine themselves as the Japanese war bride.[64]

This project also uses newsletters of the Nikkei International Marriage Society. The Society publishes the newsletters quarterly consisting of opening greetings from president Stout, members' letters and essays, reports of the mini and world conventions, and local and Japanese American newspaper articles in which the members have appeared. The members' letters encompass the stories they want to share with other members, and therefore recount an array of memories about their marriages, families in the United States and Japan, and their neighbors and friends as well as current life reports.

Chapters

The dissertation consists of two parts: Part I--Love and Violence: Production of the Postwar U.S.-Japan Alliance; and Part II--The U.S. Cold War Empire: Producing Cultural Pluralism and Multiracial Family.

Part I consist of two chapters--Chapter one: Dangerous Intimacy: Sexualized Japanese Women during the U.S. Occupation of Japan; and chapter two: Intimacy of Love: Loveable American Soldiers in Cold War Politics. First, chapter one goes back to the historical context where intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women emerged. Intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women has always been subject to questions of morality: whether these marriages revolved around

[64] I found that they engage alternative self-naming activities and attempt to identify themselves as "American wives and mothers" who contribute to the American nation as "cultural ambassadors" and "peace brides" who are integral to postwar U.S.-Japan peace and friendly relations.

sexual relations or were entered into for monetary rewards. This chapter suggests that their intimacy was always seen as immoral because it indicated the sexual relations that took place in the occupied space where American soldiers were victors and occupiers. Then, chapter three argues that the idea that their intimacy was out of love emerged along with the shift of the political relation between the United States and Japan from wartime enemy to postwar allies. It interrogates how the idea of love erases the violence of the war and occupation and transforms American soldiers into benevolent liberators.

Part II consist of three chapters: In order to highlight the U.S. racial politics to produce the U.S. Cold War exceptionalism, chapter three-- Alien Intimacies: Impossible Marriages between American Soldiers and Japanese Women--discusses the context wherein Japanese war brides were racially unthinkable American national subjects before the United States adopted the ethos of cultural pluralism at the beginning of Cold War. Then, next two chapters ask the following questions: How did Japanese war brides become such important figures to invigorate the American exceptionalism in the Cold War era? What kind of differences of Japanese brides did the U.S. Cold War empire necessitate when the nation realized its cultural pluralism?

Chapter four--Producing Multicultural Nation: Teaching Japanese Brides American Domesticity—scrutinizes the idea of “housewife, family and domesticity” as a site that differentially and relationally constructs Japanese brides and American wives through the project of bride school run by the Red Cross. Through analyzing the bride school teaching of “how to become American wives” to Japanese brides, this

chapter examines construction of the Japanese war bride difference which produced the notion of gender freedom and equality that sustained the superiority of American wives. Final chapter-- Producing Multiracial Family: Mothering “Mixed Blood” Children and Pursuing the American Dream--examines the idea of American family and race at the moment when the United States re-presented itself as a racially and culturally pluralist nation at the beginning of the Cold War. By tracing the figures of “mixed blood” children, this chapter sheds light on the United States as a pluralist nation where meanings of “mixed blood” children were (re)produced. While “mixed blood” children were an undesirable consequence of the occupation at first, they became visible as national subjects within Cold War politics whereby the United States attempted to establish an intimate relationship to Asia, specifically Japan, and present itself as a racially and culturally pluralist nation which accommodated people from all over the world regardless of race.

Through these chapters, I also pay attention to Japan’s discourses that newly emerged within the shifting political context where Japan established the allied relation with the United States. I more focus on how the newly emerged American discourses about Japanese brides in the age of the U.S. realization of cultural pluralism influenced Japan’s discourses about Japanese brides because my primary focus is what kind of narratives on Japanese brides the U.S. cultural pluralism made possible within the U.S. discursive context. Then, I analyze how the different kind of discourses relationally emerged in Japan. Chapter four argues that the postwar U.S. cultural pluralism created the space where Japanese war brides could be celebrated through

introducing “Japanese culture” as American wives. The postwar regime of cultural pluralism allowed Japanese war brides, who were biologically and legally differentiated when they immigrated to the United States, to possibly also become “cultural ambassadors” as political subjects. Then, this kind of ideological space where Japanese war brides became “cultural ambassadors” also opened up a site where Japanese war brides were recognized as ambassadors for Japan in the 80s. This newly emerged subjecthood opened up a transnational space where Japanese war brides became crucial figures who contributed to the postwar Japan to be recognized its excellence as a Cold War friend to the United States. Chapter five captures the shifting moment when Japanese mass media differentially narrated “mixed blood” children from when the occupation started to the beginning of the Cold War. In Japan, “mixed blood” children and their mothers were initially undesirable subjects. However, when the United States transformed pluralist families into visible national subjects at the beginning of the Cold War, Japanese media likewise reported that Japanese war brides were happy and pointed to their “mixed blood” children as a symbol of their happiness in the United States.

Part I

Love and Violence:

Production of the Postwar U.S.-Japan Alliance

Chapter One
Dangerous Intimacy:
Sexualized Japanese Women during the U.S. Occupation of Japan

To begin, let me introduce the first featured article of the *Saturday Evening Post* on Japanese war brides written in 1952 to illustrate how Japanese women who married American GIs became visible to the American public:

> [T]he arrival of thousands of dark-skinned, dark-eyed brides in Mississippi cotton hamlets and New Jersey factory cities, on Oregon ranches or in Kansas country towns. The thousands are on the way, and their bright-eyed children soon will be knocking on your doors in most of the forty-eight states. The great question of how they will fit in and whether they generally will be welcomed or shunned remains to be answered.
>
> Everyone in Japan, from the official Army to casual Japanese and American observers, recognizes that there is a question, with no obvious answer in sight. The brides are all sorts of people. At the bottom, there are no prostitutes criminals or chronically diseased-- all barred by the immigration law and the fifteen-copy thoroughness of the Army in making international marriages difficult.[65]

The article questions what kind of Japanese women married American soldiers. Indeed, this question is not unique; discourses around Japanese war brides always carry moral questions of whether they are not prostitutes, diseased bodies and/or lower class and in need of money. Just as any other women who immigrated to the United States from war-torn countries, Japanese women who married American GIs also came under a question of whether they are prostitutes or not, whether they are just engaged in sexual relations or whether they married for money, but not love.

[65] Janet Wentworth Smith and William L. Worden, "They're Bringing Home Japanese Wives," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 19, 1952, 27.

To interrogate the immoral prostitute figure of Japanese war brides, this chapter starts from the work of a well-known Japanese history scholar, John Dower. Dower contends that all conquered Japanese women are considered potential prostitutes, arguing that

> The ubiquitous sexuality linking conqueror and conquered had far-reaching ramifications insofar as American perceptions of the defeated nation and its people were concerned. To some members of the occupation force, native women came to be regarded as little more than available sexual objects. This characteristic colonial attitude led to a notorious incident in which all the women on a commuter train were detained by American MPs and forced to submit to medical examinations for venereal diseases. Every Japanese woman, in a word, was potentially a whore.[66]

To answer why there are always moral questions of sexuality around Japanese war brides, I emphasize that the sexualization of colonial space was a central mechanism during the U.S. occupation, just as in other projects of European colonialism and imperialism. Feminist historian Laura Briggs contends that just as in other areas of European colonialism, prostitution and knowledge about sexuality lies at the heart of the U.S. colonial militarism. This chapter shows how the proliferation of knowledge about prostitution and sexualized Japanese women animated the American colonial project during the U.S. occupation of Japan. In doing so, this chapter argues why the figures of prostitutes are always prominent in the figures of Japanese war brides.

My analysis of the Japanese war bride figure also aims to answer why the U.S. occupation, which occurred right after the war between 1945 and 1952, and exerted political, economic and military power over Japan, always appear as benevolent and

---

[66] John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1999), 138.

liberating. The U.S. occupation of Japan also produced tremendous numbers of prostitutes as well as caused many rapes and sexual assaults. Given this context, they could be understood as sexual exploiters and rapists, yet they have been represented as liberators and freedom providers. How was this contradiction solved? How were Japanese prostitutes discursively understood? This chapter employs Japanese women as "seditious figures" to let us know American soldiers were not liberators in the first place.[67] In doing so, this chapter argues that the U.S. occupation discursively produced street prostitutes "who claimed money in exchange of sex to American soldiers." I draw attention to new street prostitutes as dangerous seditious figures "who publicly claim money from American soldiers in exchange for sex." Captured within the gender allegory of the postwar U.S.-Japan relation, these women can be a threat to the United States as Japan claims an equal relation and money in exchange for political, economic and military exploitation.

This chapter does not focus on the extent that sexual policies, which operated during the U.S. occupation of Japan, regulated and oppressed Japanese women, or the resultant stereotypes and misrepresentations of Japanese women. Instead, this chapter stresses the role of the specific sexualized and racialized knowledge that always haunts the figures of Japanese brides.

Political and Economic Context of Postwar Japan: Prostitution as Colonial Strategy of Power

[67] Refer to Introduction.

Because the Japanese government took initiatives to construct prostitution facilities during the U.S. occupation, euphemistically called Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA), for American occupiers, some people say that American soldiers were "granted the sexual services" prepared by Japanese government. In this narrative, American soldiers became passive recipients of native sexuality. However, just as Ann Stoler and Katherine S.H. Moon argues that the U.S. militarism politically internalizes the power that turns local women into prostitutes for U.S. soldiers, I argue that turning local Japanese women into prostitutes along with the proliferation of discourses on sexuality was a fundamental mechanism to carrying out the occupation project.

It was through prostitution that Japan earned the most foreign funds during the occupation. While most Japanese industry and business enterprises were in abeyance, prostitution facilities (Recreation and Amusement Association) were prospering and expanding. Dower writes, "by one estimate, almost half of the many tens of millions of dollars that occupation personnel spent on 'recreation' passed through the hands of the Okichis (prostitutes) of that era."[68] A journalist, Toshio Sumimoto estimated that of the 185 million dollars spent on personal matters, "almost half went in one form or another to prostitutes."[69] A *Chicago Daily Tribute* article reports that prostitutes brought 250 million dollars annually in foreign exchange earnings. "Thus, as an export

[68] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 138.
[69] Toshio Sumimoto, *Senryo Hiroku* [*Occupation Secret History*] (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1952), vol.i, 70.

item sex ranks even ahead of cotton textiles, which brought 178 million dollars last year."[70] It also estimates that there were 25,000 prostitution facilities throughout Japan.

The U.S. occupation of Japan politically and economically produced the space that turned Japanese women into prostitutes. First, Japan and its people faced a devastating economic crisis in the postwar periods. As a result of the air raids during the war, Japanese citizens lost 22,200,000,000 yen (about 222,000,000 dollars) in property. SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) declared that Japan lost one-third of its total wealth and from one-third to one-half of its total potential income.[71] Rural living standards dropped to 65 percent of prewar levels and non-rural living standards to about 35 percent. Sixty-six cities were bombed by aerial attacks and about forty percent of each city was damaged.[72] Thirty percent of residents in the city lost their houses. Close to 9 million people became homeless in total. As a result of the war, Japan faced severe inflation. Compared to the 1934-6 prewar era, inflation increased 3.5 times more in 1945 and reached 16.27 in 1946. In 1950, it became 246.8 times more than the prewar prices. While the United States declared that it would democratize the economic field of Japan, it emphasized that occupation authorities took no responsibility "for the economic rehabilitation of Japan or the strengthening of the Japanese economy." Dower writes, "U.S. policy called for letting the Japanese

[70] Walter Simmons, "Aroused Japan Acts to Close its Vice Haunts," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb 15, 1954.
[71] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 45.
[72] Ibid., 46.

stew in their own juices."[73] Until around 1949, it was so hard for ordinary Japanese people to gain necessity goods and foods to survive.

The defeated Japanese experienced "exhaustion and despair"--"kyodatsu"-- in the postwar periods. In addition to their reaction to the defeat of the war, "exhaustion and despair" was rooted in the death of food. A majority of Japanese were malnourished at the time of surrender. The allied policy of "economic strangulation" choked off the supplies to the home front as well as to the war front. Because wartime Japan heavily relied on imports from their colonies in Asia and Pacific areas, which were cut off after Japan's defeat, the nation met severe food shortages. There were many people who died due to malnutrition. In 1946, Tokyo residents could not receive a full month's ration in six out of twelve months. Japanese government set the standard of calories which an adult needed to consume as approximately 2,200 a day in 1945, but ration supplied only a little better than half of this amount. During 1946 to 47, it became even worse.[74] The Historical Research Institution（Rekishigaku Kenkyu kai）wrote, "Japanese citizens faced a crisis of survival. However, there were no social organizations which support people's lives. It all depends on individual's ability of whether he or she could survive a day. Academic backgrounds or social status did not matter. […] By losing social status and property, most of the people had to only

[73] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 75.
[74] Ibid., 96.

rely on physical and psychological abilities. Under the postwar situation, the most reliable things became money and materials."[75]

During the devastating postwar periods, a significant number of women lost their jobs. During the war, women were employed as "voluntarily corps" and worked at the defense plants and so on. However, after the war, the Japanese government fired women without any jobless relief because it needed to provide jobs for veterans and repatriates who flowed from colony and battlefront. Between August and October in 1945, about three million seventy thousands (3,070,000) women lost their jobs.[76] According to the Public Health and Welfare section (PHW) report which studied on women's welfare situation in 1948, "At the end of the war many of the thousands of young Japanese girls who had lost their jobs in war plants were unemployed and without home or family tie. These girls furnished the reservoir from which prostitutes were being drawn."[77]

It is important to note that Japanese women's chastity also became the Japan's central concern when the victor came into the defeated land. On August 15th, 1945 when Japan made an unconditional surrender, there was already a discourse that all Japanese women will be raped by brutal American soldiers. Japanese journalist, Masayo Duss writes, "Everyday, newspaper articles became filled with warnings for women. Women, women, women; women's bodies became the most concerned."[78]

---

[75] Nihon Dojidaishi [Japan Contemporary History] 1: Haisen to Senryo [Defeat and Occupation] (Tokyo: Rekishigaku Kenkyu Kai, 1990), 256.
[76] Maho Toyoda, *Senryokano Jyosei Roudou Kaikaku* [*Women's Labor Reform Under Occupation*]: *Hogoto Byoudou wo Megutte* [*About Protection and Equality*] (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2007), 62.
[77] "Public Welfare" box 3676, RG 331, NA.
[78] Masayo Duss, *Haishano Okurimono* [*Gift from the Defeated*] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979), 18.

Duss continues: “All the men will get castrated and used for manual labor and all the women will be raped;” “Do not take off aerial defense clothes. Women should wear long underpants.” The police bureau in ministry of home affairs announced, “Especially, women should not open themselves up to foreign soldiers. Women should not wear indecent clothes. You should not expose their breasts in front of people. If foreign soldiers said hey or hello, women should not involve in it and go away.”[79] The day after the surrender, major stations in Tokyo and Yokohama were full of women who evacuated from the countryside and transportation Department gave them free transportation to go back to countryside.[80] Women’s chastity became the nation’s central political concern when the victor, or colonizer came into the defeated nation, or colonized nation.

Now that Japanese women’s chastity became a central political concern in Japan, the measure that the Japanese government adopted was construction of prostitution facilities for American soldiers; so called R.A.A. Within the Japan’s heteronormative patriarchal ideology, Japanese women who worked in R.A.A. served as “sexual breakwater” for protecting the nation’s “good” women. Here, I draw attention to class issue wherein the Japanese nation needed to constitute “sacrifise-able” women to preserve the nation’s respectable women. Within the idea that “the nation has to sacrifice *some* women to protect ‘good’ women to preserve the nation’s race,” the Japanese government deployed women who provided “sexual service” as

[79] Duss, “Haishano Okurimono [*Gift from the Defeated*],” 22.
[80] Ibid., 17-8.

"sexual breakwater."[81] By firing women who worked at war plants as women's volunteer corps during the war, the government in effect instituted prostitution for American soldiers as women's next official job called the "special volunteer corps." The Japanese government invested a hundred million dollars for R.A.A. Saka, a commissioner of police of the metropolis, stated, "[W]e will invest a hundred dollars to this project. This amount of money is cheap to protect the Yamato nation's purity."[82]

Since prostitutes played an important role in "protecting the nation and race," the Japanese government gave them preferential treatment. It prioritized providing food and necessary goods to prostitutes.[83] Journalist, Masayo Duus writes, "When SCAP has struggled for taking a measure for dead from starvation, only prostitutes appeared healthy."[84] Since the R.A.A. was not intended to make profit, Japanese government utilized the beverage association instead of professional prostitution panders. While professional panders traditionally take 75% and give the rest to prostitutes, the R.A.A. adapted fifty-fifty (Gyoku-wari).[85]

Although R.A.A. was a Japanese government initiative, SCAP and American soldiers were not passive recipients of Japan-sponsored sexual services. On the contrary, prostitution was the one that SCAP actively engaged in and planned out. On

---

[81] Kazuko Hirai, "RAA to Sekisen: Atami ni Okeru Tenkai [RAA and Red Line: Operation in Atami]," *Senryo to Sei:Seisaku, Jittai, Hyosho* [*Occupation and Sex*: *Policy, Actuality, Representation*] edited by Keisen Jyogakuin Daigaku Heiwa Bunka Kenkyujyo. (Inpakuto Syuppankai, 2007), 82; Duus, "Haisya no Okurimono [*Gift from the Defeated*]," 63.
[82] Japan imagines itself as superior Yamato race to any other races during the war.
[83] Duus, "Haisya no Okurimo [*Gift from the Defeated*]," 88.
[84] Ibid., 156.
[85] Ibid., 67.

the night of the first day when American occupiers arrived in Japan, the field officers visited the Japanese police agency and asked to prepare for "women" for American servicemen. When Saka, a commissioner of police of the metropolis, replied that there was no such institution and then, the American officer pointed to the street in Hibiya where many Japanese women were walking by and said, "they are there."[86] This exchange suggests that for American soldiers, Japanese women were all subject to be sexual service providers. One could say that the institutionalization of prostitution facilities was the U.S. first order to the defeated nation. Just as this case suggests that SCAP needed prostitution for American soldiers, discussions and regulations concerning prostitutions were proliferated during the occupation. Under taking the indirect rule, SCAP assigned Mitsuru Yosano as a section chief in health and medical division of Tokyo and the first subject SCAP raised was again about prostitution.[87] On September 28th in 1945 SCAP ordered to map out the prostitution facilities as the first project. In the meeting, Crawford Sams, a chief of Public Health and Welfare section (PHW) ordered Yosano to decide where the prostitution facilities should be in Tokyo, including the location for commissioned officers and a separate location for black soldiers.[88] Because the devastation of the Great Tokyo Air Raids during the war, PHW needed to find where the useable facilities were left to establish prostitution buildings. A chaplain reported how speedy the prostitution facilities were established as such:

> From the viewpoint of moral, the officers bitterly resent the publication of houses of prostitution as "reserved for officers". […] The enlisted men, on their part, remark the speed with which the

[86] Sumimoto, *Senryo Hiroku* [*Occupation Secret History*], 107.
[87] Ibid, 133.
[88] Ibid., 133-134.

> houses of prostitution were opened and compare it with the fact that as yet no laundry facilities have been provided for them; that they are still sponge-bathing from helmets as an alternative to walking two miles to a hot spring.[89]

Colonial power exerted by American occupation turned Japanese women into prostitutes who served American soldiers. The next section will present how Japanese women's bodies became and were regarded as diseased bodies. This is where I draw attention to how "Japanese women" came to be known as diseased bodies juxtaposed to deploying American soldier bodies as "healthy" and thus needing of protection from the diseased.

Japanese Women as Diseased Bodies

Now that SCAP made Japanese government establish prostitution facilities, as in other colonial and military occupations, venereal diseases such as syphilis were subjects of concern for SCAP. As the colonial military system marks diseases as "other," it was no exception for the U.S. occupation of Japan: diseases became a racialized and sexualized marker of Japanese women. Briggs writes that, "Prostitution" was "considered the primary mechanism for the spread of venereal disease of the 'other,' be it the other race, the other class, the other ethnic group."[90] Japanese women were marked as sources of diseases, as illustrated in this 1945 example from *the Washington Post.*

---

[89] Box 3, RG247, NA. Record of office of Chaplain: As of November 6 in 1945, PHW reported that "showers for enlisted men were opened on 4 November. No laundry facilities as yet though they are contemplated."

[90] Briggs, *Reproducing Empire*, 38.

> Lieutenant Lacour asserts that the rate of venereal infection among these prostitutes is from 95 to 100 per cent. As for beauty or sexual charm, none of the Japanese prostitutes could compare to the lowest street-walker in the States. The same houses and the same girls are patronized by Japanese men. Some of the girls had pen sores on their faces and feet. Some of them had previously been exposed to leprosy and some were doubtless infected with certain varieties of venereal diseases, frequent in the Orient, which are said to be difficult or impossible to cure even with the new drugs.[91]

In this quote, Japanese women's bodies were characterized as infected with "certain varieties of venereal diseases." Further, not just infected, Japanese women have diseases which are incurable. The diseases are recognized as Oriental, but not as something the occupation thrust on Japanese women. With the idea of Japanese women as sources of diseases, American soldiers become moral figures. An article in *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1946 reported that SCAP successfully reduced the rate of venereal diseases through a newly adopted campaign. It explains;

> As part of the [campaign] drive, houses of prostitution were policed, Japanese cafes and hotels declared off limits, public demonstrations of affection banned, and discipline tightened.
> *"The good looking, well dressed soldier seldom gets into Trouble,"* said Col. Cook.[92]

The narratives of policing houses of prostitution, of making Japanese cafes and hotels off limits, and of banning public demonstrations of affection embeds the idea of Japanese women as sources of diseases. Only by regarding Japanese women as sources of diseases, American soldiers become a moral figure who "seldom gets into trouble."

---

[91] "Venus and the Navy," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 12, 1945.
[92] Simmons, "Army in Japan Defeats an Old Service Foe: VD," Emphasis Mine.

Based on this kind of discursive construction, regulation of diseased bodies became systematic in this colonial space. Japanese women were subject to inspection while American soldiers were subject to protection from diseases. At the beginning of occupation, MS was in charge of sexual regulations, but the occupation authority newly established the independent institution, PHW, in order to handle wider ranges of issues and subjects beyond the military activities.[93] PHW thoroughly employed the measures against venereal diseases. Since PHW held the first meeting as early as September 11th in 1945 on venereal diseases prevention, they started to have meetings with the public health office, the metropolitan police, and urological physicians to take measures to know the situation of venereal diseases. After the first meeting, they started to inspect the prostitution facilities and operated the research on disease rate of prostitutes.[94]

The discussion about measures around finding venereal diseases embedded the idea that diseases were Japanese women's, which increased during the war, but not products of the U.S. occupation. PHW pointed out that it was the war time condition that increased unlicensed prostitutes and diseases: "the number of [unlicensed prostitutes] had increased during the war when recruitment of labor for war industries limited the number of licensed prostitutes. Control over permits to work as licensed

---

[93] Akiko Okuda, "GHQ no Kinyoku Seisaku [Sexual Policy of GHQ]: Seibyokanri ka Kinyoku Seisaku ka [Control of Sexual Diseases or Policy for Kinyoku]," *Senryo to Sei:Seisaku, Jittai, Hyosho* [*Occupation and Sex*: *Policy, Actuality, Representation*] edited by Keisen Jyogakuin Daigaku Heiwa Bunka Kenkyujyo. (Tokyo: Inpakuto Syuppankai, 2007), 15.
[94] Okuda, "GHQ no Kinyoku Seisaku [Sexual Policy of GHQ]: Seibyokanri ka Kinyoku Seisaku ka [Control of Sexual Diseases or Policy for Kinyoku]," 17.

prostitutes, formerly under police supervision, also became lax during the war."[95] Then, the problem PHW found was uncontrollably increasing diseases because increasing unlicensed prostitutes had neither controls nor were reports required of unlicensed prostitutes. PHW expressed their fear that untraceable prostitutes have spread unlimited diseases: "The true prevalence of venereal diseases was unknown since they were not reportable, but surveys indicated that at least half of the girls examined were syphilitic, 20 percent had gonorrhea and eight percent had chancroid. With licensed prostitution legal and flourishing in brothels and on the streets, the spread of venereal diseases was practically unlimited."[96]

After October 7 in 1945, PHW instructed each prefecture to establish an institution for treating venereal diseases. Meanwhile, PHW investigated how hospitals and prostitution facilities employed the measures for disease prevention in each prefecture to find venereal diseases.[97] For example, according to the information of Matsuyama area in Ehime prefecture on October 26 in 1945:

> 102 prostitutes of the Matsuyama area were examined and partially treated at the 24th clearing Station this date. The examinations were necessarily incomplete as no facilities are available for doing serum tests.

The prostitutes operate in two districts and the results of the test are listed for each:

	Matsuyama	(Dogo Area) Mitsuhama
Number examined	49	56
Number definitely having Gonorrhea	40	55
Number having external lesions	5	0
(not Diagnosed percentage definitely infected)	82	98

[95] Okuda, "GHQ no Kinyoku Seisaku [Sexual Policy of GHQ]," 18.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., 19.

> In a cursory examination of this type usually up to one-third of the infected individuals are not discovered. *It is therefore estimated that 100% of the prostitutes have venereal disease and no contact with them by the troops should be permitted.*[98]

According to the report, all the prostitutes were regarded as diseased bodies. Upon receiving the report, the war department took measures by ordering "the men be notified that the prostitutes are 100% infected and though being treated will probably never cured."[99] Here, again, venereal diseases which Japanese prostitutes had were considered as incurable diseases. This is how Japanese prostitutes were marked as diseased bodies--diseased which is incurable.

Based on the inspections conducted throughout Japan, PHW found that rate of venereal diseases of Japanese prostitutes are 100%. While the U.S. "benevolent" occupation is known for providing food to the defeated people, it also distributed a quantity of Penicillin intended to treat syphilis in "diseased" Japanese women in order to, ultimately, protect US servicemen. Although it was valuable and expensive medicine at that time and even in short supply in the American national context, the U.S. government provided a significant amount of Penicillin to Japanese women during the occupation to reduce diseases. For example, Matsuyama area found 95 infected prostitutes, and to them it provided 100,000 units of penicillin once weekly from civilian doctors under military supervision. Because penicillin was considered as the most effective cure for infection, PHW freely used money for the drugs and

[98] Emphasis Mine; Box 3, RG 247, Records of Office of Chaplains, War Department, NA.
[99] Box 3, RG 247, Records of Office of chaplains, War Department, NA.

provided them to prostitutes.[100] At that point, PHW emphasized that it should not take any money from prostitutes for penicillin.

Regarding Japanese women as diseased bodies, PHW put great effort on finding diseases in order to protect American soldiers. By articulating that "not only prostitutes were diseased," PHW designed a through treatment plan: it imported from the United States and supplied new and effective venereal disease drugs such as sulfonamides, marpharsen, and bismuth subsalicylate, in addition to penicillin. As a treatment plan, PHW required "manifestations, microscopic study for discovery of gonocci, dark-field examination of ulcerated lesions and standard serological tests for syphilis, together with cerebro-spinal fluid examinations."[101] PHW also used great amount of money to find and treat the diseased bodies. For example, 4,560,000 yen (about 45,600 dollars) was granted to local communities just during April to June in 1948 to provide medical facilities for 3,253 prostitutes.

PHW's efforts at finding the diseases embodied in a Venereal Disease Control Law on July 3rd in 1948. The law gave prefectures responsibility of compulsory treatment of every reported case until the patient became non-infectious. With national standards developed by the Institute of Infectious Diseases, establishing the Yoshiwara venereal disease hospital diagnostic laboratory as their field demonstration center, additional facilities which provided venereal diseases treatments increased. It was as a result of the established health center law that all the health centers provided the services of venereal diseases. Under the law, 1,705 venereal diseases clinics gave

[100] Japanese government thought all the treatments for venereal diseases were free at that time but at San Francisco treaty, the U.S. government charged it.
[101] "Public Health," Box 3762, RG331, NA.

reports and 60 government-supported hospitals operated exclusively for the treatment of venereal diseases.[102]

To find diseased bodies, all Japanese women, not only prostitutes in the RAA facilities, became subject to inspection. The random inspection of venereal diseases called "round-up" (Karikomi) was systematically operated. Any Japanese women walking around cities could be subject to round-up. For example, in Tokyo, SCAP executed round-ups twice in September, five times in October, four times in November in 1946. During one round-up at the end of August, they arrested fifteen thousand women. On November 15th, 1946, Military Police randomly stopped an express train; they then forced some women to get off the train and sent them to the hospital and gave vaginal inspections.[103]

PHW-operated "contact tracing" was another way to find diseased bodies. Japanese women were always under suspicion of being diseased and checked by doctors. It was named "tracing" because once they found diseased bodies, they check their husbands, and their sex partners. If it was congenital syphilis, they checked their children and other family members. The contact tracing was enforced by the 1948 venereal disease law which required premarital and pre-natal health examination. It depended on the patients' ability to pay, but PHW instructed the prefectural government to subsidize the treatments.[104] The program was so thorough that PHW operated hundreds of thousands of contact tracings in each year of 1948 and 49. On average, they operated seventy five thousands tracing each year during the

[102] "Public Health," Box 3762, RG331, NA.
[103] Okuda, "GHQ no Kinyoku Seisaku [Sexual Policy of GHQ]," 82.
[104] "Public Health," Box 3762, RG331, NA.

occupation.[105] According to PHW, for four years from January 1st in 1946 to December 31st in 1949, it found 740,052 Japanese gonorrhea patients, 625,078 syphilis patients and 130,168 chancroid patients. PHW recognized how well contact tracing worked because it could find more diseased bodies: While affected Japanese individuals by venereal diseases in 1946 were 171 per 100,000 people, they increased to 271 in 1947 and 273 in 1948.[106] However, one could say that the prostitution increased the number of diseased bodies every year and therefore PHW needed to decrease them to protect solders' bodies.

Again, this chapter shows how prostitution was a colonial system that the U.S. occupation instituted, whereby producing diseased Japanese women's bodies. In this way, American soldiers should be seen as sex exploiters or rapists. However, American soldiers appear as innocent, lonely, liberators who had to station abroad away from home and worked to liberate the defeated nationals. The next section explains why American soldiers are not represented as sex exploiters or rapists by examining how Japanese women's mind was racialized and sexualized as immoral.

Saving "Geisha" in the Name of Human Rights and Emergence of "Panpan"

While Japanese prostitutes emerged and increased out of the U.S. occupation, American soldiers narrated that prostitution is an ancient part of Japanese culture and called Japanese prostitutes Geisha. Indeed, the prostitute figures became a site for the U.S. occupiers to produce Japanese racial differences and punish its so-called

[105] Okuda, "GHQ no Kinyoku Seisaku [Sexual Policy of GHQ]," 20.
[106] Ibid.

inhumanitarian and inferior culture that infringes upon Japanese women's human rights. Calling them Geisha, the U.S. media reinstituted the idea that prostitution is "theirs" but not "ours." A *Washington Post* article in 1945, entitled, "Japs Reported Providing Geisha Girls for Yanks Only" reported;

> Selected Japanese are alleged to be operating a "recreation and amusement association" which has been organized to provide geisha girls and other pastimes exclusively for American forces in Japan.[107]

Another article in 1948, entitled, "U.S. Can't Halt Geisha Traffic" reported;

> The sale of Japanese girls to geisha houses or even more disreputable places continues today as it has for centuries, in spite of efforts by occupation authorities to stamp it out…A survey of this city, which supposedly provides the most beautiful geishas in Japan, revealed that a good-looking daughter of a Japanese family is unable to avoid life as a geisha, or worse, unless her family is wealthy. Ancient custom combines with present-day inflation to make Japanese girls valuable chattels.[108]

Without any discussion of how a significant number of American soldiers utilized the facilities that offered Japanese women as prostitutes, the article only blames Japanese culture, which is construed as sacrificing Japanese women for their family. With the idea of prostitution as "theirs," Japanese women were inherently destined to become prostitutes, but not the ones who were forced to become prostitutes within the colonial system of the U.S. occupation.

Because Japanese prostitutes were so-called Geisha, victims of Japanese culture, but not that of American colonial domination, SCAP "saved" them in the name of human rights. On January 21st, 1946, SCAP ordered the Japanese

---

[107] "Japs Reported Providing Geisha Girls for Yanks Only," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 31, 1945.
[108] Ralph Chapman, "U.S. Can't Halt Geisha Traffic," *The Washington Post*, February 29, 1948.

government to abolish official prostitution and all the official prostitution facilities were to be closed by February 20th. Prostitution run by Japanese government came to be seen as violation of human rights for Japanese women. Duus and Okuda write that SCAP argued that while the United States was trying to teach democracy and human rights to Japan, having an institutionalized prostitution system was contradictory.[109]

Within the discursive framework of "Japanese prostitution system" which violated fundamental human rights, American soldiers, represented by General MacArthur, became rescuers and liberators for Japanese women. *New York Times* article in 1946 entitled, "Sale of Japanese Girls in Brothels Banned" reports; "General MacArthur today ended a centuries-old custom under which Japanese families sold their daughters into the slavery of prostitution."[110] By narrating prostitution as "a centuries-old" Japanese custom, which sacrifices and enslaves Japanese girls for their families, the article reported that General MacArthur liberated Japanese women. Another article released in 1948 also described a sale of Japanese girl as a Japanese tradition which made Japanese girls family's valuable chattels. Then, the article emphasized that the occupation authority newly stipulated that "no person shall be held in bondage of any kind. In voluntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, is prohibited."[111] While the U.S. media captured prostitution as evil Japanese culture, it narrated that the U.S. occupation led by MacArthur attempted to save Japanese women.

---

[109] Okuda, "GHQ no Kinyoku Seisaku [Sexual Policy of GHQ]," 28; Duus, "Haisya no Okurimo," 161.
[110] "Sale of Japanese Girls Into Brothels Banned," *New York Times*, January 25, 1946.
[111] Chapman, "U.S. Can't Halt Geisha Traffic."

How, then, after saving and liberating Japanese women, did the prostitution facilities where many American soldiers used disappear? If many prostitution facilities were still vigorously operated, how did SCAP discursively solve the contradiction? While SCAP banned official prostitution facilities run by Japanese government, SCAP did not ban prostitution "operated by women's choice." The *New York Times* article in 1946 reported on MacArthur's release of "slaved women" clearly showed how occupation authority saved them;

> General MacArthur ordered the Japanese Government to obey the section that guarantees "respect for the fundamental human rights." Under it Japan must annul all laws authorizing licensed prostitution and nullify all contracts committing any woman to prostitution…Two weeks ago the Tokyo Brothel Keepers' Association decided to release the girls from slavery status contracts and *permit them "the democratic right" of going into business independently.*[112]

As a result, the direct effect of the policy that SCAP abolished official prostitution in the name of human rights was a production of "Japanese women who voluntarily want to become prostitutes." With the abolishment of official prostitution, all the prostitution system became "private" and "voluntarily." In fact, since SCAP released official prostitutes without any alternative economic support, the "humanitarian" abolition of official prostitution produced the city filled with prostitutes called "panpan."[113] "Panpan" was a word newly emerged in postwar Japan, indicating the new type of women who engaged in sexual relation with American soldiers. In 1947, there were about 95,000 street prostitutes throughout Japan and by the end of occupation, the number increased to 450,000. In Tokyo alone there were an estimated

[112] Emphasis mine.
[113] The word was more used within Japan. In the U.S. major newspapers, they called these women as "street walkers" or "pigeons."

30,000 "panpan."[114] The figure of the Japanese women who "want to become street prostitutes for American GIs" allow the American soldier represented by General MacArthur to become a liberator and foreclose any discussion of prostitution advanced by American soldiers. *The Chicago Daily Tribune* article in October, 1952 entitled, "Tokyo 'Pigeons' Back in Coops As 'Waitresses'" reported;

> The thousands of "little Pigeons" whom Gen. MacArthur released from Tokyo's famous nightless city, the Yoshiwara, have come back to the same old coop. And everybody seems to be highly pleased….One of the first things MacArthur did was to abolish the girls of Pigeon street. The act cost operators of the 310 "houses" $500,000. But the girls didn't seem to be notably grateful.[115]

While MacArthur was the one who released enslaved Japanese girls and saved them, "Japanese girls" were the ones who "wanted to" come back, not appreciating MacArthur's rescue.

The street walker or "pigeon" figure was symbolically depicted as "Baby-san" in a cartoon drawn by naval reservist Bill Hume in the postwar period.[116] It originally came out in weekly cartoon series for the Far East edition of *the Navy Times.*[117] Later, Hume published in two volumes with added commentary by John Annarino: *Babysan: A Private Look at the Japanese Occupation* (1953) and *Babysan's World: The Hume's*

---

[114] Simmons, "Aroused Japan Acts Close Its Vice Haunts."
[115] "Tokyo 'Pigeons' Back in Coops As 'Waitress,'" *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct 16, 1952.
[116] Hume arrived in Japan in September, 1951 and served with Fleet Aircraft Service Squadron 120. The cartoon image is more than just a cartoon, but American soldiers came to understand their experiences within the idea of Japanese women, Baby-san. Hume writes in the introduction, "The many faceted personality of Babysan was not an imaginary product. Her name was a fiction but her existence was a fact…As she was transferred onto paper the servicemen could see their own girl friends' characteristics and their own amusing, true experiences. For apparently what happened to one man often happened to another as well (6-7).
[117] Later, Hume published in two volumes with added commentary by John Annarino: *Babysan: A Private Look at the Japanese Occupation* (1953) and *Babysan's World: The Hume's Slant on Japan* (1956).

Slant on Japan (1956). Introduction of the book, "*Babysan: Private Look at the Japanese Occupation*," explains who "Baby-san" is as "the fascinating, fun-loving Japanese girls, influenced by American customs, were trying their best to become Westernized."[118] Literary Critic, Naoko Shibusawa, writes about "Baby-san" as a new postwar type of Japanese woman;

> Baby-san was a new postwar type of Japanese woman, not at all like the ones American servicemen expected--namely, the 'Madame Butterfly' type" with "an elaborate hairdo…and a fan coyly held before a face that wore a come-hither look."…Rather than wearing kimonos and having their hair arranged stiffly, Hume's Baby-sans possessed narrow waists, long flowing fair, slim legs, and gravity-defying breasts.[119]

These westernized figures became a symbol of "new Japanese women" who gained material rewards through relations with American soldiers. While Geisha put on Kimono, "Baby-san" put on westernized costumes. Dower writes, as "panpan" became the recipients of American goods more than anyone, they were the exemplary pioneer materialists and consumers of the postwar era, putting on "bright lipstick, nail polish, sharp clothes, and sometimes enviable material possessions."[120]

In the postwar new type of women was characterized was not only in their appearance but also in their minds. Different from the Geisha, "who was forced to

---

[118] Hume, *Babysan*, 6.
[119] Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 36.
[120] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 132; It was so symbolic for the postwar new phenomena that words indicating how "panpan" women engaged in sexual relation with American GIs were proliferated in postwar Japan. While the name "Butterfly" indicated women who engage in sexual relations with many American men at the same time, the name "only" implied women who have a sexual relationship with a particular American man. "Only" was necessarily the product of American occupation policy on the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women: The marriages were banned by Headquarters and therefore the ban produced the couples who entered wedlock without an official permission of marriages.

engage in sexual relation with men because of sexist Japanese culture," they were viewed as women "who are willing to consort with American men for material rewards." Baby-san was depicted as a woman who has her own will to choose her American GIs, different from "Madame Butterfly" or "Cho-Cho san" who sacrificed herself because of abandonment by American men. Shibusawa writes, "[Baby-san] is a different sort of butterfly than Cho-Cho-san, who killed herself because of Pinkerton's desertion. Baby-san flittered from lover to lover, from one steady boyfriend to another as they rotated back to the States."[121]

Within an idea that "Baby-sans" are willing to consort with American soldiers, they are also illustrated as women who want money in exchange for sex.

[121] Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally*, 38-9.



"Why you all time bring candy — why never bring okane?"

Figure 1.1 Baby-san

With this picture saying "Why you all time bring candy--why never bring okane (money)?," Hume writes, "She brings sunshine into her boy-friend's life and she expects, naturally enough, to be rewarded for her efforts."[122] While the Japanese woman looks stronger demanding money, the American soldier looks more passive and wimpy. "Baby-san" who "wants to associate with American soldiers" did not have to explain American soldiers' desire of engaging in sexual relation with

[122] Hume, *Babysan*, 32.

Japanese women: "They were always already desirable men who are possessive and affluent in the space of the occupation." Here, I emphasize that it was the construction of a Japanese woman's desire that invigorated the prostitution system for American soldiers, circumventing serious discussion of the issue of soldiers' morals.

However, the figures of "Baby-san," who claimed material rewards from, and thus an equal relationship with, American soldiers in exchange for sex, posed a threat to the United States. These women could not be proper international subjects of Japanese women within the American empire. Moreover, "Baby-san" was dangerous as an allegory of the U.S.-Japan relationship. It would be a threat if Japan claimed the United States as an equal partner in exchange for serving its need with political, economic, and military resources. The U.S. occupation had to be a liberator of Japan so that Japan could be, what literary critic, Lisa Yoneyama causes, "indebted." She captures the U.S. occupation of Japan within what she calls "the imperialist myth of liberation and rehabilitation" which forges a logic that the liberated "can never enter into an evenly reciprocal relationship with the liberators."[123] She further argues that this asymmetry explains the (un)redressability of U.S. military violence: "The injured and violated bodies of the liberated do not require redress according to this discourse of indebtedness, for their liberation has already served as payment/reparation that supposedly precedes the U.S. violence inflicted upon them."[124] Japan should provide political, economic, and military resources to the United States without any return since the United States liberated and rehabilitated them.

---

[123] Lisa Yoneyama, "Traveling Memories, Contagious Justice," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 6.1, 81.
[124] Ibid.

Within this logic, Japanese women had to be victims of evil Japanese culture which has had prostitution system for centuries, but not the "Baby-san" who equally wants material rewards in exchange for sex: Japanese women were victims of Japanese culture so that the United States can liberate and rescue them. Because Japan was defeated and now the United States attempt to liberate the nation, Japan also should serve up women's sexuality without any return. The prostitution system, which was invigorated by American soldiers within the context of occupation, cannot be understood as sexual exploitation and domination. In this way, the figure of "Baby-san" is what Laura Kang calls "a seditious figure" who reveals the contradiction between the occupation as "benevolent" and "liberating" and as "exploiting" and "raping." In my reading, "Baby-san" discloses the occupation as sexual exploitation made invisible under the dominant banner of liberation.

Given that the occupation of Japan had to be a rescue and liberation, but not exploitation and rape, the figures of "Baby-sans" needed to be stigmatized in order to make them not a proper international subject of the postwar Japan. Hume, himself, depicted the figures of "Baby-san" as problematic, rather than celebratory. Hume recounted stories of "Baby-san" as "a fascinating account of the mutual problems of the Japanese and American peoples in their first chance to become truly acquainted since the days of Admiral Perry."[125] "Baby-sans," who give American soldiers sunshine in their station lives in Japan in exchange for material rewards, were fascinating but problematic figures. These street walkers who wanted to consort with

[125] Hume, *Babysan*, 3.

American soldiers were represented as not celebratory, but evil in the American newspapers. For example, an article of *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1954 described these street walkers as follows; "I have walked down the streets of Tokyo and suburbs many times and I have seen Japanese ladies of ill repute standing three deep waiting to prey on American soldiers."[126] The article blamed these women as a problem of Japan whose culture allows prostitution. The article problematized street walkers by narrating them as those who desire material reward from American soldiers and "prey on" them. While figures of Japanese women who "wanted to" consort with American soldiers were necessary to produce American soldiers' innocence, moving away from understanding American soldiers as sexual exploiters and rapists, they should not have become a proper subject who claimed an equal relation with American soldiers and needed to be stigmatized.

Not only the United States but also Japan stigmatized postwar westernized women called "panpan." Since these women who consorted with American soldiers were the nation's sacrifice to protect the "good" women for Japanese nation, they were those who *had to* serve American soldiers. These women were perceived as lower class women in need of money. However, under the U.S. occupation, where American soldiers were the most desirable, Japanese women's association with American soldiers was seen not as their sacrifice for the nation, but their desire for themselves. "Panpan" was indicated as those who engaged in sexual relations with American servicemen for their personal benefit. Within the occupation context, where American

[126] William B Jones, "Voice of the People," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 5, 1954.

soldiers were possessive and affluent, “Panpan” was seen as “Japanese women who chose American men over Japanese men.” As Duus describes, the postwar symbolic example of a Japanese woman arm-in-arm with American soldiers screamed that, “because now Japanese men were defeated by American men, I will date American men, but not Japanese men.”[127] In fact, Minoru Tsuji, a commissioner of RAA, left RAA in early January, 1946 saying, “I was depressed by being a commissioner of RAA. It lost its meaning of ‘the breakwater’ for the nation.”[128] Duus writes that Tsuji was depressed by the fact that Japanese dancers and waitresses actively engaged in relations with soldiers and looked fun. “Panpan” women wounded Japan’s national masculine pride, becoming a symbol of the nation’s defeat.

These “panpan” women also could not become a proper national subject for Japan and need to be stigmatized. The problem was indeed a mind of a woman who had the motivation to associate with American soldiers for “their own benefit.” For example, *Shukan Yomiuri* article published in 1953 carried stories of “fallen women.”[129] The article reported that many Japanese women, such as maids who worked for American families, “fell into” becoming “panpan” and accused the women of being vain and proud. Again, the article did not explain the reason that women became “panpan” as due to their economical necessity, but as their own vain and prides, which became a subject of accusation. Another article, *Shukan Sankei*, published in 1952 reported that women who married American soldiers had not been

[127] Duus, “Haisha no Okurimono,” 172.
[128] Ibid., 171.
[129] Kiyoshi Kanzaki, “Sorrow Cinderella,” *Shukan Yomiuri*, June 28, 1953.

happy in the United States.[130] The article contended that most war brides loved the soldiers' material affluence rather than the soldiers themselves. The article concluded that most war brides' marriages fell into tragedy because these women were just attracted to the soldiers' wealth. The postwar Japanese mass media stigmatized Japanese women's marriages with American soldiers as a symbol of tragedy and blamed these women's desire for material rewards as their "vanity."

This chapter showed why Japanese women who married American soldiers have always been subject to questions of (im)morality: whether these marriages revolved around sexual relations or were entered into for monetary reward. In doing so, this chapter also interrogated why American soldiers did not become represented as sexual exploiters or rapists, but always as liberators of the configuration of the Japanese women's mind-set: While American soldiers were always desirable men, Japanese women were seen as those who want to have a relation with American soldiers by their own will. How then did these women, who may all have been prostitutes and "immoral," become proper American wives? How did these dangerous women, who were always under question of prostitution and having immoral characters, become "worthy" of American soldiers? When Japanese women were incorporated into the U.S. nation as wives of American soldiers, they were domesticated and tamed in the name of love. The next chapter argues how potentially dangerous Japanese women became American wives. Here, I situate intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese wives within the gender allegory of the Cold War

---

[130] "Umiwo Watatta 'Senso Hanayome' ['War Brides' Across the Ocean]," *Shukan Sankei*, July 18, 1954.

alliance between the United States and Japan. In doing so, I will present how the United States-American soldiers-solved the problem of potentially dangerous Japan-Japanese women-and domesticated them within Cold War relations.

Chapter Two
Intimacy of Love: Loveable American Soldiers in Cold War Politics

If postwar Japanese women were considered "prostitutes" and "immoral," then why and how did they become "proper" American wives? How did these "dangerous" women become loveable American soldiers' wives? To answer these questions, this chapter scrutinizes the idea of love that emerged between American soldiers and Japanese women. Here, I examine the role that love played during the Cold War era to resolve the question of immorality that was attached to Japanese women. I argue that because the intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women initially emerged within the occupied space of Japan, where American soldiers were victors and occupiers, their intimacy could never escape the representation of immorality. The shift in the relations between the United States and Japan from wartime enemy to postwar allies produced a different kind of discourse concerning the intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women, that is love.[131] Previous scholarly works on Japanese war brides did not make the representation of love between Japanese women and American soldiers a subject of analysis. This chapter examines how love, as an idea, emerged and became visible within the political context of the postwar U.S.-Japan alliance building.[132]

---

[131] I see the new discourse about "loveable" intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women as just an emergence of different kind of discourses which become "rational" within the political context of the U.S.-Japan Cold War alliance. Thus, I do not say that the representation of Japanese brides completely changed or new representation replaced the "immoral" discourse.

[132] Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II.* (CA: Presidio Press, 1988); Regina F. Lark, "They Challenged Two Nations: Marriages between Japanese Women and American GIs, 1945 to the Present," (Ph.D. Diss. University of Southern California, 1999).

This chapter then argues how the postwar Japanese women who were considered "dangerous" and "immoral" were domesticated through the idea of love. While many previous studies tended to scrutinize how Japanese women came to be represented as loveable in the Cold War context, this chapter more focuses on American soldier's love of Japanese women, which has been considered too universal to come under scrutiny.[133] It was American soldier's love that solved and tamed the "dangerous" and "immoral" women and turned them into U.S. national subjects as wives of American soldiers. In doing so, American soldiers' love masked violence of American soldiers' sexual exploitation of Japanese women within the context of the occupation. Here, I juxtapose the romantic relations between American soldiers and Japanese women with the national relationship between the United States and Japan during the Cold War: Japan was tamed as a wife of the United States, placed in subordinate position in the name of love. The representation of Japan as a wife naturalized the national relation between the United States and Japan and masked the violent aspect of the U.S. domination and exploitation of Japan's political economy and military power through the occupation.

This chapter also shows the representation of love between American soldiers and Japanese women narrated in Japan's mass media. While the media narrated their relation within the idea of "immorality," it came to represent their relation as love after the representation of love became popular in the U.S. media. Here, I argue that, while

---

[133] Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945-1960* (London: Duke University Press, 2001): Marchetti Gina, *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

Japanese women who married American GIs were initially considered "immoral," they became a national asset to show Japan's goodwill to the United States within the political context when Japan became the U.S. allied nation.

Loveless Couples between American Soldiers and Japanese Women in the Context of Occupied Japan

> THE TENDENCY of United States occupation men to marry Japanese girls proved a surprise to many Americans in Japan, especially civilian girls with the occupation forces. They had believed the American men were merely having flirtations with the doll-like Japanese. But soon a rush to the altar began.[134]

The U.S. mass media in the early stage of occupation in the late 1940s documented the fact that so many American soldiers married Japanese women was a surprising matter.[135] According to a 1948 *Washington Post* article presented how surprisingly marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women occurred. The article clearly showed that Japanese women were regarded as subjects of "flirtation," but not as wives, to American soldiers. In addition to the legal prohibition, American soldiers and Japanese women were not discursively marriageable couples in the first place. Given that the postwar context where intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women was seen as only about sex, as symbolically presented in RAA(Recreation and Amusement Association), Japanese women's sexuality was something that American soldiers, as victors, freely exploited. Japanese women were not "qualified" to be wives of the nation.

---

[134] Malvina Lindsay, "Marriage Melting Pot," *The Washington Post*, Aug 14, 1948.
[135] By mid-1950s, more than ten thousand couples emerged.

Indeed, Japanese brides were under question about whether they were moral enough to become American wives. The U.S. media captured the relation between American soldiers and Japanese women as something immoral, associated with prostitution. Even in the early 1950s, a 1952 *Saturday Evening Post* article wrote,

> Everyone in Japan, from the official Army to casual Japanese and American observers recognizes that there is a question, with no obvious answer in sight. The brides are all sorts of people. At the bottom, there are no prostitutes, criminals or chronologically diseased--all barred by the immigration law and the fifteen copy thoroughness of the Army in making international marriages difficult.[136]

Brides were under a question of whether they were prostitutes or diseased, implying that they were not qualified to be wives of American soldiers. The excerpt indicated that if it weren't for the strict immigration law and stringent military policies regarding international marriage, Japanese brides would have been prostitutes and diseased. Besides questioning whether Japanese women who married American GIs were moral enough to become American wives, the article also questioned the level of intimacy and love that existed between American soldiers and Japanese women:

> Some married for love, some because they already had children out of wedlock, some for the very practical purpose of obtaining post-exchange privileges for themselves and their needy families. […] They're not the very best Japan has, and certainly not the worst. And their chances for happiness appear equally mixed.[137]

In the postwar context, intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women was more visible within the discourse of (im)morality, tied to issue of prostitution and sexual relation. Here, again, within the U.S. media's narrative of relations between

---

[136] Janet Wentworth Smith and William L. Worden, "They're Bringing Home Japanese Wives," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 19, 1952, 27.
[137] Ibid.

American soldiers and Japanese women, American soldiers were the symbol of the victors (but not husbands) to Japanese women whose association with them was unrespectable and immoral.

Not only in the U.S. media, but also in the Japanese, intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women was also seen as immoral and thus deviant within the Japan's heteronormative patriarchy. The postwar Japanese mass media narrated intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women as sexual liaison. For example, *Fujin Asahi* article in 1957 reported that most interracial marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women ended in tragedy.[138] The article said, "Most American soldiers' interest in Japanese women was only sexual and sexual interest cannot sustain their marriage. These Japanese women who married American soldiers through this kind of encounter were not necessarily moral women." Japanese mass media also situated Japanese war brides under question of their morality. The article additionally stated that the most interracial marriages ended in tragedy because they could not be accepted by American people due to their immoral image.

In addition to an immoral image, Japanese mass media depicted Japanese brides as lower class women so as to minimize Japan's dented pride, having been deprived of their women through marriages with American soldiers. For instance, a 1954 *Shukan Sankei* article reported increasing tragedies relating to war bride marriages. First, this article attributed these tragic marriages to the wives' lower class status by stating that most women used to be waitresses, dancers, house maids, and

[138] "Kokusai Kekkon [International Marriages]," *Fujin Asahi*, June 1957; Translation Mine.

prostitutes for American soldiers.[139] Another article, *Sandei Mainichi*, published in 1954 reported that it was common for women who married American soldiers to be from lower class and most of them had unhappy lives: Their fathers were daily payment workers; their parents already died; and they had to work as servants for their families.[140]

The Japanese mass media criticized these marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women by describing these women as those who just wanted soldiers' material wealth. By censuring their marriages as a result of women's vanity, Japanese media narrated them as deviant, but not decent. A magazine called *Maru*, released in 1949, and written by one of the leading Japanese feminists, Fusae Ichikawa, remarked that marriages between American GIs and Japanese women were not true marriages.[141] She explained that the marriages occurred within the occupied space where there was a huge gap of power between the victors and the defeated, and Japanese women married soldiers' primarily for their money. They were not considered equal partners given the power and wealth differential between the partners. In sum, the marriages occurred within a context where American soldiers had more resources and power over defeated Japanese women and consequently could not be recognized as a union through love. They were not understood in Japan as "loving couples," either.

---

[139] "Umi wo Watatta 'Senso Hanayome'['War Brides' Across the Sea]," *Shukan Sankei*, July 1954; Translation Mine.
[140] "Tsukanomano Kekkon Rasshu [Momentary Marriage Rush]. Chikagoro 'Sekisen kichi' no Gotenba [Recent 'Red Line' Base in Gotenba]," *Sandei Mainichi*, February 21, 1954, 28-30; Translation Mine.
[141] "Kokusai Kekkon ha Ze ka Hi ka [Whether International Marriages are Positive or Negative]," *Maru*, April 1949; Translation Mine.

Loving Couples between American Soldiers and Japanese Women in Cold War Context

Again, how then did these women, who were considered "prostitutes" and "immoral," become proper American wives? How did these immoral couples become proper American wives and husbands? I argue that while intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women was narrated as immoral in the context of the occupation, these couples came to be portrayed as loving in the Cold War context during which Japan and the United States were allies around the mid-1950s. Here, I do not contend that the representation of Japanese brides completely changed, or that the new representation replaced the "immoral" discourse. I see the new discourse about "loveable" intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women as an emergence of a different kind of discourse which became "rational" within the political context of the U.S.-Japan Cold War alliance.[142] This section presents how the power that American victors exerted over the defeated Japanese in the occupation came to be represented within the context of Cold War allies. To do this, I will argue that the intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women indeed came to be represented as a symbol of Cold War friendship between the United States and Japan.

As the United States and Japan firmed up their Cold War relationship around the mid-1950s, "love" narratives between American soldiers and Japanese women began to emerge. The most visible story was James Michener's *Sayonara*, which was published as a novel in 1953 and released as a film in 1957 in the United States. When

[142] The U.S. occupation of Japan finished in 1952 with the San Francisco treaty, which normalized the allied relation between the United States and Japan.

the novel initially came out, it was taken as another "madam butterfly" story because the novel ended in tragedy with the separation of the American soldier, Loyde Gruver and his Japanese love interest, Hana-Ogi. However, in the film, the ending was changed with Gruver and Hana-Ogi staying together, foreseeing happiness in their marriage.

The film, *Sayonara*, was thus widely perceived as a "happy love story" in the United States. For example, a 1957 *Los Angeles Times* article titled, "'Sayonara' Features Two Love Stories," articulated that the film was about "East-West love stories." It explained,

> The film takes pity on the second pair; love triumphs over the American Exclusion Act and the ending is happy. At least for the picture's purpose. What prejudices the American and his Japanese wife-to-be may face, what future discrimination they may feel, are left for another day.[143]

The intimacy between an American soldier and Japanese woman was for the first time narrated as love and framed as happiness.

In addition, regardless of whether the novel and film *Sayonara* ended in tragedy or happiness, they made Japanese women visible as model brides and wives to American audience nationwide. For example, a 1954 *New York Times* article introducing the novel *Sayonara* asked "whether Japanese women were more feminine, more loving and better wives than American women." While the article noted that it cannot be proved by statistics, it said, "What can be proved is that the traditions of Japanese culture insure that Japanese women are more subservient to their husbands

[143] Philip K. Scheuer, "'Sayonara' Features Two Love Stories," *Los Angeles Times*, November 17, 1957.

than American women to theirs. Could that be why Major Gruver and Mr. Michener think the Japanese are so superior as wives?"[144] What is new here is that this article framed Japanese femininity within the discourse of fitness to be American wives. However, Japanese women as American wives were celebrated precisely as subordinate and obedient to their white husbands within the U.S. patriarchy.

I argue that American-Japanese couples came to be framed as loving couples precisely at the moment when the United States shifted the national polity of Japan from wartime enemy to postwar ally. Given that Japanese women were not initially loveable for American soldiers, but just subject to "flirtation" in the occupied context, it is significant that Japanese women became loveable subjects who came into the moral realm of the nation. The gendered couples--American soldiers as husbands and Japanese women as wives--became perfect pairs, offering the metaphor of Cold War relation between the United States as masculine and Japan as feminine. As Simpson argues, it was vital "to represent the new Japan as a nation of women and children rather than showing the patriarchal wartime images of generals and soldiers."[145]

When these couples' relationships were narrated within the framework of the postwar American family, the idea that they fell in love explained everything: A 1955 *Life* magazine article titled "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and Japanese" depicted these interracial marriages as the potential happy marriages. The story indicated that former enemies could become friends as a husband and wife. The article especially focused on one couple's initial struggles to assimilate into American culture and

[144] Orville Prescott, "Books of The Times," *New York Times*, January 27, 1954.
[145] Simpson, *An Absent Presence*, 166.

society, especially facing a difficult relationship with the husband's mother. However, they finally reconciled with her and melted into white suburban life.[146] While there was always a question of immorality between American GIs and Japanese women in the occupied space of Japan, when these couples' relationships were narrated within the framework of the postwar American family, the idea that they fell in love made no further explanation about their intimacy necessary.

> Frank Pfeiffer, a soft-spoken slaughterhouse butcher from the Chicago stockyards, was 23 when he landed at Atsugi Airfield near Yokohama in September 1945. Two months later he was lounging in his jeep near Yuraku-cho railroad station in Tokyo when he saw a marvelous face.
>
> The tiny girl he was staring at weighed only 94 pounds. She wore no make-up, had her hair severely pulled back and waddled along in huge canvas pants and sneakers. She was lugging an enormous, 60-pound sack of rice. But she was smiling.
>
> Today, Frank Pfeiffer (pronounced Fifer), no longer a stockyard butcher but a well-paid commercial movie cameraman, says, "Thank God, while I watched her struggling with the sack of rice she sprained her ankle."
>
> He whisked her into his jeep and drove her home. Since he could speak no Japanese and she not a word of English, they drove in silence, but after four speechless dates they knew they were in love.[147]

When the intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women was narrated within the framework of love, it was depoliticized and personalized. The idea of love transcended any political and social background and explained everything--a man,

---

[146] Literary Critic, Caroline Chung Simpson views this story as a symbolic narrative of cultural pluralism in the Cold War era: The nation solved the issue of racial integration by holding up the new form of family—the happy multiracial family. (Simpson, "*An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945-1960*," 176-185): Here, my argument focuses on love and will further examine idea of multiracial family in chapter five.

[147] James Michener, "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese," *Life*, February 21, 1955.

Frank Pfeiffer and a Japanese tiny girl just fell in love. Social theorist Denise De Rougemont argues that the concept of love emerged as the notion of people's free will was separated from the social and moral order in the Western modernity.[148] Love makes a man and woman into an individual who has their own free will. The notion of love individualized Frank Pfeiffer as just a 23 years-old boy from Chicago, rather than a white member of the American military who occupied Japan as a victor and as a Japanese "tiny girl" lugging 60-pound sack of rice, rather than an "oriental" citizen of a defeated nation who was barely surviving due to the shortage of food and materials. The idea of love made them just a man and a woman, impeding any discussions of the occupied context where they met racial/cultural difference, and of the economic disparity between the victor and the defeated. Here, I argue that the American soldiers' love played an important role in erasing the immorality of Japanese women. Given that the U.S. occupation of Japan produced potentially dangerous immoral women associating with American soldiers, it was American soldiers' love that solved this problem. American soldier's love erased any potential idea of its own sexual exploitation just as the U.S. allies with Japan were a loving project but not of domination and exploitation.

It is also interesting that the postwar Japanese mass media narrated their intimacy as successful and happy once Japanese women were celebrated as model brides and wives in the United States. This occurred when the U.S. mass media celebrated Japanese women as model wives along with increasing visibility and

[148] Denise De Rougemont, *Love in the Western World.* Trans. Mongomery Belgion. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1940), 22.

popularity of the 1957 film, *Sayonara*. For example, in 1958, a *Shukan Yomiuri* article reported that Japanese war brides triggered "Japanese girl boom" in the United States. It conducted some interviews with American men and wrote that they wanted to marry Japanese women because they were calm, obedient, and faithful.[149] The American men's celebration of Japanese women as "mysterious beauty and model brides" by American men became visible in the postwar Japanese mass media. The article also introduced Michiko Fujiwara as a "loved" Japanese war bride and explained that she was loved "because she was an obedient bride and a hard worker." Here, the article celebrated Michiko Fujiwara not as a person, but as one of the "Japanese war brides." As such, Japanese war brides became a Japanese national asset at the critical moment when Japan was normalizing relations with the United States within Cold War politics. However, again, Japanese women were recognized as wives because of their obedience and subservience to their husbands. Their figures were domesticated as model wives precisely in subordinate position and character.

Given that a new type of idea about intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women as love emerged, Japanese brides themselves become objects of Cold War romance. Because there is always a question of whether Japanese women married for financial and sexual reasons, or just for sexual reasons, I find that the women with whom I interviewed stressed that they married for love. In doing so, the women themselves unwittingly erased the violent context within which these

[149] "Shinpitekina Utsukushisa[Mysterious Beauty]: Oubeini Hirogaru Nihon Musume Buumu [Japanese Women's Boom Spread in the United States]," *Shukan Yomiuri*, February 2, 1958.

marriages took place. For example, Reiko, a Japanese woman who married a white American soldier in 1953, explained to me;

> I cannot imagine marrying a different man. I am very happy to marry him. He was a gentle and good looking man, and I loved him so much. When I went to picnic with him, I found that he is kind to everybody else just as he is to me. I thought him a nice man. People are usually not kind to everybody…It is not something like I wanted to marry American soldiers, but he was a nice man and that is why I married him.[150]

Reiko's use of the notion of love functions to differentiate herself from other Japanese women who married American soldiers. Here, the evocation of love affirms the women's freedom to choose their husbands, thus differentiating them from the "fallen" women who had sexual relations with American GIs in exchange for money. In Reiko's case, in doing so, she emphasizes how distinctly nice and gentle her American soldier husband was. Another woman, Shizuko who married a white American soldier in 1953 explains why she married him;

> My husband lived in Japanese American community and respected for Japanese. He knew about Japanese culture and custom very much. So I did not see him as gaijin (a foreigner), but appreciate his understanding Japanese people. He was different from other American soldiers.…I understand that people call women who married American men as Japanese war brides because we met each other as a result of war, but I did not marry him because he was an American but I liked him as a person.[151]

---

[150] Reiko (pseudonym), interview by Shigeyoshi Yasutomi and author, Kirkland, Washington, 18 March, 2006. Translation Mine. Reiko is from upper-middle class and lived in Amami Oshima in Kagoshima. After she graduated from high school, she moved to Shibuya, Tokyo and worked as a typist in the stationed U.S. Army. Translation Mine.

[151] Shizuko (pseudonym), interview by Yasutomi and author, Sammamish, Washington, 18 March 2007. Shizuko is from middle class and graduated from girl's high school in Tokyo. Her father worked for prefectural government. Translation Mine.

Here, I am not interested in deciphering whether these couples were truly in love, but in the representation and function of the idea of love--how love acquires language and becomes narrated. Women's narrative of love personalizes and depoliticizes their choice of marriage partners. By suggesting that the "nice and gentle" American soldiers were "just there" in postwar Japan, this depoliticized narrative prevented any potential representation of the men's domination and exploitation of Japanese women in occupied Japan.

However, I argue that who is deemed "loveable" and represented as nice and gentle is politically constructed and articulated rather than just a matter of individual free will. Japanese women's desire and choice of marriage partners was always situated within a specific political and social context in which American imperial masculinist power was exerted over a defeated Japan. Indeed, this argument is tied to my attempt to answer why American soldiers appeared as so kind, nice and gentle right after their nation fought against American soldiers' country and even right after the United States bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The next section argues how love emerged in the occupied space of Japan and became narrated within the political framework of Cold War alliance between the United States and Japan.

Liberation through Love: Invigorating American Soldiers as Loveable Husbands

What then was the interracial heterosexual love that emerged out of the U.S. occupation of Japan? Did love just naturally emerge out of American soldiers' as well as Japanese women's free will? Did the love mitigate the hierarchical gap between the

masculine victors and feminized defeated nation? Did the love function to relieve American colonial and imperial power over Japanese women? First, this section argues that who is deemed "loveable" is politically constructed and articulated rather than just a matter of individual free will. Japanese women's marriage decisions were always situated within the political and social context where American soldiers were victors and occupiers. In doing so, this section also argues the idea that rather than mitigating the hierarchical gap between American colonizers and Japanese women, the evocation of love articulates the differences between what America/American culture is and what Japan/Japanese culture is and functions to invigorate American masculine and imperial power.

While the idea of love personalized the matter of their marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women, their love emerged precisely within the political context where the United States occupied Japan--American soldiers were victors and occupiers possessing not only material wealth but also power. Women's narratives clearly show how American soldiers became loveable out of the occupied space of Japan. Remarks from Yuriko, who married a white American soldier in 1958 in Hiroshima, illustrate how American soldiers became loveable figures:

> I was attracted to the American soldier's wealth and gorgeousness…When I saw the couples between American soldiers and Japanese women walking in the city, I thought that they were cool and gorgeous.[152]

[152] Yuriko (pseudonym), interview by Yasutomi and author. Seattle, Washington, 18 March 2007. Yuriko is from working class and grew up in Hiroshima. Yuriko married a white American soldier in 1958 and immigrated to the United States in 1960. Translation Mine.

Here, women's narratives present that American soldiers' loveability was more than individual matter but emerged out of occupied space where they were victors appeared as wealthy and gorgeous. Another woman, Kyoko, who married a white American soldier in 1954 in Tokyo, explains why she married her husband in this way;

> Japan was devastated and I was very curious about how America is. It seemed like affluent and huge country. Compared to the United States, Japan and Japanese men at that time was not attractive. Japanese society was old-fashioned.[153]

American soldiers' loveability was emerged particularly out of the postwar occupied context where America was imagined as affluent and huge while Japan, and therefore Japanese men, unattractive and old-fashioned. Indeed, in contrast to American soldiers' attractiveness, Japanese men appeared unattractive. Another woman, Suzuko, who married a white American soldier in 1950 in Yokohama, says, "I married him [her American soldier husband] because I was attracted by rich and modern America so much. I was not interested in Japanese men at all. I did not like feudal Japanese society."[154]

Whereas America was modern, affluent, and huge, which made American soldiers loveable, Japan as traditional, feudal and old-fashioned made Japanese men unattractive. Japanese brides' narratives that American soldiers were nicer partner than Japanese men also became visible in the postwar US mass media. A 1954 *Reader's Digest* article entitled "America Through the Eyes of a Japanese War-

---

[153] Kyoko (pseudonym), interview by Yasutomi and author, Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007. Kyoko is from working class and married a white American soldier in 1954. She met her husband in 1952 at the Haneda airport where she was working. Translation Mine.

[154] Suzuko (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author, Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007. Suzuko is from middle class. When she met her husband in 1948, she worked at the library of the American Army hospital. Translation Mine.

Bride," showed how American soldiers became visible when a Japanese woman narrates their marriages in language of love. The article began asking, "How are these transplanted little rice shoots doing in our native soil?" and introduced American life of Mieko Miyazaki who married Lt. Pat Malloy. Mieko answers a question of "*Why did you decide to marry an American?*"

> Because I love the man' does not seem to satisfy people. They think there must be more to it than that. Of course, there is. I think that all the girls who met young American men found them so warm and understanding, so free and casual, that they wanted not only their love but their way of life, too. We wanted to escape our rigid, tradition-bound life in Japan. We are just like the millions who came here before us, leaving their homes in search of a better life in America.[155]

Mieko's answer characterized American soldiers as warm, understanding, free, and casual. So as to credit this figure, the American way of life was narrated as the one they wanted to gain. In doing so, by defining Japanese culture as traditional, feudalist, and patriarchal, Japanese tradition became something Japanese women wanted to escape from.

By defining Japanese tradition as male dominant and evil, American soldiers appear as liberators and freedom providers to Japanese women. In interview, Kuniko, who grew up in Nagano and married a white American soldier in 1952, explained why she married her American soldier husband: "I married my husband because he was gentle and respected for me well. I was not attracted by Japanese men at all…American soldiers looked cool. I felt pity but Japanese men were poor at that time.

---

[155] J.P. McEvoy, "American Through the Eyes of a Japanese War-Bride," April 1955.

They also looked down women."[156] Kuniko clearly stated that American soldiers' attractiveness was as "respectful for women" contrasted to Japanese men who "look down on women." American loveable figures emerge out of politically instituted ideas about who American men are and who Japanese men are, whereas Japanese men are feudal, sexist, and traditional, American men are constructed as progressive, attractive and benevolent. Within this idea, Japanese women become victims of sexist Japanese men and American men became their saviors and liberators.

American soldiers who appeared as liberators but not invaders worked well to mask the U.S. military presence in the postwar Japan as securing the U.S. geopolitical hegemony.[157] It was important for the United States to establish the allied relations with Asian countries through containment policies which intended to prevent Asian nations from turning communist under the regime of the Soviet Union. The first U.S. major project of the containment policy was occupation and reconstruction of Japan. After the success of constructing the "new" Japanese regime which preferred American types of political and economic structure, the United States came to involve itself in the foreign affairs in Asian nations one after another.[158] For the successive interventions to Asian countries after the occupation of Japan, it was necessary to

---

[156] Kuniko (pseudonym), interview by Yasutomi and author, Sammamish, Washington, 18 March 2007. She graduated from high school in Nagano and entered to the sewing school in 1950 in Yokohama. She met her husband at the party in Yokohama in 1950 and married him in 1952.

[157] Yen Espiritu argues the U.S. newspapers reporting on represent the U.S. military involvement in Vietnam war as a noble and moral mission in defense of freedom and democracy, rather than as an attempt to secure U.S. geopolitical hegemony in Southeast Asia. Likewise, I argue that the U.S. occupation of Japan was narrated as moral mission to provide freedom and democracy, rather than as an attempt to secure U.S. geopolitical hegemony in Asia. Refer to Espiritu, "The 'We –Win-Ever-When-We-Lose' Syndrome: U.S. Press Coverage of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the 'Fall of Saigon.'" *American Quarterly* 58.no.2 (2006).

[158] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middle Brow Imagination, 1945-1961.* (CA: University of California Press, 2003), 26.

establish that the United States not only successfully democratized but also liberated and saved Japanese people from "Japan's fanaticism, cultic imperial worship, and feudalism."[159] This representation reinforced the "good war" narrative, where oppressed and primitive people are rescued and reformed into free, democratic, and advanced citizens by the U.S.' benign project. The United States showed the "success of American occupation of Japan" by saving Japanese people, particularly Japanese women granting suffrage and guaranteeing equal rights with men. In this moment, Japanese women, who married American GIs became featured evidence as the liberated in the American democratic project of occupation. In doing so, within the Cold War context, "American soldier's love" masked any potential representation of their actions of "raping" and "exploiting" of Japan/Japanese women.

American soldiers' identity as liberators and freedom providers were also represented in an American soldier's narratives on love with a Japanese woman. Michael Forrester, who stationed in postwar Japan and married a Japanese woman, Tsuchino, wrote an autobiography entitled *Tsuchino: My Japanese War Bride*. Just as represented by the word "Love" written in Chinese characters on the book cover, it is a marriage love story between Michael and Tsuchino. His narrative presents how he saw the postwar Japan. Forrester writes;

> Japan was now a democracy and women had new rights. Because of the casualties of the war, there was a shortage of young men to marry and start families and young men to work at rebuilding the country. Many families were now fatherless. The customs and ways of life which existed prior to Japan's defeat were swept away.[160]

---

[159] Yoneyama, "Liberation Under Siege," 886.
[160] Michael Forrester, *Tsuchino: My Japanese War Bride* (UT: American Book Publishing, 2005), 31.

This narrative also carries American soldiers' presence in the postwar Japan as liberators and providers of democracy rather than invaders to secure for the United States geopolitical hegemony. Within this narrative, again, Japanese women became symbolic figures who gained "new rights" and objects of the U.S. liberation stories.

Interestingly, in Michael's narrative about their love, American soldiers' love coincides with Japanese women's freedom and liberation. For example, when Tsuchino told her family about her desire to marry Michael, her family fell into a dilemma. Tsuchino's family frowned upon the fact that they did not really know who he was and could not examine his family background because he did not have family registered in Japan. However, her family also knew that she was a strong-willed and wondered how she could find a Japanese husband who would be able to live with such a strong willed woman. Michael writes, "In Japan at that time the Japanese women were expected to be demure and defer to their husbands in all things. This is not Tsuchino's nature. She was an independent-minded woman in a county where the male was supreme."[161] Again, this narrative presents an orientalist view whereby Japanese women were transformed to model wives in the postwar era, but they could become American wives precisely because they were demure and deferential to their husbands. In doing so, Japanese wives were victims of Japanese patriarchal and feudalistic tradition. Within this framework, Tsuchino's marriage with an American soldier was depicted liberation because it demonstrated that she can even be independent and free as a wife--which was impossible in Japan.

---

[161] Forrester, *Tsuchino: My Japanese War Bride*, 41.

Again, intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women became "love" within the political context of the Cold War alliance between the United States and Japan. It is significant that idea of love tamed potentially dangerous figures of Japanese women and made them American subjects. Here, it was an American soldiers' love for Japanese women that was made represent the intimacy between American soldiers and Japanese women as benevolence and liberation, but not domination and exploitation. This coupling idea of love offers a metaphor for the Cold War relationship between the United States and Japan: The U.S. alliance with Japan is a loving project, but not an exploitation of resources nor domination. When Japanese women were tamed as American wives by soldiers' love within Cold War context, American soldiers' masculinity was invigorated in the way in which they become liberators and freedom providers. In doing so, Japanese women who loved American soldiers became objects of "the U.S. rescue fantasies"[162] and were incorporated into the Cold War nation.

[162] Espiritu argues that Vietnamese refugees became objects of the U.S. rescue fantasies as that to which the United States became "moral authority of U.S. leadership on world stage." I build on this argument and assert that Japanese brides became objects of the U.S. rescue fantasies through "American soldiers' love" which is coincide with saving and liberating them from feudalist, and male-dominant Japanese tradition/husbands. Refer to Espiritu, "The 'We-Win-Ever-When-We-Lose' Syndrome: U.S. Press Coverage of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the 'Fall of Saigon.'"

Part II

The U.S. Cold War Empire:

Producing Cultural Pluralism and Multiracial Family

Chapter Three
Alien Intimacies:
Impossible Marriages between American Soldiers and Japanese Women

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* on February 24, 1946, six months after the occupation started, nicely presents the questions that emerged out of the U.S. occupation of Japan, in which figures of "American soldiers strolling the streets with arms about Jap girls" came to be seen. The newspaper poses the question of whether "such young couples could be married" and asks, "Is such a marriage legitimate?"[163] Throughout the occupation, the military authority, SCAP (the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers), had the ultimate authority to have permission for the marriage between American soldiers and Japanese women and consistently took a determined attitude to prohibit these "mixed marriages." The marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women becoming subjects to regulations, discussions, and control, marked a historically significant phenomenon since American soldiers who desired and requested the marriages with Japanese women were not necessarily men of Japanese descent. The phenomenon of the marriages created a debate about race and sexuality, and particularly about miscegenation. It was during the occupation that American men and Japanese women became so intimate, crossing constituted racial categories, that the marriages became big national and social issues.

Yet, before discussing how the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women became the national issues, this chapter, first, argues that the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women were unthinkable and

[163] "Problem of G.I. Marriage to Japanese Girls Growing," *Los Angeles Times,* February 24, 1946.

impossible because they would make Japanese women into the US national subjects. Since the 1924 Johnson-Reed immigration and naturalization Act, or Asian Exclusion Act, made Japanese ineligible for citizenship, persons who had more than fifty percent Japanese blood were not eligible to immigrate to the United States. The legal restrictions made it impossible for American soldiers and Japanese women to marry during the U.S. occupation of Japan and thus unimaginable as national subjects. This chapter shows the context before the subjects named "Japanese war brides" emerged. While previous studies handled "Japanese war brides" as already constituted subjects who ontologically, ideologically, and socially existed, this chapter shows impossibility and unimaginability of Japanese women as fiancées and wives of American men.

Some marriages finally became possible through the 1947 Japanese War Bride Act and war brides became anti-miscegenation subjects in the domestic context. The second half of this chapter examines the racial idea of the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women and highlights Asianness of the anti-miscegenation idea: how the alien Japanese women challenged domestic anti-miscegenation thought. Previous studies tend to discuss anti-miscegenation law within the white-black binary, but this chapter focuses on the Japanese women's marriages with American soldiers as the first test case in which quite a number of alien Asian women challenged domestic anti-miscegenation laws. It was in 1948 that the California court in the case of *Perez v. Sharp* declared anti-miscegenation law

unconstitutional.[164] Within the currency of states which rescinded anti-miscegenation laws, finally Loving vs. Virginia case made Virginia's anti-miscegenation law unconstitutional in 1967 and ended all race-based legal restriction on marriage.[165] This chapter highlights a considerate number of Asian alien women's marriages with American men as the first test case of challenging to anti-miscegenation law, which happened in the international context during the U.S. occupation of Japan.[166]

In other words, the second half of this chapter argues that possible marriages between white soldiers and Japanese women were *racially* radical and taboo subjects to talk about even within the anti-miscegenation idea. Anti-miscegenation laws made interracial marriages between Orientals and white impossible in the domestic context.[167] Thirty states had anti-miscegenation laws as of 1945 when the occupation started. Out of them, fourteen states prohibited the marriages between white and "Mongolians" and six states considered interracial marriages as void or illegal.[168] The passage of the 1924 act made it unlawful for a white person to marry anyone with any trace whatever of any blood other than Caucasian.[169] Along with expanding fear of

---

[164] Andreas Perez, a Mexican American woman, and Sylvester Davis, an African American man, became subject to California's miscegenation law. While California's law categorized "white persons," "Negros, Mongolians, members of the Malay race, or mulattoes," Mexican American applicants were routinely categorized as "white." See Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally* (Oxford 2009), 207-8.
[165] Refer to Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America." *Journal of American History* 83. no.1 (1996): 44-69.
[166] The marriages usually occurred in Japan and therefore most of the couples faced the military regulations but not the marriage license officials which enforced the miscegenation laws. What the couples between white American soldiers and Japanese women challenged was national ideology and legitimacy of the "interracial marriages."
[167] Following chapters (chapter four and five) highlight how racially radical and taboo subjects were incorporated into *culturally* pluralist nation.
[168] James Browning, "Anti-Miscegenation Laws in the United States," *Duke Bar Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March, 1951); 31.
[169] While the United States had historically attempted to define who "colored person" was, anti-miscegenation laws regulated in early twentieth century enforced protection of "pure white race." For

racial demographic change since the late nineteenth century, knowledge about racial mixture--miscegenation--was proliferated.[170] The political and legal regulation of anti-miscegenation presents pervasive scientific belief and knowledge about race and racial mixture: white race should not mix with other races. Here, I draw attention to gender ideology about interracial marriages between Orientals and white: It was indeed the first time that a considerate number of interracial marriages between white "men" and Japanese "women" became material as well as ideological issue to the United States. Interracial couples were generally indicated as between Oriental "men" and white "women."[171] Marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women were not productive national subjects that the nation wanted to incorporate. Here, I also discuss children born to American soldiers and Japanese women, initially impossible and unthinkable national subjects, and now represented a problem as "mixed-blood"

---

example, the 1924 legislation of Virginia shifted its focus to the definition of a white person from that of a colored person. Historian, Walter Wadlington explains that it was the first time for white persons to be prohibited to marry Asiatics, other nonwhite persons, and persons who have more than one sixteenth Negro blood. Refer to Walter Wadlington, "The Loving Case: Virginia's Anti-Miscegenation Statute in Historical Perspective," *Virginia Law Review*, Vol.52, No. 7 (Nov., 1966), 1201.

[170] For example, Madison Grant's racial theory, written in "The Passing of the Great Race" (1916) became one of influential eugenicist' arguments. Grant asserted, "the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type. The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between white man and a Negro is a Negro…." Refer to Richard B. Sherman, "'The Last Stand': The Fight for Racial Integrity in Virginia in the 1920s," The Journal of Southern History, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Feb., 1988), 72. Along with his line, other racial theorists such as W.A. Plecker and Earnest Sevier Cox insisted that the mixture of white and non-white would be disaster since intimate contacts between white and non-white race would deteriorate white and destruct higher civilization (Sherman 73).

[171] Social scientific knowledge about sexual relation between Asian (American) men and white women linked to fear about Oriental men's sexual desire. Based on the idea that inferior racial men harass and rape white women, interracial relations between Oriental and white were interpreted as Yellow peril and a threat to the white race within the idea of popular preconceptions of protecting white womanhood. Peggy Pascoe asserts that while most anti-miscegenation laws perceived Negro men as threats who harass white woman, the American west targeted Japanese men after Japanese labor replaced Chinese laborers. For example, within the idea of protecting white womanhood, the Oregon miscegenation law prohibited the marriages between white and "Mongolians." The category of "Mongolian" which initially indicated Chinese when it was added to its law in 1893 was extended to Japanese in early twentieth century. Refer to Pascoe, 88-89.

between white and yellow. This discussion highlights the postwar miscegenation idea along with American family.

Mapping of Legality: Japanese Women as Aliens Ineligible to Citizenship

This section shows how SCAP's policies resulted in the impossibility of the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women. While the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women were subject to anti-miscegenation laws, once special Acts allowed Japanese women who married American soldiers to immigrate, they were not initially imagined as possible US subjects. This section discusses how officers in the war department and SCAP dealt with the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women and points to the "absence" of discussion so as to call attention to the women's social position outside the U.S. nation.

After WWII, American soldiers' marriages in "enemy alien" nations became one of a big concern for the war department.[172] Germany and Japan were the areas where the U.S. war department paid special attention as its occupied countries: the Allied powers occupied Germany after its surrender in April, 1945 and Japan after its surrender in August 1945. While the war department regarded both nations as critical areas for marriages between American soldiers and enemy aliens, the military authority only had to regulate relations between American soldiers and German women. On December 28, 1945, Public Law 271, the alien spouse act or war bride act, allowed them to immigrate to the United States without quota. The act allowed the

[172] Italy surrendered to the Allied Powers in September, 1943 and joined the war against Japan and therefore Italy was not included in enemy alien nations.

alien spouses and their children of U.S. citizens who served in or had honorable discharge certificate from the armed forces of the United States during the WWII to claim non-quota status.[173] Because immigration law did not restrict the immigration of German wives of American citizens, it was the military that restricted the American soldiers' marriages with German women.[174]

While the military authority restricted American soldiers' marriages with German women, it did not even discuss and restrict American soldiers' marriages with Japanese women.[175] This was so because Japanese women were ineligible to citizenship and thus the American soldiers' marriages with these women were impossible and unthinkable. For example, in a meeting in August, 1947, while the war department framed the meeting as discussing marriages occuring in "enemy alien" nations, it did not discuss American soldiers' marriages of Japanese women. While the war department discussed restriction of the American soldiers' marriages with German women, it just wrote, "Marriage to Japanese has been generally restricted on the basis of the racially restrictive immigration law and possibly to a lesser extent by occupation problems."[176] It was initially unimaginable for the department that

---

[173] Public Law 271 did not apply to foreign spouses of civilian employees of the War and Navy Departments, nor did it cover members of the Merchant Marine. This act was effective for three years until December 28, 1948. Refer to Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta. *War Brides of World War II* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press. 1988), 46.
[174] Shukert, *War Brides of World War II*, 140.
[175] Historian, Mae Ngai argues that the 1924 immigration law made Asians "illegal aliens whose inclusion within the nation was simultaneously a social reality and a legal impossibility--a subject barred from citizenship and without rights." Ngai argues that an illegal alien is an impossible subject, "a person cannot be and a problem that cannot be solved." The immigration law suggested that Asians were too foreign to become the national subjects. While other Asian brides could immigrate to the United States by the 1945 War Bride Act and 1946 Fiancee Act, these Acts did not apply to Japanese and Korean women who were still considered ineligible to citizenship.
[176] "Marriage in Oversea Commands," August 25, 1947, RG 407 box 717 file 291.1 War Department.

marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women would occur. I see this absence of discussion as that Japanese women were always and already outside of the marriageable subjects.[177]

The immigration law which made Japanese ineligible to citizenship had the power to explain everything: the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women were prohibited because of exclusionary immigration laws. The existence of restrictive immigration law allowed SCAP to prevent any discussion about racial discrimination while it was delegated by the war department and had ultimate authority to approve the marriages between the military personnel and Japanese women.

> The war department has been advised that, under laws administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, a person who has as much as one-half Japanese blood is not eligible for admission to the United States for permanent residence. In view of this restriction, the admission to the United States of either the Japanese wife or the fiancée of an American citizen, irrespective of the present ban on marriage to Japanese Nationals, is prohibited.[178]

---

[177] Both Public Law 271 and S.2122 (Fiancée Act) did not apply to Japanese and Korean because of their status ineligible to citizenship.

[178] "Marriage to Japanese nationals," January 10, 1947, RG 407 box 717 file 291.1; Even when the war department paid attention to American soldiers' marriages with both German and Japanese, how the department was concerned about their marriages was different. In March 26, 1947, the war department issued these following instructions to enlisted personnel: "To safeguard best interests of the individual and the service, care should be exercised in assigning individuals to commands of their choice when they have indicated a desire to marry German and Japanese." Then, on the one hand, the marriages with German women were paid attention for the purpose of the military use of the soldiers. After fraternization policy was lifted in 1946, the military allowed the marriages between American soldiers and German women. The war department merely instructed that the military authority should make sure of giving permission of the marriages "shortly before personnel are scheduled to leave theater upon completion of tour of duty." On the other hand, the war department advised of the personnel desiring to contract marriage with Japanese nationals of the existence of immigration laws that made them inadmissible. American soldiers' marriages with Japanese women were only paid attention in order to remind soldiers that Japanese women cannot immigrate to the United States and therefore legally marry in the United States. Here, again, they were impossible subjects as immigrants under the immigration law.

SCAP only pointed to American immigration law that prohibited the immigration of Japanese women without any further discussion of racial discrimination toward Japanese women. With this stance, the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women were legally impossible, a problem that SCAP could not solve. For example, in June 18, 1947, the secretary of war received a letter from a senator who requested a marriage between a military personnel who stationed in Tokyo and a Japanese woman. The Secretary of war just replied to him that "so long as the present immigration laws prevail there appears to be *no real solution to this problem.*"[179] Here, I also point to the "ghostly" existence of a number of intimacies between American soldiers and Japanese women that did not come out as a form of marriage because of the immigration restriction.[180]

There was still a voice pointing out that stance of the war department was racially discriminatory to Japanese women since it permitted American soldiers' marriages to German women. On January 24, 1947, Senator Joseph H. Ball wrote a letter to Assistant Secretary of State, John H. Hilldring about the marriage of Myron Lieberman, a former GI who served in Tokyo, with Japanese woman. In the letter, Ball pointed out differences in their official treatment of the Japanese as compared to Germans, particularly regarding marriages between Japanese women and American

---

[179] "Legislation Regarding Alien Marriages," June 18, 1947, RG 407 box 717 file 291.1. Emphasis Mine.

[180] Critical sociologist, Avery Gordon explains that the concept of the ghost enables us to see the lost and missing subjects which are not understandable and noticeable by "the available critical vocabularies." (Gordon, 65) By focusing on SCAP policies and dominant discourses about the marriages, I attempt to recognize the stories of "barely visible, or seemingly not there." (Gordon, 8) This chapter presents the certain figures of Japanese wives of American soldiers who did not emerge by the dynamics of the immigration laws, occupation policies, and racial ideas.

servicemen. Howard C. Patterson, assistant secretary of war, replied to Ball and explained, "The regulations currently in effect in the occupied zone of Germany, while permitting such marriages, are qualified to the extent that such marriages are permitted only after a very careful investigation of the character and background of the German citizen and authorized to take place only a reasonable period of time prior to the anticipated departure of the American citizen from the occupied zones."[181] While Patterson explained that the military authority still thoroughly investigated the soldiers' marriages with German women, he again pointed to the restrictive immigration law to explain why SCAP could not permit American soldiers' marriages with Japanese women: "As you know, Public Law 271, 79th Congress, approved 28 December 1945, and public Law 471, 79th Congress, approved 29 June 1946, were designed to facilitate the admission to the United States of alien spouses and alien fiancées (fiancés) of members of the Armed Forces. However, it is the understanding of the war department that under current immigration laws, persons with as much as one-half Japanese blood were ineligible for entry into the United States for permanent residence and were, therefore, excluded from the benefits of the Public Laws cited above."[182] Here, what I point out is the absence of any discussion about racial discrimination against Japanese women in SCAP's responses. Immigration laws, which made Japanese nationals ineligible for citizenship and impossible for them to

[181] "Relations between servicemen and Japanese citizens," January 24, 1947, RG 407 box 717 file 291.1 American National Red Cross, NA.
[182] "Relations between servicemen and Japanese citizens," January 24, 1947, RG 407 box 717 file 291.1 American National Red Cross, NA.

immigrate to the United States, allowed SCAP to prevent further discussion of racial discrimination in their stance, where they did not approve any such marriages.

Given that marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women themselves were prohibited, there was no discussion about their children among SCAP's argument until the late 40's and early 50's when a number of soldiers requested for their marriages on behalf of their children. Likewise, while SCAP made a policy that pregnancy was not considered as "a very unusual circumstance" to approve marriages, the U.S. immigration law, which prohibited Japanese women's and their children's immigration, explained everything about why pregnancy could not become a reason to approve their marriage.[183] Again, immigration law prevented further discussion about the possibly racial discriminative aspect of the policy. For example, a soldier, Manuel Ray Barnett requested for permission of the marriage with a Japanese woman, Ayako Ito in January, 1950. The captain in the assistant adjutant general office replied to him in this way: "The application of Manuel R. Barnett to marry a Japanese national is not favorably considered…Req[uest] is submitted as possibly being in "very unusual circumstances" category. Pregnancy, in this case, is cited as unusual circumstances. This Hq[Headquarters] has never considered pregnancy as providing a basis for approving marriages of this type."[184] Along with many marriage requests, SCAP released a memorandum in March, 1950, on "application for permission to marry Japanese nationals" and clearly stated:

---

[183] There were a few random cases in which SCAP gave permission to American soldiers to marry Japanese women and allowed them to immigrate to the United States. For example, higher class soldiers tended to receive permission as exceptional.

[184] "Marriage Application," January 12, 1950, RG 407 box 363 file 291.1.

> On occasion applicants appear to have the impression that pregnancy or birth of an illegitimate child constitutes "very unusual circumstances" and, therefore, request consideration on this basis. *This headquarters has never considered such circumstances as providing the basis for approving such applications.*[185]

While SCAP constantly received requests for approval of marriages, especially from soldiers who had a baby with Japanese women, SCAP kept refusing them.

Under the policy in which SCAP decided that pregnancy was not considered as "an unusual circumstance" to constitute the marriages, again, it was the immigration law that made Japanese women and their children ineligible to citizenship and explained impossibility of approval of the marriages. For example, in August, 1950, Kiyoko Makiuchi sent a letter to SCAP to solicit its approval for marriage with her American soldier fiancé, Wallace Herbert. She had two children fathered by Herbert and wanted them to be legitimate. In her letter, she wrote, "I am the mother of two children born to an American soldier and myself. My husband left for Korea suddenly and now all our days are filled with sorrow. Isn't there some way of making our marriage legal through your good offices? [..] I do not want to see my children lead the lives of outcasts. I beg of you your kind consideration."[186] While she solicited the approval of marriages for their children, SCAP just mentioned the immigration law which had made Japanese ineligible to citizenship. One week later, Lyle J. Robertson, Chief of Legislative liaison, replied,

> The department of the Army has been advised that, under laws administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, a person

[185] "Application for permission to marry Japanese nationals," March 21, 1950, RG 338 box 115 file 291.1. Emphasis Mine.
[186] "Miss Kiyoko Makiuchi," August 7, 1950, RG 407 Box 363 File 291.1.

> who has as much as one-half Japanese blood is not eligible for admission to the United States for permanent residence. In view of this restriction, the admission to the United States of either the Japanese wife or the fiancée of an American citizen is prohibited.[187]

Immigration law was all that explained prohibition of the marriage regardless of existence of their children.

Marriages within Japan's Jurisdiction: Japanese Americans' Case

The war department did not know what to do with the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women since they were unthinkable and impossible subjects under the immigration law. However, what was acceptable marriage for SCAP was a marriage which could be established within Japan's jurisdiction. Who fell into this category? SCAP considered to be eligible Nisei men whose wives were Japanese women. As of the U.S. occupation started in 1945, there were more than 10,000 Japanese who also had American citizenship in Japan.[188] Most of them were Nisei who were stranded in Japan by outbreak of war and some worked for SCAP. There were also thousands of Japanese American soldiers who were stationed in Japan, some of whom had Japanese citizenship. By the time the 1947 Soldier's Brides Act was enacted, which allowed Japanese wives who married American soldiers to enter the United States, there were 50 marriages between Japanese Americans and Japanese

[187] Chief of Legislative liaison, August 14, 1950, RG 407 box 717 File 291.1.
[188] Since Japan adapted to blood lineage, some Japanese American men had Japanese citizenship (Koseki) and dual citizenship. If Issei parents registered their child's birth, their child holds Japanese citizenship.

women admitted in Japan.[189] By the time the 1950 Soldier's Brides Act was enacted, about 700 marriages between Nisei and Japanese women were permitted in Japan.

Soon after the U.S. occupation of Japan started, SCAP was concerned about Japanese marriage law in terms of how these Japanese American men could marry with Japanese women. In December 2, 1945, three months after the occupation started, SCAP raised two points about who could marry and what constitutes a marriage in Japan.[190] SCAP found that a marriage in Japan consisted merely of notifying the Japanese registrar of the desire to have the wife's name changed on the census registration from that of her family to that of her husband's.[191] By comparing to marriage rituals in other locations such as "the performance of a civil ceremony by civil officials (Dutch New Guinea), registered clergyman (Australia), or Army and Navy Chaplains who have been locally certified (Philippine common wealth)," SCAP required a substitute to effectuate marriage in Japan. SCAP decided to have the US consul issue a certificate on receipt of information that the requirements of Japanese law had been fulfilled following the pattern prior to the war.

SCAP initially assumed that only Japanese Americans would desire to marry Japanese women, and these could marry within Japan's jurisdiction.[192] SCAP decided

---

[189] "Soldiers Brides Act Passed; Awaits President's Signature," *Rafe Shimpo*, July 19, 1947.
[190] "Marriage of Military Personnel," Dec 2, 1945, RG 331 Box 433 File 291.1 .
[191] Article 775 of Japanese Civil Code is quoted in part as follows: "Marriage takes effect upon notification thereof being made to the Registrar. Notification under the preceding paragraph must be made by both parties and two or more witnesses of legal age, either orally or by a document signed by them."
[192] While SCAP did not assume that such a case would happen, there were some cases that American soldiers who did not have Japanese citizenship gave up their own American citizenship and married within Japan's marriage law. For example, William Miller who stationed in Japan without Japanese citizenship married under the Japan's jurisdiction. After he was discharged from the military, he decided to stay and live in Japan with his Japanese wife since he realized that he could not bring his

to make American soldiers who desired to marry Japanese women submit all the required documents to register their marriages with the American Consulates at Yokohama or Kobe. Then, "[U]pon a consular finding that no legal grounds exist which would incapacitate an American party for marriages, the application is then transmitted to the Registry Office of the Japanese government at Naka Ward in Yokohama where it is accepted by the Japanese officials."[193] SCAP's policy articulated marriages of American personnel who can marry within Japanese jurisdiction while it treated other potential marriages to American personnel with Japanese women as an extralegal matter.[194] SCAP dealt with the marriages' "eligibility under the law of their own domicile."[195]

Not to say that marriages of Japanese American personnel with Japanese women did not cause any problems. They became a problem when Japanese American men desired to bring back Japanese women to the United States and attempted to

---

wife back to the United States. He lost American citizenship and was adopted by his wife's family. "Nippon Musume to Kekkonn shi Shiminken Houki [Abandoned his Citizenship by Marriage with Japanese Girl]," *Rafu Shimpo*, June 5, 1947.

[193] "Laws and Regulations Regarding Method of Contracting Marriage in Japan," Sep 22, 1949, RG 331 Box 1260 File 291.1.

[194] Until the Nationality Act was enacted in 1950, Japanese women who gained the citizenship of their husbands lost their Japanese citizenship. According to Old Nationality Law which was effective until May 4th, 1950, foreign men could be adopted by wife's family. Under the new Nationality Law, which became effective July 1st, 1950, Japanese nationals could marry foreign citizens who lose their foreign citizenship by marriage with Japanese nationals. Japanese women who engaged in unrecognizable marriages with American personnel were called as "Only." A woman called "Only" had a relation with an American man, but was not his wife.

[195] Here, I should add that it was very inconsistent that SCAP decided who they gave marriage permission and right to bring his wife back to the United States. There was no firm policy, but SCAP tended to issue permission to higher class of soldiers and well-known people. One example is a marriage between Nisei soldier, Lieutenant George H. Goda and Japanese famous actress, Mitsuko Miura in early April, 1946. After Lit. Goda successfully received the permission from the commanding officer, Goda and Miura married. He could come back to the United States with his wife, Miura, in early May, 1946 even before the first Japanese war bride Act was enacted in July 1947. ("Lt. Goda's Marriage to Japan Movie Actress," April 9, 1946, *Rafu Shimpo*.)

come into the realm of American jurisdiction. Indeed, SCAP received many requests for permission from Japanese American soldiers who desired to marry Japanese women. However, it rejected them by repeating that "Except under very unusual circumstances, United States military personnel, and civilians employed by the War Department, will not be granted permission to marry nationals who are ineligible to citizenship in the United States." For example, ex-Sergeant, Robert Kitajima married Mary Enta Kitajima, Canadian Japanese in February, 1946.[196] While they were permitted their marriage, the immigration authorities refused to allow him to bring back his Japanese wife.[197] As another example, Mikio Uchiyama, a civilian employee of the Army in Japan requested permission to marry a Japanese woman. For "security reason," the petition was denied when he was in the Armed Services counter intelligence corps in January 11, 1949. A member of Congress, Cecil White renewed his petition when he quit counter intelligence section. However, his request was denied again because his intended bride, Tomiko Henmi, a Japanese National was not eligible to enter the United States.[198]

SCAP's discussion on whether they should give Nisei soldiers permission to marry highlights American racial idea about citizenship: It was not a matter of mixture of different race and blood but of Japanese subjects as national subjects who construct the nation's family. In March, 1950, Hon J.R. Farrington, a Congress person from

---

[196] When he approached the immigration officials, immigration authorities told him that he could bring back his wife because the immigration officials thought his wife was Chinese.
[197] *Pacific Citizen* told that 1947 Japanese war brides Act finally allowed them to go back to the United States.
[198] "Transmittal of Letter from Member of Congress re Marriage to Japanese National," April 12, 1949, RG 331 Box 643 File 291.1.

Hawaii, advocated that Nisei should be permitted to marry Japanese nationals inasmuch as they had the same blood lines and racial background. SCAP replied that the premise on the surface appears to have some validity, but "while Nisei had the same blood lines as Japanese nationals, the Nisei were nonetheless U.S. citizens and, therefore, subject to all the laws and restrictions to which any other U.S. citizen was subject and that citizenship not race, color, or religion was the criteria."[199] Nisei, who were designated as "enemy aliens" and got interned during the war regardless of their American citizenship, were now "American citizens" who could not marry and bring back Japanese women, or "girls of their own race."

While Japanese Americans had "the same blood lines and racial background" with Japanese women, the marriages between Japanese American soldiers and Japanese women were not preferable subjects of nation because of racial ideas about reproduction. In the light of the nation's racial history with Asians since the late nineteenth century, Asians were not fit subjects for constructing nation's family, but were perfectly fit to supply cheap labor. In the nineteenth century, first Chinese and later Japanese and Filipinos came to the United States as cheap labor for enterprises in Hawaii and the West Coast. These men were young laborers who intended to return to their home countries. Because immigration law restricted Asian women's immigration and anti-miscegenation law prevented them from marrying other racial women, specifically intended to white women, Asians were American subjects only as cheap labor, but not as subjects to construct family and engage in reproduction. After the

[199] "Application for Permission to Marry Japanese Nationals," March 21, 1950, RG 338 Box 115 File 291.1.

1882 immigration Act banned Chinese immigration, Japanese men were recruited as labor. Since 1907 gentle man's agreement allowed Japanese men to bring their wives and children, Japanese women who married in Japan immigrated to the United States.[200] Within American legal context of anti-miscegenation where Asians could not marry white American women, immigration law primarily allowed Japanese labor to bring over the women of their own race in order to form families. However, once Japanese labor became subjects who could form family and engage in reproduction, the nation came to consider Japanese as a threat and Yellow Perils who degraded the nation and contested white supremacy. Historian Natalia Molina argues that Japan as an economic menace was entangled with Japanese as racial threat to white Americans in early twentieth century. She shows that when the Public Health officials in Los Angeles explained how Japanese farmers became a threat in agricultural industry in California, they brought in the argument of the fact that Japanese births outnumbered white births. She says, "Citing birth rates as evidence of this looming menace also helped focus attention on Japanese women and the 'double threat' they constituted…Pomeroy [a health officer in the Los Angeles County Health Department] pointed out that the effects of Japanese women's fertility could be seen already in the 'growth of a large American citizenship, yellow in color.'"[201] Japanese women were subjects who reproduced "Japanese-blood" children as American citizens and considered as Yellow Perils who may dominate white Americans. The argument of

[200] Along with the enactment of Gentlemen's Agreement, Japanese women who newly married Japanese men in the United States in a distance immigrated to the United States. These women were called "picture brides."
[201] Natalia, Molina. *Fit to be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1940* (University of California Press, 2006), 56.

Japanese as a threat to white Americans triggered enactment of Alien Land Laws in 1913 and 1920 and finally of 1924 Immigration Act which ended all Asian immigration.[202]

Within the American nation's idea of Japanese women as fearful sources which were threat to white Americans, SCAP did not support the marriages of Japanese American soldiers with "girls of their own race" and bring them back to the United States. Then, a question is when and how American soldiers' marriages became possible if Japanese women were a menace who would reproduce and increase the Japanese race?

The Japanese War Bride Acts Established in the Realm of America's Jurisdiction

During the American occupation, two US policies affected the immigration of Japanese women who married American soldiers to the United States: The 1947 and 1950 Soldier Brides Acts. Previous studies tend to celebrate especially the first one—the 1947 Soldier Bride Act--because it allowed Japanese wives to immigrate to the United States even while the 1924 Exclusion law was still in effect.[203] However,

---

[202] Alien Land Laws aimed to prevent immigrants from possessing lands no longer than three years. The Land Acts intended to drive out Japanese since farming was their main source of livelihood. In 1920, Japanese government self-abolished the picture bride system and stopped sending Japanese women as wives to the United States in exchange for preventing the enactment of the alien land law in California. While it was enacted in 1920, it highlights the sources of threats to white America, Japanese women, which Japanese government attempted to remove from the realm of American nation and citizenship. The 1924 immigration Act was called Japanese Exclusion Act since other Asians were already excluded in previous Immigration Acts and the Act aimed to exclude Japanese.

[203] See Williams Teresa K, "Marriage between Japanese Women and U.S. Servicemen since World War II," *Amerasia Journal* 17.1 (1991):135-154; Lark F. Regina, "They Challenged Two Nations: Marriages between Japanese Women and American GIs, 1945 to the Present," (Ph.D. Diss. University of Southern California, 1999.) This act was an amendment to the act approved in December 28, 1945, entitled, "An Act to expedite the admission to the United States of alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen

although both laws were designed to accommodate marriages between Japanese women and Japanese descent soldiers, they also ended up enabling marriages with non-Japanese American soldiers.[204] While previous studies tended to celebrate these special laws as America's democratic gesture, this section shows it was a compromised law that emerged out of JACL's effort to make Japanese eligible for citizenship and immigration quota.

The 1947 Soldier Bride Act became possible out of tremendous effort made by a Japanese American human rights organization called the Japanese American Citizen League (JACL).[205] JACL was the organization which was a civic and patriotic group "concerned with well-being and political and economic progress of American citizens of Japanese ancestry."[206] In the postwar moment, the JACL attempted to overcome the stigma of being interned as "enemy aliens" and to emphasize their loyalty to the United States. JACL believed that most Nisei soldiers, known as the 442nd, and other personnel who served as interpreters and translators, showed their loyalty and contributed to American nation during the war. Some 33,330 persons of Japanese ancestry, most of whom were Nisei, served in World War II.[207] President Harry Truman recognized their loyalty and praised the 442nd upon this return from Italy and

---

member of the United States armed forces." The act embraced only the alien spouses and alien minor children who were racially ineligible for admission. There was also another law, public law 471, 29 June 1946, providing that alien fiancées or fiancés of certain United States citizens may be admitted into the United States with a passport visa as a non-immigrant temporary visitor for a period of three month under certain provision. (from RG 407 box 717 file 291.1 "Marriage to Japanese Nationals" January 10, 1947.)

[204] The U.S. immigration law had dealt with Korean subjects as Japanese and therefore include marriages between Korean decent soldiers and Japanese/Korean women.

[205] It was established in Seattle in 1930.

[206] Mike Masaoka and Bill Hosokawa, *They Call me Moses Masaoka* (William Morrow & Co. 1987), 44.

[207] Masaoka, *They Call Me Moses Masaoka*, 179 and *Rafu Shimpo* May 20, 1947.

held a parade in celebration. He told the Nisei, "You fought for the free nations of the world. You fought not only the enemy, you fought prejudice--and you won. Keep up that fight. Continue to win. Make this great republic stand for what the Constitution says it stands for: 'The welfare of all the people, all the time.'"[208] In the postwar period, proud of the contribution that Nisei made during the war, JACL started the activity targeted to eliminate racial restrictions from the Nationality Act as well as remove legal discrimination of Issei and make them eligible to citizenship.[209] JACL formed the anti discrimination committee (ADC) to eliminate racial discrimination in immigration and naturalization matters, assigning Mike Masaoka as the director and lobbyist. On January 13, 1947, Delegate Joseph R. Farrington of Hawaii submitted the bill (H.R. 857) which would eliminate racial bars against naturalization and immigration. A month later, on February 22nd, Senator William Langer introduced a companion bill (S. 602) to Farrington's proposal in the House. Both of them declared that "right to become a naturalized citizen under the provisions of this chapter

[208] Masaoka, *They Call Me Moses Masaoka*, 190.

[209] JACL put much effort on enactment of the bill which makes Issei eligible to citizenship. Since Issei was ineligible to citizenship, Issei faced to many legal discrimination such as denied to have their rights to own farmland. Alien Land Laws prohibited people ineligible to citizenship to own lands in sixteen states in West. Another JACL's concern in postwar periods was prevention of deportable aliens who entered the United States as students or treaty merchants and were subject to deportation since they were left in the United States and their status changed during the war. As a result of ADC's effort, on June 1st, 1947, President Truman signed a bill opening citizenship to aliens "irrespective of race" who had served in the U.S. forces in World I and II. (The bill HR 6505) was introduced by Rep. Walter H. Judd, R., Minn., and provided that alien Japanese who rendered "outstanding service" to the United States between December 7, 1941 and September 2nd, 1945, be allowed to remain in the United States permanently. The bill also assures those persons from deportation in case they have dependents who are American citizens.) The bill benefited Issei who volunteered for special service against Japan. A month later on July 1st, 1947, Truman signed the bill banning indiscriminate deportation of treaty merchants. (207) Finally, Walter McCarran Act which Masaoka supported was enacted in June, 1952. The Walter McCarran Act provided naturalization opportunities to all legally admitted residents regardless of race or national origin. For JACL, Walter McCarran Act made 88,000 aliens, 85,000 of whom were of Japanese ancestry eligible to citizenship. It provided an immigration quota for all countries under the 1924 National Origin Quota Act. For Japan, the number was a token 185 per year.

(National Act of 1924 Section 303) shall not be limited by race or national origin" and amend certain sections of the Immigration Act of 1917 to permit the entry of those nationalities now excluded on the quota basis.

In the move to amend immigration and naturalization law, JACL also supported the bill, which would allow Nisei servicemen to bring back their wives of Japanese ancestry, a breakthrough for opening Japanese immigration. Supporting the Act also merged with JACL's activities to aid the 10,000 Nisei stranded in Japan who now desired to return to the United States.[210] Some Nisei had Japanese wives but could not bring them back to the United States under the immigration and naturalization law. With JACL's efforts, Chairman Frank Fellow of the Subcommittee for Immigration and Naturalization submitted the bill, H.R.3149, on April 22, 1947. The Act, which was finally signed by President Truman in July, amended the Soldier Brides Act of 1945.[211] The Act had a 30-day clause indicating that it applied only to soldiers "who were married prior to or within 30 days of the enactment of the Soldier Brides amendment."[212] Masaoka explained, "Although this amendment will affect beneficially those servicemen who already are married to racially inadmissible

---

[210] Roger N. Baldwin, special representative of the JACL, engaged in activities to help about 10,000 Nisei who stranded in Japan by outbreak of war. As of July, 1947, about 3,000 Nisei had applied for certificates of United States citizenship to the American counsel and 2,250 have been cleared. Some Nisei lost American citizenship by service in the Japanese Army or government by voting and by naturalization. *(Pacific Stars and Stripes*, May 3, 1947) This issue originarily emerged soon after the occupation started. (June 16, 1946).

[211] Soldier Brides Act of 1945 only allowed GI spouses of alien ancestry eligible to citizenship were permitted entry to the United States. Japanese, Korean, Canadian Nisei, Guamian, Siamese and other ancestry not admissible under the racial restrictions in the immigration laws were not applied. It was an amendment of PL 271, which was a temporary law, expiring December 27, 1948 and therefore couples who were permitted for immigrating to the United States had to do so by this time.

[212] "Truman Signs Private Bill For Mrs. Thurn," *Pacific Citizen*, July 12, 1947.

women, it will not apply to many who are planning to get married."[213] Most soldiers who had married Japanese women were 2,800 Nisei men in Japan since the headquarters of Far East Command did not permit marriages beyond Japanese jurisdiction.[214] There were also 100 to 150 GIs who were awaiting the passage of the bill before getting married. Masaoka opposed the 30-day clause since it was too short to apply to the marriages. However, it was already a compromise because the original amendment proposed by the House judiciary committee limited eligibility to those who had married before Jan. 1, 1947. The house Judiciary committee explained the 30-day clause as indicating "not to promote marriage between United States servicemen and racially admissible aliens."[215]

In the House Report, it clearly stated that Japanese War Bride Act was indicated to support citizen soldiers who had married "girls of their own race."

> Under the so-called GI Brides Act, Public Law 271 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, the alien spouses of United States citizens serving or honorably discharged from the armed forces of the United States are eligible for admission to the United States as nonquota immigrants […] As an example, a number of the United States citizen soldiers of the Japanese or Korean race have married *girls of their own race* while serving in the Pacific. These girls, under present law, are

---

[213] "Senata Passes Amendment to Soldier Brides Act: Will Permit Entry into U.S. of 'Ineligible Alien' Spouses of American Servicemen," *Pacific Citizen*, July 19, 1947.

[214] Masaoka contested 30 days clause since it was too short to apply the marriages. The house Judiciary committee explained the 30-day clause as indicating "not to promote marriage between United States servicemen and racially admissible aliens."

[215] Both Senate and House report stated, "In order not to encourage marriages between United States citizen service people and racially admissible aliens the subcommittee felt that a date should be placed in the bill making it applicable only to those marriages occurring before January 1, 1947. After further deliberation, however, it was discovered that many of these servicemen are awaiting the enactment of this measure before getting married and that many of the commanding officers in the Pacific are withholding the necessary permission until the passage of this legislation. Therefore, the subcommittee has amended the bill by striking out the date "January 1, 1947," as it appears on page 1, line 9, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "thirty days after the approval of this Act."

> ineligible for admission and the only relief in such cases is through private legislation.[216]

This special law was race specific, only indicating marriages between soldiers of Japanese descent and Japanese women.

SCAP also emphasized that the suspension of the prohibition of the marriages through this law did not indicate the desirability of such a marriage. Masaoka wrote Assistant Secretary of War a letter to ask the effect of the 1947 law on future immigration law. F.P. Munson, an assistant secretary of war, replied, "It was not intended not desired that the usual standards under which the desirability of marriage is determined prior to granting approval be relaxed."[217] Against the requests for marriage permission after application expiration dated on August 21, 1947, the Adjutant General, Edward F. Witsell, for example, took the same position, saying "The suspension of this prohibition [through this law] did not, of course, relax the usual standards under which the desirability of a marriage was determined prior to granting approval."[218]

Another opportunity for American soldiers to marry Japanese women and bring them back to the United States came through the 1950 Japanese Soldier's Act, or Public Law 717. It, again, became possible out of JACL's ongoing effort to introduce private bills for entry of Japanese wives, fiancées' and children to the United States. In

---

[216] "Amending the Act to Expedite the Admission to the United States of Alien Spouses and Alien Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces," House Reports, 80th Congress 1st Session. Emphasis Mine.
[217] "Amending the Act to Expedite the Admission to the United States of Alien Spouses and Alien Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces," House Reports, 80th Congress 1st Session.
[218] RG 407 Box 717 File 291.1 September 22, 1947.

1949, it was still hard for JACL-ADC to move Congress to admit their entry. There had been only about dozen marriages permitted.[219] However, Masaoka constantly submitted the private bills for Japanese wives' entry to the United States with their American husbands. While Congress and SCAP still frowned upon marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women, Congress "become a little more willing to act on private bills than was the case even a year ago," according to Masaoka in March 1950.[220] Since then, dozens of private bills were approved.[221] Showing a sign for alleviation, the House passed the two private bills admitting Japanese fiancées into the United States on May 18th. Two of them were soon to be wives of non-Nisei: Masae Marumoto, fiancée of Capt. Harry Ost, Fredonia, N.D., and Sumiko Kato, fiancée of Thomas D. Jacobs Jr., a World War II veteran. The private laws required them to marry their fiancés within three months after entering the United States, or they will be subject to deportation.[222] On June 3rd, 1950, the Senate Judiciary Committee favorably admitted 19 house bills to admit Japanese wives, fiancées, or children of American citizens. Masaoka said, "This is the largest group of such bills ever reported to the Senate for action at one time." Then, 30 more house bills were approved by the Senate and sent to President on June 17, 1950.[223]

---

[219] Because deadline for Japanese wives' entry to the United States expired December, 1948, Masaoka asked House Judiciary Committee to eliminate all racial restrictions in amendments under study to extend the deadline of the Solder's Bride Act at least another year.
[220] "Japanese Girl Arrives Here To Wed Occupation Sweetheart," *Pacific Citizen*, March 18, 1950.
[221] *Pacific Citizen* reported that Joseph R. Farrington, R., Hawaii, on Jan 31 had introduced several bills to permit the marriages of American soldiers in Japan to Japanese women.
[222] "House Passes Bill to Admit Brides of Two American GIs," *Pacific Citizen*, May 27, 1950.
[223] A *Pacific Citizen* article on June 17, 1950 also reported that the Senate passed three House bills admitting a Canadian Japanese bride and two children in addition to three other private bills. On July 15th, 1950 article carried that the President signed nice private bills admitting Japanese brides and children to permanent residence in the United States.

In the currency of increasing introduction and admission of private bills to permit the entry of Japanese wives, fiancées and children, President Truman signed another soldier bride bill on August 20th. This bill was enacted to avoid the necessity of a considerable number of private bills.[224]

> The committee is informed that there are approximately 760 alien wives and alien minor children of United States citizen servicemen mostly in Japan. These wives and alien minor children will be unable to accompany the citizen husband and father upon his return to the United States unless the racial bar is removed. A number of these servicemen have already returned to the United States but were obliged to leave their wives and children in Japan. A considerate number of the citizen servicemen involved are themselves of *Japanese descent.*[225]

Here again, the bill was also for soldiers and veterans who were of Japanese descent. Further, the bill was specifically for "760 alien wives and alien minor children of United States citizen servicemen" most of whose husbands had gone to the United States and who were forced to remain in Japan because of the immigration law's restriction.

Ideologically, both the 1947 and 1950 soldier brides Acts were not beyond the idea of Japanese American servicemen and veterans who married "girls of their own race." However, there were not only Japanese American soldiers and veterans who married Japanese women through these Acts. Through the 1947 Japanese war brides Act, 823 Americans married Japanese women during the 30-day period between July 22nd and Aug 21. Of these, 597 were Nisei GIs and veterans, 211 were Caucasians and

---

[224] "Senate Judiciary Committee Reports Out Bill to Admit Japanese Brides of U.S. Soldiers," *Pacific Citizen*, July 1, 1950.
[225] "Permitting of Alien Spouses and Minor Children of Citizen Members of the United States Armed Forces," House Report. Emphasis Mine.

15 "Negro."[226] Rep. Frank Fellow's comment nicely presents the ideology embedded in the Act and the social and material condition caused by the Act. He said, "The bill is designed to correct an injustice to Americans of oriental ancestry…But it also permits American soldiers of Japanese brides and bring them into" the United States.[227] The 1950 Soldier Brides Acts even changed the ratio of racial demographics of American soldiers who married Japanese women. In September 1952, the American consulate reported that 8,381 marriages had occurred since the occupation started in August 1945.[228] Ratio of the racial demographic became "73 per cent were white, 15 per cent Nisei and 12 per cent Negro."[229] The majority of people who married Japanese women became white soldiers through the 1950 Japanese war bride Act.

Anti-Miscegenation Marriages and Their "Mixed-Blood" Children

Given that the Japanese War Bride Act caused the marriages beyond blood line and allowed any American soldiers' wives to issue non-quota visa, SCAP became concerned about how many of would marry with Japanese women, and of which race. How SCAP discussed the racial components of potential marriages triggered by the 1950 Soldier Brides Act underscores American racial ideas entangled with ideas of marriage, reproduction, and racial improvement. When SCAP recognized that there may be a number of "mixed marriages," it was finally based on anti-miscegenation

[226] Total also includes 54 men who are on occupation duty in Okinawa. August 30, 1947 *Pacific Citizen*/ *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, Aug. 22 1947.
[227] "Truman Signing Alien Marriages Law Verified," *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, July 27, 1947.
[228] "Report 1,300 Nisei Soldiers Married Japanese Brides During Occupation Period," *Pacific Citizen*, September 27, 1952.
[229] Kalischer Peter, "Madam Butterfly's Children," *Collier's*, September 20, 1952.

idea that SCAP was concerned about the legitimacy of the marriages. This section highlights that the marriages became a problem of anti-miscegenation subjects by arguing how SCAP officers discussed the marriages between white American soldiers and Japanese women as well as black American soldiers and Japanese women.

First, while SCAP recognized rationality of the marriages between Nisei and Japanese women, here, I draw attention to how SCAP discussed the marriages between "Negro" soldiers and Japanese women as improvement of "Negros."

> There is little doubt that the blood line of the Nisei and Japanese national are the same and, if such marriages were permitted, there is reason to believe they would be successful. *By the same token, if negro personnel were permitted to marry Japanese, no doubt the result would be an improvement in the first mentioned race.* However, color and religion cannot be used as a basis for decision in permitting marriages.[230]

It was the idea of racial improvement based on the theory rooted in eugenics which was developed since the late nineteenth century. SCAP's view of the "Negro's" marriages with Japanese women as an improvement of "Negro" highlights American racial ideas about interracial mixing and heredity, and about blackness.[231]

---

[230] "Application for permission to marry Japanese nationals" from G1 to C/S RG 338 box 115 file 291.1.

[231] Industrialization and Imperialism caused to change racial demographics of immigrants in the late nineteenth century: Different from Western Europe, so-called "new immigrants" mostly came from Eastern Europe and Asia and increased fear about American future in terms of degrading of whiteness. Historian, Matthew Jacobson argued that the racial conception of immigrant "difference" changed in this period. Immigrants were discussed "not as a source of cheap or competitive labor, nor as one seeking asylum from foreign oppression, not as a migrant hunting a less strenuous life, but as a parent of future-born American citizens--so must have 'heredity stuff' that would have to be compatible with 'American ideal.'" Within this changing political and economic context, scientific knowledge about race was proliferated and whiteness became a subject that the nation needed to protect from inferior race. The idea of white supremacy and protection was consolidated based on social Darwinism and Eugenics. Darwinist argument endorsed the idea of race as different stage of evolutionary scale with the white race at the top and explained racial evolution from savagery to civilization. Eugenics was rooted in the belief that geniuses tended to come from superior human stock, and that feeblemindedness, criminality, and pauperism are strongly influenced by heredity factors. Eugenicists' theory that racial

Within the political and social context in need of African American separation, Asian immigrants tended to be interpreted in the middle between white on the top and Negro on the bottom.

Within the idea of "Negros" who desire marriage with a superior race to improve their own race, SCAP considered that Negro soldiers' desire to marry Japanese women to be quite understandable. When the department of Justice enacted Public Law 717 on August, 1950, SCAP came to be concerned about how many and which racial soldiers would marry with Japanese women if Congress allowed the issuance of no quota visas to Japanese nationals. SCAP did preliminary research:

> Preliminary surveys, which have been made, indicate that somewhere between 2500 and 7500 US personnel plan to marry Oriental spouses. Not all of these will be military personnel. Probably about 20% will be civilian employees. By race, a fairly large proportion will be Nisei and at least a proportionate share will be Negroes. Air Force as well as Army personnel will be involved. The exact effect on the occupation mission of such a large number of intermarriages is hard to determine.[232]

How SCAP discussed the racial proportion of who would marry Japanese women did not contradict the eugenicist theory of racial desire: The lower race has sexual desire for members of the higher race. In addition, anti-miscegenation laws enforced in the early twentieth century intended to protect Whites from mixture with non-White races and ideologically marriages between "Negro" and Japanese women were as not

---

differences were rooted in heredity explained and legitimized the separation of "Negros" from white race. Discussions of racial difference and heredity were also entangled with permeating idea of "keeping America white" and protecting civilization from savagery: White was the most civilized race while "Negro" was savage. Within this racial idea, eugenicists advocated that "Negros" desire to rape white women because inferior race desire superior race to improve their own race. Based on the idea, African American separation in society was explained by the idea of their fundamental difference in heredity and was even legitimized out of fear of racial mixture.

[232] "Marriage to Japanese Nationals," RG 407 box 717 file 291.1., January 10, 1947.

strongly banned.[233] Along with Nisei personnel, the marriages between Negros and Japanese women were thinkable subjects for SCAP. In addition, the absence of any estimate of marriages between white soldiers and Japanese women indicated that they were unthinkable and impossible marriages even when the marriages between American men and Japanese women became legally possible.

Within the idea of eugenics, wherein Japanese women were of an inferior race and were not desirable for white American men who were of a superior race, SCAP discussed white American men's desire to marry Japanese women as "a most unwise thing to do." Throughout the occupation, especially after the 1947 law passed, many American soldiers requested permission for the marriages with Japanese women and most of the requests were refused under SCAP's policy on prohibition of the marriages with aliens who are ineligible for citizenship. Under the American legal context and idea of miscegenation, American soldiers' desire to marry Japanese girls "would be disaster" so that American soldiers needed to "look over the situation in an objective manner."[234] For example, SCAP received a request for permission to marry a Japanese woman from Private Bryant on his return in October 11, 1949. SCAP replied, "Private Bryant will be able to consider the matter objectively and determine in his own mind the desirability of any future course of action without being influenced unnecessarily by his immediate situation."[235]

---

[233] There were some states that interracial marriages banned through Anti-miscegenation laws.
[234]RG 407 Box 363 File 291.1.; SCAP received many requests for marriages with Japanese women and responded giving "advice" that soldiers needed to have second thought since they made decision on marriages without deep consideration.
[235] RG 407 Box 363 File 291.1.

Indeed, when SCAP considered the possible marriages between white American soldiers and Japanese women, these marriages became an anti-miscegenation issue. Throughout the occupation, SCAP received many requests concerning marriages with Japanese women from white soldiers. There was a set formula in when SCAP repeatedly explained to these soldiers why headquarters did not permit the marriages with Japanese women.

> *Some fifteen states do not recognize marriages between American citizens and foreign nationals ineligible for United States citizenship and consider cohabitation of such couples unlawful.* Sanction of such a marriage places upon the Department of the Army a difficult determination as to assignment and scheduling of necessary travel involved in changes of station. The value of the soldier to the service is correspondingly reduced. Experience in occupied countries has proven that it is not feasible to retain service personal in the theater after marriage to a foreign national. As a result, were approval granted to such a marriage, it is readily apparent that the family would immediately be separated by reason of the soldier's transfer to another station outside of the Far East Command.[236]

Prioritizing considerations about the soldiers' usefulness, the war department problematized these couples consisted of Orientals and White who hampered assigning a soldier in certain states. These laws were anti-miscegenation laws, which prohibited marriages between white Americans and "Orientals" or "Mongolians." Within the pervasive idea of anti-miscegenation in American society, a fundamental problem was more about these couples' intimacy itself than an assignment issue.

With this miscegenatic idea, the subject of interracial marriages between Oriental and white itself was captured as too radical and extreme. Historian Henry Yu explains that the subject of intermarriage between Orientals and white themselves was

[236] RG 407 Box 363 file 291.1 October 10, 1949 Legislative and Liaison Division; Emphasis Mine.

a taboo which "only pornographic novels or pulp fiction dared to explore."[237] Within the conception, persons who engaged in interracial marriages were perceived as abnormal and "extreme type." Below was one of letters which C.G. Blakeney, an officer of General Staff Corps, replied to a Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, who wrote a letter on behalf of a soldier about the permission of marriage with Japanese women. In the letter, Blakeney expressed that the marriage was an "extreme" action and that the soldier had taken impulsive action driven by sympathy. He wrote;

> *It is indeed unfortunate that a young man in a foreign country, who has had a difficult life to lead from his school days on, should fall back on the sympathetic treatment given him by foreigners, particularly those who were our former enemies and who, by law, may not enter the United States.* I agree with you that to renounce his American citizenship would in later years cause him more heartback and difficulty than any possible course of action he could take. The means of effecting such an action is not within the province of the Department of the Army and I, therefore, hesitate to suggest a way to undertake this action, in case he should go to this extreme.
> *In my opinion, it would be most wise for your constituent to accept his discharge in the United States where he can look over the situation in an objective manner and determine in his own mind the desirability of any future course of action without being influenced unnecessarily by his immediate situation.*[238]

---

[237] 58; Chicago School of Sociology led by Robert Park was interested in interracial marriages between Orientals and whites to prove their assumption that the physical separation, such as skin color between the two cultures was erased through sexual contact. (Henry Yu, 56). However, their examination of interracial marriages between Oriental and white itself was very radical and provoked the American public when they conducted questionnaires in Seattle. Sociologists along with missionaries interpreted interracial marriages as the successful end of American assimilation within their interest in two different cultures coming into intimate contact (61). For Park, "the relationship between a man and a woman of two different cultures and races was the perfect experiment for discovering how different cultures and race could coexist." Park was not interested in whether these "hybrid" children would be biologically inferior or superior, but was interested in the children's relation with ethnic communities and their families. Park also situated intermarriage "as the ultimate solution of the problem of race prejudice" toward the melting pot. (61) In any case, intermarriage was perceived as something that "extreme types" of individuals engaged in. "Sexuality and sexual reproduction between individuals became the focal point for concerns about the metaphorical reproduction of American society as a whole." Interracial couples live in harmony? The question itself was more impact than answer. Could different race truly mix? The fundamental belief was that Orientals were different. (63)

[238] RG 407 Box 363 file 291.1 Legislative and Liaison Division October 10, 1949. Emphasis Mine.

Along with eugenic ideas, white American soldiers' desire for a marriage with Japanese women was not considered as rational and objective, but as influenced and unnecessary. In this discussion, I assert that Japanese women were not marriageable subjects to white American soldiers. Indeed, marriages were discussed as something that SCAP had to protect their soldiers from.

Considering the interracial marriages between white American soldiers and Japanese women as taboo to talk about within the idea of fear rooted in anti-miscegenation, SCAP suggested a rotation policy when SCAP realized that there would occur a considerable number of marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women as a result of 1950 Act: On December 7, the Adjutant General's office proposed, "supplementary action in the form of a mandatory rotation policy of Armed Forces Personnel to the United States after marrying an Oriental bride may be required."[239] As the Army often referred the concurrently ongoing occupation in Germany, the supplementary action was discussed referring to how rotation policy was effective in Europe. It says;

> In order to prevent hasty marriages and to maintain the integrity of the occupation forces, EUCOM established a policy of mandatory rotation to the United States within thirty days after the marriage was approved. Actually what happened was that EUCOM withheld approval of the marriage until thirty days prior to the termination of the military man's overseas tour, to thirty days prior to the end of the civilian personnel's contract EUCOM could in this manner, send personnel back to the United States within thirty days after the marriage with a foreign national without violating theatre rotation

[239] "Mandatory Rotation Policy for Service Men Marrying Oriental Brides," RG 338 box 115 file 291.1. Dec 7, 1950.

> criteria or without violating any civilian contracts already in effect.[240]

With this policy, it says, "In Europe this mandatory marriage rotation policy, effective thirty days after completion of the marriage, was premised entirely upon the end of a man's overseas tour and affected the strength of the command" and recognizes the rotation policy was effective in affecting the strength of the command. Followed by European cases, it suggested; (a) Rotation to US of personnel within six weeks after their marriage to an Oriental is approved. (b) Rotation upon completion of overseas tour (with no further extensions thereof granted).

Although it seems to suggest that the same rotation policy was in effect as that in as Europe, the meaning of rotation policy for the Japanese cases was crucially different from their European counterparts. The Adjutant General's office writes;

> Any type of forced rotation from FEC [Japan] of the mixed couples marrying under PL 717 would have *certain definite advantages.* (1) *It would remove the mixed couple from Japan and would prevent complete intermingling of the occupying forces with the occupied peoples which would otherwise occur.* (2) *It would also enable the alien spouses and children to receive their indoctrination in the customs, manners, and traditions of the US while living in the US.* (3) It would eliminate the requirement to provide government dependent housing for such personnel whose grade would otherwise entitle them to such housing. (4) *It would remove from the theater a suggestive influence to other service man to marry Orientals.*[241]

While rotation policy was used in Europe to strengthen the command there, rotation policy applying to soldiers whose fiancées and dependents are Japanese implied a different meaning: The Army's purpose was removing the mixed couples from Japan

---

[240] "Mandatory Rotation Policy for Service Men Marrying Oriental Brides," Dec 7, 1950, RG 338 box 115 file 291.1.
[241] Emphasis Mine.

as soon as possible. It clearly stated that the removal would prevent further production of these mixed couples. For example, a commander from Air Force replied, "It is doubtful whether an American could be required to take his Oriental spouse to the US on a rotation policy or subsequent thereto. Consequently, the mandatory rotational policy with reference to the American service man will tend to increase the number of service men desiring to marry Orientals." Another officer, General Milburn "recommends that any policy, which is adopted, include provisions which will serve as effective deterrents to this type of marriages." In addition, SCAP saw the situation where American soldiers who had Japanese wives or fiancées tended to request extension of duty as a problem. On December 16, 1950, along with the second Soldier's Act, SCAP prohibited American soldiers who married Japanese women to "serve the command beyond the extension of duty the minimum required oversea tour of duty."[242] SCAP dealt with the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women as producing a number of miscegenous couples.

Situated Out of American Family: "Mixed Blood" Children within the Idea of Anti-Miscegenation

Within the pervasive idea of miscegenation, children between American soldiers and Japanese women themselves were a crucial factor that made these marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women problematic in the United States. In 1949, there was a discussion about how SCAP should deal with marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women in response to many soldiers'

[242] "Mandatory Rotation of Personnel in FEC Marrying Persons who are not Citizens of the United States," RG 338 Box 200 file 291.1. The minimum duty was three years.

requests. They raised existence of children as the fundamental problem of these marriages, saying "frequently illegitimate children are present or expected."[243] Here, when these children were considered as possible American subjects, their children were viewed as a problem to the nation. Seen as an inferior race, "mixed-blood" children were not preferable subjects to become a part of American family.

Therefore, SCAP freed American soldiers of responsibility to their child or its mother and sent the soldiers who completed their assigned duty to next station, without any special consideration.[244] In May, 1947, a representative from the Army and Navy had conference with voluntary agencies and national social welfare assembly and discussed regarding "families and children who need case work assistance for problems arising out of the presence of American troops in foreign lands."[245] In the conference, a chairman of national social welfare assembly, Robert E. Bondy, articulated that the agencies had received a great number of requests for service to women and children who were dependents of, or who claimed dependency upon U.S. servicemen and veterans. However, he finally just concluded, "If the man denies the paternity, nothing further cannot be done." The irresponsible policy triggered Japanese women's paternity claims as a large and continuing issue during the Occupation. In August, 1949, the vice president of the Red Cross, Dewitt Smith, and directors from oversea commands held a conference in Washington discussing how the United States should deal with these children. The Department of the Army

---

[243] "Marriage Policy," RG 319 box 570, Jan 3, 1949. USAF.
[244] Usual tour of oversea duty was three years. RG 200 Box 1279, May 16 1947, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
[245] RG 200, Box 1279. May 16 1947, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

confirmed that the Department of the State would not support unmarried mothers and children:[246] "I am informed that the Department of State decided not to recommend to Congress that benefits be paid by the United State Government on behalf of these mothers and children."[247] The United States government did not deal with these mothers and children as potential American subjects.

The discussion made by military authorities and voluntary agencies indicated that any union created by American soldiers, Japanese women and their children were not even recognized as a potential part of an American family. Conversations during these two conferences revealed that what they believed needed to be protected was the American family that soldiers had in the home country. This point was emphasized in both conferences over and over again. For instance, the discussions held in 1947 revealed that voluntarily agencies had made every effort to protect his soldiers' family relations in the United States. Because of their "destructive effect," the agencies did not send allegation letters from Japanese women to soldiers' American families.[248] The 1949 conference also stated, "The potential damage in contact with veterans who are living with their families or have since married are of course well known to you." All these statements indicated that paternity for soldiers' children with Japanese

[246] The statement says that the Department of State considered any support to unmarried mothers and their children in response to the situation that the governments of Great Britain and Iceland decided to give support for unmarried mothers and their children. The discussions were not only for the cases of Japan, but for all American military cases.
[247] Special handling "Personnel: Personnel Affairs," RG24 box 487 file 6-1 to 7 Department of Defense directive routing sheet.
[248] RG 200, Box 1279, May 16, 1947, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

women was just a nuisance factor which destroyed soldiers' formal American families in the United States.[249]

Indeed, American soldiers were not subjects as fathers of children mothered by Japanese women. The SCAP policy produced illegitimate children and deserted stigmatized mothers. Here, I point to the unknowability of the number of children born to American soldiers and Japanese women. Given that SCAP tried not to make the issues of these children SCAP's problem, it prohibited taking official census of mixed-blood children that would have revealed the situation. For example, in 1947 the Institute of Population Problems of the Japanese Ministry of Welfare proposed taking statistics of the babies born between American fathers and Japanese women. However, Col. Crawford Sams, the chief of the Public Health and Welfare of SCAP, prohibited them from officially gathering statistics. It is difficult to know the numbers of such babies since mixed-blood children were stigmatized subjects and therefore tended to be kept hidden. It ranged from thousands to hundreds of thousands, as estimated by newspapers, magazines, some offices of the Japanese government, and non-profit organizations.[250] In addition, hundreds of thousands of babies were literally aborted. In 1952, more than a million abortions took place. It is said that considerate numbers of

---

[249] Based on the discussions, the office of the secretary of defense made the policy regarding paternity claims by non nationals against members or former members of the Armed Forces to that it was left up to the Red Cross to handle this subject. On March 13 in 1952, Dewitt Smith, Assistant General Manager of the Red Cross stated that based on the policy, "no constructive service can be given" in relation to inquiries and requested the Army to review the policy.

[250] The numbers of estimated children varies: An article written in 1948 reports that by the mid-1948, the estimate of the babies ranged from 1,000 to 4,000. Takada Masami, chief of the Children's Bureau of the Welfare Ministry, estimated the figure at around 150,000. In 1952, the Children's Bureau finally conducted the first official census on the number of mixed-blood children and its result was 5,002 which were far below earlier estimates. In the same year, the Ministry of Welfare also conducted the statistics and concluded 5,013.

the babies were fathered by American GIs.[251] These babies were undesired and thus abortable subjects in the postwar periods.

Again, this chapter argued that the marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women were initially impossible due to immigration law. SCAP officer's discussion implied that the marriages were initially even unthinkable. However, once the Soldier Bride Acts allowed some Japanese wives, fiancées, and also their children to enter the United States, these marriages began to upset anti-miscegenation ideas. The next two chapters will examine how the Japanese war brides and their children as problematic subjects were incorporated into the nation within the Cold War politics, especially when Japan became an important ally to the United States. Here, I will explore how these problematic subjects within an immigration law which was effective in 1952 as well as within miscegenation ideas also became "hopes" for racial integration and cultural pluralism at the beginning of Cold War. All in all, next two chapters will explore how racially impossible otherwise problematic subjects of Japanese women and their children were included into the nation, yet were differentiated in the making of the United States as a multicultural nation.

[251] Michener, James A. "The facts about the GI Babies," *Reader's Digest*, March 1954, 6.

Chapter Four
Producing Culturally Pluralist Nation:
Teaching Japanese Brides American Domesticity

> The new melting pot problems continue to come to this country as an aftermath of war. The latest is assimilation of Japanese occupation brides. […] THE TENDENCY of United States occupation men to marry Japanese girls proved a surprise to many Americans in Japan, especially civilian girls with the occupation forces. They had believed the American men were merely having flirtations with the doll-like Japanese. But soon a rush to the altar began. Chief opponents of this were the mothers of the Japanese brides. *They foresaw unhappiness* for their daughters in the United States because of the discrimination they would face.[252]

The 1948 Washington Post article reported Japanese brides to be a problem for the U.S. nation. Americans in Japan expected American men to be "merely having flirtations with the doll-like Japanese" during the occupation; they "surprisingly" became American soldiers' wives. These brides became the subject of the U.S. national problem to solve in terms of the idea of assimilation--that is, whether they could "melt into" the nation as American national subjects in the postwar context.

The following 1952 article which was featured in the *Saturday Evening Post*, also expressed the continuing fear of how all these Japanese brides would fit into U.S. society. These brides received specific attention under the question of whether they could become American wives and mothers.

> Nothing much but time and bitter experience can overcome great hazards like language difficulty, racial question marks and the separation of truth about America from the dream of America as expounded by homesick soldiers and distorted movies. But some Americans in Japan have felt that the least which could be done for

[252] Malvina Lindsay, "Marriage Melting Pot," *The Washington Post*, Aug 14, 1948. Emphasis Mine.

> these potential newcomers was to give them a little idea of how to get along in their new homes. One result was the brides' schools.[253]

Brides' schools run by the Red Cross were established out of the tremendous fear of whether thousands of Japanese brides could fit into American homes. With the idea of "racial question marks," particularly defined by their immorality and inferiority, Japanese girls' suitability for American wifehood and motherhood was questionable. Within this kind of postwar context, the bride school became the solution for turning these Japanese women into potential American wives and mothers.

The school was established and defined as "helping" Japanese brides to know American wifehood and domesticity and succeed in their marriages. A *New York Times* article published in 1954 introduced American public to the bride school operated in Japan.

> The strange names--half Japanese and half American--exemplify the purpose of the class: to teach young Japanese girls how to make happy homes for their American husbands upon the couples' return to the United States. […] The lessons give the girls the confidence and training they need to make their marriage successful.[254]

The bride school was articulated as teaching and training for Japanese brides to make happy homes for their American husbands. The schools' volunteer women also came to see the project as "helping" these brides overcome the "racial barriers" and fit into American society and domesticity. This chapter argues that the privatized sphere of domesticity became a site of domination and colonization in the context of postwar U.S.-Japan relations at the beginning of Cold War. I conceptualize domesticity--the

---

[253] Lindsay, "Marriage Melting Pot," 27.
[254] Ray Falkgamp McGill, "GI Brides Go to School in Japan: Red Cross Teachers Prepare Them For Home-Making in the U.S.," *New York Times*, Nov 7, 1954.

site for Japanese women to become American wife and mother--not as private and personal, but as central and political. In doing so, this chapter sheds light on American women's role in the colonial project of "assimilation" of Japanese women given that American women tend to become invisible from political and colonial projects and specifically absent from the involvement of American occupation of Japan.

In doing so, this chapter conceptualizes ideas of "American housewife, family and domesticity" as a site that differentially and relationally constructs Japanese brides and American wives. At one session, a bride school president concluded the meeting articulating the school in this way:

> There is no way to measure how much effective help we might be giving these brides as they leave us, if we could let it be known widely in America that close contacts with these girls have brought to us understanding and a sympathetic love that breaks through all racial barriers.[255]

Indeed, the bride school was conceived of as an American benevolent project to help these girls. Yet, I wonder how these bride school projects emerged right after the war and when the United States still occupied Japan. In the postwar context, where both American military personnel and Japanese citizens likely regarded each other as enemy figures, why and how did American women become benevolent teachers who taught Japanese women American ways of domesticity? Why and how did the bride schools appear as helping and teaching rather than forced inculcation?[256] This chapter understands the Japanese war bride difference as a strategy of power to produce

---

[255] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

[256] To answer these questions, I rely on Denise Ferreira da Silva's theory of "analytics of raciality."

premise of universal ideas, especially the notion of gender freedom and equality that sustained the superiority of American wives. With this, I am interested in how the bride school teaching depoliticized and naturalized understandings of what American domesticity and family/gender relations are always in relation to what Japanese ways are.

In addition, this chapter focuses on how women themselves legitimized their roles within the Cold War "racially and culturally pluralist nation" of the United States. This examination opens up for discussion how Japanese women, who were always under question of their being as American mothers, made themselves intelligible national subjects. Here, I argue that the discourse of cultural pluralism opened up a space for women to claim their place in the United States through introducing "Japanese culture" to the United States. The idea of Japanese war brides as "cultural ambassadors" also created a site where Japanese war brides contributed to Japan for showing Japan's postwar friendship to the United States. Alternative recognition of Japanese war brides as "cultural ambassadors" between the United States and Japan brought a possibility for Japanese war brides to recuperate from the stigma imposed upon them in the postwar periods--that is, they were always under question as to the legitimacy of marriages that emerged during the occupation.

Brides' Schools as a Possible Solution to Otherwise Tragic Marriages

Brides' school was rooted in the volunteer works initially held by the Christian Woman's Association of Tokyo. The association started the volunteer work in Tokyo in 1948 to help Japanese brides adjust to American society and domesticity. Public

Law 717 in 1950, Public Law 6 in 1951, and the 1952 McCarran Walter Act, which removed the racial restriction for marriages, triggered a number of marriages between American men and Japanese women. The Army took up the Christian association's idea and asked the Red Cross to establish the brides' schools to teach Japanese wives American ways of life.[257] The military asked the Red Cross because:

> "The military feels that because this school proved itself to be so beneficial it now asks that Red Cross volunteer units to set up similar activities wherever possible throughout the Far East Theater of Operations."
>
> "……..It is hoped that each volunteer group will undertake the planning and conducting of such a school as this had become an important way that we, as Americans, can assist in preparing these Japanese brides for their new life in the United States.[258]

The Army saw women's organizations assisting Japanese brides beneficial and started a joint force of the Christian woman's association and the Red Cross in Yokohama in 1951.[259] The American consulate sent invitation letters to the servicemen who had married Japanese women and also distributed them through the military units.[260]

[257] To support Japanese brides, there was a comprehensive citizenship training course held by the American Legion in Tokyo area around the same time.
[258] "To: Chairman of Volunteers from Office of Volunteers, Japanese--Philippine--Okinawa--Brides Schools" September 20, 1956, RG 200, Box 1,280, Red Cross Central Files, American Red Cross, NA.
[259] The 1955 Far East Review reported that it was successful and since then, the school project under Red Cross leadership spread not only throughout Japan, but also Okinawa and Philippines.
[260] "Brides' Schools," September 20, 1955, RG 200, Box 1,280, American National Red Cross, NA.



A Signal Corps motion picture crew shoots brides' lesson in western-style table setting in the Tokyo home of Mrs. John A. Stewart, wife of Maj. Stewart, MAAGJ. L-R: Capt. Claude V. Bache, director; M/Sgt. Lales Waller, chief cameraman; Pvt. Jerry P. Miller; Mrs. Edward Castagna; Mrs. Stewart; Mrs. John W. Randell.

Figure 4.1 U.S. Military's Bride School Project[261]

The military requested schools, run by the Red Cross, expanded throughout Japan in the 1950s. Since the first school started in 1951, the number of schools and graduates shifted as below.

Year	No. Schools	No. Graduates	No. Volunteers
1951	7	160	125
1952	8	326	173
1953	9	390	218
1954	16	563	514
1955	25	1,122	554

[261] Betty Burleigh, "Teaching Americans To Understand Japanese Brides," December 4, 1955, RG 200 Box 1,280 file 618.4 *Far East Review*, Vol. V No.4.

1956	25	885	329
1957	12	533	561
Total	102	3,979	2,474

The number of the schools and graduates was at peak in the mid-50s. The schools had a unified system, held usually twice a year--spring and fall. They had edited and revised the textbook--a thick volume resembling a telephone directory—throughout the years. As of 1955, the text book included Japanese translation in addition to English originals and consisted of 243 pages.[262] The class usually covered American culture and customs, religion, cooking, nursing and child care, American history and geography, information on passports and visas, grooming, life in American home and social life in America. These topics were usually taught for eight weeks and there was a graduation ceremony giving a certificate to prove their completion of the program at the end of the courses. The schools were held inside of the camps, usually at the chapel.[263] It was sometimes held in teachers' homes, especially in the cooking class due to the need for kitchens, and also homemaking class to show what an "American home" looked like.[264]

The military covered the basic costs for schools so it was practically free for Japanese brides. The military provided classrooms, printing of brides' school books, interpreters, speakers, posters, and radio and newspaper publicity.[265] The rest was financed by the volunteers, volunteer clubs, and religious groups and the Red Cross.

---

[262] "Brides' Schools," RG 200 Box 1,280, Sep 20, 1955, American National Red Cross, NA.
[263] The commanding officer's support was necessary for holding the schools at the military bases.
[264] "Minutes of Meeting on Brides Schools," August 19, 1957; "Washington Heights Civilian Club," RG 200 Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.
[265] ARC Hazel Braugh Records Center, VA September 20, 1956, American National Red Cross, NA.

The majority of class teachers consisted of military personnel's wives.[266] The Red Cross sometimes invited volunteer teachers from other areas; the American Embassy and educational groups such as Fulbright commission.[267]

While the bride school was perceived as a Red Cross volunteer project, it was in actuality a military project. The military not only funded the schools but it intended to produce Japanese brides who could assist their American soldier husbands. To make sure Japanese girls learned American wifehood and motherhood, the school asked their husbands to watch them and report back, "if [his] wife does not understand any subject or is getting the wrong impression."[268] The schools' first aim was also articulated as an effort "to help the girls and their husbands establish a good and happy home" and "to introduce [Japanese girls] to American customs and manners and the American way of life."[269] The school's purpose was to help Japanese girls to "make a happy home" for their American husbands. With completion of the school session, "Japanese girls" graduated from the school with their husbands.

---

[266] In some classes, interpreters were allocated: These interpreters were usually previous graduates of Bride Schools and Japanese wives who have lived in the United States.
[267] "Minutes of Meeting on Brides Schools," August 19, 1957; "Washington Heights Civilian Club," RG 200 Box 1,280 file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.
[268] Brochure, July 6, 1954, RG 200, Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.
[269] Brochure, July 6, 1954, RG 200, Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.



Figure 4.2 Graduation Ceremony[270]

Before analyzing the Red Cross's bride school project, I first situate the bride school mission within the larger context of the relationship between the U.S. military and the Red Cross within the international politics. While the International Convention of the Red Cross (ICRC) announced that its mission was in assisting war victims and that the Red Cross activities were impartial and neutral humanitarian missions, Nicholas O Berry critically points out that the ICRC was complicit with America and its allies' military activities by mediating and covering up the violence of war.[271] David P. Forsythe argues that the ICRC reorders the morality for international relations during the Cold War and points out that the United States and its allies used the ICRC's moral organization for their military purposes.[272] It is important to understand the Red Cross "benevolent" activity of establishing the bride

[270]Betty Burleigh, "Teaching Americans To Understand Japanese Brides," December 4, 1955, RG 200 Box 1,280 file 618.4 *Far East Review*, Vol. V No.4.
[271] David P. Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross* (NY: Cambridge, 1992); Nicholas O Berry, *War and the Red Cross: The Unspoken Mission* (NY: St.Martin's Press, 1997).
[272] Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross,* 52, 54.

schools within the larger U.S. military activities of the occupation. The U.S. military asserts the bride school as its activity of "charity" along with its mass production of the "tragic" marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women.

The bride schools sponsored by the military came out of the strong belief that the marriages between Japanese brides and American soldiers were doomed to be failures. The school started on March 26 in 1951 at the chapel center in Tokyo and had a meeting on May 25 1951 at the end of the session. In the meeting, in addition to eight chairmen of the school, some volunteers and interpreters exchanged their opinions and comments about the school session.[273] The opinion exchange articulated that the brides' school was captured as a possible solution for otherwise tragic marriages between American husbands and Japanese women. Initially, some of these volunteers even doubted the legitimacy of these marriages and Japanese women becoming American wives. As a volunteer worker opined,

> I think I have been in the narrow-minded category, too. When I was asked to help with the school I said I did not want to any part in it, that I had five sons and it would break my heart if one of them should marry a Japanese girl.[274]

This woman's remark suggests that Japanese women were not even considered assistable and loveable subjects whom American volunteers would want to help.

Another American volunteer expressed that she started the volunteer work with the idea that "a mixed marriage could end only in tragedy."

---

[273] Interpreters were either Nisei or Japanese who were already familiar with the class materials.
[274] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

> Most of us were brought up to feel that *a mixed marriage could end only in tragedy*, and when we were in school I think most of our professor had the same feeling.[275]

In sum, the bride school project was carried out with the idea that marriages between American GIs and Japanese girls were going to be otherwise "unsuccessful" and that Japanese women were not even fit to enter into these marriages.

While marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women were "doomed to fail" because of their racial difference, the school project came to explain their racial difference as cultural. The idea that these Japanese brides can "learn" American ways animated the brides' school project. The Red Cross explained its school project as such:

> Chopsticks to knife and fork, flowing kimono to Western chic, a jackknife bow to warm handclap -even an un-Japanese kiss. That's how far daughters of Nippon break with customs a thousand years old after learning to make homes for their new American husbands in brides' schools conducted in Japan by the American Red Cross.[276]

Some scholars in the field of Cold War studies argue that the cultural explanation of human differences was used for Cold War politics within the U.S. attempt to represent itself as a democratic and humanitarian nation for people all over the world regardless of race.[277] Within the popular idea of assimilation and acculturation in the Cold War context, brides' school projects tended to be captured as a site to teach American

---

[275] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

[276] "American Red Cross, Public Information Office, Tokyo, Japan," April 20, 1954, RG 200, Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

[277] While cultural explanation of human differences in attempt to replace the theories of biological fundamental differences existed since the 1920, here, I do not argue when and how cultural explanation replaced for biological theories, but only point to that cultural explanation for race came to be used for the U.S. Cold War ideological strategy.

domesticity to Japanese brides and considered that they can learn American ways by acquiring American cultural values. More importantly, however, it was the Cold War U.S. empire that brought about the need to overcome racism through the bride school projects. Japanese women were a threat to the then popular idea of miscegenation so that they were "impossible subjects" to become American wives.[278] Marriages between American soldiers and Japanese women happened out of occupation, and how these brides could be incorporated into the nation became the nation's challenge at the shifting moment from wartime politics to Cold War politics. Rather than whether Japanese brides could overcome racial barriers, the question became whether the U.S. nation can overcome racism and incorporate Japanese brides.

New Postwar U.S.-Japan Alliance: The United States would Overcome Racial Barriers in Cold War Politics

The bride school, launched as a military project in 1951, was presented as a potential solution for otherwise tragic marriages. Soon after the school started, volunteer women saw their activities as helping these women to overcome "racial barriers" in the United States. In the meeting held in May 25, 1951, a volunteer remarked about her engagement in school activities:

> I think many of us now have decided that we were mistaken and that the only way to get a United Nations spirit the world over is to forget that there are such differences and to realize that there can be successful intermarriage, regardless of differences in race. As we send some of these girls we have met here over to the United States and through them show some of the people in the United States that

[278] John Dower argues that Japanese people as a whole were caricatured and dehumanized as apes, simians, supermen, and savages during WWII. Refer to Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

> Japanese and those of different races are fundamentally the same and that we can get along together, perhaps it will help.[279]

These volunteer women recognized their activities as support for the racially-different brides to be able to break the racial barrier and succeed in their interracial marriage. American woman's engagement with bride school project can also be read productively as an allegory for the reconstruction of a new relationship between the United States and Japan. An American woman volunteer remarked that "we can get along together" at the new era of the Cold War. At the end of the meeting, another woman concluded that the bride school gave a hand to these impossible brides to "break through all racial barriers."

> There is no way to measure how much effective help we might be giving these brides as they leave us, if we could let it be known widely in America that close contacts with these girls have brought to us understanding and a sympathetic love that *breaks through all racial barriers.*[280]

Within the Cold War framework, Japanese brides became "hopes" who can overcome racial barriers, just as Japan could become a friend of the United States as allies of Cold War.

Japanese brides stood for the postwar Japan as a new nation of the allied for the United States in Cold War politics. Christina Klein made a significant argument that "the mixed-race families offered a way to imagine Americans overcoming the ingrained racism that so threatened U.S. foreign policy goals in Asia" during the Cold

---

[279] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

[280] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA. Emphasis Mine.

War.[281] At the beginning of the Cold War, Japan became the first important nation for the United States to expand the U.S. geopolitical hegemony over Asia. Given that family entails emotional unity with internally structured hierarchies of difference, it serves for a model of Cold War "free world" community "that included Western and non-Western, developed and underdeveloped, established and newly created nations."[282] The visibility of the Japanese brides could be understood within this framework; Japanese girls who married American GIs became symbolic figures who potentially overcome the racial barriers in the United States in the way in which Japan overcome racial barriers and became a U.S. ally during the Cold War.

Japanese girls who potentially overcome the racial barriers were also read as those who "want to learn American domesticity" within the framework of U.S. cultural pluralism. For example, a director in the bride school, Mrs. Frank O. Blake, gave a speech about the bride school project as "love" and mentioned, "It represented the regular attendance by the brides and their *eager attentiveness*; *their willingness and honest wish to master American ways and skills.*"[283] Another director, praised Japanese brides as those who were eager to learn everything American.

> Though the new ways are indeed strange, if not impossible, *these students are eager to learn them*; class attendance is nearly perfect, and few flunk the course. In the almost nine years since the war ended, uniformed Americans have become commonplace in the Japanese scene, and Japanese girls observe Western manners everywhere even if they find them hard to understand. *But they try.*

[281] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination*, 1945-1961, 146.
[282] Ibid.
[283] RG 200 Box 1,280 file 618.4 Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

> "What are you most interested in?" is a question asked in the ARC school application. *Typical of the spirit of these young ladies is the answer of a brand new bride, "Everything American."*[284]

She perceived the success of the school by viewing Japanese brides as those who want to learn everything American. In her speech, we can liken Japanese girls' spirits of wanting to learn everything American to Japan's spirits of wanting to learn Western manners in the Cold War moment. Another story released in the Red Cross newspaper also emphasized that the students are the ones who want to learn "our cooking and the way to keep an American house."

> She *wants to learn* our cooking and the way to keep an American house. She has heard about our modern appliances and wants to see them. In many instances since her marriage, she and her husband are still living Japanese style. Therefore, the art for making beds, modern bathrooms and kitchen are of great interest. Through the kindness of volunteer dependents, the Japanese bride is invited into their homes for this practical experience.[285]

Japanese women's mindset, "want[ing] to learn," was something necessary for the U.S. Army and Red Cross: Japanese women "who want to learn" makes the bride school project as "help" and "love" but not "force" and "power." Indeed, Japanese women who want to learn everything American were the perfect subjects at the beginning of the Cold War: Within the framework that these Japanese girls stood for the postwar Japan, the discourse of these girls offered to envision Japan's willingness to learn American ways under the U.S. occupation over Japan. The idea of Japan's willingness effectively made the U.S. occupation of Japan American benevolent liberation and rehabilitation, and not domination and exploitation.

---

[284] "American Red Cross, Public Information Office, Tokyo, Japan," April 20, 1954, RG 200 Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA. Emphasis Mine.
[285] ARC Hazel Braugh Records Center, VA September 20, 1956. Emphasis Mine.

"We Are Ambassadors of the United States": Teaching Modern and Democratic Ways of Domesticity

As the bride school itself was captured as a symbol for the new national relation in Cold War politics, women volunteers gained their identity as ambassadors between the United States and Japan. A woman director described the role of the bride school in this way.

> The role of the American Red Cross volunteer in the Far Eastern Area is outstandingly expressed in brides' schools. They are a continuous, round-the-year project, the results of which can be a strong link between Japan and the United States for generations. This enormous Red Cross volunteer effort represents an unbroken chain of dependent wives who have come and gone from the Far East over the past several years.[286]

Within the context of the beginning of the Cold War, these women identified themselves as "grass-roots ambassadors" who build new friendship with Japanese girls. In this sense, the bride school project was also articulated as "love." One of the directors of the Red Cross explained what the diploma that Japanese brides received in bride schools stood for as: "It represented love; first, the kind of love that brought about the Japanese American marriage, meeting and overcoming many obstacles, and second, the kind of love the members of the Red Cross and the other volunteers manifested in wishing to teach, to lead and to help."[287] Indeed, the bride school project came to be expressed as love and friendship that American volunteer wives

---

[286] ARC Hazel Braugh Records Center, VA. September 20, 1956.
[287] "Excerpt from report from Mrs. Frank O. Blake, Director, Volunteer Services," July 1953, Box 1280 RG 200, American Red Cross, Far Eastern Area, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

provided Japanese girls whose fitness for American domesticity was deemed questionable.

It is also interesting to note that American women themselves thought that they overcame racial barriers and came to love Japanese girls through the school project. A woman who had once harbored hatred against the idea that her son would have a Japanese bride expressed how she came to love Japanese brides:

> But by the time I had been teaching these girls eight weeks I was admitting that I could understand why the American boys fell in love with such lovely girls. I cannot help saying here that I would enjoy having one of them as my own daughter-in-law. They are a fine lot of girls and I thoroughly enjoyed my experience in teaching and helping them adjusts to American ways.[288]

By overcoming racial hatred, especially strengthened during the war, women volunteers gained their identity as ambassadors who overcame racism and "loved" Japanese brides. They recognized their activities as establishing friendship with Japan/Japanese brides at the beginning of Cold War.

Then, did this love mitigate hierarchy between colonizer/victor and colonized/defeated? Did this love and sisterhood make both Japanese girls and American volunteers overcome racial barriers? Did American women volunteers and Japanese girls fight against male dominance together? I argue that the love and sisterhood between American women volunteers and Japanese girls further articulate the racial differences and produce the hierarchy allowing American wives to be superior, modern and democratic and Japanese wives to be inferior, traditional and

---

[288] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

feudalistic. Indeed, the process of how to learn everything American was learning what is American. Here, I also argue that American wives gained superior status as their Cold War identity through the bride school project. By articulating the school project as a friendship building and loving project, American volunteers gained superior, modern, and democratic identity through Japanese domesticity as unfree, male dominant, and hierarchical.

Given that homemaking class was one of the main curricula in bride school, the idea of cooking and household became a site to define the superiority of American domesticity. In homemaking class, a teacher articulated what American domesticity was in this manner.

> Some of you are probably thinking, "Why, my grandmother, and my mother and I have done the cleaning and the washing and the cooking for years; what's so different about that?" The biggest difference is that […], American women try to plan not to have to do them all every day. For example, most girls in America who have washing machines will wash just once a week-- it saves us time and money and it's often a long way to the store; maybe we even plan to do a lot of cooking at one time to save fuel and time, and with a refrigerator to store food in, that is possible.[289]

American domesticity was defined by modern technologies such as a vacuum cleaner, a refrigerator, and a washing machine. These technologies defined the superiority of American domesticity. These tools that make homemaking easier were also tied to the idea of American housewives who can enjoy their freedom. In homemaking class, while Japanese brides learned how to use ovens, toasters, coffee makers, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and so on, they also learned that American wives can

[289] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

enjoy freedom with the modern appliances while Japanese wives were enslaved all day doing hard work.

By teaching Japanese brides how to use these technologies, American volunteers displayed their superior identity as American wives. Interestingly, in the report of the classes, American teachers emphasized Japanese brides' inability to use these appliances rather than anything else. For example, in the meeting held in May of 1951, a volunteer reported; "[Japanese girls] were wondering how they could make some of the things learned in the cooking class in their Japanese homes, because they have no stoves with ovens which we consider so necessary to good cooking."[290] This comment expressed Japanese girls' inability to do good cooking because modern technology was not available in Japanese domestic culture. The superiority of American domesticity is confirmed with the idea of inferiority of Japanese domesticity defined by traditional ways of cooking. Another volunteer reported about her class in 1954 as such: "[T]hey learn how much easier cooking can be with an electric oven instead of the smoky hibachi (charcoal burner), a pressure cooker's advantage over an okama (rice steamer)."[291] By perceiving that Japanese domestic culture enslaves wives who lacked modern tools, American domesticity and wifehood became superior and liberated.

---

[290] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," May 25, 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

[291] "American Red Cross, Public Information Office, Tokyo, Japan," April 20, 1954, RG 200, Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

Family relations, especially bridehood and in-law relationships, also became a site to define American superiority: American bridehood and in-law relationship was narrated as egalitarian and Japanese family relation as hierarchical and feudalistic.

> Undoubtly you have learned by this time that your husband's mother does not hold the same traditional position in American as she would in Japan, nor will you, as a member of her household. You will be treated more *as an equal member of the family* than you have been trained to expect in a Japanese household. As an example, the order of precedence for taking a bath in a Japanese home is first the father, then the sons in order of age, mother, daughters, in order of age, then the servants. In an American household, there is no order of precedence and if the bathroom isn't in use, anyone may use it.[292]

In-law relations also endorsed the idea of American superiority narrated as equal. In doing so, American "equal" family relation becomes possible compared to Japanese family relations, or more to say, defined by "unequal" Japanese family relations. By defining Japanese family relation as hierarchical and unequal, especially Japanese women oppressed in patriarchic Japanese family system, the American wife became those who enjoy freedom, equality and independence inside of the family. Again, this understanding nicely serves to present American women as liberators rather than dominators. This is how Japanese girls became "loveable" subjects through the bride school project--Japanese girls who produce American family and wife as free and equal. In doing so, American volunteer women came to love these belated girls "who can eventually become American wives" and indentified themselves as ambassadors who embody and teach about American freedom and equality.

---

[292] "Camp Kokura Brides' School Handbook, 1956," RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

In addition, the idea of relationship between men and women defined superiority of American family and wifehood. In home management class, their teaching of woman's relations with men highlighted the idea of American "courtesies by men" which are supposedly not available in Japan.

> As you have found out in your years or months of marriage to an American man, the behavior of an average American man toward women is different from Japanese men to Japanese women. Women in the United States are given courtesies by men--even strange men--and they are accepted as a matter of course. A strange man may open a door to a public building for you, or pick up something you have dropped. These attentions should be accepted graciously but impersonally. When they are offered, simply smile, say "thank you" and go about your way. It is not necessary to be drawn into conversation; that is not expected. American men take their wives to most parties. There are stag parties, just for men, but these are the exceptions, not the rule.[293]

American gender relations between women and men were articulated in courtesies by men such as opening the door, picking up something and taking their wives to most parties. "Nicer" American gender relations were defined by the idea that Japanese men looked down upon women and these men's courtesies were unavailable in Japanese gender relations.

Indeed, bride school itself became visible through Japanese brides who were liberated from Japanese male dominant tradition. For example, the 1954 *New York Times* article introduced what bride school taught Japanese brides:

> The brides are also told that when there are guests in the house they don't have to act like maids, to bow and scrape and stay in the kitchen as their sisters and mothers and grandmothers must do. Equality between the sexes is not stressed, but every bride-student

[293] "'Introduction to Home Management Course' in Brides' School handbook, 1954," RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

> realizes at the end of the course that in America she will no longer be a second-class citizen just because of her sex.[294]

Gender relations became a site where the United States claimed its superiority in Cold War politics. Lisa Yoneyama argues that stories of Japanese women's liberation were framed "within the binary logic of gender relations between Japanese men and women."[295] Japanese women became victims of only Japanese male dominant culture and patriarchy, but not victims of racism and colonialism by the West, especially the United States. Japanese women's liberation was recast just as "achieving equality and freedom in conjugal relations within an imagined bourgeois domesticity."[296] Yoneyama calls this logic "Cold War feminism." This logic worked well within the Cold War U.S. empire which tried to represent the U.S. occupation of Japan as liberation and rehabilitation, but not domination and exploitation. I argue that the bride school project became a site that articulated only Japanese wives as victims of Japanese patriarchy and male dominant tradition. In doing so, American wives gained their superior identity as women who enjoy freedom and independence.

This idea of gender equality and freedom was indeed embedded in the narratives of Japanese brides of their life stories. When Japanese brides explained how they adjusted to American wifehood, they highlighted that they learned "equality between wife and husband" as a proof of their adjustment to American wifehood. A

---

[294] Ray Falkgamp McGill, "GI Brides Go to School in Japan: Red Cross Teachers Prepare Them For Home-Making in the U.S," *New York Times*, Nov 7, 1954.
[295] Lisa Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement," *American Quarterly* 57 no.3 (2005), 900.
[296] Ibid.

bride, Kazuko Umezu Stout narrated about American wifehood with the idea of freedom.

> Here in America, a wife is free to work outside the home enjoying independence but in Japan, a newly wedded shy young wife is rarely free. The young wife lives with her mother-in-law and there the mother-in-law with her rules the home. Our two cultures are centuries apart in time as well as space.[297]

As the above statement saying "A wife is *free* to work outside the home enjoying *independence*" in America while in Japan, a wife is unfree and subordinate to her mother-in-law, Stout illustrated that wives' freedom and independence are only obtainable in the United States. Here, her statement highlighted the sense of time embedded in the idea of two cultures of the United States and Japan: While the United States where accomplished freedom and equality was defined by advanced sense of time, Japan where only existed traditional ways of life was defined by lagged sense of time.

By referring to Japan as a place where wives' freedom and independence are unimaginable, Stout represents herself as someone who has adjusted to American wifehood and has acquired freedom and independence in the United States.

> I told her [my sister], in America women are free to speak their minds. A freedom I indulge in frequently in my own home…They [my sister and her husband] were going home to Japan with a culture centuries old and full of ceremony and formal tradition with its careful attention to the smallest of details.[298]

---

[297] Kazuko U. Stout, "To Mother, My Independence Translated to Selfishness," *The Olympian*, April 10, 1983.
[298] Kazuko U. Stout, "To Mother, My Independence Translated to Selfishness," *The Olympian*, April 10, 1983.

Through her narrative in which she indulges in freedom and independence in the United States, Stout herself becomes a subject who "would-have-been unfree," obeying the mother-in-law and exposing herself to centuries old traditional culture and ceremonies. These "would-have-been" narratives became prominent in that women's "authentic voices" lend credit to the idea that free and independent lives as wives were only available in the United States. Ethnic Studies Scholar Yen Le Espiritu finds the refugees' narrative of "would-have-been" endorses the idea of better life in the United States. She argues, "the 'would-have-beens' are the most powerful in communicating the allures of the United States because they assume the form of a testimonial--a looking back from individuals who have tasted life on the 'other side.'"[299] Her argument was specific to the case of Vietnamese refugees, but is helpful to understand that Japanese brides' narratives in involving "would-have-been unfree in Japan" became effective discourses that endorse not only "worse" lives in Japan but also confirm freedom which is only available in the United States.

Another woman, Toshiko, attended the bride school in Tokyo in 1954.[300] She vividly remembers that she was impressed by learning how to use all the "modern appliances" such as ovens, irons, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners. Along with learning how to use all these appliances, she admired the "cool" and "kind" American housewives who taught her how to use all these modern appliances. Here, again, the women volunteers were narrated as "cool" and "kind" teachers along with the idea of modernity. When she moved to the United States, her husband bought her washing

[299] Yen Le Espiritu, "The 'We-Win-Ever-When-We-Lose' Syndrome: U.S. Press Coverage of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the 'Fall of Saigon,'" *American Quarterly* 58. no.2 (2006), 342.
[300] Toshiko (pseudonym), interview by author, (telephone interview) San Diego, CA, 19 January, 2010.

machine, vacuum cleaner and so on that she learned how to use in bride school. She thought that she could do households chores much easier. She explained that she could have used a broom and washing board that would have taken more time to clean the household if she were in Japan. Her narrative about households also entails the idea of "would-have been" which credits American wives' freedom which is only available in the United States.

The idea that Japanese brides "would-have-been slaves" if they were in Japan also became powerful discourses in the postwar U.S. media. For example, the article titled "Pursuit of Happiness" published in 1955 carries the story of a Japanese war bride, Sachiko. Sachiko became visible endorsing her "would-have-been" slaveness within Japanese domesticity that credits American liberated wifehood. It appeared in this way.

> When asked if she wants to go back to Japan, Sachiko laughs mischievously and cries, "Oh no! I not answer that question. I not dumb. Japan I be slave. Cold water. Work all day. No rugs on floor. I stay here."[301]

Sachiko's idea of "would-be-slave in Japan" endorsed the notion of freedom that American wives enjoy.

Japanese brides who defined American domesticity as free and gender relations as equal became perfect objects of American Cold War national fantasies. Japanese brides' "would-have-been" narratives endorsed the idea that equality and freedom are only available in the United States. "Japanese war brides" precisely became objects of "the U.S. rescue fantasies" at the moment that America was striving

[301] Michener James, "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese," *Life*, February 21, 1955, 136.

for racial integration and cultural pluralism at the beginning of Cold War.[302] The rhetoric transformed Japanese brides from problematic subjects of assimilation to the liberated and American volunteers from (possibly) dominators to benevolent teachers and freedom providers. Seen as those who were problematic subjects facing American racism, Japanese women served to represent the United States as a racially and culturally pluralist nation by becoming "American wives who enjoy freedom and equality at home." As Caroline Chung Simpson explains, "Japanese war bride" became a prototype of model minority to demonstrate American pluralism, they were indeed incorporated into the nation as "belated subjects" as American wives.[303] In so doing, "Japanese war brides" unwittingly became "imperial subjects" who proved American superiority of not only domesticity but its nation itself as culturally pluralist.

Ambassadors of Japan: "You Should be Proud of Japanese Culture"

Along with the Cold War partnership building, not only American women but also Japanese girls were also narrated as "potential ambassadors" between the United States and Japan. The bride school became a site whereby "Japanese culture" gets defined. In other words, the school also instructed the young brides which Japanese culture they can be proud of:

> We American wives in Japan think of ourselves as ambassadors from the United States--conversely, each of you will be an ambassador from Japan when you go to the United States. You have a wonderful

[302] Espiritu argues that Vietnamese refugees became objects of the U.S. rescue fantasies as that to which the United States became "moral authority of U.S. leadership on world stage" and "rescue refugees" produced by Vietnamese war.
[303] Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in postwar American Culture, 1945-1960* (London: Duke University Press, 2001), 174.

> heritage of history and culture. Be proud of it! America is a new country--at least that part of it that is the United States; you have many centuries of culture as your background--do remember that always. When you leave here, take all the Japanese treasures you have--your kimono, which you will usually wear only in your own home; your kakejiku; the dishes you love. All will be admired. Your skill in flower arrangement; doll making, bonkei; these are arts which will make you envy of American women.[304]

It was kimono, flower arrangement, tea ceremony, and doll making that the school taught was ancient Japanese culture they should be proud of. These are all politically inert, timeless, and exotic in Western countries. Indeed, making friendship had to be a mutual process: "Japanese brides should also introduce your culture in exchange of what they learned American ways." Another director instructed Japanese girls to become "a good neighbor" who make a friendship. To do so, she recommended introducing Japanese cultures.

> It was not all one-sided, this information offered in the name of friendship. The instructors told the brides: Bring something of yourself to America. The kimono, the obi, the delicate flower arrangement art. Be a good neighbor when you make your new home. Bring part of Japan in your kakemono and the tea ceremony. There is warmth and friendliness and good neighborliness awaiting you, if you will help yourself find it as you have come to these classes.[305]

Again, what she mentioned Japanese culture was "the kimono, the obi, the delicate flower arrangement art, kakemono, and tea ceremony." As another example, one of the classes instructed them to become a good hostess in the United States and bring

---

[304] "Introduction to Home Management Course" in Brides' School handbook, 1954. RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.
[305] "Excerpt from report from Mrs. Frank O. Blake, Director, Volunteer Services, American Red Cross, Far Eastern Area," July 6, 1953, RG 200 Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

Japanese things to introduce. That was the way to become a friend to Americans in neighbors.

> As the hostess of your new home, you have real chance to combine the cultures of Japan and the new ideas you have learned in America. Your new friends will all be interested in what you ate, what you were here, how you cooked your food, how your houses looked. Most Americans can't afford to travel to Japan any more than most of your countrymen here are able to go stateside, and so we're all eager to know about people in other countries. When you leave Japan, don't put away all your Japanese things. Take along at least your best kimono and your geta and obi. If you have some favorite pictures, tuck those in, and include, if you can, some of the ladies for tea some afternoon. Wear your best kimono, and honor them with a real Japanese tea ceremony.[306]

Japanese culture that the school taught was indeed "products of centuries" that were not modern and new, but old and ancient. Interestingly, her sense of what things are American and what things are Japanese are also a part of American exceptional language as well as an orientalist view of Japan. What she listed as Japanese things all signify anarchic, feudalist, and barbarically sexist traditions. All these notions legitimate American intervention within its mission to "rescue" by providing democracy and freedom.

While Japan was defined by old, traditional and ancient, America was represented as new and young. The bride school taught that the United States was the nation where people all over the world can equally become the national subjects. It was the idea of the "melting pot" that "people of all the world mix and blend together" and constitutes the U.S. nation. The class taught:

---

[306] Brochure, Box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, July 6, 1954, RG 200, American National Red Cross, NA.

> Your new homeland of America will welcome you with genuine and sincere warmth, for the United States is a wonderful country that has been built and molded by the peoples of other lands. Its history has been made by the people of Europe, Africa, Asia of all the countries of the world, who came to the United States to establish new homes, to find freedom of speech and religion, to build new careers, and to achieve happiness and a worthwhile life. The United States is often called the "melting pot"--in which people of all the world mix and blend together their hopes, ambitions and daily lives. It is that fusion which gives to the United States its strength, its courage and its power.[307]

Again, it was the Cold War national ideology that the idea of the "melting pot" and pluralistic model of nation became important. The class indeed taught that "the Japanese girls" would become an American because the United States was the nation for "the people of all the countries of the world." Another teacher also told them:

> I am here today because of the faith I have in each of you as a contribution to America. America is young and so has not old culture and customs of its own. It is a blend of cultures and customs of people from all over the world, so each of you can be an important contributor. Americans are eager to learn about culture, customs and manners of other people. Give all your knowledge and talents, for you have many. Do not belittle origin and country. Be proud of both.[308]

By teaching which Japanese culture should be valued and which should be erased, the school also told that America can accommodate your culture, customs and manners. With these premise, then, the school sent out their students with "a hope that you would eventually become American wives and mothers." The chairman of the bride school shared a letter written by a bride's husband at the end of the school session and celebrated their volunteer work:

---

[307] "Camp Kokura Brides' School Handbook, 1956," RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.
[308] "Camp Kokura Brides' School Handbook, 1956," RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

> Although she is studying and learning about America and its people everyday, I believe that the greatest thing she has learned is that there are people everywhere who are always willing and always are helping those who need it. The sincere and effective teaching by your instructors has convinced my wife that she can and will someday become an American citizen. She feels assured that no matter where she goes, she can live as an American because you have taught her that America is a country for all, regardless of race, color, or creed. This is the first step into the U.S.[309]

This was indeed what the bride school taught about; now that the bride school told how to survive in the United States as American wives and mothers, and also that America is a country for all regardless of race, color, or creed, Japanese brides can become Americans. However, the premise never comes to reality because what is of value to American Cold War nation was the premise itself. Japanese brides' belated status as American wives can prove American superiority of domesticity as well as the nation itself as racially pluralist. In addition, the premise that they can eventually live as Americans, endorsed by the idea of America as the nation for all the people, personalized the racial problem. If Japanese brides cannot overcome racial barriers and face problems in the United States, it is their personal fault. The bride school project demonstrates how the Cold War nation did not depend on a logic of exclusion, but on a logic of "differential inclusion," of invigorating the U.S. nation by inviting "other" nations and peoples as the liberated. These Japanese brides as "other" people became the national subjects to self-evidently prove American pluralism, democracy and freedom.

---

[309] "The Japanese Brides' School of 1951, Held Under the Auspices of the Christian Woman's Association of the Tokyo Area," 1951, RG 200, box 1,280, file 618.4, Red Cross Central Files, American National Red Cross, NA.

How then did women who married American soldiers in the postwar moment, called Japanese war brides, understand themselves in the Cold War U.S. nation? What was the possibility for Japanese war brides to produce themselves in the nation? What is interesting here is that Japanese war brides attempted to legitimate themselves in the United States as those who introduced Japanese culture to the United States, that is "grass-roots cultural ambassadors." As I showed in previous chapter, Japanese women's legitimacy as American wives and mothers was always questioned. These women attempted to become intelligible national subjects through alleging their roles in introducing "Japanese culture" to American public. For example, Sae, who married a white American soldier and lived in Seattle for years, explained Japanese war brides' introduction of Japanese culture to American neighbors as their contribution to the United States: "We, 'Japanese war brides,' introduced chopsticks, soy sauce, Japanese curry rice and sushi to American society, and now sushi bars are everywhere in the United States."[310] She also mentioned that Japanese war brides could spread authentic Japanese culture because they came to the United States in their twenties strongly holding their own culture and could not lose it. Another woman, Setsu who married a white American officer and lived in Indiana and Washington DC for years, strongly identified herself as a grassroots ambassador who introduced Japanese culture to Americans.[311] She said that she taught sawing and flower arrangement to American neighbors and also made American friends through showing them how to play Koto, or Japanese harp. She also told that she was nervous when she joined the officer's club

[310] Stout, "Hito [human]," *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 March 1991; Sae, Interview 2006.
[311] Setsu (pseudonym), interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 5 August, 2007.

due to her accented English and unfamiliar cultures, but the anxiety disappeared when she made friends through introducing Japanese culture. Another woman, Tatsuko, who married a white American soldier and lived in Wisconsin in the postwar periods, was proud of herself for introducing Japanese culture to American neighbors.[312] She said that American neighbors were interested in Japanese culture; she became "popular" among white neighbors when she attended her daughter's graduation ceremony wearing her Kimono. She was also called a "gourmet cook" since she treated American neighbors to Japanese dishes.

By emphasizing their roles in introducing Japanese culture to American public, Japanese war brides also attempted to recuperate from the stigma of marriages with American soldiers thrust into postwar Japan. They attempted to legitimize themselves by alleging their roles as grassroots ambassadors of Japan. Possibility of war brides' identification as grass-roots ambassadors of Japan became prominent when then Princess Michiko recognized Japanese war brides' roles in the United States for Japan. A war bride, Stout Kazuko Umezu, was invited to the 40th Anniversary of Overseas Japanese Association Convention in Tokyo in 1984 and met Princess Michiko. She recalled the moment;

> When I heard then Princess Michiko saying, "You must had hardship in the country where has the different language and customs. Please tell ladies [Japanese war brides] in America we are thinking about you and we appreciate all the work you are doing," I was so impressed and just cried. Then, I realized that then Princess Michiko recognized that our effort and energy that we overcame the hardships and that we supported for the international students and Japanese residents in the

[312] Tatsuko (pseudonym), interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 2 August, 2007.

> United States. I thought that I should be confident and proud of being a Japanese war bride.[313]

When Princess Michiko's comment on "Japanese war brides" encouraged Stout to think that "Japanese war brides" overcame hardships, assimilated into American society, and contributed to supporting Japanese people who came afterwards. Princess Michiko's comment empowered her to also think that "Japanese war brides" have contributed by introducing Japanese culture to the United States. Stout said, "While 'Japanese war brides' think of our home, we introduced Japanese culture to the United States…and we are unconsciously playing a role as grass-root ambassadors between the United States and Japan."[314] By situating themselves as cultural ambassadors who hold Japanese culture while successfully assimilating into American culture and society, Stout perceived that Japanese war brides were meaningful figures for both the United States and Japan based on the Princess Michiko's recognition. They embraced alternative meaning of "Japanese war brides" and recuperated from the stigma of being "Japanese war brides."

This event instigated Kazuko to form a Nikkei (Japanese) International Marriage Society. She thought that she was obliged to convey then Princess Michiko's message to women who were called "Japanese war bride." On October 30, 1988, she gathered 320 "Japanese war brides" who lived in the mainland United States, Hawaii and Australia at a hotel in Olympia, Washington, not only to commemorate and

---

[313] Yasutomi Shigeyoshi and Stout Umezu Kazuko. *Amerika ni Watatta Senso Hanayome[War Brides in the United States] : Nichibei Kokusai Kekkon Paionia no Kiroku* [*Recorded by a Pioneer of International Marriages*]. ed. Shigeyoshi Yasutomi and Stout Kazuko U. (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2004), 147.

[314] Yasutomi, *Amerika ni Watatta Senso Hanayome[War Brides in the United States],* 226-7.

deepen understanding among themselves, but also to change the social meaning of Japanese war brides.[315] After the success of this convention, Stout established the Nikkei (Japanese) International Marriage Society whose number was initially over one hundred women and increased to five hundred during the peak periods. The Society held five conventions to date and also published newsletters quarterly.[316] Through the conventions and newsletters, "war brides" called for public recognition of their achievement as American citizens and their contributions toward establishing good relations between the United States and Japan as grass-roots ambassadors.

This transnational movement is interesting in that the postwar U.S. "cultural pluralist" nation created the space where Japanese war brides could be celebrated through introducing "Japanese culture." The postwar regime of "cultural pluralism" allowed Japanese war brides, who were biologically and legally differentiated when they immigrated to the United States, to possibly become "cultural ambassadors." This kind of ideological space, where Japanese war brides became "cultural ambassadors," again opened up a site where Japanese war brides were recognized as political ambassadors for Japan in the 80s. This newly emerged subjecthood opened up a transnational space where Japanese war brides became crucial figures who contributed to the postwar Japan to be recognized its excellence as a Cold War friend to the United

---

[315] Shigeyoshi Yasutomi and Stout Kazuko U, *Amerika ni Watatta Senso Hanayome* [*War Brides in the United States*]: *Nichibei Kokusai Kekkon Paionia no Kiroku [Recorded by a Pioneer of International Marriage*] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2004), 233.

[316] The Society developed not only throughout the United States, but also in six other countries such as Australia, Canada, England, New Zealand, and Japan. They had their first world convention in Hawaii in 1994, followed by the second in Fukushima, Japan in 1997, a third in Torrance, California in 1999, a forth in Fukuoka, Japan in 2001 and Hawaii in 2004. Because of their age, the number of the Society's members has been decreasing recently, but there were over five hundred people at the peak in 2002. Meanwhile, they also held mini conventions once a year within mainland United States.

States. However, again, which cultures “ambassadors” could only introduce as Japanese culture was contained within Cold War cultural regime which produced American superiority and benevolence in “belated” Asia.

Chapter Five
Producing Multiracial Family:
Mothering "Mixed Blood" Children and Pursuing the American Dream

> For somewhat more than 300 years white conquerors from the West have been mixing their blood with the conquered people of the East, creating a minority of unhappy misfits belonging neither to the East nor to the West. […] But neither the Japanese nor the occupation authorities are going to wait 300 years to try to find a solution to the problem of what to do with what is called here the "occupation baby."[317]

The Saturday Evening Post in 1948 featured a story of "occupation babies"--babies born to American soldiers and Japanese women during the occupation. The article narrated "occupation babies" as a problem that the Japanese government and the occupation authorities needed to solve. Just as the article stated, the existence of these children was problematic within the idea of "mixed blood-ness" and a number of children who were born to American soldiers and Japanese women during the occupation became illegitimate.

This chapter examines the idea of American family and race at the moment when the United States re-presented itself as a racially and culturally pluralist nation at the beginning of the Cold War. By tracing the figures of "mixed blood" children, this chapter sheds light on the United States as a pluralist nation where meanings of "mixed blood" children was (re)produced. While "mixed blood" children were an undesirable consequence of the occupation at first, they became visible as national subjects within Cold War politics whereby the United States attempted to establish an intimate relationship with Asia, specifically Japan, and present itself as a racially and

[317] Darrell Berrigan, "Japan's Occupation Babies," *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 19, 1948, 24.

culturally pluralist nation which accommodated people from all over the world regardless of race. In this political context, it is significant that they also became visible as subjects of the American family.

This chapter also focuses on narratives of Japanese women called Japanese war brides about their "mixed blood" children. Within the idea of "mixed blood" children in the pluralist nation, Japanese war brides show their children as proof of their acculturation to the United States. According to Anne McClintock, the nation is gendered, constitutive of people's identities, and women belong to the nation as symbolic reproducers of the members of national collectivities.[318] She, therefore, argues that motherhood is a crucial site to define the nation. She attests that African women gained the proper position through playing a role as mothers not only within one family but also the nation.[319] It is through the trope of white domesticity that colonized women become proper subjects by claiming motherhood of white children. Japanese war bride's narratives about their children show how it became possible for women to celebrate their "mixed blood" children to prove the legitimacy of their marriage and acculturation to the United States. However, this chapter also points out that these women were constantly culturally differentiated from proper American motherhood. In addition, narratives of Japanese women who married African American soldiers did not have access to the same discourses that became possible within the U.S. racially pluralist nation.

---

[318] Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family," *Feminist Review* 44, (Summer 1993), 61-2.
[319] Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather*: *Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (NY: Routledge, 1995), 267-70.

Finally, I examine Japan's changing perceptions of "mixed blood" children from when the occupation started to the beginning of the Cold War. Like the United States, Japan did not desire "mixed blood" children as proper national subjects when these subjects emerged within the context of occupation. The postwar Japanese media represented "mixed blood" children as contaminators of the "pure" Japanese race as well as a symbol of the nation's defeat. However, when the United States transformed pluralist families into visible national subjects at the beginning of the Cold War, Japanese media likewise reported that Japanese war brides were happy and pointed to their "mixed blood" children as a symbol of their happiness in the United States. Japanese media attributed this happy multiracial family to America's cosmopolitanism.

Illegitimate "Mixed Blood" Children as Innocent Victims of Japan's Racism: Americans Saved Them

As I argued in chapter four, "mixed blood" children could not legally become American citizen subjects for six years after the occupation started.[320] Within this legal and ideological sphere, the "mixed blood" babies were initially depicted as a problem of "over there" in Japan, but not America's problem. As early as 1948, *The Saturday Evening Post* featured "occupation babies" as a problem that emerged out of the U.S. occupation of Japan. As its title presented them as "Japan's Occupation Babies," the article represented the "mixed blood" babies as Japan's subjects and

[320] It was not until the mid-1951 that "mixed blood" children could legally become American citizen subjects. While there were two Soldier Bride Acts enacted during the occupation, neither of them allowed "mixed blood" children having as much as fifty percent of Japanese blood to immigrate to the United States independently. The second Soldier Bride Act allowed the minor children to enter the United States, but it was derivative to their mothers.

Japan's problem to solve. It showed the debate between Colonel Crawford F. Sams, chief of the Public Health and Welfare Section, and a founder of the Elizabeth Sanders Home, Miki Sawada, about whether these "mixed babies" should be separated from "pure" Japanese children or not. It remarked, "The dilemma that faces Americans wishing to relieve themselves of some of their responsibility is how to help the children without hurting their position in *Japanese society, where, undoubtedly they will have to live.*"[321] The first article of *Saturday Evening Post* published in 1948 featured "mixed blood" children as Japan's subjects and reported them as a problem of "over there in Japan."

Within the legal and ideological sphere that situated the "mixed blood" children as a problem of Japan, but not of the United States, any American help was considered as a liberal and a part of a rescue project, rather than an obligation and responsibility stemming from occupation. This attitude was clearly presented in SCAP's report on orphanage. Welfare officers in the Military Government Section did research on the orphanage, Lady of Lourdes in Yokohama, Japan in October 14, 1947. Lady of Lourdes orphanage was an outgrowth of the Yokohama General Hospital where the Franciscan Sisters of Mary opened for foreign nationals during the occupation.[322] Since the early spring of 1946, a number of babies had been found near

[321] Darrell Berrigan, "Japan's Occupation Babies," *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 19, 1948, 118, Emphasis Mine.
[322] The Franciscan Sisters was initially invited to the Yokohama General Hospital in 1935 and directed the nursing activities. They were interned during the war and reopened the hospital for foreign nationals after the war.

the hospital, and the orphanage became a registered institution in August, 1946.[323] The report included the orphanage's overall condition such as the number of children, the number of staff, financial situation, etc. Regarding the orphanage's financial assistance, the officer wrote that the orphanage received food, clothing, and medicine from military forces as well as some organizations. What is interesting in the report was that the officer described the occupation personnel's attitudes to the orphanage as liberal. It noted, "The Eighth Army Officers' Club makes a regular donation to the institution. Occupation Personnel have been very liberal in giving clothing, etc, to the Sisters."[324]

The idea of any American activities done for abandoned mothers and children as help and rescue also appeared in the U.S. postwar media. For example, *the Reader's Digest* article published in 1954 introduced some activities that American people did and reported that various American agencies collected money and supported orphanages which cared for the "mixed blood" children, and made astonishing results, reuniting families and arranging hospital care. The same article also introduced "a grandfatherly white-haired businessman" from New York, Herbert B. Gallop. He had "amazed himself by becoming a local counselor for any Japanese girl with GI baby" in Japan and helped them by "tracking down addresses, finding adoptive parents, paying hospital bills with his own finds and arranging for men in America to acknowledge a child so it can have a name."[325] The American man became a "grandfatherly" figure as a rescuer who helped Japanese mothers and

---

[323] According to the report, there were about a hundred children, fifteen of whom were "pure Japanese" and all receive the same care.
[324] "Yokohama General Hospital" October 14, 1947. RG 331 Adjutant Office.
[325] James Michener, "The Facts about the GI Babies," *The Reader's Digest*, March 1954, 9. The article even noted that he could become America's ambassador to these children.

children. Here, he became a rescuer within patriarchal and gendered notions; American men's recognition and protection made otherwise illegitimate children legitimate. It is ironic that American men became "grandfatherly" figures even though these children did not have their fathers because the U.S. occupation policy freed American soldiers from their responsibility as fathers.

The Americans-as-rescuers narrative became even more prominent in American parents' adoption of "mixed blood" children. Because 1924 immigration law stipulated that a person who has as much as one-half Japanese blood was not eligible for admission to the United States for permanent residence, mixed race children could not immigrate into the United States until seven years after the start of the occupation. However, beginning in 1951, Congress began to occasionally issue private bills that admitted adopted mixed race children by American parents to immigrate to the United States. For example, in August, 1951, Congress provided a private bill that admitted authorized the entry of Seiichi Sugiura, initially known as Valarianus Sugiura, and later known as David Lee Harrigan, "A minor half Japanese under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Y. Harrigan, both citizens of the United States temporarily residing in Japan."[326] In September, an orphan, Megumi Takagi, also known as Senda Daily, a minor half-Japanese child, was considered the alien natural-born child of Master Sergeant and Mrs. Thomas V. Daily. At the same time, another orphan, Hoshi Kazuo was also considered as a natural born child of Sergeant and Mrs. Thelma Humberd and allowed to enter the United States as permanent residence.

---

[326] "House Passes Four Bills on Japan Aliens," *Pacific Citizen*, August 18, 1951.

Kazuo was the son of an unidentified American soldier who is being reared by Catholic sisters in Japan.

Because "mixed-blood" children were a problem of "over there" in Japan, the U.S. media framed American parents' adoption of "mixed race" children as celebratory and heartwarming. For example, the article, "The Facts about GI Babies" in *The Reader's Digest* in 1954, introduced the stories of 300 American couples who had adopted orphans into their own homes as "moving" and praised these actions as ones that redound to America's credit.[327] Moreover, as soon as Congress began to admit adopted "half-Japanese" children's entry to the United States in November, 1951, a *Los Angeles Times* article reported that American Air Force captain, James R. Evans and Mrs. Evans, adopted three-year-old Pascal M. Yutaka who arrived in the United States.[328] The article noted that they gave him the American name, Jimmy and took him to his grandparents' house where a Thanksgiving party was held. The attached picture of Jimmy, held between Mr. and Mrs. Evans, was captioned "Give Thanks-- Air Force captain, James R. Evans and Mrs. Evans are giving their foster son, Jimmy, 3, his first Thanksgiving in United States at Imperial Beach. Jimmy who is half American by parentage, was adopted in Japan orphanage by Evans."[329] By expounding a story of American parents who gave Jimmy, a Thanksgiving experience, a symbol of a happy American family event, the article implied that Jimmy who was unhappy and despairing in Japan's orphanage finally received happiness. In this story,

---

[327] James Michener, "The Facts about the GI Babies," *The Reader's Digest*, March 9, 1954.
[328] "Couple Return with Adopted Japanese Boy," *Los Angeles Times*, November 22, 1951.
[329] "Couple Return with Adopted Japanese Boy," *Los Angeles Times*, November 22, 1951.

the American parents became a benevolent couple who rescued Jimmy and brought him happiness.

The Refugee Relief Act in 1953 triggered more adoption.[330] Another *New York Times* articles published in 1955 reported that five "half-Japanese" orphans were adopted and arrived in the United States. They immigrated to the United States through the Refugee Relief Act and united with their foster parents when they arrived in the United States. The article expounded a moment when the abandoned mixed race children were welcomed and embraced by American family.

> Teruko Muto, 8 year-old adopted daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Pedley of Glen Ellen. Calif., cried, "I'm going home!" Eight-year-old Diane and 3-year-old Barbara Pedley, the couple's own children, welcomed their new sister with an armful of dolls.[331]

A parentless and family-less Teruko gained not only her parent but also her siblings and finally belonged to family. The article also remarked that these children finally arrived to their "home." By showing the United States as their "home," it credited American tolerance of providing "home" to these abandoned children. The adoption of "mixed blood" children became visible within the U.S. Cold War effort to show the world its moral superiority against communism. Historian, Arrisa Oh captures the American family's adoption of Korean mixed race children that has occurred since the

---

[330]The McCarran-Walter Act enacted in 1953, allowed Japanese women who married American citizens and their children to enter the United States for permanent residence without quota. With the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, some "mixed-blood" children entered the United States for permanent residence. The act itself aimed for refugees from Eastern Europe, but some Japanese citizens who suffered from natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes, and poverty enter the United States and worked as farmhands. Refer to Yukiko Koshiro, 210.

[331] "5 Orphans From Japan Getting Homes in U.S.," *New York Times*, January 10, 1955.

mid-50's within the U.S. Cold War ideology construction.[332] While she focuses on Korean babies' adoption, I see her argument useful to understand the relation between American family's adoption of mixed race children in Asia and the U.S. Cold War politics. She argues that adopting mixed race children became the U.S. moral activity when the United States attempted to show the world its moral leadership to provide freedom and democracy during the Cold War. The idea that the United States could become a "home" for the abandoned "mixed race" children providing them family and refuge emerged in the early 50s when the United States made effort for showing its moral superiority to the world against communism.

In addition, an ideological picture of American parent's adoption of Asian "mixed blood" children suggested the U.S. Cold War relation with Asia: "American relation with Asia was through familial love, but not force and blood."[333] Because it was a moment of rescue, a 1951 *New York Times* article vigorously described a moment when Mrs. Evans chose Jimmy.

> Mrs. Evans recalled they had been unable to decide which child they wanted at the orphanage, until as they were ready to leave, Jimmy stood at the top of a staircase, waving a home-made toy at them, and shouting a farewell. "That did it," Mrs. Evans declared. "He took hold of our hearts."[334]

By describing that Jimmy "took hold of our hearts," the article expounded the connection between an American parent, Evans and a half-Japanese child, Jimmy, as familial love. According to Cultural Theorist, Christina Klein, by narrating the U.S.

---

[332] Arrisa Oh, "A New Kind of Missionary Work: Christians, Christian Americanists, and the Adoption of Korean GI babies, 1955-1961," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 33:3, 4 (fall/winter 2005), 165.
[333] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (CA: University of California Press, 2003), 146.
[334] "Couple Return With Adopted Japanese Boy," *Los Angeles Times*, November 22, 1951.

relation with Asia as parental love, multiracial family, that is white parents with Asian babies, suggested that Americans were neither racists nor imperialists.[335]

Why was it possible for the adoption of "mixed blood" children to be represented as a benevolent act, which allowed the United States to consolidate its status as a morally superior world leader? If one considers that it was a SCAP policy and U.S. immigration laws that excluded "mixed blood" children from the nation and made them illegitimate outsiders of the American family, these American adoptions should just be considered a belated act which the United States should have been responsible for earlier. Here, I argue that "mixed blood" children were represented as innocent victims of Japan's racism and thus became visible as an object of rescue within the Cold War politics.

Ignoring SCAP policy that created their illegitimate status of "mixed blood" children, postwar U.S. media explained that their suffering was rooted in Japan's racism. For example, an article in *The Reader's Digest*, entitled "The Facts about the GI Babies," featured a story about George-san as one of the first GI babies born in Japan. The article indicated that he would have a hard life because he would face racism in Japan. It noted, "Things are going to get very tough for George-san. […] Japanese believe that their race is unique and pure, unsullied by outside blood for at least 6000 years."[336] It is true that Japan had a strong belief that Japanese race was a unique Yamato race, blaming only Japan's racial prejudice masked the fact that

[335] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*, 65.
[336] Michener, "The Facts about the GI Babies," 6.

occupation system and American military policy produced the fundamental problems. Indeed, these children were seen as "victims of Japan's race prejudice."

In addition to the racial belief of "pure Japanese race," the U.S. media framed the "mixed blood" children as a problematic existence in Japan because they are a "living symbol of Japan's defeat." The *Saturday Evening Post* article remarked upon a story of Akiko who gave birth to her "mixed blood" girl, Lily and noted that these "mixed blood" babies faced a prejudice because they were "a living symbol of Japan's shame--of her defeat and her humiliation at being an occupied nation."[337] The article added that another abandoned mother named Koko said, "If we were not a defeated nation, […] the eyes of the neighbors would not be so cold."[338] Because these children symbolized the defeat of Japan, the article explained that they were problematic existence and would face difficulty being accepted in Japanese society.

The "mixed blood" children, then, were also narrated as subjects who Japan wanted to abort because they were a symbol of Japan's defeat. Offering a metaphor of Japan's desire, the media highlighted the Japanese mother's desire to abandon her children. The article, entitled "Madame Butterfly's Children," reported that a mother of Hisae, an orphan, told the reporter that she wanted to start her new life without her child. The magazine remarked, "The child was a living reminder of something she wanted to forget. 'She looks so *foreign*,' Hisae's mother said, 'everybody knows.'"[339] The constructed visibility of Japanese mothers who desired to abandon these children helped to move the discussion away from American soldiers' responsibilities as their

[337] Berrigan, "Occupation Babies," 25.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Peter Kalischer, "Madame Butterfly's Children," *Collier's*, September 1952, 15.

fathers. Moreover, the U.S. media denigrated Japan's family structure: *The Reader's Digest* article wrote in this way:

> What it means for a child to lack family status in Japan is an experience unknown in the Western world. Every aspect of life there is governed by the family unit. Not to belong to family who will find you a job, secure you a wife, care for you in illness and protect you against a hostile world is to invite despair.[340]

The article narrated that these illegitimate children who did not belong to family would be in despair because of Japanese rigid family structure.

In sum, while the occupation policy produced illegitimate children and situated them outside of a formal family unit, there was void in U.S. media's discussion about their illegitimate status, narrating them as if they were just naturally illegitimate. The "mixed blood" children who were made illegitimate by the U.S. immigration policy and the occupation policy were considered victims of solely Japan's racism. The knowledge about mixed race children offered the idea that the United States rescued them by providing clothes, foods, homes and families.

Achieving American Dream: Ambassadors between the United States and Japan

The second Soldier Bride Act, enacted in August, 18, 1950, five years after the commencement of the occupation, finally allowed "mixed blood" children born to American soldiers and Japanese women to enter the United States as permanent residents. In this case, children of American citizen fathers and Japanese alien mothers had to be made legitimate through American military's permission. This law finally

[340] Michener, "The Facts about the GI Babies," 7.

allowed children of American soldiers and Japanese women to become American citizen subjects.[341] This second Soldier Bride Act was significant in that Japanese women could legally enter the United States not only as wives of American citizens but also as mothers of their children.[342] The second Soldier Bride Act was a moment when the multiracial family, which consisted of American fathers, Japanese mothers, and their "mixed-blood" children became possible as American national subjects.

Along with this changing legal sphere, the multiracial family became visible in the U.S. media since the mid-1950s. A 1955 article in *Life* magazine entitled, "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese," carried a story of a white American husband, Frank Pfeiffer, and a Japanese wife, Sachiko who searched for acceptance in their white middle-class suburban neighborhood. The article interestingly showcased the moment when "She became an American" after the baby was born. The article recounted American white neighbors celebrated Sachiko's new family by having a baby shower for her.

> When Sachiko tried to pay for the food, Carm would not take the money, but it was only after the baby was born that the little Japanese girl fully compensated the love in which her neighbors held her. It was then, one might say, that she became an American. She [Sachiko] explains it: "Frank come hospital bring me home. When our car stop at house I feel good but Carm and Frances run up and cry, 'No got in, Sachiko. Not ready yet.' There all people our block waiting. A shower." Frank Pfeiffer, whose Japanese wife had been kicked out of one American home, chokes up when he remembers this shower. "I never saw so many presents. Our boy is a year old now and we haven't had to buy him any clothes yet. What a shower!"

---

[341] Since the mid-1950, some private bills which authorized the immigration of minor children born between American citizen fathers and Japanese mothers were passed.

[342] Walter McCarran Act enacted in 1952 also allowed not only Japanese women but their children to enter the United States for permanent residence.

> Frances Rawlings, says, "When Carm and I planned the shower not a person we approached gave anything because Sachiko was a Japanese. We all gave because she was such a good human being."[343]

In this story, it was Frank Pfeiffer's mother who kicked out her Japanese daughter-in-law, Sachiko, from a similar white suburban home. However, this excerpt showed a moment when white suburban neighbors accepted and celebrated not only this "interracial" couple between white American husband and Japanese wife but also their expected child. It is significant that their "mixed blood" boy became a subject of celebration through a shower which was a symbolic event of an American family, while "mixed blood" children had not been celebratory subjects, but rather subjects to be aborted in the postwar period. Here, a "mixed blood" baby became visible as an American subject whose birth was celebrated.

In other words, this is also a moment when an American man became visible as a father of his "mixed blood" baby. Given that military policy during the occupation prohibited American men from assuming the role of fathers for his "mixed blood" children, it was remarkable that the American man, Frank, became visible as a father of his "mixed blood" child mothered by a Japanese woman. Indeed, it was the shift to the Cold War that prodded the United States to make an effort to show itself as a racially and culturally plural nation where people all over the world came to the United States and acculturated into the nation that welcomed and integrated people from all over the world. In this moment, the multiracial family offered a way to

[343] James Michener, "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese: Marriage Surmounts Barriers of Language and Intolerance," *Life*, February 21, 1955, 138.

imagine the United States overcoming "racism" and becoming multiracial nation.[344] In doing so, American fathers who possessed Japanese wives and children were interpellated as new national subjects at the beginning of the Cold War.

A 1955 *Los Angeles Times* article, entitled, "Homesick for Mississippi, Says Japanese War Bride," reported that a Japanese war bride, Kimiko Dargel, became homesick not for Japan, but for Mississippi where she lived with her husband's parents when she arrived to the United States. The article presented a Japanese bride, Kimiko, as an American who missed Mississippi as her hometown after she moved to Los Angeles, California. In doing so, the article made Kimiko visible as an American mother through her children.

> She [Kimiko] says that although the American diet is very cosmopolitan, she misses Japanese food and likes to prepare it often. Principal objectors to this, she explains, smiling are her daughters who "would much rather have hamburgers than sukiyaki."[345]

By describing her children as "the dark-eyed, happy youngsters," the article narrated them as those who were becoming Americans who "would much rather have hamburgers than sukiyaki." With this, Japanese women became visible as a mother of American children.

Japanese war brides became a perfect subject as a mother who raised American children to give the United States credit for being racially and culturally pluralist nation. Caroline Chung Simpson explains, "As white Americans tried in vain to negotiate the threat of black integration, and government programs tried in vain settle

---

[344] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 146.
[345] Bob Will, "Homesick for Mississippi, Says Japanese War Bride," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1955.

interned Japanese Americans, Japanese war brides provided at least one 'unofficial or obscure place' out of which the redemption of cultural pluralism, was a distinct possibility."[346] While Simpson focuses more on the domestic racial issue, I argue that it was also foreign policy consideration that propelled the United States to imagine itself as welcoming and accommodating Asian people as a part of the American family. With this political background, Simpson argues that Japanese war brides became a postwar prototype of the American model minority acculturating into white suburban lives as American wives and mothers.[347]

For their part, Japanese war brides also highlighted their role as mothers who raised 'American children.' Through activities of the Nikkei International Marriage Society, one of the statements that Japanese war brides emphatically appealed to the public was that they were successful mothers of American children. For example, the president, Kazuko Umezu Stout, emphasized that most Japanese war brides raised American children and acculturated into American society having decent jobs and also having grandchildren. In the Society's newsletter, many women mentioned raising their children as their achievement. For example, Kuni, who was disowned by her parents as a result of her marriage with an American soldier and whose husband died few years ago, wrote, "Please do not judge me, but look at my children."[348] Her statement implies that she tried to recuperate from the stigma and suffering attached to her marriage by showcasing her "honorable" children. Another woman, Kotomi, tells

---

[346] Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945-1960* (London: Duke University Press, 2001), 165.
[347] Ibid., 174.
[348] Kazuko Umezu Stout, "Where are the Japanese War Brides? How are they doing?" *The Nisqually Valley News,* September 29, 1988.

her severe hardship brought by her husband's disease. Since he could not work and earn money in the United States, she despaired, thinking that she should commit suicide with her three children. After having survived these dark moments, she writes, "Now, my sons became independent and live honorably. This should be my reward for my sufferings."[349] These two women showed their children as proof of their recuperation from the severe past brought by their marriages.

Along with this, "Japanese war brides" who married American soldiers pointed to their motherhood to maintain the legitimacy as well as happiness of their marriages. For instance, Chitose emphasized her successful children's acculturation into American society. She was proud of raising their children who adapted to American values and customs. She said, "I raised my children as Americans. I did not let them eat Japanese foods. They had to live here in the United States and marry American women. If they had Japanese values and customs, it would be difficult to survive here and have American family."[350] I see that Japanese war brides emphasized and claimed that they became mothers who raised American children to show their legitimacy as proper subjects in the United States.

In their illustration of their roles as "American mothers," women described their successful children as figures of the "American dream." Their quality of American motherhood is valorized by underscoring how well their children are doing in the United States. For example, Satoe stated that she raised her children very hard and said, "My oldest child got in Brown University. I was very happy and proud of my

[349] Katsu Hole, "Letters," September 5, 2001 no. 39.
[350] Chitose. (pseudonym) interview by author. Oak Harbor, Washington, 27 August, 2006.

child entering Ivy League."[351] Then, she continues, "America gives you a second chance for anybody. It is an American dream. Immigrants came to the United States and got in good schools like Ivy League. It does not discriminate people depending on where they are from and their nature. Immigrants and their children can climb the social ladder and eventually succeed." Satoe captured their children's success within an idea of the American dream and the U.S. as a nation of immigrants. Simpson (2001) explains that Japanese war brides became a prototype of the model minority at the moment when the United States realized its American dream. Immigration stories of Japanese war brides who successfully became American mothers were appealing narratives to the U.S. Cold War empire which was allegedly multiracial nation achieving racial equality. Satoe's narrative could resonate with and validate the discourse of the U.S. Cold War nation.

Here, what is interesting is that women attempted to make themselves intelligible subjects within the nation by showing their "mixed-blood" children as evidence of their successful marriages. I argue that their alleged success of the marriages prove by their "mixed-blood" children, highlight the U.S. "multiracial" nation that emerged at the beginning of the Cold War. Multiracialism, whereby "mixed-blood" children became positive subjects of American dream, discursively allowed Japanese war brides to show themselves as successful American mothers. What is significant here is that, while their "mixed-blood" children were a source of fear to the nation and subjects to be aborted in the postwar periods, they became

[351] Satoe (pseudonym), interview by author, Denver, Colorado, 23 March 2007.

possible subjects of American dream to the nation during the Cold War.

Behind the American Dream: American Family, Mothers and Children

Did the Japanese war brides really become American mothers? Why could "inclusion" of Japanese mothers enable the United States to become a racially and culturally pluralist nation? Here, I argue that "Japanese brides as American mothers" were constantly differentiated included in the nation. For example, the article, "The Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese," made a Japanese mother, Sachiko, visible as an American mother, but constantly differentiated her. While the article defined the time when her baby was celebrated by white suburban neighbors as a moment when she became an American, the article showed what kind of an American she became. In the article, one of her white neighbors, Mrs. Mohlman, said,

> "There was one embarrassing aftermath. Sachiko felt that she had to repay everybody. When I was sick she took my three children. One day when I thought I was alone in the house I heard a noise and I crawled out of bed. There was Sachiko, scrubbing all my floors. We looked at one another and could not speak a word, because she had no English, so I got back into bed."[352]

Mrs. Mohlman described Sachiko as an embarrassing mother who scrubbed her floor and could not communicate in English when she took her children. Cultural differences within the postwar culturally pluralist nation allowed Japanese brides to become American mothers but they were constantly culturally differentiated. In other words, it was not so much a story of Sachiko's becoming an American, but of American people's acceptance of the "strange" Japanese woman as an American. By

[352] James Michener, "Pursuit of Happiness by a GI and a Japanese," *Life*, February 21, 1955, 138.

highlighting her purportedly different culture and custom, American acceptance of Japanese women as American mothers became represented as American benevolence and tolerance.

Narratives of Japanese war bride children also embed the idea that they were culturally different from American mothers. In interviews, Japanese war brides explained how their children were proud of their "Japanese mother." Their ideas of "Japanese mother" embed the racial idea of pluralist nation. For example, Satoe remarked that her daughter was proud of having Japanese mother. She expounded, "My daughter said that she liked Japan and was happy about having Japanese mother. She liked to study Manyo-shu [old Japanese poems] and Waka [Japanese poems]. She was very interested in Japan, particularly the spirit of Ninjyo [Japanese humanity] and Giri [duty].[353] When Satoe's daughter likes Japan and is proud of her Japanese mother, however, what she described about Japan was "traditional" old poems showing spirit of Giri and Ninjyo. As I explained in chapter five, in Western imagination, Japan was described as having essentialized timeless values. Over sixty years ago, Ruth Benedict wrote in her well known book, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* that "On, Giri, and Ninjyo" are Japanese unique traditional virtues which are extremely different from Western values and customs.[354] She explains these values as the invariable Japanese tradition, which is alien to Americans.[355] They are values of what Edward Said called

---

[353] Setsuko Wilcox, interview by author, Denver, Colorado, 22 March, 2007.
[354] Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Swords: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), 98-11.
[355] Ibid., 99: They are values of what Edward Said called Orientalism which marks an ontological and epistemological distinction between East and West; East is portrayed as traditional and federalist while West is portrayed as modern, independent, and democratic.

Orientalism which marks an ontological and epistemological distinction between East and West; East is portrayed as traditional and federalist while West is portrayed as modern, independent, and democratic. The idea of Orientalism endorsed Western superiority and Eastern inferiority in age of the western expansion to Asia.[356] In the end, war brides' children can only be proud of their "Japanese mothers" as those who have traditional Japanese culture.

Finally, what I point out here is that narratives about "mixed blood" children of by women who married African American soldiers do not apply to the discourse of the U.S. cultural pluralist nation. While women who married white soldiers and had children tended to narrate their children as proof of their proper belonging to the United States, women who married black soldiers did not show their children as such. For example, there was a void in the narratives of Yumiko about narrating their children as proof of her contributions to the nation. She just mentioned that she was not interested in giving higher education to their children.[357] She said, "All three children finished high schools. They just did on their own." I see this void as an indication that shows that their "mixed blood" children born to African American fathers did not play a role in securing women's position within the nation. Another woman, Sumi, emphasized that she kept praying twice a day to be proud of herself in the United States.[358] She started to pray when she moved to Arkansas where she was isolated by black community. She started to live with her in-law family--mother-in-

---

[356] Sylvia Yanagisako, *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis.* ed. Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney. (NY: Routledge, 1995), 287.
[357] Yumiko (pseudonym), interview by author, Denver, Colorado, 22 March, 2007.
[358] Sumi (pseudonym), interview by author, Denver, Colorado, 22 March, 2007.

law and father-in- law--there, but she had a hard time since they did not like her. She was sad and cried looking at the moon and stars. That was the time when she started to pray. She said, "Since I learned how to pray, I had been able to appreciate the day." Sumi's story shows that praying is something she learned in the United States and could confirm that she appreciated the day. As for her children, she just mentioned that their children were proud of having Japanese mother and African American father, but did not narrate children as enabling her to become an American subject. Again, I see this void in stories of women who married African Americans tells that "mixed blood" children born to Japanese women and African American men do not play a role in validating their mothers' existence which is always under question. While women who gave birth to "mixed blood" children born to Japanese women and white American men show their children as a proof that they contributed to the nation by becoming American mothers, women who married African American men did not use this logic to secure their position in the nation. While cultural pluralism promises that the nation accommodated all the people regardless of race, Japanese women who married African American men could not belong to the nation by having their "mixed blood" children.

"Mixed Blood" Children in Japan: They Were Happy in Racially Tolerant Nation

"Mixed blood" children were a problem to Japan as well. Japan had a strong belief that Japanese race was a superior Yamato race and idea of "pure Japanese race" was important to be consisted of the nation. Historian, Yukiko Koshiro explains that

since the abstract idea of biological purity credited Japanese uniqueness, "hybridization, even with the 'superior' white race, could only be harmful to such Japanese racial quality."[359] Because of this belief, "mixed-blood" children could only become a problem in Japan. In fact, the postwar Japanese media narrated that these "mixed blood" children were problematic the way they were. For example, *Shukan Sankei* article introduced a married couple: an American soldier and Japanese woman, Kiyoko. The article presented the idea that the mixed blood children themselves were problematic even though their child was legitimate in a proper form of family. The article reported that Kiyoko was worried about her baby's future because he was a "mixed blood" child, saying "I am worried about his future because he was born as a "mixed blood" child in this world."[360] Another article written by Miki Sawada who founded the orphanage, called Elizabeth Sanders Home, showed how problematic the "mixed blood" children were in the postwar Japanese society.[361] She took up some women who brought their "mixed blood" children to her Home: A woman dated with an American GI during the occupation, but when he knew that she became pregnant, he disappeared. She gave birth to her "mixed blood" child by herself and brought him back to her hometown. All the people in her hometown gave her cold eyes and threw stones at them. Because of the existence of the "mixed blood" baby and the abandoned mother, her brother's prospective marriage was ruined. One day, he became angry

---

[359] Yukiko Koshiro, "Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan," (NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 160.
[360] "Umi wo Watatta Senso Hanayome [Japanese War Bride Across the Ocean]," *Syukan Sankei*, July 18, 1954.
[361] Miki Sawada, "Konketsu no Koji no Tame ni [For the Sake of Mixed Blood Children]," Tokyo: *Shufu no Tomo sha*, May 1, 1949, 103.

about his ruined marriage and threw a pot filled with boiling water at the baby. This story represented that "mixed blood" babies themselves were tragic and problematic in the postwar Japanese society.

In addition, the "mixed blood" children symbolized the nation's defeat in the postwar Japan.[362] The children were symbolized the idea that Japanese women were raped by American soldiers and wounded the nation's masculine pride. The postwar magazine articles carried stories about raped Japanese women who had no choice giving birth to her "mixed blood" children. For example, Sawada wrote a story about a "mixed blood" child, Mitsuko, whose mother was raped by an American soldier.[363] When Mitsuko's mother told about the incident to her husband, he ordered her to abandon her "mixed blood" child, Mitsuko. Another article reported that a house maid worked for an American commanding officer was raped by him when she went to his house to iron his uniform. "Mixed blood" children stood for the nation's shameful defeat that produced a number of Japanese women who were raped by American soldiers. In addition, "mixed blood" babies were captured within the postwar poverty whereby Japanese mothers in need of food had to survive. This idea indicated men's incapability in feeding his family and also wounded the masculine pride. Sawada wrote that production of "mixed blood" babies was rooted in Japan's poverty: All the people in the postwar period were in starvation and in need of food. She introduced a story of an abandoned mother who worked as a dancer and supported her family: Her brother initially blamed her having "mixed blood" child, but later realized that he

[362] "Mixed blood" children were even more captured as tragic when they were black. The black soldiers' children were called "Kuronbo no ko." (*Fujin Koron*, 1942), 134.
[363] Miki Sawada, "Konketsu no Koji no Tame ni [For the Sake of Mixed Blood Children]," 100.

could not blame her since she supported her family by sacrificing her life. “Mixed blood” children were captured within the nation’s (masculine) inability to possess and protect these women. She concluded the article saying that all the women who gave birth to “mixed blood” children were hungry in need of food for a day.

”Mixed blood” children and their mothers should not become proper national subjects degrading Japan’s masculine pride and had to be stigmatized. The postwar media denigrated “mixed blood” children and their mothers. For example, *Fujin Koron* article in 1953 described a woman who gave birth to “mixed blood” children as deviant and immoral and called cheap “madam butterfly.”[364] The article criticized the women who had “mixed blood” children as those who dreamed for happy marriages and immigration to the United States, but finally realized that American GIs would never came back to them and met their despair. The article concluded that these women were “failures” by having “mixed blood” children instead of going to the United States.[365] Within this narrative, “mixed blood” children were indicated as something undesired and a symbol of despair. The article also labeled “mixed blood” children as “panpan’s children,” or prostitutes’ children and also as “America’s children” indicating hatred against occupiers.[366] “Mixed blood” children were considered as signifiers of the nation’s defeat and being occupied and therefore evil the way they were.[367]

---

[364] Kiyoshi Kanzaki, “Shiro to Kuro [White and Black]: Nichibei, Konketsuji no Chosa Hokoku [Report on Japanese and American ‘Mixed Blood’ Children],” *Fujin Koron*, March, 1953.
[365] Ibid, 135-6.
[366] Ibid, 134.
[367] McCarran Walter Act in 1952 (301(b)) enacted that persons who were born between an American citizen and foreigner outside of the United States and gained American citizenship had to live at least

However, when "mixed blood" children appeared as American subjects, Japanese media also narrated these families as happy along with visibility of happy multiracial family consisted of American fathers, Japanese mothers, and their "mixed blood" children in the United States during Cold War. For example, 1957 *Sandei Mainichi* article reported that Japanese war bride's family had a happy life in the United States.[368] The article wrote that a Japanese war bride, Tamaji, who had two children with a former Army corporal husband, became a housewife surrounded by her babies' crying and had a fun life. In this way, the article presented her two "mixed blood" children as those who endorsed her happiness. In addition, the article explained that the reason that Japanese war brides had happy lives was rooted in the fact that there was minimal racial discrimination in American society. It also remarked that Japanese people should become more cosmopolitan as in the United States. It is interesting that the happiness of this Japanese war bride family was captured within U.S. racial tolerance and cosmopolitanism. I point out this type of transnational knowledge circulation; the idea of the United States as a racially tolerant pluralist nation influenced the discourses about Japanese war brides in Japan. Unhappy Japanese brides who faced U.S. racism, became happy subjects within the idea of American racial tolerance in Japan.

---

two years in the United States between 14 and 28 years old, or lose his/her American citizenship. Under then Japanese Nationality Act, only persons who had Japanese father could become Japanese citizen, and therefore, persons who had Japanese mother and American father and had not lived for two years in the United States before becoming 28 years old would become stateless. ("Crisis to Lose Citizenship: 3000 people fell into legal gloom between Japan and United States," *Asahi Shinbun*, October 14, 1974.)

[368] "Sanzen nin no Hanayome, Taiheiyou wo Wataru Nippon Musume [Three Thousands Brides: Japanese Brides Crossing the Pacific Ocean]," *Sandei Mainichi*, July 28, 1957.

EPILOGUE

This dissertation situates Japanese war brides as "Cold War seditious figures." Within the dominant narrative of WWII as a "good war," Japanese women have been defined as liberated, having equal rights as men, and enfranchised. This dissertation was rooted in my observation about how Japanese women --the "liberated Japanese women"--play an important role in allowing American military violence to become a legitimate and even necessary action for saving and reforming oppressed people. For example, in the post 9/11 period, abstract language such as the "war on terrorism" configured America as a world hero who rescues people from the terror of evil Afghanistan and Iraq. This served to legitimize American military involvement in these countries. By demonstrating the American "gift" of women's suffrage and stipulating Japanese women's equal rights with men as evidence of the success of the U.S. democratizing missions, then President George W. Bush and opinion makers hearken back to the "successful" occupation of Japan in order to "foresee the 'success' of the postwar U.S. occupation of Iraq antecedent to the war itself."[369] Indeed, only a few would argue that there were some undemocratic aspects involved in liberating Japanese women but many would insist that the liberation of Japanese women was successful along with the success of the American occupation itself. Even though about sixty-five years have passed, figures of Japanese women occupy the realm of historical symbols as liberated in the postwar U.S. empire.

[369] Lisa Yoneyama, "Liberation Under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement," *American Quarterly*, 57.3 (2005), 886.

My analysis of the configuration of Japanese war brides, however, reveals contradictions embedded in the idea of the U.S. occupation of Japan as benevolent liberation. By finding that Japanese women who married American soldiers as a result of the U.S. occupation of Japan were seen as prostitutes, this dissertation argues that the American soldiers' love was what made them proper American wives, separate from these figures. Love narratives are crucial for American soldiers to represent this intimacy as moral, and not something that was immorally driven by sexual desire. In doing so, I contest that it is important for the United States to feel that the U.S. occupation of Japan was carried out by its love to Japan, and assert that it was a democratization and liberation of Japan and, not a political, economic, and military domination and exploitation.

For the United States to believe the postwar U.S.-Japan alliance as one united through love, the lover's understanding of the loved's will is crucial: Japan's consent to this form of relation allows the United States to move away from realizing that its relation was that of domination and exploitation and not of love.[370] It was in the Cold War context, when the United States attempted to represent itself as a democratic and advanced nation and the antithesis of the communist and socialist Soviet Union that it was important to define the U.S. occupation of Japan as a benevolent and democratic project that successfully liberated and rehabilitated Japan.

Within the Cold War context, the U.S. attempt to represent itself as a democratic nation triggered to produce the U.S. national ideology—the racially and

[370] Here, it is about the U.S. understanding of Japan's will for engaging the relation. It is not Japan's: There are Japanese socialist and anarchists who did not understand Japan's relation to the United States as loving and benevolent.

culturally pluralist nation. While the United States asserted its racial and cultural pluralism, I present that the marriages between white American soldiers and Japanese women had unexpected consequences. Here I argue that disavowal of racism in transnational contexts, that prevented the United States from stipulating racial components in the Japanese War Bride Acts, produced the marriages between white American soldiers and Japanese women. However, this outcome that happened in the transnational context did not change the domestic context where anti-miscegenation laws were effective in more than half of the U.S. states. The war brides only became "taboo" and "deviant" subjects who were considered a threat producing "mixed blood" babies.

Then, I argue that these "deviant" subjects of the "mixed blood" children became visible subjects, who proved American racial pluralism. These children became visible as an American family with a white American father and a Japanese mother. This is the Cold War context, which made this visibility possible, thus sending out the message that the United States could partner with Asia. These children also allowed Japanese mothers, who were under question as to the legitimacy of their marriages to claim their belonging to the nation. However, I argue that this racial logic does not apply to women who married African American husbands having "half-black" children.

This dissertation also closely pays attention to cultural differences embedded in the idea of the United States as a culturally pluralist nation. I view the bride school run by the Red Cross sponsored by the U.S. military from the early to mid-1950s

throughout Japan as a place where the occupiers taught American ways of life to Japanese brides. I argue that the idea of gender freedom and equality became key concepts that defined the superiority of American wives whom Japanese brides should imitate. Within this idea, Japanese women's interviews showed that they used the concept of gender freedom and equality as proof of their assimilation and acculturation to the United States. Along with this notion, the American volunteer women articulated that Japanese women were enslaved wives to their husbands within the Japanese feudalist patriarchy. The bride school situated them as Japanese brides who "would" be liberated and become like American wives. Their belatedness is a valuable and necessary component for the bride school as well as the United States to become an advanced and benevolent project and nation. In addition, they described Japanese cultures that the Japanese women should be proud of and introduce to American neighbors as "anarchic, feudalist, and barbarically sexist traditions." The idea of Orientalism was embedded in the notion of cultural pluralism in the Cold War context.

In sum, this dissertation aims to deconstruct the historical writing of the marginalized women called Japanese war brides. Rather than making them visible as positive subjects within the nation, I show how Japanese war brides became visible within the Cold War context. I particularly pay attention to two crucial political contexts: the alliance building between the United States and Japan as well as the racially and culturally pluralist United States within the Cold War context. I hope that this dissertation shows how certain events became visible within the political contexts

and become a story within a nation through examining the configuration of the Japanese war bride.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival and Manuscript Collections

U.S. National Archives II, College Park, Md.
Record Group 24: Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel
Record Group 200: Red Cross Central Files
Record Group 319: Records of the Army Stuff
Record Group 331: Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II
Record Group 338: Records of U.S. Army Operational, Tactical, and Support Organizations

ARC Hazel Braugh Records Center, VA

Nihon Gaiko Shiryokan [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan], Tokyo, Japan

Kobun Shokan [National Archives of Japan], Tokyo, Japan

Newspaper/ Journal Article

Published in the United States through the late 1940s and 50s

Chicago Daily Tribune
Collier's
Life
Los Angeles Times
New York Times
Pacific Stars and Stripes
Saturday Evening Post
Reader's Digest
Washington Post

Pacific Citizen
Olympian
Nisqually Valley News

Published in Japan through the late 1940s and 50s

Asahi Shinbun
Fujin Asahi
Fujin Koron
Gaho Bunka Seikatsu
Sandei Mainichi

Shukan Sankei
Shukan Yomiuri

Novel/Video

Logan, Joshua. *Sayonara.* 1957. DVD. Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment Inc, 2004.

Michener, James. *Sayonara.* New York: Fawcett Books. 1953.

Vidor, King. *Japanese War Bride.* 1952. Videocassette. Nostalgia Family Video, 1997.

Interviews

Akiko (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 20 October 2004.

Chikako (pseudonym). interview by author. Sammamish, Washington, 19 March 2007.

Chisako (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 4 August 2007.

Chitose (pseudonym). interview by author. Oak Harbor, Washington, 27 August 2006.

Emiko (pseudonym). interview by author. Sammamish, Washington, 29 March 2006.

Etsuko (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 6 August 2007.

Forrester, Tsuchino. interview by Yasutomi and author. Sammamish, Washington, 29 March 2006.

Hazu (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author. Denver, Colorado, 23 March 2007.

Hana (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author. Sammamish, Washington, 18 March 2007.

Hisae (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 6 August 2007.

Johnson (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author. Denver, Colorado, 23 March 2007.

Kanae (pseudonym). interview by author. Denver, Colorado, 23 March 2007.

Kie (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 2 August 2007.

Kanako (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 3 August 2007.

Kina (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 1 August 2007.

Kinue (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 4 August 2007.

Kiri (pseudonym). interview by author. Sammamish, Washington, 18 March 2007.

Kuniko (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author. Sammamish, Washington, 18 March 2007.

Kokomi (pseudonym). interview by author. Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007.

Lisa (pseudonym). interview by author. Sammamish, Washington, 18 March 2007.

Masami (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 3 August 2007.

Misa (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 4 August 2007.

Nami (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 3 August 2007.

Natsuko (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 4 August 2007.

Reiko (pseudonym). interview by Yasutomi and author. Kirkland, Washington, 18 March 2006.

Richard (pseudonym). interview by author. Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007.

Ryan (pseudonym). interview by author. Yelm, Washington, 19 March 2007.

Sachiko (pseudonym). interview by author. Yelm, Washington, 19 March 2007.

Sae (pseudonym). interview by author. Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007.

Sanae (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 3 August 2007.

Satoe (pseudonym), interview by author, Denver, Colorado, 23 March 2007.

Setsu (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 5 August 2007.

Shizuko (pseudonym). interview by author. Sammamish, Washington, 18 March 2007.

Sumi (pseudonym). interview by author, Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007.

Sumiko (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 3 August 2007.

Suzuko (pseudonym). interview by author. Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007.

Stout, Kazuko U. interview by author. Yelm, Washington, 26 August 2006. 19 March 2007.

Taeko (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii. 5 August 2007.

Taki (pseudonym). telephone interview by author. Denver, Colorado. 5 February 2010.

Tatsuko (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 2 August 2007.

Toshiko (pseudonym), interview by author, (telephone interview) San Diego, CA, 19 January, 2010.

Wakako (pseudonym). interview by author. Honolulu, Hawaii, 6 August 2007.

Yumiko (pseudonym), interview by author, Denver, Colorado, 22 March 2007.

Yuriko (pseudonym). interview by author. Seattle, Washington, 18 March 2007.

Newsletter

Gabriel, Keiko S. *Nikkei Kokusai Shinboku Kai Nyusuletar* 39. ed. Kazuko U. Stout. September, 2001, 5.

Stout, Kazuko Umezu. *Nikkei Kokusai Shinboku Kai Nyusuletar* 10. ed. Kazuko U. Stout. September 1993, 3

Tsukiko Korber, "Niji no Mukougawa." *Nikkei Kokusai Shinboku Kai Nyusuletar* 32. ed. Kazuko U. Stout. December 1999, 12-4.

Internet

Lovingday.org [cited April, 2007]; Available from http://www.lovingday.org/index.html

Books and Articles

Adams, Romanzo. *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation.* NJ: Montclair, 1937.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

Azuma, Eiichiro. *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America.* NY: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Benedict, Ruth. *The Chrysanthemum and the Swords: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946.

Benjamin, Walter. "These on the Philosophy of History." In *Illuminations*. ed. Hannah Arendt. trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1969: 243-256.

Berry, Nicholas O. *War and the Red Cross: The Unspoken Mission*. NY: St.Martin's Press, 1997.

Browning, James. "Anti-Miscegenation Laws in the United States." *Duke Bar Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March 1951): 26-41.

Briggs, Laura. *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico.* CA: University of California Press, 2002.

Butler, Judith. *Bodies that Matter*. NY: Routledge, 1993.

Chan, Sucheng. "Asian American Historiography." *Pacific Historical Review* 65.3, 1996: 363-400.

Conner, John W. *A Study of the Marital Stability of Japanese War Brides.* San Francisco: Rand E. Research, Inc., 1976.

Cynthia, Enloe. "Bananas, Bases, and Patriarchy." In *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory,* eds. Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias Totowa. NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1990.

DeVos, George. *Personality Patterns and Problems of Adjustment in American-Japanese Intercultural Marriages*. Taipei: The Oriental Cultural Service, 1973.

Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1999.

---. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

Duss, Masayo. *Haishano Okurimono* [*Gift from the Defeated*]. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979.

Edkins, Jenny. *Trauma and the Memory of the Politics*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003

Elliot, Emory. "Diversity in the United States and Abroad: What does it mean when American Studies is transnational?" *American Quarterly* 59:1 (2007): 1-22.

Enari, Tsuneo. *Hanayome no Amerika [America for War Brides]*. *1978-1998.* Syueisya. 2000.

---. "Amerika wo Ikiru [I live America]." *Shiso no Kagaku*. 7 no.131 (1990): 19-31.

Espiritu, Yen Le. *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love.* CA: Altamia Press, 2000.

---. *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries.* California: University of California Press, 2003.

---. "Thirty Years AfterWARs: The Endings That Are Not Over." *Amerasia Journal* 31 no.2 (2005): xiii-xxiii.

---. "The 'We –Win-Ever-When-We-Lose' Syndrome: U.S. Press Coverage of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the 'Fall of Saigon.'" *American Quarterly* 58.no.2 (2006): 329-352.

---. "Toward a Critical Refugee Study: The Vietnamese Refugee Subject in US Scholarship." *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 1 (2006):410-33.

Foucault, Michel. *Governmentality. The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality: with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault*, eds. G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.

---. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language.* Trans.A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

---. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction.* Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1978.

Forrester, Michael. *Tsuchino: My Japanese War Bride.* UT: American Book Classics, 2005.

Fujita, Stephen S. and Marilyn Fernandez. *Altered Lives, Enduring Community: Japanese Americans Remember Their World War II Incarceration.* WA: University of Washington Press, 2004.

Forsythe David P. *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*. NY: Cambridge, 1992.

Fujitani, Takashi. "Go for Broke, the Movie: Japanese American Soldiers in U.S. National, Military, and Racial Discourse." In *Perilous Memories: the Asia-Pacific War(s)*, eds. T. Fujitani, G.M.White and L. Yoneyama. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001.

Fujitani, Takashi, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama. Introduction. In *Perilous Memories : the Asia-Pacific War(s)*, eds. T. Fujitani, G. M. White and L. Yoneyama. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001.

Gardner, Martha. *The Quality of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship, 1870-1965*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Gordon, Beate Shirota. *1945 nen no Kurisumasu* [*Christmas in 1945*]: *Nihonkoku Kenpo ni Danjyo Byodo wo Kaita Jyosei no Jijyoden* [*Autobiography of a Woman who Stipulated Women's Equal Rights in Postwar Japanese Constitution*]. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo, 1995.

Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

Goto, Tsutomu. *Kuroi Haru*[*Black Spring*]:*Beigun, Panpan and Onnatachino Sengo*[*The U.S. Base, Prostitutes,* and *The Postwar Women*]. Tokyo: Tougosha, 1985.

Grewal, Inderpal. *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Grewal, Inderpal and Caren Kaplan. *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices.* MI: University of Minnesota Press. 2002.

Hayashi, Kaori. *Watashiha Senso Hanayome desu* [*I am a Japanese War Bride*]: *Amerika to Ostralia de Ikiru Nikkeikokusaikekkonshinbokukai no Onnatachi* [*Women of Nikkei International Marriage Society, Living in the United States*]. Kanazawa: Hokkoku Shinbunsha.2005.

Hayashi, Kaori, Tamura Keiko, and Takatsu Fumiko. *Sensohanayome* [*War Brides*]*: Kokkyowokoeta Onnatachino Hanseiki* [*Women Across the Border in the Half-Century*]. Tokyo: Fuyosyobo, 2002.

Hayashi, Brian Masaru. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment.* NJ: Princeton University press, 2004.

Hirai, Kazuko. "RAA to Sekisen: Atami ni Okeru Tenkai," ["RAA and Red Line: Operation in Atami"], *Senryo to Sei:Seisaku, Jittai, Hyosho* [*Occupation and Sex*: Policy, Actuality, Representation] edited by Keisen Jyogakuin Daigaku Heiwa Bunka Kenkyujyo. Inpakuto Syuppankai. 2007.

Hong, Grace Kyungwon, "The Ghosts of Transnational American Studies: A Response to the Presidential Address." *American Quarterly* 59:1 (2007): 33-39.

Hua, Julietta. "Gucci Geishas" and the Postfeminist Mission: Situating Postfeminism and the Emergence of A Postfem. MA. University of California, San Diego. 2002.

---. The Object of "Rights" Third World Women and the Production of Global Human Rights Discourse. Diss. University of California, San Diego. 2006.

Hume, Bill and John Annarino. *Babysan: A Private Look at the Japanese Occupation*. Tokyo: Kasuga Boeki K.K. 1953.

Iwabuchi, Koichi. *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Izumisawa, Aiko. *Peise Takeshige Teruko Monogatari* [*A story about Pase Teruko Takeshige*]*: Gunseikani Saita Hana* [*A Flower Bloomed under Military Government*]. Kagoshima: Unari Sosho, 2006.

Kang, Laura. *Compositional Subject: Enfiguring Asian/American Women.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002.

Kaplan, Amy. "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of empire in the Study of American Culture." In *Cultures of United States Imperialism,* ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease. Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 1993: 3-21.

Kawashima, Kohei. *"Sensohanayome [War Brides]": Amerika ni Okeru Sono Igi [The Meaning in the U.S.]. Studies in Western Culture* 6. 1991.

Kelsky, Karen. *Women on the Verge: Japanese Women, Western Dreams.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001.

Kim, Bok-Lim. "Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen: Women in Shadows." *Amerasia Journal* 4.1 (1977): 91-115.

Kimura, Yukiko. "Religious Affiliation of War Brides in Hawaii and their Marital Adjustment." *Social Process in Hawaii* 26 (1963): 88-95.

---. "War Brides in Hawaii and Their-In Law." *The American Journal Sociology,* L XIII, 1957.

Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*. CA: University of California Press, 2003.

Koshiro, Yukiko. *Trans-Pacific Racism and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Lark, Regina F. "They Challenged Two Nations: Marriages between Japanese Women and American GIs, 1945 to the Present." Diss. University of Southern California, 1999.

Lee, Erika. *At America's Gates Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

---. "Epistemological Shifts: National Ontology and the New Asian Immigrants." In *Orientations; Mapping Studies in the Asian Diaspora.* eds. Kandice Chuh and Karen Shimakawa. NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

---. "The Intimacies of Four Continents," In *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*. ed. Ann Stoler. Durhan and London: Duke University Press, 2006:191-212.

Masaoka, Mike. *They Call Me Moses Masaoka.* William Morrow and CO. 1987.

Marchetti Gina. *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction.* Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1993.

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

---, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family." *Feminist Review* 44, (Summer 1993), 61-2.

Mire, Koikari. "Exporting Democracy? American Women, `Feminist Reforms,' and Politics of Imperialism in the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952." *Frontiers* 23.1 (2002).

McAlister, Melani. *Epic Encounters: Cultures, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity.* Duke University Press, 2003.

Molina, Natalia. *Fit to be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1940*. University of California Press, 2006.

Moon, Katharine H.S. *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Ngai, Mae M. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2004.

Nihon Dojidaishi. *Haisen to Senryo* [*The Defeated and Occupation*]. Tokyo: Rekishigaku Kenkyu Kai, 1990.

Noble, David W. *Death of A Nation: American Culture and the End of Exceptionalism*. MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Okuda, Akiko. "GHQ no Kinyoku Seisaku: Seibyokanri ka Kinyoku Seisaku ka," ["Sexual Policy of GHQ: Control of Sexual diseases or Policy for Kinyoku"], *Senryo to Sei:Seisaku, Jittai, Hyosho* [*Occupation and Sex*: *Policy, Actuality, Representation*] ed. Keisen Jyogakuin Daigaku Heiwa Bunka Kenkyujyo. Inpakuto Syuppankai: 2007.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s.* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.

Palumbo-Liu, David. *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Pascoe, Peggy. *What Comes Naturally*. Oxford 2009.

---. "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America." *Journal of American History* 83.1, 1996: 44-46.

Pharr, Susan, "The Politics of Women's Rights." In *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, eds. Robert E. Ward and Sakamoto Yoshikazu. University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

Rougemont, Denise De. *Love in the Western World.* Trans. Mongomery Belgion. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1940.

Rowe John C. et al. Introduction to *Post-Nationalist American Studies* ed. John Carlos Rowe. CA: University of California Press, 2000.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

Sakai, Naoki. "Eizo to Jenda [Films and Gender]: Eiga no naka no Renai to Jikodoitsusei no Ryudosei.[Romance in Films and Contingency of Identity]," *Keizoku suru Shokuminchishugi*, ed. Iwasaki Minoru et al. (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2005): 276-290.

---. *Translation and Subjectivity*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1997.

Sanchez, George. J. "Creating Multicultural Nation: Adventures in Post-Nationalist American Studies in the 1990s." *Post-Nationalist American Studies*, ed. John Carlos Rowe. CA: University of California Press, 2000.

Sawada Miki, "Konketsu no Koji no Tame ni [For the Sake of Mixed Blood Children]," Tokyo: *Shufu no Tomo sha,* May 1, 1949: 100-105.

Schnepp, Gerald J and Yui, Agens Masako. "Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides." *Amerasia Journal of Sociology* 61 (1955): 48-50.

Scott, Joan. “The Evidence of Experience.” In *The Anatomy of Memory*, ed. James McConkey. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991.

Shah, Nayan. *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*. University of California Press, American Crossroads Series, 2001.

Sherman, Richard B. "’The Last Stand’: The Fight for Racial Integrity in Virginia in the 1920s.” *The Journal of Southern History* Vol. 54, No. 1 (February, 1988).

Silva, Denise Ferreira da. “A Tale of Two Cities: Saigon, Fallujah, and the Ethical Boundaries of Empire.” *Amerasia Journal* 31 (2005): 137-175.

---. “Mapping Territories of Legality: An Exploratory cartography of an Emerging Female Subject.” In *Critical Beings: Law, Nation, and the Global Subjects*. eds. Peter Fizpatrick and Patricia Tuitt. Aldershot, England:Ashgate. (2004): 203-221.

---. “Toward a Critique of the Socio-logos of Justice: The Analytic of Raciality and the Production of Universality.” *Social Identities*, 7 no.3 (2001): 421-454.

---. *Toward a Global Idea of Race.* MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Shibusawa, Naoko. *America’s Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy.* MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Shukert, Elfrieda. Berthiaume and Barbara Smith Scibetta. *War Brides of World War II.* Novato, CA: Presidio Press. 1988.

Simpson, Chung Caroline. *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in postwar American Culture, 1945-1960.* London: Duke University Press, 2001.

Spivak, Gayatori Chakravorty. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Cultures*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Stoler Ann L. “Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth Century Colonial Cultures.” In *Gender at the Crossroads of knowledge*, ed. Michaela di Leonardo. CA: University of California Press, 1991.

---. “Canal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race, and Morality in Colonial Asia.” In *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge*, ed. Michaela di Leonardo. CA: University of California Press. 1991.

Storrs, Debbie. “Like a bamboo: Representations of a Japanese War Bride.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* (2000): 194-224.

Strauss, Anselm L. “Strain and Harmony in Japanese-American War-Bride Marriages.” *Marriages and Family living* 16 (1954):99-106.

Suenaga, Shizuko. “Goodbye to Sayonara: The Reverse assimilation of Japanese War Brides.” Diss. Boston College, 1996.

Sumimoto, Toshio. *Senryo Hiroku* [*Occupation Secret History*]. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1952, vol.i.

Tadiar, Neferti Xina M. *Fantasy-Production: Sexual Economics and Other Philippine Consequences for the New World Order*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004.

Tamura, Keiko. *Michi's Memories: The Story of a Japanese War Bride*. Canberra: Pandanus Books, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2001.

Tanaka, Yuki. *Japan’s Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War I and the US Occupation*. New York: Routledge 2002.

Takahashi, Jere. *Nisei/Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997.

Takaki, Ronald. *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans.* New York: Penguin, 1989.

Talor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Toyoda, Maho. *Senryokano Jyosei Roudou Kaikaku* [*Women’s Labor Reform Under Occupation*]: *Hogoto Byoudou wo Megutte* [*About Protection and Equality*]. Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2007.

Tsuchiya, Tomoko. “Japanese War Bride: Liberated by Imperial Love.” MA. University of California, San Diego.2007.

Ueki, Takeshi. *Sensohanayom* [*Japanese War Brides*]: *Gojyunenn wo Kataru Kusanone no Shinzen Taishi* [*Grassroots Ambassadors Narrating their Fifty Years*]. Tokyo: Benseisyuppan, 2002.

Wadlington, Walter. “The Loving Case: Virginia’s Anti-Miscegenation Statute in Historical Perspective.” *Virginia Law Review*, Vol.52, No. 7 (November, 1966): 1189-1223.

Williams, Teresa K. “Marriage between Japanese Women and U.S. Servicemen Since World War II.” *Amerasia Journal* 17 no.1 (1991):135-154.

Yang, Hyunah. “Re-membering the Korean Military Comfort Women: Nationalism, Sexuality, and Silencing.” In *Dangerous Women*: *Gender and Korean Nationalism*, eds. Elaine H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Yanagisako, Sylvia. *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis.* eds. Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney. NY: Routledge, 1995.

Yamamoto, Tamiko. *What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing*. Hawaii: Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii, 1950.

Yasutomi, Shigeyoshi. “‘Sensohanayome’ to Nikkei Komyuniti: Sutereotaipu ni Motozuku Haiseki kara Jyuyoe I.” *Kaetsu Jyoshi Tanki Daigaku Kenkyu Ronsyu* 78 (2000): 177-99.

---. “ ‘Sensohanayome’ to Nikkei komyuniti: sutereotaipu ni motozuku haiseki kara jyuyoe II.” *Kaetsu Jyoshi Tanki Daigaku Kenkyu Ronsyu* 79 (2001): 54-61.

---. “ ‘Sensohanayome’ to Nikkei komyuniti: sutereotaipu ni motozuku haiseki kara jyuyoe III.” *Kaetsu Jyoshi Tanki Daigaku Kenkyu Ronsyu* 80 (2002): 55-82.

---. “Nihonjin Hanayomehou (1947) to Nikkei Shakai.” *Kaetsu Jyoshi Tanki Daigaku Kenkyu Ronsyu* 81 (2003): 125-143.

Yasutomi, Shigeyoshi and Stout Kazuko Umezu. *Amerika ni Watatta Senso Hanayome* [War Brides in the United States]*: Nichibei Kokusai Kekkon Paionia no Kiroku[Recorded by a Pioneer of International Marriage]*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2004.

Yoneyama, Lisa. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and Dialectics of Memor*y. CA: University of California Press, 1999.

---. “Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women’s Enfranchisement.” *American Quarterly* 57 no.3 (2005): 885-910.

---. “For Transformative Knowledge and Postnationalist Public Spheres: The Smithsonian Enola Gay Controversy” In *Perilous Memories: The Asia Pacific War(s)*, eds. T.Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama. Durham: Duke University Press (2001): 323-346.

---. “Traveling Memories, Contagious Justice: Americanization of Japanese War Crimes at the End of the Post-Cold War.” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 6.1 (2003): 57-93.

Yu, Henry. *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America.* NY: Oxford University Press, 2001.