

UC Merced

UC Merced Previously Published Works

Title

The affinity of the eye: Writing Nikkei in Peru

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3fp829g3>

ISBN

9780816525980

Authors

López-Calvo, I

Iwasaki, F

Publication Date

2013

Peer reviewed

<first half title page>

<HT>**The Affinity of the Eye**<\>

<blank>

<title page>

The Affinity of the Eye

Writing Nikkei in Peru

Ignacio López-Calvo

<UAP logo here>

Tucson

<copyright page>

<UAP logo here>

© 2013 The Arizona Board of Regents

All rights reserved

<SB>

www.uapress.arizona.edu

<SB>

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

[to come]

<SB>

Publication of this book is made possible in part by the proceeds of a permanent endowment created with the assistance of a Challenge Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a federal agency.

<SB>

<recycled paper symbol>

Manufactured in the United States of America on acid-free, archival-quality paper containing a minimum of 30% post-consumer waste and processed chlorine free.

<SB>

181716151413<2em>654321

<Dedication>

<DED>To Carlos López Calvo and Angélica Gandur Silva<\>

<FMT>Contents<\>

Foreword: Peruvian Japonisms

Fernando Iwasaki

Acknowledgments

A Note on Translation

Introduction

Part I. Nikkei Testimonials

1. Seiichi Higashide's Adiós to Tears: Flexible Citizenship, American War Propaganda, and the Birth of Anti-Japanese Hysteria in Peru
2. Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía and Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú: Dialogues with Nationalism and Renegotiations of (Sub)Ethnicity

Part II. Nikkei Narratives

3. Nippo-Peruvian Self-identification in Augusto Higa's La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu and Japón no da dos oportunidades
4. Lima + Seville = Okinawa: The Japanese as Caricature in Fernando Iwasaki's España, aparta de mí estos premios
5. Carlos Yushimito's Post-nationalist and Post-identitarian Short Stories

Part III. Nikkei Poetry

6. Japanese Culture and the Politics of Cultural Belonging in Watanabe's Poetry
7. Gender Roles, Sexuality, and Uchinanchu Cultural Identity in Doris Moromisato's Poetry

Epilogue

Notes

Chronological List of Analyzed Works

Works Cited

Index

<FMT>Illustrations<\>

1. Japanese deportees
2. Japanese restaurant in Peru
3. Japanese school in Peru
4. Japanese barbers in Peru
5. Okinawan immigrant farmers in the Caqui banana plantation
6. Tsukayama family in front of their store in Lima's Chinatown
7. Immigrants in Okinawa before leaving for Peru
8. Mr. Tokuchi and brothers' coffee house in Lima
9. Lima Nikko School, before World War II
10. Female Japanese workers in Peru
11. Statue of the samurai Hasekura Tsunenaga in Coria del Río, Seville
12. Japanese Central Society, 1918

<FMT>Foreword<\>

<FMST>Peruvian Japonisms<\>

<CEP>For you,

I have a smile printed in "Japan" paper. <\>

<CEPS>---Carlos Oquendo de Amat. 5 metros de poemas (Five Meters of Poems, 1927)¹<\>

<CEP>Whether it goes badly or well, the Japanese goes on with his train.

Whether it goes well or badly, the Japanese is always the same.<\>

<CEPS>---Los Troveros Criollos. ¿Cómo puere, japonés? (How Can You, Japanese? 1953)²<\>

<TX>The Affinity of the Eye: Writing Nikkei in Peru by Ignacio López-Calvo is a unique and amazing book. I consider it unique because its field of study covers both Japanese issues in Peru and Peruvian issues in Japan, and I find it amazing because he has found enough material to publish a substantial monograph with sociological, historical, philological, and ethnographic implications.

Yet we, the descendents of the Japanese immigrants who arrived in Peru at the beginning of the twentieth century, are not only numerically inferior to the descendents of Peruvian Chinese, Italians, and Jews but also not even close to the numbers of the Nikkei community in Brazil, the most populous in the world. The day that a Brazilian soccer player with a Japanese surname succeeds in FC Barcelona, Juventus, or Manchester United, Brazilian Nikkei will be as visible as we, Peruvian Nikkei, were after the engineer Alberto Fujimori beat novelist Mario Vargas Llosa in the 1990 presidential election.

In fact, López-Calvo's research rises above the foundations of the political emergence of the Fujimori phenomenon.

From a European and, more specifically, from a Spanish perspective, the election of a president coming from an immigrant group is completely unthinkable, considering that in the Spain of provincial nationalisms no one would vote for a candidate of British, Moroccan, or Latin American origins. By contrast, in Latin America this has happened in several countries, as seen in the cases of the Syrian Argentine Carlos Menem, the Irish Chilean Patricio Aylwin, the Corsican Venezuelan Jaime Lusinchi, and the Japanese Peruvian Alberto Fujimori. The difference is that the Japanese factor is so preponderant that it favors studies such as The Affinity of the Eye. If there were a Nikkei president in France, someone could begin a monograph relying on the Japanese postcards that inundated Paris in the nineteenth century, Alexandre Marcel's Japanese pavilion [author query: I found references to Marcel's Chinese pavilion and Japanese tower, but not to Marcel's Japanese pavilion], the Japonisme that made impressionists delirious, Pierre Loti's books, Léonard Tsugouharu Foujita's paintings, or the influence of Akira Kurosawa's films in French film. As may be observed, it would not be necessary to have a French Fujimori to justify research on the cultural links between France and Japan. And if I may be more explicit, it was not indispensable for Peru either.

I am the least appropriate person to ponder over identities, because I do not believe in them. Even so, The Affinity of the Eye presupposes the existence of identity and pre-assumes that we, as writers of Japanese origin born in Peru, should have more in common among us than with, for example, César Vallejo, Julio Ramón Ribeyro, and Mario Vargas Llosa; that we should be more influenced by Tanizaki, Akutagawa, or Kawabata than by Borges, Proust, or Tolstoy. Still, I am moved by the erudition, rigor, clairvoyance, and depth

with which López-Calvo has scrutinized the works of José Watanabe, Augusto Higa, Doris Moromisato, and Carlos Yushimito. Thus, I believe that the most lucid pages in this study concentrate on those essays that are more literary than sociological, more cultural than political.

Non-specialist readers will find in The Affinity of the Eye a compendium of stories, characters, and titles that prove a fluid and enriching relation between Peru and Japan. And although López-Calvo has focused particularly on politics and literature, there are other artistic and cultural expressions where the contributions by Japanese Peruvians have enjoyed more popular recognition. I am thinking about Japanese gastronomy and its delicious mestizaje with criollo cuisine; about music personalities such as Angélica Harada, "Princesita de Yungay" (Little Princess from Yungay), and the vocalist of Los Doltons, César Ychikawa. None vindicated their Japanese ascendance when celebrating their personal triumphs, although the Japanese Peruvian community did celebrate them as one of their own. Curiously, the tempestuous itinerary of integration legitimizes both attitudes, particularly after the episodes suffered by the Nikkei community during World War II.

López-Calvo dedicates a superb chapter to the repression and persecution suffered by Japanese Peruvian residents, the only community from the Axis powers that suffered on their flesh the Peruvian government's declaration of war against Germany, Italy, and Japan. In fact, neither German nor Italian descendents---perhaps because the racist Peruvian oligarchy deemed them better, or because of kinship links with Lima's bourgeoisie---were deported; they were not even economically or personally harassed, as happened with the Japanese community. In reality, if only for nothing else than having shed light on that dark chapter of twentieth-century Peruvian history, The Affinity of the Eye is fully justified.

Before living in Spain, I never felt so Japanese because in Peru, to be a Japanese descendent is not at all relevant. However, now that I have lived in Spain longer than in Peru, I have ended up easily assuming that I am simultaneously from several places. To have a Japanese surname is most normal, and I believe that everyone should have one. After all, being an Iwasaki in Peru is like being a Miura in Spain.

<SB>

Fernando Iwasaki (translated by Ignacio López-Calvo)

Seville, summer 2011<\>

<FMT>Acknowledgments<\>

<TX>I would like to express my deep gratitude to Mark Anderson, Ricardo Bedoya, Lilian Dávila, César Ferreira, Charlotte Graig, Augusto Higa, Elsa Higashide Kudo, Fernando Iwasaki, Jorge Kishimoto, Alejandro Lee, Debbie Lee-DiStefano, Gonzalo López Calvo, Stephanie Moore, Doris Moromisato, Rubén Quiroz Ávila, Rebecca Tsurumi, and Carlos Yushimito for all their suggestions and help with the research for this book. I would also like to thank Rudyard Alcocer, Juan de Castro, Robert Rudder, and especially José I. Suárez not only for their valuable suggestions but also for their careful proofreading of the manuscript. I am also indebted to Denice Sawatzky and the other librarians at the University of California, Merced, who helped me find many of the texts I needed, as well as to the University of California, Merced, for the faculty research travel grant it awarded me. Kristen Buckles, the acquiring editor of the University of Arizona Press, and Sharon Hunt, the editor, were also very helpful throughout the manuscript review process. And, of course, I am especially grateful to my wife, Tonya, and to my daughter, Sofía, for all their love and support during the writing process. 有難うございます<\>

<FMT>A Note on Translation<\>

<TX>In cases where the text's English version does not appear in the bibliography and no page numbers are included after the quotation, the translation is mine. Otherwise, the English version is quoted from printed sources.

The spelling of several Okinawan and Japanese words (particularly when implying a long vowel) changes from author to author and from text to text, as authors often try to transcribe phonetically terms that they learned at home.<\>

<Second half-title page>

<HT>**The Affinity of the Eye**<\>

<blank>

[BEGIN ARABIC PAGE NUMBERING WITH THIS PAGE]

<CT>Introduction<\>

<CEP>Last year in Callao, where there is a good number of Nisei, some of them tried to organize themselves to run in the general elections. Their leaders declared that they did not have racist motivations, but this caveat suggests something that, contradictorily, demonstrates their great criollismo: they wanted to take advantage, very opportunistically, of the "affinity of the eye," unaware that ideological and political affinity are above anything else.<\>

<CEPS>---José Watanabe, "Laredo: Donde los japoneses se hallaban."<\>

<TX>This book analyzes the cultural and identitarian formation of a migrant community: the population of Japanese descent within Peru. More specifically, it focuses on the strategies used by Japanese and Nikkei authors to insert themselves and their culture(s) into the Peruvian cultural landscape through their testimonios, essays, fiction, and poetry. Since most of the research on the Japanese presence in Peru has focused on historical circumstances and sociological ramifications, The Affinity of the Eye: Writing Nikkei in Peru tries to fill a vacuum in the study of contemporary cultural production by Nikkei Peruvian writers. Perhaps, part of the reason for the dearth of studies on this literary corpus is that, as the list of analyzed works at the end of this book shows, most were published in the last decade.

In his foreword to this study, Iwasaki, who does not believe in identities, voices his skepticism regarding common links between Peruvian authors of Japanese origin. Yet the Japanese ethno-cultural background of these Peruvian writers has often influenced their writing, including his own.

The following chapters show the authors' heterogeneous approaches, from the ethnification of their cultural production (the case of Doris Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro Inami, who defend their Okinawan cultural difference) to its de-ethnification (the post-nationalist perspectives of Seiichi Higashide, Fernando Iwasaki, and Carlos Yushimito) or re-ethnification (Ricardo Ganaja and Augusto Higa, whose memoirs and characters echo processes following the three steps: ethnification, de-ethnification, and re-ethnification). However, as will be seen, these different perspectives on what it means to be a Peruvian Nikkei [author query: you used both "Peruvian Nikkei" and "Nikkei Peruvian" throughout the book; which do you prefer?] do not show a clear, chronological pattern of evolution, in part because most of these works were recently published.

The following pages address key issues and milestones in the history of the Nikkei community in Peru. Then, two more sections explore current debates about full integration into mainstream society and the towering figure of the most renowned member of the Nippo-Peruvian community, Alberto Fujimori. After a brief analysis of the use of cultural production as a tool for constructing an ethnic space, the introduction ends with an explanation of the book's structure and organization.

<S1>The Nikkei Presence and Heritage in Peru<\>

The Japanese residence in what is now Peru, albeit very limited during the Viceroyalty period, goes back to 1596, when a Japanese man, renamed Francisco Japón by Spanish soldiers, landed on Peruvian shores and was sold as a slave for eight hundred pesos to a priest in the town of Córdoba, now part of Argentina. Other japones (or "Japans," as Japanese nationals were called at the time) arrived in Peru before the first great migration waves. Alejandro

Sakuda mentions the Japanese citizen Miguel de Silva who, in 1611, participated in the construction of the Puente de Piedra (Stone Bridge) near the Government Palace (12). Two years later, twenty Japanese appeared in the census of the City of Lima. They had travelled from the Philippines to Mexico in the Manila Galleon (whose voyage began in 1570), and then to Peru. Some had been slaves in Portuguese-controlled lands in India (Thorndike, 12). In 1844, four Japanese sailors reached the Peruvian coast in a junk after a storm had left them drifting (Sakuda, 31). The large Japanese migration waves would take place half a century later.

After 1908, the United States, Hawaii (which did not become a state until 1959), and Canada began passing laws to restrict Japanese immigration. As a result, Japanese contract laborers, fleeing the military draft and poverty in their homeland---the latter caused by the modernizing economic reforms and tax increases implemented by the Meiji Restoration (1868--1912)---began to look at the plantations and mines of Latin America as a good professional choice. The Japanese government, hoping to rid itself of a perceived surplus of farm labor, publicized these immigrants abroad as "the whites of Asia."¹ Although the country with the largest Nikkei presence in the Americas is Brazil (1.5 million), it was Peru that initially received Japanese immigrants (nine years before Brazil). Seven hundred ninety adult, male, contract workers from Yokohama arrived at the port of Callao aboard the Japan Mail Line steamship Sakura Maru on April 3, 1899.² Today Peru has an estimated fifty thousand Nikkei, making it the second largest ethnic Japanese community in Latin America.³ In June 1873, Peru also became the first Latin American country to establish diplomatic relations with Japan. Masterson has summarized the regrettable episode that laid ground to this agreement:

<EX>A mutiny by Chinese coolies aboard the Peruvian ship María Luz sailing in Japanese waters in 1872 finally led to formal diplomatic discussions between the new Meiji regime and a Latin American nation. After Japanese authorities investigated the terrible conditions on the María Luz, the Peruvian government resolved to establish formal commercial ties with Japan. Peru sent an envoy, Captain Aurelio García y García, in 1873 to secure a treaty similar to those granted to European nations by Tokyo. García y García succeeded in negotiating a ten-point agreement that granted most favored nation status to Peru. This "unequal" treaty, signed only five years after the beginning of the Meiji era, was reflective of Japan's relatively weak international status.

(14)⁴<\>

Most Japanese immigrants came from southern prefectures, particularly from the Ryūkyū Islands (mostly from Okinawa). In the late nineteenth century, responding to the desperate need that Peru's sugarcane plantation owners had for cheap labor after the abolishment of slavery and the flight of Chinese coolies to urban areas, Japanese immigration companies sped up the arrival of Japanese in Latin America.⁵ Immigration waves peaked in the 1930s, and by the time they ended in the early 1970s, important cultural networks between Japan and Latin America had been created, as Japanese immigrants refused to part with their cultural heritage, in contrast to immigrants from other countries. Curiously, as Endoh notes, "Japanese migration to Latin America followed an unorthodox trajectory in its evolution: those Japanese emigrants flowed from a developing economy (i.e., prewar Japan) to less developed economies, such as Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia, and Paraguay (Argentina was a relatively more prosperous exception), as opposed to the dekasegi [temporary workers] emigrants who went to the richer North America" (19).

Before the beginning of World War II, thanks to their admirable work ethic, business skills, and mutual-aid economic strategies, many Japanese who had once worked in sugarcane and cotton states in quasi-slavery conditions---like the Chinese coolies and Polynesian Kanaka before them---became owners of large plantations or, exercising their "right to the city" (to use Henry Lefebvre's term), moved to large urban areas to become small business owners. They were following in the footsteps of the Chinese coolies who had migrated to Peru half a century earlier, making this country a major area of confluence and cultural contact between East and West. As happened earlier when Chinese coolies abandoned the farm for the city, Peruvian landowners were again surprised when Japanese migrant workers refused to be objectified as disposable means of production. In spite of the dangers posed by their lack of Peruvian citizenship, the city offered new opportunities beyond the humiliating living and working conditions in the sugarcane and cotton farms. However, before this success story took place, Japanese immigrants had to withstand hunger, lower salaries than those promised, and the hardships of farm labor. Consequently, several mutinies arose, like the one in the San Nicolás estate, where 119 men refused to work and had to be transported to Callao, whence some chose to return to Japan. Even worse, many died from diseases such as malaria. In spite of their constant complaints, Tokyo favored new waves of migration to Peru because "both the settlement rate and the immigrants' savings and remittance rate gradually improved" (Endoh, 21). Once their contracts concluded, however, most fled the hardships of farm life and moved to the coastal cities, especially to Lima, where they set up their own businesses.

Unfortunately, this concentration in the capital city increased their visibility, making them easy targets for an eventual "social death" during World War II. They inherited the "yellow peril" label from the Chinese, whose

immigration began with the arrival of the first seventy-nine coolies in 1849, culminating with a total of over one hundred thousand people of Chinese descent by the end of the coolie trade in 1874. The nativist resentment and xenophobic sentiments against the Japanese were very similar to the ones the Chinese had experienced. Yet, as Masterson observes, there was a major difference between the two migrations: "The Japanese did, however, have a distinct advantage over their Chinese predecessors; the Meiji government's increasing international prestige after 1899 did not leave them as helpless as the unfortunate Chinese coolies before them. . . . Tokyo did not want its prestige undermined by the poor treatment or exclusion of its immigrants" (13). Paradoxically, other than during the deportations during the 1940s, in Peru, as in many other Latin American countries, people do not usually make a clear distinction between people of Chinese and Japanese descent (in Brazil, the term "Japanese" often includes people of Chinese and Korean descent). Chikako Yamawaki has studied the ethnocentrism that gave way to this confusion, reaching at times strange conclusions: "Thus, many restaurants of Chinese or Peruvian food had Japanese immigrants as cooks . . . When Peruvians saw the Japanese preparing Chinese food, it was natural for them to consider them Chinese as well."⁶ This, of course, does not explain why the Japanese are also referred to as "Chinos" in other Latin American countries. Later, Yamawaki adds, "Taking into account that Japanese immigrants considered the Chinese an inferior people, the fact that they accepted being called 'Chinese' without reacting against it, indicates that they were aware of the fact that the term was used affectionately."⁷

Nikkei communities in Peru, which at first were always led by Issei (first-generation immigrants), tried to run their own language schools and created fraternal associations and other types of organizations. One of them

was the Peru Chuo Nihonjinkai (Central Japanese Association of Peru), which "was established to serve as a liaison between the sojourners and their still-perceived homeland" (Masterson, 67). Ultimately, their isolation from Peruvian society formed what the Issei testimonialist Seiichi Higashide criticized as a "nation within a nation" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 77). This stance fomented cohesion among the Nikkeijin, but also created resentment among Peruvian society, which became increasingly suspicious of the exclusivity of Nikkei communities. Masterson sees a precedent and a model for this behavior in the self-supporting agricultural village, which was the foundation of Japanese society before the Meiji era. "This trait," he adds, "would be of enormous significance to the immigrants as they created new lives in the often hostile societies of the Americas" (7). The tradition of sending children to study in Japan whenever families could afford it (the equivalent of the Kibei in the United States) also contributed to deepening anti-Japanese sentiment in Peru. Kirai Nisei (Nisei educated in Japan) were severely punished during World War II by the government's revoking of their Peruvian citizenship.

Another proof of Japanese separatism in the eyes of Peruvian society was their frequent refusal to intermarry. Typically, when the Japanese immigrant's economic situation improved, he would invite family members and friends to join him in Peru. This was part of the yobiyose ("called immigrant system") which took hold after 1923, when the migration contracts ended, and lasted until 1936, when a new immigration act was passed. Through the yobiyose, immigrants brought young Japanese "picture brides" to Peru and avoided intermarrying other ethnic groups. As will be seen in chapter 2, sometimes young Japanese brides were unhappy to find that their husbands were much older than they expected, but by then, it was too late: they felt obligated to abide by their families' wishes ("Inmigración," n.p.).

Aware of the increasingly hostile Nippophobia in Peru, the Nikkei community tried to offset it in different ways, including the creation of a mythical common origin for the Inca and the Yamato people (the dominant ethnic group of Japan).⁸ In this context, to commemorate the centenary of Peru's independence in 1924, Japanese Peruvians commissioned a large statue of Manco Cápac, whom ancient Inca considered the son of the sun god Inti and whom they also worshipped as a sun god. It was erected in 1926 and, tellingly, on the day of its inauguration, the plenipotentiary minister of Japan, Sisaburo Shimizu, made every effort to link the ancestral mythical origins of both nations: "Since the days of old, my country has been called the Empire of the Rising Sun and historical traditions tell us that Peru was referred to as the Empire of the Children of the Sun. It seems, therefore, that there must be a mysterious reason to assume that both countries had some relation in their origins, which we, today's men, have the obligation to keep for the good of our peoples."⁹ This strategy has survived until today. The museum at the Japanese Centro Cultural Peruano-Japonés (Japanese-Peruvian Cultural Center), for example, specifically links the parallelisms in the historical evolution of Japan and Peru, beginning with the Asian migrations to the Americas through the Bering Strait. Augusto B. Leguía (1863--1932; Peruvian president 1908--1912 and 1919--1930) shared this desire to link mythical origins:

<EX>Apparently, you have wished . . . to reaffirm a concept that contemporary science does not dare discuss. Evoking the glorious figure of the creator of Cuzco, and intimately associating it in your consciences to the memory of the immortal Japanese emperor . . . The work that Manco Cápac and [the Japanese Emperor] Mutsuhito carried out demonstrated that when leaders discover and lead their people with great skill, the latter either become empires, such as the Tahuantisuyo, or

make their contemporaries believe, as happens with the powerful Japanese empire, in the disconcerting miracles of History.¹⁰

However, neither the Nikkei community's strategy nor President Leguía's apparent good wishes were enough to prevent anti-Japanese hysteria in subsequent years. As Masterson reminds us, "The Depression of the 1930s and the perceived affluence of the Japanese in Latin America, coupled with Japan's rise to world power status, sharpened already prevailing anti-Japanese sentiment" (xiii).

As will be seen in more detail in chapter 1, two of the main inflection points in the history of the Nikkeijin in Peru, which flagrantly unveiled their abject condition as "fifth columnists" in Peruvian society, were the sacking of Japanese-owned businesses and homes in May 1940, and the kidnapping and deportation of 1,771 of them to internment camps in New Mexico and Texas during World War II. After seeing their properties expropriated by the Peruvian government (whose glaring Nippophobia was encouraged by U.S. foreign policy), many were interned in the United States for over two years. A regime whose policy was ethnic cleansing had officially declared the Japanese an "undesired" social group. In spite of the official stance of silence adopted by the Nippo-Peruvian community, the political memory of this historic injustice is often reflected in the cultural production of its writers. Among the authors and testimonialists who have echoed these appalling human rights violations are Seiichi Higashide, Augusto Higa, Doris Moromisato, Ricardo Ganaja, and Carlos Yushimito.

Even worse, after the war's end, the Peruvian government refused to allow the deportees' return; in the end, only 79 Nippo-Peruvian citizens and their dependents were reluctantly allowed to return to Peru. Meanwhile, 364 deportees remained in no man's land as stateless refugees, until they won---

thanks to Wayne M. Collins and A. L. Wirin, two lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)---a legal battle that allowed them to stay in the United States. This group was offered "parole" relocation to a farming community in Seabrook, New Jersey. The rest of the deported Nikkei were either voluntarily or forcibly repatriated (or newly deported, since many of them had never left Peru before the war) to Japan. It is noteworthy that the deportation of Peruvian Nikkei to the United States could have been much larger, according to Masterson, had it not been for the lack of ships: "Thus logistics and Japanese diplomatic pressure, not humanitarian considerations, appear to be the main reasons why far more than 1,800 Japanese Peruvians were not deported and interned" (161). Along with deportations to internment camps, numerous Nikkei were forcibly removed from coastal areas in Peru (as happened in Brazil, under Getúlio Vargas's regime, in 1943), to prevent their potential support of a landing of the Imperial Japanese Navy.

As we have seen, the Nikkei Perūjin (or Peruvian Nikkei) have for decades overcome extreme obstacles and hostility. Today, after residing in Peru for over a century, members of the Nippo-Peruvian community are, for the most part, well educated and enjoy a comfortable economic position in their society. Yet they may now be facing one of their biggest challenges to date: the massive dekasegi exodus to the United States, Europe, and especially to Japan, which began in 1988, has caused a sharp reduction of its younger population, a situation that makes its future uncertain. The migration cycle formed by an initial Japanese emigration to the Americas and the "return" of the descendants several generations later reflects Japan's economic evolution from what Immanuel Wallerstein's version of world-systems theory would call a "periphery nation" (less economically diversified, under-industrialized, with a relatively weak government and a large peasant, uneducated, and poor

population) to a "core nation" (economically diversified, highly industrialized, wealthy, militarily powerful, independent of outside control, with a strong central government and middle class). The "push factor" of the economic uncertainties of the 1980s in Peru, Brazil, and Argentina, together with the "pull factor" of the relatively high wages offered to "guest workers" by Japanese factory owners fueled a great migration of Latin American Nikkei to Japan. The Japanese government's modification of its immigration laws facilitated the "return" of foreigners of Japanese descent to their ancestral land. By 2008, more than 60,000 Japanese Peruvians were living and working in Japan (of course, this number was dwarfed by the more than 275,000 Brazilian dekasegi). Overall, according to Masterson, "estimates place as many as one in every five ethnic Japanese from Latin America as residents of Japan" (269). No longer needed, however, in recent years the Japanese government has been offering unemployed dekasegi money if they return to Latin America. Likewise, the Japanese government has refused to normalize their residency status and even cancelled arrangements that allowed them to send remittances to Peru with the excuse of combating "money laundering." As we will see in the analysis of Augusto Higa's testimonial Japón no da dos oportunidades in chapter 3, the dekasegi who choose to stay in Japan are often the targets of social discrimination and labor exploitation in jobs that are considered unappealing by the local population, the so-called san K (three K: kitsui [hard], kitanai [dirty], kiken [dangerous]) jobs.

<S1>The Debate about Integration<\>

Besides the threatening challenge of the dekasegi exodus, another dilemma debated within the Nikkei community is the move toward full integration with mainstream Peruvian society. This, incidentally, is perhaps reflected in the

ethnification, de-ethnification, and re-ethnification processes present in Nikkei Peruvian writing. Isabelle Lausent-Herrera has disclosed how "Nisei intellectuals and artists have been protesting against the institutional rigidity that still dominates the community, preventing full integration. In other words, they denounced the community's self-marginalization."¹¹ Lausent-Herrera proceeds to explain that these debates promoted by Nisei and Sansei (second- and third-generation ethnic Japanese, respectively) during the 1980s included their protest against Japan's interference in the activities of Nikkei institutions and in the pan-American Nikkei conventions. The conservative approach, leaning toward further Nipponization, is apparent in the previously quoted comment by the spokesman of the Nippo-Peruvian community, where he awkwardly declares that they would have to support Fujimori to safeguard, not the prestige of the Peruvian Nikkei community, but that "reached by Japan after the war." By contrast, the opposite spirit of integration is noticeable, for example, in the epilogue to the extensive study on Japanese immigration to Peru (and pro-Fujimori manifesto) El futuro era el Perú (The Future Was Peru, 1999), written by the journalist Alejandro Sakuda, where he avers:

<EX>The reader must have noticed that, throughout this book, the words Nisei or Nikkei to refer to the descendents of the Japanese who reside in Peru are not used, even though the use of these terms is generalized. I believe that there is no reason for it, as it is not necessary to use special substantives for Peruvians who are descendents of Polacks, Australians, Germans, English, Italians, Bolivians, Chileans. . . . Besides, there is a problem of group identity in these idiomatic uses, because when someone is defined as Nisei or Nikkei, his nationality is

being questioned: he is not being considered either Peruvian or Japanese.¹²<\>

<TXNI>Sakuda's conclusion is that, after a century in Peru, the newer generations are fully integrated, as evidenced by their participation in national politics, including the example of then-president Fujimori. As is typical in the claims to place of other Asian groups in Latin America (for example, as I mention elsewhere, the strategic use of historical military prowess by the Sino-Cuban community), Sakuda proudly points to the example of the Nikkei Juan Ito and Manuel Ueda, who fought bravely against Ecuador during the 1941 border conflict, to justify the Nikkei community's right to full belonging in the Peruvian national imaginary.<\>

Interestingly, depending on the circumstances, Fujimori chose to present himself strategically as a Japanese man, as a Japanese Peruvian, as a man of color, or simply as one more ordinary Peruvian. For example, when he was trying to capitalize on the clout of Japan's economic power and on the Nikkei community's reputation for honesty, discipline, and admirable work ethics during his presidential campaign (hence, the motto of his campaign: "work, honesty, and technology"), he posed for reporters as a threatening samurai with his outfit and his katana.¹³ Later, during a presidential candidate debate, Vargas Llosa repeatedly mocked the photograph that appeared on the cover of the magazine QueHacer (March--April 1992): "I see that my opponent, the engineer Fujimori, has come with the samurai sword held very high;" "My opponent is not as good a samurai as he seems to be in the pictures."¹⁴ Along these lines, Fujimori also wore indigenous Andean garb during the presidential campaign. He ran as a man of color facing the traditional dominance of the white oligarchy in Peru, which Vargas Llosa was supposed to embody. In this context, Fujimori asserted that he was "el chinito" (roughly, the Chinaman)

who, along with "los cholitos" (the little brown people), would beat "los blanquitos" (the whities) (Sakuda, 391). As a result, Vargas Llosa publicly asked him to stop playing the "race card" because, in his view, it was fomenting violence in Peru. By contrast, when some time later a Japanese journalist pointed out, after Jaime Yoshiyama became president of the Congreso Constituyente Democrático (Democratic Constituent Congress), that two Nikkei were leading the governmental and parliamentary branches, now-president Fujimori cunningly answered: "Well, I had not realized that we were dealing with two Nikkei but just with two Peruvian citizens who occupy important offices chosen by the people . . .; we would be concerned by the people's reaction, because the people are the ones who have decided; we are not worried about the reaction of traditional politicians."¹⁵ Therefore, during his political career, Fujimori chose to strategically enter or leave Asianness depending on what approach was politically expedient at the moment as, for example, whether he was running for the presidency or acting as president. In addition, he showed his ability to move fluidly between the global (presenting himself as the face of Japan, as a technological and economic world power) and the local (wearing indigenous garb) by adopting multiple identities. In the 2001 presidential election, Alejandro Toledo learned a lesson about the strategic use of ethnicity from Fujimori, and he ran as "El cholo," a nickname he was given because of his indigenous roots.

Steven Ropp has defined Fujimori's strategy in terms of the rise of globalization and transnational identities or imaginaries: more specifically, in terms of "an ethnic group---Nikkei Peruvians---that secured a leading role in politics, not by accommodating, but by challenging and redefining the trajectory of national development and the very definition of national identity through the articulation of alternative hegemony based on explicit symbolic

and material connections between the indigenous descent majority and Japan/Asian Capitalism" (xiv). Globalization, therefore, became the basis of a Nikkei claim to belonging in the national project. According to Ropp, the population's disappointment with the criollo ruling class's governmental failures opened the door to an alternative Japanese hegemony that went against the grain of traditional ethnic politics: "The entry of the Nikkei into national politics and the mainstreaming of ethnic institutions as it occurred, not by becoming less Japanese but by becoming more, are significant because they challenge both traditional views on ethnic politics and contemporary theory on globalization" (xv). It also marked an alternative path to modernization that did not require the elimination of indigenous cultures or a compulsory westernization, but proposed instead a convergence of "Andean modernity" and "Asian capitalism": "The claims of Nikkei values and interests as one and the same with Peruvian national interests called into question the taken for granted nature of the criollo ideology at the core of most nationalist formations in Latin America and based upon the racial projects of mestizaje [race mixing], blanqueamiento [whitening] and westernization as the exclusive path to progress and modernity" (Ropp, 23). Incidentally, according to Jeffrey Lesser, the same occurred in Brazil: "The same people who believed Nikkei to be ethnically rigid and impenetrable (and thus not truly Brazilian) often took the position that the Brazilian nation would improve by becoming 'more Japanese.' Nikkei by and large accepted an identity where they were not Brazilians of the present but were Brazilians of the future" (A Discontented Diaspora, xxvi).

As Iwasaki points out in the foreword, the emergence of Alberto Fujimori in the Peruvian and Latin American political arenas brought the world's attention to the Nikkei community in Peru. More importantly for this

study, the Fujimori phenomenon ended up influencing Nippo-Peruvian cultural production: not only did Japanese culture become more prominent in Peruvian daily life after 1990 but also Nikkei authors, such as Doris Moromisato, "orientalized" their works by including their own Japanese ethnic background as one of the central sources of inspiration. For these reasons, and because his personal story is telling of the collective successes and failures of the Nikkei community, the ensuing section continues to cover the political career of this important figure.

<S1>Fujimori Brings the Nikkei Community out of the Shadows<\>

On January 10, 1990, a "dark horse" candidate named Alberto Ken'ya Fujimori Fujimori (1938--) won the Peruvian national elections, riding a wave of popular support.¹⁶ Because he was a Nisei (Nisei are children of Japanese born outside Japan. They are thus second-generation Nikkei or ethnic Japanese), he was popularly nicknamed "El Chino" (roughly, The Chinaman) during his successful grassroots campaign.¹⁷ Fujimori beat, against all odds and with 57 percent of the vote, the now--Nobel laureate author Mario Vargas Llosa (1936--) in a runoff presidential election. Until the age of five, Fujimori spoke only Japanese (Nihongo) and, as he has admitted, did not understand a word of Spanish. His father, Naoichi Fujimori, had migrated to Peru in 1934, fleeing poverty in the Kumamoto prefecture in southern Japan. In the new country, he first worked in the cotton fields, then as a tailor, and also owned a tire repair shop that was confiscated by the Peruvian government during World War II.

Although, as Daniel M. Masterson points out, "The Japanese government legally recognizes that people are of 'Japanese descent' if their lineage can be traced back three generations" (xi), in this book I use the term "Nikkei"

to refer to persons who define themselves as Nikkei, or who have one or more ancestors from Japan. The term Nikkei, which generally refers to the Japanese overseas (including all generations: first-generation Issei, second-generation Nisei, third-generation Sansei, fourth-generation Yonsei, fifth-generation Gosei, etc.), has been increasingly used in Peru since the late 1980s. As mentioned, the most famous Nikkei is Fujimori, who was sworn in as president of Peru on July 28, 1990. It was the first time that a Nikkei had become chief executive of any country.¹⁸ With no previous experience in national politics, he had served from 1984 to 1989 as president of the small state-owned Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina (National Agrarian University La Molina) and twice as president of the Asamblea Nacional de Rectores (National Assembly of College Presidents). From 1987 to 1989, he was also the host of the television show "Concertando" (Agreeing) on Televisión Nacional del Perú (National Television of Peru). Fujimori founded the political party Cambio 90 two years before the election, and his initial idea, according to Alejandro Sakuda, was to run for the Senate, but since he was going to carry out a national campaign, he thought: "Why not also run for the presidency?"¹⁹ Fujimori chose then to run for the presidency rather than for the Senate.

Ten years after this historic presidential election, Fujimori fled to Japan, after attending an Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Brunei, to avoid facing twenty-one charges of corruption, kidnapping, murder, and human rights abuses. It could be argued that previous reactions by Fujimori foreshadowed this outcome. For example, in November 1992, after a coup d'état attempt, Fujimori went to the residence of the Japanese ambassador to wait for his military escort. In any case, during his time in power, he succeeded in reaching his three main goals: he won a war against two terrorist organizations, the powerful guerrilla force Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)

and the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement; MRTA); reduced hyper-inflation (in 1994, Peru had the fastest economic growth in the world, at 13 percent); and led his country toward a lasting peace with neighboring Ecuador, after a long border dispute. Yet, with support from the armed forces, he also suspended Congress and purged the judiciary with an autogolpe (presidential "self-coup") on April 5, 1992, that gave him dictatorial powers. He changed the constitution to run for president for a third time, winning the election under international accusations of fraud. Fujimori was also accused of serious human rights violations. Shortly after the beginning of his third presidential term, after falling into complete disgrace, he tried to resign, damaging the image of the Peruvian Nikkeijin: on November 20, 2000, Fujimori faxed his resignation as president of Peru from an elegant Tokyo hotel---an action that many in Peru considered insulting---but it was rejected by Congress, which preferred to remove him from office through impeachment, on grounds of "moral disability."

Almost five years later, Fujimori unexpectedly flew to Chile on a tourist visa and declared his intention to run for Congress (not for the presidency, as is often believed, according to Murakami [Perú, 19]) in the April 2006 elections, before being arrested in November 2005. Peru's National Election Board formally rejected his bid on January 10, 2006. In June 2007, while under house arrest in Chile and facing extradition to Peru on human rights and corruption charges, the then sixty-eight-year-old Fujimori declared that he would run for the Japanese Senate elections on the People's New Party ticket. Curiously, in a speech in Nagoya, Japan, in 1991, Fujimori mentioned that, noticing his popularity in Japan, someone in his entourage had ironically suggested that he should also run for the Japanese presidency. Was he now taking that remark seriously, or was his running for the Japanese Senate

simply a scheme to avoid being prosecuted because of diplomatic immunity, as some political analysts have suggested? Nonetheless, he was eventually extradited to Peru in September 2007, and on April 7, 2009, he was convicted of human rights violations. He was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison for his role in the Grupo Colina death squad's killings and kidnappings; he was also accused of bribery and embezzlement.

Plausibly reflecting on the fact that the sojourner mentality (i.e., the idea that they will only be living in the country for some time) continues alive and well, or that fear of new anti-Japanese riots still exists within the Nikkei community in Peru, most of its members did not support Fujimori's candidacy. Ricardo Ganaja, in his testimonial Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense (Okinawa, the Kingdom of Kindness, and the Testimonial of an Okinawan Peruvian, 2008), echoes these fears:

<EX>We, the Nikkei, did not celebrate because we looked with distrust at this unknown character who threw himself into politics and triumphed overwhelmingly. Although not at all comparable to the anti-Japanese hysteria of the 1930s and 1940s, his triumph did cause occasional episodes of xenophobia in some local businesses, such as the 4D ice-cream parlor in Miraflores, where they would not serve anyone with a Japanese-looking face. There was a rumor that it was better not to go out much to avoid annoying incidents.²⁰<\>

<TXNI>Likewise, in an interview with the magazine Caretas after the first round of the elections, a spokesperson for the Nippo-Peruvian community in Lima confessed that it did not support Fujimori for fear of public reaction should his presidency fail: "We have suffered the experience of World War II, when Japanese businesses were looted. Fujimori's failure in the presidency would

once again place us as victims and that would be unbearable. But at the same time, if Fujimori reaches the presidency, we have no alternative but to support him, as a way to safeguard the prestige reached by Japan after the war."²¹

These two cases seem to support Toake Endoh's argument that, in Peru, "the Nikkei ethnic group has long existed in an inconspicuous manner. Because of the painful memories of discrimination and persecution during the prewar years, descendents of the Japanese diaspora in the post--World War period tried not to stand out in either a positive or a negative way" (20). On the other hand, the aftermath of the Fujimori political scandal has shown the solid integration of the Nikkeijin in Peru. In Ropp's words: "The Peruvianness of the Nikkei has not been called into question, for the most part, and protestors have directed their criticism at Fujimori and not the Japanese or the Nikkei. This seems to reflect the solid position of the Nikkei within the national formation, unlike in the pre-war period when they were easily singled out as scapegoats" (238--39). Furthermore, ironically, according to Ropp, "the scandal simply highlighted the Peruvianness of the Nikkei . . . because as it turns out, while some may be honest, hardworking and honorable, most are actually just as Peruvian as the next, capable of deception, selfishness, and impropriety just like any other criollo"²² (240). Still today, the Nikkei are overall well respected and admired in Peru.

Moving on to Yusuke Murakami's analysis of Fujimori's presidency, perhaps in a "he-is-not-one-of-us" mode (although he claims to be neither for nor against the former Peruvian president), in his seven-hundred-page-long study Perú en la era del Chino: La política no institucionalizada y el pueblo en busca de un salvador (Peru in the Era of the Chino: Non-institutionalized Politics and the People in Search of a Savior, 2007), this Japanese political

scientist argues that, when analysts call Fujimori's era "dictatorial," they should keep in mind Peru's political history. "Although the case of our protagonist reached the extreme,"²³ he argues, Fujimori's brand of politics, which has been the norm in Peru for decades, was influenced by the structural characteristics and the plebiscitary mentality of Peruvian society:

<EX>We cannot help thinking that the attribution of the term dictatorship---used in variegated contexts---to Fujimori's politics has led people to consider the era of his government as an exceptional period or a parenthesis in the history of Peru, although they do not want to say it openly. Rather, as we have indicated in this book, we believe that it is important to keep in mind that the characteristics of Fujimori's politics basically coincide with those of Peruvian politics until the 1980s. In this sense, Fujimori's politics are Peruvian.²⁴<\>

<TXNI>Murakami goes on to argue that the authoritarianism, caudillismo, personalism, and clientelism of this period are in consonance, not so much with the "'Japanese' idiosyncrasy" of its protagonist, as other studies have claimed, but with the political history of the country and the Peruvian people's strong desire for a "savior" who would solve their socioeconomic problems immediately (Perú, 13). After all, Murakami accurately adds, Fujimori stayed away from Nippo-Peruvian institutions for most of his life, and he never had close relations with his ethnic community (Perú, 14).<\>

Alberto Fujimori's rise and fall have been depicted in films and documentaries. One of these films is Ojos que no ven (What the Eye Doesn't See, 2003), directed by the Peruvian Francisco Lombardi (1947--). Although Fujimori is not a character per se (he only appears in photographs and on television), his shadow permeates the entire plot. For example, several secondary characters, in particular two elderly patients in a general hospital,

criticize his dictatorial measures and wonder about his collusion with his right-hand man Vladimiro Montesinos in the offering of bribes, an allegation that has scandalized the country. The film weaves six parallel and interconnected stories dealing with the infamous "vladivideos" (i.e., Montesinos's own secretly taped videos that exposed him and the government bribing a congressman from the opposition named Alberto Kouri with \$15,000). It is well known that a Peruvian television station, Canal 8, broadcast the leaked videotape on September 14, 2000. Formerly an army captain, a convicted spy (he served time in prison for selling state secrets to the CIA), and a defense lawyer for drug traffickers (including the Colombian Pablo Escobar), Montesinos was the unofficial director of the National Intelligence Service (Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional; SIN) and one of two main advisors to President Alberto Fujimori, along with General Nicolás Hermoza Ríos, chief of the armed forces.²⁵ This scandal caused Fujimori's fall. The different subplots of the film reveal how governmental corruption contaminated every level of Peruvian society, reaching politicians (including those of Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance; APRA]), judges, state attorneys, businessmen, the military, and the media. The film also shows women and teenage girls as the main victims of a patriarchal world of deep-seated corruption and unrestrained violence.

Fujimori's rise and fall is also re-visited in The Fall of Fujimori (2005), a documentary film produced and directed by Ellen Perry, where the latter interviews the fugitive former Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori while he was in self-imposed exile in Japan, and in the midst of a book tour. On September 13, 2001, a Supreme Court judge issued an international arrest warrant for Fujimori, charging him with complicity in the massacres that took place in Barrios Altos and La Cantuta, and linking him to the covert Grupo

Colina death squad. Likewise, on March 26, 2003, Interpol issued an arrest warrant charging Fujimori with murder and kidnapping. Yet Fujimori was able to avoid being brought to justice thanks to the support of the Japanese government, which blocked his extradition (there is no extradition treaty between Japan and Peru) and declared him a Japanese citizen on December 12, 2000. When Fujimori was born, his father legally registered him for Japanese citizenship in the koseki of Kawachi, his hometown in Japan.²⁶ For some time, this decision was quite useful for Fujimori even though, according to Yusuke Murakami, at one point he tried to renounce his Japanese citizenship (it is illegal for a Peruvian president to have dual citizenship): "I know for a fact that, between 1990 and 1991 (when his Peruvian nationality was being questioned), Fujimori tried to renounce his Japanese nationality without letting the public know. The Japanese government, however, systematically answered that it could not be done, as the law stated that the renunciation had to be made official in the Japanese gazette. Fujimori then 'resigned himself' to his Japanese nationality."²⁷

Besides a new interview with Fujimori, the documentary reveals recently released archival footage from his regime, showing the populist appeal that took "El Chino" Fujimori (a nickname that he nostalgically embraces during the interview) to power in what was called "The Fujimori Tsunami": while in some scenes he appears in indigenous garb (paradoxically, he would later be accused of the forced sterilization of three hundred thousand rural women, most of them indigenous), in others he drives his "Fujimobile" tractor during his first presidential campaign. The Fall of Fujimori also reveals how, with the pretext of combating terrorism and stopping hyperinflation, Fujimori and Montesinos eliminated political dissent, controlled the mass media, and engaged in a "dirty war" with the assistance of paramilitary death squads.²⁸ The

documentary begins with footage of a nervous Fujimori during the first minutes of the interview, getting ready and having difficulties explaining why he is living in Japan. Failed introductory takes contrast the former president's contrived smile with his serious and nervous facial expressions. In this documentary, Fujimori portrays himself as a political outsider and elaborates on his success in capturing Shining Path's leader, Abimael Guzmán (1935), on September 12, 1992. Yet the film reveals that, rather than a victory for Fujimori's repressive apparatus, Guzmán's capture was the result of law enforcement's independent and "old-fashioned police work." The Dancer Upstairs (2002), a film directed by John Malkovich, offers the same conclusion: a police detective, Agustín Rejas (played by Javier Bardem), in an unnamed South American country hunts down a brutal revolutionary guerilla leader popularly known as Presidente Ezequiel (Abimael Guzmán's nom de guerre was Presidente Gonzalo) by tracing residue from a specific skin cream (Guzmán was known to have psoriasis) and cigarette butts of the presidente's favorite brand found in the garbage bins of an upper-class neighborhood.²⁹ Although the government claims his capture to be a political victory, it is clear that it was not directly involved in the case. In real life, Benedicto Jiménez and General Antonio Ketín Vidal were responsible for Guzmán's capture.

In The Fall of Fujimori, the former president also shows pride for having liberated the hostages in the Japanese embassy on April 2, 1997, after it was taken over by the MRTA.³⁰ He claims additional victories for having stopped hyperinflation and drug trafficking, as well as for building clinics, schools, and roads in areas of Peru that had been neglected by previous presidents. Fujimori also argues that underground death squads existed in Peru before his government. He then blames Vladimiro Montesinos---"a diabolical man," in his own words---for the political corruption that caused his

downfall. Hoping for an eventual return to power, he assures the interviewer that he was unaware of his former éminence grise's criminal activities. Yet several interviewees express their conviction that it was the former president who gave Montesinos approval to conduct a "dirty war" that included wire tapping, torturing, and using death squads to murder and make people disappear.

Interestingly, the documentary and its people interviewed exhibit a somewhat stereotypical approach to Fujimori's ethnicity. For example, when his former wife, Susana Higuchi, is interviewed, one can hear the sound of traditional Japanese flutes in the background. Along these lines, while showing footage of Fujimori's visit to the Japanese embassy after the MRTA's takeover, a voice-over criticizes the former president's demeanor while walking by the terrorists' dead bodies: "The way Fujimori handled it was greeted as a model of how to deal with terrorists, and I think one of the things that soured some was the degree to which he seemed to revel in it. Almost like a bloodthirsty samurai."³¹ In the end, therefore, the stereotype of the hyperviolent samurai comes to explain Fujimori's politics. The special features section in the documentary continues with the ethnic stereotyping of the former Peruvian president. In his condemnation of Fujimori's suppression of the press, Hugo Ezequiel Zinny , editor in chief of the magazine Caretas, states that the former president was playing the game of Go with them: "It was a go game. It's a Japanese game, right? (It's not chess or checkers). You progressively surround it [the opponent] and begin to asphyxiate it."³²

But the Fujimori saga does not end with him. Other members of the clan have also contributed to increasing the international visibility of the Peruvian Nikkei community. On March 24, 1992, for example, ten days before Fujimori's self-coup, Susana Higuchi (1950--), his wife and first lady from

1990--1995, accused several of her Fujimori in-laws of illegally selling used clothes donated by Japan for the Peruvian underprivileged. After twenty years of marriage, on August 3, 1994, Higuchi divorced her husband, accusing him of embezzlement and psychological abuse. She also claimed to have been tortured over five hundred times by the intelligence services of the Peruvian Army. Later, Higuchi announced her intention to run for mayor of Lima, through her own political party, Armonía Frempol (Frempol Harmony), but her ex-husband passed a law forbidding relatives of the president to run for higher office. Fujimori also forbade her to leave the presidential palace. In 2001, Higuchi was elected to Congress as a candidate of the opposition Frente Independiente Moralizador (Independent Moralizing Front; FIM), a political party allied with then-president Alejandro Toledo. She was a member of Congress until 2006.

Along the same lines, Alberto Fujimori's oldest child, Keiko Sofía Fujimori (1975--), has been a key player in Peruvian politics for some time. After her parents separated, she became first lady in August 1994 (the youngest presidential first lady in the history of the Americas), often interrupting her studies at Boston University to perform her duties. When her father fled to Japan, Keiko Fujimori was left alone in the presidential palace to face the media. She continues to defend her father, blaming Vladimiro Montesinos, his corrupt former right-hand man, for all abuses. In 2005, Keiko Fujimori became the leader of the Fujimorista Political Group, and in April 2006, while her father was being detained in Chile, she was elected to Congress, after receiving more votes than any other candidate in Peruvian history. Later, she collected over one million signatures and was allowed to form her own political party, Fuerza 2011. In the 2011 presidential election, Keiko Fujimori received the second-largest number of votes, forcing the nationalist Ollanta Humala to enter a run-off election.³³ On June 5, 2011, Humala won the

run-off election with 51.5 percent of the vote (Keiko Fujimori received 48.5 percent).

From Fujimori's political history, we switch, in the following section, to the study of Nippo-Peruvian cultural production within the context of the politics of cultural belonging. [author query: please consider making this paragraph more than one sentence long]

<S1>Constructing an Ethnic Space through Cultural Production<\>

Although there are today over 1.5 million people of Japanese descent in Latin America, there are only 50,000 Nikkei Perūjin out of almost 30 million Peruvians in 2010, less than 0.17 percent of the total population. (Although many of the Nikkei Peruvian community's publications claim they are 3 percent of the overall population, that figure also includes black, Chinese, Japanese, and other non-white, mestizo, and Amerindian.)³⁴ Yet, as we will see, their cultural production is disproportionately influential. The Affinity of the Eye: Writing Nikkei in Peru analyzes testimonials, fiction, poetry, and essays that echo the self-exploration and -representation of a spiritual self-struggle carried out by Nikkei authors. The cultural self-representations of the Japanese diaspora affect the formation of Peruvian national identity, as it challenges the traditional dichotomy that limits Peruvian culture to the traditional confrontation between the Andean/indigenous and coastal/criollo worldviews. Of course, studies of Sino-Peruvian, Afro-Peruvian, or Jewish Peruvian cultural production, for example, would have a similar effect. In any case, Nippo-Peruvian cultural production works as a vehicle for understanding and challenging what it means to be a Japanese (or Okinawan) Peruvian, and it can also be mobilized to reframe the very parameters of what it means to be Peruvian.

In these works, we will find distorted, stereotypical, and grotesque images of the Japanese diaspora in Peru, humorous caricatures or nationalistic idealizations, as well as historiographic re-writings denouncing their victimization and revealing their strategies for survival. Although some of these discursive practices mix reality with fiction, they still contribute to a process of symbolic appropriation of a space in the Peruvian national imaginary. Simultaneously, they emphasize a heterogeneity that combats essentialist or stereotypical views of the Nikkei community. Many of these works coincide in their depiction of the identity crises suffered by Japanese immigrants and their descendents in Peru, their diasporic melancholia, the denunciation of the exploitation and marginalization they suffered, and the celebration of a history of political and cultural resistance that has survived until today. The same occurs with historical studies. The celebratory tone of Sakuda's El futuro era el Perú, for example, must be understood in the context of the year when it was published, 1999, a year that coincided with the celebration by the government and the main Japanese institutions of the 100th anniversary of the inception of mass Japanese immigration to Peru.³⁵ This study also shows the process of assimilation to the new culture from one generation to the next, and the different degrees of cultural hybridity and transculturation that are reflected in these texts.

As is well known, most Issei (who, at first, were mostly male in Peru) maintained a *dekasegi* mentality, as they did not intend to stay in Latin America. Their dream, is often said, was to return to Japan after a few years, dressed in "golden brocade." However, their economic hardships and the advent of World War II inevitably changed the plans. As Masterson reveals, "Return rates for Japanese immigrants throughout Latin American generally averaged less than 10 percent" (xii). On the other side of the spectrum, as could be

expected, very often Peruvian Sansei, Yonsei, and Gosei (third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Nikkei) no longer have the ability to speak in Japanese (Nihongo) or Okinawan (Uchinanchu), nor have they kept strong cultural ties with the land of their ancestors. Instead, they have fully acquired the dominant traits of mainstream Peruvian culture or that of the country to which they migrated. This is evident, for example, in Peruvian Nikkei authors such as Fernando Iwasaki and Carlos Yushimito, who live in Spain and the United States, respectively, and have avowedly kept a limited cultural connection, in both their life and their works, to the ancestral homeland.

This cultural production also reflects the fluctuations and negotiations of national allegiances. In certain circumstances, Nikkei identities, forged between the gaps and interstices of two and sometimes three national cultures (Peruvian, Japanese, and Okinawan), become malleable. The extreme example in real life is that of Alberto Fujimori, who went from being the proud president of Peru to declaring himself "the last samurai," ready to give his life for Japan, in two promotional videos he recorded on a Chilean farm while under house arrest, when running for a Japanese Senate seat in 2007. Some works also reveal the creation of a diasporic version of national identity and a sort of "flexible citizenship," which incorporates new strategies to contend with the Eurocentric hegemony that has negated and silenced Asians and Asian Peruvians (at least at an official level) since the inception of the Chinese coolie trade. Other Nikkei writers and characters become a sort of personified borderland of the nation: they can talk ambivalently as Peruvian outsiders or insiders (as we see in the cases of José Watanabe, Nicolás Matayoshi, Doris Moromisato, and other authors), or they can embody the liminality between the Peruvian and the non-Peruvian, as we see in the case of the character of Nakamatsu in Augusto Higa's La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu (Katzuo Nakamatsu's Enlightenment,

2008), among others. In this context, the objective here is to analyze how these perceived marginal positions end up re-defining national identity categories.

The corpus of works analyzed in The Affinity of the Eye: Writing Nikkei in Peru addresses, therefore, the motivations behind the Japanese migration to the Americas, the racism and hostility they encountered in Peru, their identitarian struggles, and the conflictive relations both within the Japanese community and with other social groups in the nation. It often narrates the intimate history of a minority people, that of the Japanese immigrants in Peru and their descendents, by re-visiting key events in Japanese Peruvian history. These events include the anti-Japanese riots of May 1940 in Lima, which prompted the return of numerous Japanese families to Japan; the kidnapping of 1,771 Peruvian Nikkei (out of a total of 2,000 Latin American Nikkei) by the FBI and the Peruvian government and their extradition to internment camps in New Mexico and Texas; the massive dekasegi migrations after the Japanese government revised its immigration laws in 1988 to give preference to the "ethnic Japanese" of Latin America; and the victory in the presidential election of 1990 of Alberto Fujimori, followed by the corruption and scandals that ended his reign in 2000.

The Affinity of the Eye: Writing Nikkei in Peru explores new ways to approach "racial"³⁶ formation and racialization in both national and transnational contexts, and particularly in the context of state racism, paranoid nationalism, and biopolitics. It also addresses the process of subject-formation and citizenship in different social contexts: from a vision of selfhood within the Nikkei's ethnic community, which can also turn into a prison for an individual aspiring to establish links in broader sociocultural environments, to the malleable and flexible citizenships that are transformed,

or even manipulated, by war, ethnic cleansing, and internment. In the case of Okinawans (Ryukyans), other factors are the imperial legacy of the Japanese invasion of the Ryūkyū Kingdom and the subsequent post-colonial reaction and language politics of Okinawan Peruvians. Consequently, several chapters treat the divisions within the Japanese community in Peru and the nationalist or post-nationalist tensions reflected in the cultural artifacts studied. These texts emphasize de-ethnification and re-ethnification processes in relation to racialization, orientalization, the dekasegi experience, and symbolic travels to the land of the ancestors. Issues of gender and sexuality are also addressed in relation to the "picture bride" tradition and, particularly, in the chapter devoted to Doris Moromisato's poetry.

As we will see, among the numerous elements that Peruvian Nikkeijin inherited from the millenary culture of Japan, there seems to be a predominant cultural "meme" (to use Richard Dawkins's term): the haiku.³⁷ Nikkei poets such as José Watanabe, Doris Moromisato, and Nicolás Matayoshi (and many non-Nikkei Peruvian poets) have adapted this Japanese poetic form to their own writing abilities and worldview. The cultural concept of the haiku has been successfully transmitted, imitated, replicated, and transformed from generation to generation, and incorporated into the poets' repertoire until our days. Interestingly, critics also seem to expect the influence of haiku in all Peruvian Nikkei poets, as if it were a sine qua non condition for being considered a poet of Japanese origin.

Some chapters introduce Nikkei writing, particularly testimonials and historical studies, as veiled forms of political contestation that trouble the traditional assumptions of the discourse of the nation. Ironically, sometimes these counternarratives end up exposing the contradictions of Nikkei cultural politics. For example, in his impetus to sing the praises of Japanese

achievements in his El futuro era el Perú, Alejandro Sakuda ends up unfairly negating the Chinese coolies' contributions to Peruvian agriculture: "The trade of Chinese people continued until 1874 and it was of benefit more to the businessmen dedicated to importing Asians than to agriculture itself."³⁸ In the same vein, Ricardo Ganaja, in his testimonial Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, patronizingly mocks, albeit under the camouflage of humor, the stereotypical pidgin Spanish of the Chinese with his comical rendering of their speech: **"Therefore, Chinito: 'Stop messing around with the Japanese in Pelu, OK?'"³⁹ The Chinese are, therefore, treated as exotic aliens by a member of a group that has also been relegated to the status of "exotic alien," as evidenced by the lyrics of the 1950s Peruvian polka "Cómo puere japonés" (How the Japanese Can), composed by Julio Morales de San Martín and sung by the duet Los Troveros Criollos, which included the main singer "El Carreta Jorge Pérez." This book also** explores the strategies of survival used by Japanese nationals after their arrival in Peru and, decades later, by the Nikkei diaspora in response to the various situations of violence and injustice they had to endure.

As will be seen, in many cases, Japanese Peruvian literature and other types of cultural production become inseparable from the debates about Nikkei identity. In fact, some texts develop into sites for the representation, evaluation, and production of new modes of Nikkei identities and subjectivities. Others negotiate the politics of ethno-nationalism, which are often complicated by the younger generations' will to integrate into mainstream national culture and by the cultural shock suffered by the Nikkei dekasegi who decided to move to Japan, only to find, once there, that they were considered second-class citizens and gaijin (foreigners). Interestingly, in several cases we also see a new identification of déclassé Nikkei dekasegi

(Japanese Peruvians who have lost their social status in Japan) with the marginalization of indigenous people in Peru. But, above all, this literature reflects how Peru became a contact zone where Eastern and Western worldviews collided to create a new, hybrid cultural reality, and how literature itself becomes an enactment of symbolic appropriation and a tool for the claiming of a space in the Peruvian national symbolic. In general, as will be seen in this study, Nikkei cultural production's claim to place in Peru is a major part of the community's politics of cultural belonging, running parallel to the generation of the modern Nikkei subject within the configurations of the nation-state.

<S1>Organization of the Book<\>

As stated, this book explores the different cultural self-representations of the Japanese diaspora in Peru (ranging from full identification with a Japanese or Okinawan ethno-cultural background to a non-identification or re-identification) in several works published between 1971 and 2011, covering five different literary genres. It also looks at how this cultural production works as a Nikkei (including Okinawan) claim to place within the Peruvian national symbolic. Among these works are two essays by Fernando Iwasaki, Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI (The Far East and Peru in the Sixteenth Century; 2005) and Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco (2005); the short stories "La sombra del guerrero" (2008) by Iwasaki and "Ciudad de Cristal" (2009) and "Oz" (2009) by Carlos Yushimito; the short story collections Las islas (2006) and Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde (2011) by Yushimito and España, aparta de mí estos premios (2009) by Iwasaki; the testimonials, memoirs, and oral histories Adiós to Tears (1981) by Seiichi Higashide, Japón no da dos oportunidades (1994) by Augusto Higa, Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú (2006) by

Doris Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro Inami, and Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense (2008) by Ricardo Ganaja; the novel La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu (2008) by Higa; and the poetry collections Álbum de familia (1971), El huso de al palabra (1989), Historia natural (1994), Cosas del cuerpo (1999), La piedra alada (2005), and Banderas detrás de la niebla (2006) by José Watanabe and Morada donde la luna perdió su palidez (1988), Chambala era un camino (1999), Diario de la mujer es ponja (2004), and Paisaje terrestre (2007), by Moromisato.

After the introduction, the book is divided into three parts, all devoted to Nikkei authors: the first part looks at Peruvian Nikkei testimonials, the second one at narratives, and the third one at poetry. The first part analyzes three books that include Peruvian Nikkei testimonials, memoirs, and oral histories: Seiichi Higashide's Adiós to Tears, Ricardo Ganaja's Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense, and Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro's Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú. The first chapter discusses issues of citizenship, national language and identity, ethno-nationalism, and racial anxiety as they are affected by foreign wartime propaganda and represented in Adiós to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps. Higashide's exploits are representative of the benefits and dangers of global or "flexible citizenship," particularly during wartime. His testimonial epitomizes one of the most traumatic episodes in the history of Japanese immigration to Peru: the abduction and forced deportation of Japanese nationals and even some Peruvian citizens, their subsequent imprisonment in internment camps in the United States to use them in an exchange of war prisoners with Japan, and the eventual refusal of the Peruvian government to allow their return to Peru. Although it is still an uncomfortable topic of conversation for most members

of the Nikkei community, many consider this chapter in history a major betrayal on the part of the Peruvian government. Adiós to Tears is also a key document in understanding the self-perception of the Japanese diaspora and the use of stereotypical perceptions of the Japanese for nationalistic purposes in Peru during World War II.

The second chapter in Part I examines the give and take with nationalistic discourse within the Okinawan Peruvian community, as well as their tensions with the Naichi-jin (or Yamatonchu, as Okinawans call "mainland" Japanese) and other social groups, as represented in Ganaja's Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, and Moromisato and Shimabukuro's Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú. All three texts celebrate Japanese (and, more specifically, Okinawan) cultural identity and consider its limitations and dangers. At the same time, the three texts in Part I blend historical research with personal and collective self-exploration, and share a performative and politically charged nature: they demand an official apology and redress from the Peruvian and American governments.

The second part of the book deals with Nikkei narratives. Chapter 3 also includes another testimonial, Augusto Higa's Japón no da dos oportunidades, which narrates the author's experience as a dekasegi in Japan. This text could have been included in Part I, but it seemed more akin in its dialogue with Higa's novel La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu. This chapter also explores the identitarian self-definition of a Japanese Peruvian, but in the novel's case, it is done through the use of kenshō. With these two works, Higa argues that Peruvian Nikkei are not a projection of Japan in Peru but a new hybrid sociocultural reality that has become inseparable from mainstream Peruvian culture. More importantly, both texts draw from his disappointing, but eye-opening, personal experience as a dekasegi in Japan to draw the conclusion

that today Peruvian Nikkei, whether they like it or not, belong to Peruvian culture and identify with it much more than with the Japanese culture of their ancestors.

Chapter 4 considers the use of the caricaturization of the Japanese in Fernando Iwasaki's España, aparta de mí estos premios (Spain, Take These Awards from Me). It also problematizes the author's de-ethnification of his own image in both his writing and his public appearances, particularly considering that four of his texts, even if they are full of sarcastic overtones, reflect his ethnic heritage and show a profound interest in understanding East-West cultural relations and the Japanese mentality in general: the historical study Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI; the short story "La sombra del guerrero" (The Warrior's Shadow); the essay Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco (My Poncho Is a Flamenco Kimono); and the short story collection España, aparta de mí estos premios.

Chapter 5 explores Carlos Yushimito's short stories in the collections Las islas and Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde, as well as a short story dealing with characters of Japanese descent: "Ciudad de Cristal" (Crystal City). This title is a translation of the name of an internment camp in Texas, Crystal City, where numerous Peruvian Nikkei families were imprisoned. However, the topic is only addressed tangentially, because it concentrates on the adventures of a Nikkei boy and a non-Nikkei teenager in Lima, which are indirectly contrasted with the hardships suffered by the Nikkei boy's father. The short story is, therefore, a veiled denunciation of the abuses committed against the Nikkei community: Pedro Komatsu, the protagonist's father, has been taken to an internment camp in Texas and all that is left from him is a note stating that he was being taken against his will. In turn, the stories included in Las islas and Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde, several

taking place in Brazil, present a fatalistic worldview in which several characters voluntarily accept their fate: at one point, they will have to face death on their own. In Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde, Yushimito continues to vindicate a post-nationalist and post-identitarian literature with stories that seemingly take place in Brazil, Peru, and other places, and that show more identification with different international authors than with a country per se. In this last collection, besides the previously published "Oz" and other stories that appeared in Las islas, Yushimito includes, in four new short stories, an amoral and, at times, perverse world of childhood memories, fantasy, and even magical realism. These short stories situate Yushimito on the antipodes of other Nikkei Peruvian authors such as Doris Moromisato, who have no qualms in exhibiting an unapologetic ethno-nationalistic pride in their writings.

Part III of the book studies the echoes of Japanese heritage and the politics of cultural belonging in the works of two Nikkei poets: José Watanabe and Doris Moromisato. Chapter 6 concentrates on the influence of haiku and the Japanese notion of enryo (restraint, diffidence, reserve) in the works of Watanabe, perhaps the most famous Peruvian writer of Japanese origin. In this chapter, I also argue that several critics have exaggerated the influence of Japanese culture in Watanabe's poetry. The last and closing chapter in Part III looks at notions of Okinawan national identity, sexuality, and gender in Moromisato's poetry. I conclude that her poetry demands a space for queer of color, Asians, and women in the Peruvian national imaginary.<\>

<PN>Part I<\>

<PT>Nikkei Testimonials<\>

<CN>1<\>

<CT> Seiichi Higashide's Adiós to Tears <\>

<CST>Flexible Citizenship, American War Propaganda, and the Birth of Anti-Japanese Hysteria in Peru<\>

<TX>For some time now, anthropologists have praised how the flexible transnationalism of "nomadic" or multiply displaced subjects allows them to elude repressive state structures and state disciplining. In this context, referring to the cultural logics of Chinese transnationality, Aihwa Ong comments that "'flexible citizenship' refers to the cultural logics of capital accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions. In their quest to accumulate capital and social prestige in the global arena, subjects emphasize, and are regulated by, practices favoring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments, and cultural regimes" (6). However, global conflicts have added nuances of victimhood to the purported liberating benefits of the flexibility of transnational ethnicities. As we will see in this chapter, under certain circumstances, the same deterritorialization and freedom of spatial constraints that can liberate subjects from oppression in their homeland can also lead to cultural othering and to the largest spatial constraint of them all: imprisonment. As Ong posits, "Even under conditions of transnationality, political rationality and cultural mechanisms continue to deploy, discipline, regulate, or civilize subjects in place or on the move. Although increasingly able to escape localization by state authorities, traveling subjects are never free of

regulations set by state power, market operations, and kinship norms" (19--20).

<insert figure 1 about here>

From this perspective, I shall discuss issues of citizenship, national identity, national allegiance, and racial anxiety as they are affected by foreign wartime propaganda and represented in Adiós to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps (Higashide 2000; Namida no Adiósu, Higashide 1981 [author query: Does the Namida no Adiósu citation belong in Works Cited?]). Throughout this first chapter, I compare and contrast this firsthand account of the internment of Japanese nationals with extra-textual historical accounts. Drawing from both perspectives, I analyze different cases of solidarity, conflict, and resistance within the Peruvian Nikkei community, as well as the economic and historical circumstances that led the Peruvian government to betray this community. As we will see, international conflicts have caused the image of the Japanese to fluctuate between the contemporary concept of the "model minority" and the racist fear of the "yellow peril." This testimonial, covering three countries (Japan, Peru, and the United States), was originally written in Japanese by Seiichi Higashide (1909--1997), an Issei born on the Japanese island of Hokkaido who migrated to Peru in 1930. Following in the footsteps of other successful Japanese emigrants, Higashide soon came to own several stores and become the president of the Japanese Association in Ica (a town five hundred miles south of Lima). Yet his dream would be cut short after the U.S. State Department reached an agreement with the Peruvian government to arrest Japanese Peruvians and deport them to internment camps (then euphemistically termed "relocation" or "alien detention" camps) in the United States to exchange them for American prisoners of war in territories controlled by Japan. Higashide avoided the

military draft in Japan because he lived in Peru; however, he could not avoid his arrest and eventual deportation by Peruvian authorities. He was detained for two and a half years in two internment camps, "nowhere" places or heterotopias that hypocritically tried to replicate a normal society. To put it in Foucault's words, these internment camps in the United States, in contrast with Nazi concentration camps, tried to replicate a "normal" and free society and were

<EX>something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. ("Of Other Spaces," 24)<\>

The deported Japanese Latin Americans were initially relocated to some of the ten internment camps administered by the War Relocation Authority, where they lived alongside the 110,000 Japanese Americans deported from Hawaii and the U.S. West Coast. Later on, however, they were lodged in two detention camps run by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in southern Texas (Kenedy and Crystal City), as well as in an all-male camp in Santa Fe, New Mexico: "Between April 1942 and April 1945 approximately eighteen hundred Peruvian Japanese were interned in the United as despairing women and children joined their husbands and fathers. They represented 80 percent of all the Latin American Japanese interned in the United States, the remainder having been seized in and transported from twelve other countries" (Gardiner, viii). Initially, thirteen states entered the treaty that resulted in the shipment of

at least 8,500 Axis nationals from Latin America and the Caribbean to the United States during World War II: Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama (including the Panama Canal Zone, then controlled by the United States), and Peru. Later, British Honduras (Belize), Chile, Cuba, and Paraguay would join the list. Within the context of the dark chapter of the deportation of Japanese Latin Americans to U.S. internment camps, the publication and translation of Adiós to Tears is an invaluable document that allows us to hear the story from the victims' perspectives.

<S1>Adiós to Tears as a Testimonio<\>

The narration of this betrayal by the Peruvian government is precisely what makes Adiós to Tears a testimonial account: the first-person narrator goes from an explanation of his individual trials to become the synecdochical voice of all members of the Nippo-Peruvian community during World War II. Higashide also turns his testimonial into a collective account by incorporating the accounts and testimonials of other subaltern voices such as Sentei Yagi's. To make sure that the book's main message does not get lost among the accounts of Japanese economic success in Peru in the first chapters and his own pursuit and realization of the American Dream in the last ones, a decade after the first publication of Adiós to Tears, an eighty-four-year-old Higashide adds an afterword to the English translation where he explicitly voices his demands: "It is imperative that the US proceed to complete the repair by extending redress to all the Latin American deportees whose rights, wealth, homes and reputation were taken away. It is my fervent prayer and request of this my third and final motherland" (246).¹

As is typical of the Latin American testimonio, Adiós to Tears was the first work published by a testimonialist, who was not a professional author, but rather a witness and a victim of international repression. This fact, along with the referential nature of the text, explains the numerous digressions and reiterations. Also in consonance with the tradition of the testimonio, Higashide's main goal is not aesthetics. In fact, early in the narrative, he acknowledges his own shortcomings in this field; rather, his writing responds to a twofold commitment. First, Higashide's desire to inform the historical memory and conscience of Peru, the United States, and Japan gives the book pedagogical overtones. Secondly, ethical concerns are at the core of most arguments: he denounces sociopolitical injustice and corruption, moves the reader to collective political action, and demands a public apology from the U.S. government as well as redress for those Latin American Nikkei deported to U.S. internment camps. As we will see, he also exposes the shortcomings of the Nippo-Peruvian community (although self-criticism separates this text from other Latin American testimonial accounts). In all, the testimonialist hopes that his voice will provide formerly interned Japanese Latin Americans with political agency and, as important, with an entry in the World War II history. For this reason, from the onset of the narrative (as is common in most Latin American testimonials), he declares his assertions to be historical truth: "The events recorded here are all true. The names of people and places are real, except in a few instances where I felt offense might be taken" (8).

Although the testimonialist's children urge him to write his life's story, it is clear from the onset of this account that he directs it to a wider audience, in spite of using his native language. His book is part of an effort that expanded throughout his life in the United States (sending letters

to members of Congress and even to President Ronald Reagan) to seek justice and redress for his fellow Japanese Latin Americans whose civil rights were flagrantly violated during World War II. When Higashide and his peers discovered that the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians created by the U.S. Congress in 1981 was focusing solely on the abuses committed against 110,000 Japanese Americans, they decided that it also had to hear from former Japanese Latin American internees. They were determined to expose how they were arrested or kidnapped between 1942 and 1944, imprisoned without charge in their respective Latin American countries, and transported at different times in seven different evacuation ships and an army transport airplane to Panama and the United States.

Throughout the account of this sadly bizarre chapter in wartime history, the testimonialist affirms the authority of his voice as an eyewitness and as one of the victims who lived those tragic events. Of course, as in most testimonials, readers have to take into account the input of editors (who organized and selected information, added photographs, and so on) and others who glossed his text (there is a foreword by the historian C. Harvey Gardiner, a preface by Elsa H. Kudo, and an epilogue by Julie Small). Moreover, as any autobiographical text, Adiós to Tears is, by definition, subjective, and thus it goes through a process of selection of memories that can lead to modifications or exaggerations of events. Higashide admits to having consulted historical studies and interviewed other witnesses. He also acknowledges his own limitations and his memory's shortcomings through the use of disclaimers such as: "If my memory does not fail me" (146); "What occurred in Ica after my telegram arrived has been told to me from a variety of angles. By reconciling such accounts, the following seems to have happened" (151). In any case, the veracity of Higashide's perspective can be corroborated by contrasting it to

historical studies such as Gardiner's Pawns in a Triangle of Hate, Barnhart's "Japanese Internees from Peru," Emmerson's chapter "Japanese and Americans in Peru," and Personal Justice Denied, a report of the United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

<S1>Japanese Emigration to Peru<\>

As stated, Japanese emigration to Latin America began in the spring of 1899 when the Sakura Maru (a vessel of the Japan Mail Line [Nippon Yūsen Kaisha]) docked at the port of Callao with 790 laborers destined for Peru's sugar plantations and refineries. According to their four-year contracts, they would work ten hours a day in a plantation or twelve hours in a sugar mill, receiving annually the equivalent of twenty British pounds and ten shillings in Peruvian currency. This seemingly lucrative arrangement also included a clause by which Japanese laborers would receive no pay whenever they fell ill. Malaria, bubonic plague, typhus, and other diseases would not only decrease their salaries but also cause the death of 150 of the first immigrants. According to Higashide, this high death toll was not surprising to the Japan-based emigration company or to Peruvian planters: "Peruvian employers and the emigration company in Japan had, it seems, foreseen this. The two parties had worked out agreements to reduce their respective losses. Not a cent was provided to the families of the immigrants who died from illnesses" (53). Lured by the emigration company's promise of rapid wealth, 1,080 additional workers arrived in Peru in 1903, all with four-year contracts. Three years later, 776 more followed, and they had to repay their one-hundred-yen ship fare by signing a shorter six-month contract. By 1909, when Japanese workers began to be sent to cotton and sugarcane plantations along the Peruvian coast, contracts were signed for one year through 1922, the year the contract system

disappeared (55). Many others probably entered Peru illegally because, as the third secretary of the American embassy in Peru, John K. Emmerson, clarifies, "It was common knowledge that Peruvian passports were on sale to both Chinese and Japanese in Yokohama, Macao, and Hong Kong" (130--31). Incidentally, this phenomenon of undocumented Asian immigration continues today, as Peru has recently become a stepping stone for Chinese immigrants from Fujian and Guangdong whose final destination is the United States.

Higashide became familiar with the trials and tribulations of these first Japanese immigrants through his conversations with sixty-year-old Sentei Yagi (spelled Yagui in Moromisato and Inami's Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú), a senior leader in the Japanese community and a naturalized Peruvian citizen who had also been deported to an internment camp in Panama. Decades earlier, Yagi had given refuge in his home to many Japanese contract immigrants that had managed to escape the miserable working conditions and inhumane treatment typical of Peruvian cotton farms and sugarcane plantations. When these escapees were caught on their way to Lima, Yagi remembered, they were harshly beaten and returned to the plantations. Although some died in his house, Yagi took many sick laborers on horseback to a hospital in Lima; once they were healthy, he found jobs for them. Later, he collected donations from fellow Japanese nationals to build a facility to provide shelter to escapees. Yagi told Higashide that, on one occasion, he saw the corpses of two Japanese laborers in Cañete's immigrant cemetery, and when he asked immigrants why they had not been buried, he received this response: "If funeral services were held for one or two persons there would be complaints from employers because a number of people would have to leave work to attend to duties connected with those funerals. Thus, . . . when a number of corpses accumulated, a joint funeral was held" (148).

When the bodies were finally buried, Yagi remembered, only their names appeared, handwritten in pencil on strips of paper or with India ink on wooden strips taken from boxes. These were their only grave markers.

<insert figure 2 about here>

Exhibiting an extraordinary capacity for upward social mobility, after their contracts were over, some Japanese migrants leased land parcels and continued farming. Most, however, moved to the cities, especially to Lima and Callao, where they worked as barbers, bakers, and coffeehouse owners, or opened restaurants, bazaars, and other types of stores. Their preference for the Peruvian coast, as we will see, would make them suspicious to American intelligence agencies during World War II. By 1923, explains Gardiner, 17,764 Japanese had been transported to Peru, and by 1938, the thirteen Japanese commercial associations in Lima had 967 members (4--6). Emmerson also provides significant data on their rapid and impressive economic success in numerous areas of the Peruvian economy (133). Eventually, however, their economic prowess brought about resentment on the part of the majority population, who disliked these immigrants' monopoly in certain economic sectors.

<S1>Higashide's First Imprisonment: The Nippo-Peruvian Community and Its Values<\>

Before being detained in two internment camps in the United States, Higashide suffered a sort of psychological imprisonment. Trying to escape a Japanese society that had become too small for him, and impressed by the numerous achievements of the Japanese community in Peru, he decided to emigrate to that country. Once there, however, his enthusiasm soon turned to disappointment: "Contrary to my dreams and visions of a larger, more exciting world of opportunities, I found myself in the year 1930, embedded in the small, closed

world of Japanese immigrants in South America. Their world was even more narrow than the society I had left!" (7). Additional surprises would follow. In Peru, many peruvianized Japanese had become Roman Catholic and had adopted the local tradition of forbidding daughters to go on dates without a chaperone. Likewise, they had lost the tradition of addressing people in an indirect and polite way, becoming instead much more direct and blunt. Politeness, as is well known, has a special place in the Bushidō, the samurai code of conduct:² "Politeness is a poor virtue, if it is actuated only by a fear of offending good taste, whereas it should be the outward manifestation of a sympathetic regard for the feelings of others. It also implies a due regard for the fitness of things, therefore due respect to social positions" (Nitobe, 51).

The Japanese temperament in Peru had also been transformed. As in the rest of Peruvian society, they had become more informal, and they even used, as expressions of familiarity, derogatory terms that derided their peers' physical defects. Among other adopted local traits and habits, they now served beer at social gatherings, which regularly turned into parties and often resulted in fights: "At times, arguments and scuffles broke out, but someone would always step between the opponents to reconcile them. Often, the opposing parties would start drinking together again with their differences completely forgotten" (52). Albeit anecdotal, these passages about Nippo-Peruvian hybridity somewhat contradict Higashide's argument about the separatism and voluntary isolation of the Nippo-Peruvian community as some of the causes for their mistrust among the Peruvian majority.

The testimonialist emphasizes the strong bonds, closeness, and intimacy among Peruvian Nikkei, relations that helped them retain their Japanese identity while easing their transition to the new culture. One of the

originally Nippo-Peruvian traditions was the live-in "working guest." Almost every financially stable home, he informs, accommodated and provided the basic needs for one or two "working guests," who were accepted as part of the family. They were neither employees nor guests, but recent immigrants and "drop outs" from earlier immigration waves who helped out in the household or in the family's business without pay. To avoid overstaying their welcome, they would move from house to house. Throughout Higashide's text, this deliberately ambiguous phenomenon is sometimes portrayed as an example of admirable generosity, while at other times it came across as a trap for exploitation and unpaid work. In fact, thinking that he was employed by the Araki Company, Higashide inadvertently became a "working guest" for two years, during which time he received no pay. He continues with his ambivalent discourse, expressing his gratitude to the Arakis while simultaneously hinting exploitation and pointing out the dangers of falling into this dead-end situation: "While they were sustained in that way there also was no future for them. No matter how long they continued under such an arrangement, there was no possibility for them to accumulate a 'nest egg' for the future in order to attain their independence" (53).

On the other hand, the strong network of social relations within the Nippo-Peruvian community precluded new immigrants from assimilating into mainstream society. According to Higashide, its self-containment and confinement prevented young Japanese men, for example, from getting acquainted with Peruvian women or marrying them. Because for some time after immigration began there were very few Japanese females in Peru, these immigrants had to go to Japan to find brides who would return with them. Emerson also points out this Nippo-Peruvian idiosyncrasy: "The Japanese, unlike the other races, including the Chinese, did not mix. They sent for picture brides from Japan;

more than half of the Japanese population was female in contrast to 5 percent for the Chinese, a fact that contributed to the solidarity of the Japanese colony" (136). However, Higashide clarifies, only wealthy Japanese were able to afford the voyage; many others remained single for life. Other factors preventing assimilation were the lack of familiarity with the Spanish language of many Japanese and the refusal of first-generation immigrants to allow their Nisei children to marry people from what they considered "a third-rate country." Higashide distances himself from these traditional values: "I did not feel that Japanese were superior, nor that Peruvians should be looked down upon as inferior . . . If any of them [his children] chose to marry a Peruvian, I would not have opposed it simply on the notion of race or nationality" (76).

Higashide devotes several pages to praising the prevalence of diligence, generosity, closeness, and solidarity among Peruvian Nikkeijin. Yet he notices that the same commendable diligence, work ethic, and capacity for upward social mobility in his culture were also the cause of numerous clashes among Japanese business owners in Peru. He recalls, for instance, the dubious "honor" of being elected president of the Ica Japanese Association, a ploy by his malicious business competitors to place responsibility on him in order to stop his business success: "I came to see that I had upset merchants with similar shops who had been in business from earlier years. One of those in the same type of business as ours, upset by the opening of our shop, stepped forward to lead the campaign to elect me. It was a typically Japanese move, formally expressed as goodwill, but was actually a 'stab in the back'" (96). In this remark we again find self-criticism against Japanese culture. As he expounds, new shop openings were often the cause of friction because they needed the approval of the Ica Japanese Association. Since this association

handled the legislative, administrative, and judicial needs of the Japanese residents in Ica, its bylaws were more stringent than local ordinances or even the Peruvian constitution. Higashide, as its president, had to solve numerous problems and deal with his countrymen's subterfuges: "Matayoshi appealed to my ethical sense with typically Japanese expressions couched in ambiguity so that they could not be pinned down either as a strict procedural appeal or as a plea for sympathy" (98). On occasion, he had to request the aid of the Japanese consulate in Lima.

Another source of conflict was the class antagonism between contract labor immigrants and so-called "free immigrants" (i.e., those sent to Peru by large organizations such as the emigration company or government agencies): "I heard, until I thought calluses would form on my ears, about the resentments that the contract immigrants held against the intellectual immigrants. They felt the free immigrants took too much pride in the 'Chrysanthemum Emblem' of the Japanese Consulate. The free immigrants, in turn, denigrated the contract emigrants" (97). Together with class divisions, the almost unbridgeable generational gap between Issei and their Nisei Peruvian children also complicated social relations within the Nippo-Peruvian community. Higashide himself was not free from prejudice. Although later, when recounting his wife's fearless and stoic behavior in the face of adversity, he admits to his underestimation of Nisei women, the testimonialist confesses that an Issei newcomer from Japan would have been his first choice for a partner: "Although the only hope for me was to marry a young Nisei lady, I still had problems with that alternative. Realizing it might sound high-handed to say so, I still felt that the second generation young girls did not fit my idealized image of a bride. I felt I needed a person who would understand me and work with me, someone to whom I could reveal my innermost feelings" (77). Nisei women's lack

of fluency in Japanese language and culture presented a serious obstacle for Higashide and other first-generation immigrants. Later, while living in the United States, he finally came to grips with the possibility that his children might marry non-Japanese partners: "It would be impractical to insist that our children marry only those of the same ethnic group" (221). It is interesting to note, however, that he uses the adjective "impractical" rather than "wrong."

Influenced by the Peruvian lifestyle, Nisei were much more easygoing than the methodical Issei immigrants. According to Higashide, this behavioral split created resentment on both sides. First-generation immigrants excluded Nisei from decision making, as they deemed their demeanor lazy and un-Japanese. By contrast, Higashide continues, Nisei in the United States held the upper hand: "There was a big difference between the Issei in Peru, who always looked back to their homeland and rejected assimilation with Peruvian society, and the Issei in America who were forced to look to the future and, whether they wanted to or not, were under great pressure to assimilate into American society" (220).

Finally, Higashide recalls the disruption of a cohesive discourse among interned Japanese Peruvians when the majority decided to be repatriated (or deported for a second time to a country that many of them had never seen) to Japan; three hundred wished to remain in the United States while others opted to return to Peru: "For those who returned to Japan during that period from the end of 1945 through early 1946, those of us who insisted on remaining in the United States must have seemed totally unreasonable. . . . We were pitied or detested, and were laughed at even to our faces" (174). Gardiner quotes similar remarks by Nippo-Peruvian internees that reflect the chasm among its

ranks. He also cites Higashide as the one who was most determined to stay in the United States in spite of all the ad hominem attacks.

Therefore, Adiós to Tears is not a mere eulogy of the Nippo-Peruvian community or a denunciation of the illegal kidnappings and deportations of persons of Japanese descent with legal residence in Latin America carried out by Peruvian and American authorities. Higashide also provides examples of corruption and objectionable behavior among his peers. He avoids reaching Manichaeistic conclusions along ethnic lines by pointing out how, when his wife was leaving Ica to meet him in Crystal City's internment camp, no one in the Japanese community went to bid her farewell; only non-Japanese Peruvian friends acknowledged her parting: "She came to understand directly and truly that people's kindnesses have nothing to do with race or nationality. They were simply good people. We eventually lost contact with many of them, but their warm friendship remains firmly in our hearts to this day" (153). Likewise, Higashide accuses a former employee, Yamashita, of keeping for himself the money coming from the sales of merchandise that was sold after Higashide's wife left for the United States. Since she had been unable to sell everything before leaving for Texas to reunite with her husband, she had asked the employee to sell the rest and then send her the money. While Higashide excuses Yamashita's actions by placing them in the context of wartime havoc, he nonetheless shames him by providing his real name several times in his accusation.

<insert figure 3 about here>

Beyond the condemnation of American wartime propaganda, Higashide also ponders additional factors behind the anti-Japanese riots during World War II. Throughout the testimony, he praises the cohesiveness and organization of the Nippo-Peruvian community as well as its deep-rooted network of support. He

proudly describes, for example, the community's efforts to organize school committees in charge of financing and operating Japanese schools. On the other hand, he criticizes their voluntary isolation from Peruvian society, which created a "nation within a nation" (77). Gardiner concurs with this perception of Nippo-Peruvian insularity: "Love of homeland and a shared conviction that Japanese culture was superior, in addition to the initially held belief that Peru was just an interlude in their lives, encouraged the formation of organizations that emphasized their Japanese nature" (6). He also maintains that their retention of Japanese citizenship, useful for legal protection, "represented a monstrous irritant to Peruvian pride" (68). Along these lines, Higashide states that Peruvian Nikkei were partly at fault for their feeling of cultural superiority, their refusal to identify with the host country, and their obstinacy toward naturalization (incidentally, he too kept his Japanese citizenship in Peru): "The anti-Japanese movement that later arose in Peru was related to that exclusiveness and sense of discrimination held by the Japanese immigrants" (76--77). This attitude was sometimes reflected in the tradition of sending children to study in Japan.

Higashide lists other causes behind the new anti-Japanese sentiment, including the facts that they were the last wave of immigrants, that they reached rapid economic success, and that most made the poor decision to congregate in Lima, instead of settling throughout the country. Therefore, economic rivalry in urban areas and, in particular, in the capital city, became a culture medium for inter-ethnic friction. Japanese newcomers were seen as intruders by Peruvian small business owners, who seized the opportunity to eliminate a competition that they deemed unfair. As Emerson remembers, "So-called patriotic Peruvians, inspired by economic motives, vied with each other to give information---for a price---to the various competing

American agencies about suspected acts of sabotage or suspicious persons or incidents that suggested espionage" (137).

Self-criticism in Adiós to Tears is directed not only at the Nippo-Peruvian community but also at the testimonialist himself. In a brief passage, he admits having betrayed a fellow Japanese national. Knowing that presidents of Japanese associations were being repatriated to Japan, when Higashide was interrogated by the police, he mentioned that the Ica Japanese Association had been dissolved but that the last president before him had been a man named Yamashiro. The following are his remorseful thoughts: "Because of my response to the police, Mr. Yamashiro had been sent back to Japan, and I could not bring myself to face members of his family. If I had not mentioned Mr. Yamashiro's name, I thought, or if I had not immediately had the association dissolved at the declaration of war, I as president of the association would have been the one sent back to Japan" (118).

<S1>Nippophobia in Peru<\>

As Higashide explains, of the 2,118 persons of Japanese descent (2,264, according to Stephanie Moore) deported from thirteen Latin American countries, 84 percent came from Peru and 1,094 were "family members who responded to the US State Department's summons to voluntarily join their interned fathers [and husbands], following a scathing protest by the Japanese government that the US was inhumanely allowing women and children left behind to suffer" (177). The United States did not consider the Japanese communities of Latin American countries on the Atlantic Ocean, such as Brazil and Argentina, as big a threat as the one in Peru. Moreover, the governments of these two countries were not as eager to collaborate with the United States as President Manuel Prado Ugarteche's (1889--1967; president of Peru, 1939--1945, 1956--1962) cabinet

was. As stated, only 79 persons of Japanese descent (mostly Nisei and naturalized Peruvians) were allowed to return to Peru after the war.³ That the Peruvian government refused to accept the re-entry of deported Japanese alien residents after the end of World War II proves that it had seen the armed conflict as an opportunity to rid itself of its unwanted Japanese presence. We find additional evidence of Peruvian authorities' aversion to Peruvian Nikkei in that they demanded (as did their counterparts from Ecuador and El Salvador) a selective repatriation policy that "would be lenient for Germans and highly restrictive for Japanese," even though the latter were considered harmless by Washington and the former, dangerous (Gardiner, 132).

In most cases, Peruvian Nikkei were arrested without evidence of illegal activity or charges; also, no hearings were considered necessary, and their assets in Peru were confiscated before they were deported to an unknown destination. To Higashide's dismay, among the 1,000 Japanese Peruvians corralled and deported in the name of the Western Hemisphere's security were not only resident aliens but also native-born Peruvians and naturalized citizens (although some had been denationalized by a measure targeting persons supporting the Axis powers and Nisei who had received their formal education in Japan). When ethnic Japanese and their friends protested, regional and governmental officials refused responsibility by stating: "The American Government has given us orders" (Gardiner, 91).

According to Personal Justice Denied, a report prepared by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, before any deportations occurred, almost 500 Japanese Peruvians (978, according to Emmerson, 139) had requested repatriation to their country of birth at the Spanish embassy in Lima---it represented Japan's interests in Peru and was its overseer for Japanese Latin American internees (308). While most of the first

141 deportees leaving Callao on April 4, 1942, aboard the SS Etolin were volunteers, the majority of the other Peruvian Nikkei in the internment camps had been forcibly deported, with the exception of those family members who wished to be reunited with a close relative in an internment camp. After the end of the war, given that neither Peru nor the United States would admit them, over 700 Nippo-Peruvian men and over 1,000 family members chose relocation to Japan (Barnhart, 174). Another 300 remained in a legal limbo as "stateless" refugees in the United States. In September of 1946, they were finally offered "parole" relocation to a farming community in Seabrook, New Jersey, and 209 of them agreed to move there as parolees (at first, Seabrook Farms did not accept large families like Higashide's, but after they saw the productivity of Nippo-Peruvian workers, this large food processing company agreed to accept them as well). Therefore, in spite of having been forcibly and illegally transferred by the U.S. government, Latin American Japanese were now considered "illegal aliens on conditional release" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 8). Since their passports had been confiscated before arriving in the United States and the State Department had forbidden American consuls in Latin America to issue visas to the Japanese Latin American deportees, they entered the country "illegally," according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Gardiner, 29). This strange situation, designed to justify a second deportation or repatriation to Japan, would continue until 1954, when they were finally given entry visas.

Gardiner reveals that contacts between the Peruvian and U.S. governments regarding deportation and internment of Japanese Peruvians had begun during the 1938 Pan American Conference in Lima (10). Three decades after the events took place, Emmerson described the disposition of President Prado's cabinet in these terms: "Rarely has a foreign government

cooperated so enthusiastically in actions urged by Washington" (135). As Higashide notes, in the late 1930s, U.S. intelligence agencies realized that a large number of officials in several Latin American countries, including Peru, Argentina, and Chile, were increasingly showing estrangement from the United States and expressing their affinity with the Axis powers. In June 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, determined to reverse this situation, asked J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to post agents in U.S. embassies throughout Latin America to carry out intelligence-gathering operations.⁴ Their objective was to encourage South American governments to promote animosity toward the Axis powers among the civilian population and to supervise the activities of pro-Axis sympathizers and "potentially dangerous" Axis nationals (mostly, community leaders) to prevent subversive propaganda, espionage, or sabotage. Following these agents' recommendations, the Peruvian government adopted a series of discriminatory measures that are revealing, not only of the abuse of civilians (both nationals and resident aliens) in wartime but also of the hegemonic relations between Washington and many Latin American governments during this period: the government closed Nippo-Peruvian schools and organizations, deporting their teachers and leaders; withdrew firearm licenses and sometimes required safe conduct, an official document that allowed ethnic Japanese passage through Peruvian territory if they wished to travel from city to city; removed telephones from Nippo-Peruvian homes and censored their mail; and relocated Japanese Peruvians from strategic areas, especially from coastal towns, an action that often resulted in unemployment for these men (Emmerson, 137--38). Later, in exchange for the collaboration of the Peruvian government, the United States donated weapons to Peru. In any case, Prado's surprising

willingness to comply with the United States also suggests that he saw these anti-Japanese measures as beneficial to the country.

Lacking language competence in Japanese, and often trusting questionable Peruvian sources, FBI agents spread rumors about the "military-type" organization of the Nippo-Peruvian community and its plans to create a "fifth column." They also exaggerated the number of males in that population and the percentage who had served in the Japanese army (Gardiner, 10). By the same token, Gardiner cites U.S. Ambassador R. Henry Norweb's eagerness to improve diplomatic relations with Peru (a country that could make a significant economic contribution to the war) by helping its government rid itself of the "threat" posed by residents of Japanese descent, as had been done in Panama (13--14). Emmerson implicitly recognizes the deportees' innocence when he discloses that they looked for "individuals who by their influence or position in the community, their known or suspected connections in Japan, or by their manifest loyalty to Japan, could be considered potential subversives" (139). A few pages later, he admits, "During my period of service in the embassy, we found no reliable evidence of planned or contemplated acts of sabotage, subversion, or espionage. Stories that many adult male Japanese in Peru held commissions in the imperial army and navy were never verified" (148). Moreover, as Personal Justice Denied exposes, although Emmerson and the American embassy in Peru had realized by the summer of 1943 that Japanese Peruvians posed no threat to security, the deportation program continued (310).

Many Peruvians willingly collaborated with the perfidious political designs of these government officials. According to Higashide, Chinese shopkeepers were also suspected of collaboration with American instigators. With no proof to back up this speculation, he considers business competition and the Japanese invasion of China as plausible incentives: "Chinese shop

owners posted reproductions of the Chinese flag on the exterior of their shops to indicate that they were not Japanese. . . . Because of these actions, there was a current of suspicion within the Japanese community that the Chinese residents had participated in inciting the violence" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 110). Indeed, Chikako Yamawaki has indicated that, by this time, Chinese saw Japanese shopkeepers as competitors. However, she also details cases in Estrategias de vida de los inmigrantes asiáticos en el Perú (Life Strategies of Asian Immigrants in Peru) proving that this animosity was caused by the war: "Before the War of the Fifteen Years (the Sino-Japanese War of 1931--1945) there was a close personal and commercial relationship between Chinese and Japanese immigrants."⁵ According to Yamawaki, after 1950, the Chinese and Japanese communities in Peru returned to the friendly relations and cooperation they had enjoyed before the war (120).

Higashide's guess about Chinese motives for undermining the Japanese is confirmed by Emmerson when he writes in his memoirs about the Chinese informants who aided the U.S. embassy: "I tried to suppress any awkward thoughts that our lavishly hospitable Chinese hosts might be inspired, not only by patriotic zeal for the Allied cause, but by a back-of-the-mind coveting of their enemies' business" (143). According to Gardiner, however, although Sino-Peruvian merchants were happy to see their Japanese competitors included in the Proclaimed List, lack of close contact with the Nippo-Peruvian community since the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937--1945) severely limited the amount of information they could provide. In any case, the FBI's tactics would soon yield the expected results:

<EX>In 1939, outrageous rumors began flying about, and disquieting developments were reported from various parts of Peru. Completely unsubstantiated reports that the Japanese in Peru had organized a "fifth

column," that they had secretly built a military base, that they had landed large shipments of arms and ammunition somewhere in South America, etc., came to be rumored as if completely true. (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 103)⁶<\>

<TXNI>During the months that followed, public opinion about Peruvian Nikkei gradually shifted from indifference (or perhaps passive prejudice and economic jealousy) to radical distrust and animosity. In turn, Peruvian government officials capitalized on this historic event to rid themselves of a social group they obviously despised. Some of them, such as Dr. Javier Correa Elías, the secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Pedro Beltrán, the Peruvian ambassador to the United States, were in favor of the deportation of all Japanese nationals in Peru (Gardiner, 64, 106).<\>

Following unsubstantiated rumors about a potential landing of the Imperial Japanese Army in Peru and about the stockpiling of weapons by Japanese residents, many were inhumanely removed from coastal areas or given only three days to relocate outside these areas: "In order to enforce the expulsion order, the governor of Ancash Province went out himself, snapping a bullwhip, to force out local Japanese" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 127). Those destined for Talara were transported through the desert in the extreme summer heat for two and a half days, in uncovered military trucks and without food provisions. Others met an even more tragic fate: several members of the group that was moved to the Huaraz region (the mountain town of Huaraz is 10,000 feet above sea level) could not adjust to the unfavorable climate and died of disease. Higashide denounces other unjust practices, such as sending government auditors to Japanese-owned shops to confiscate profits from daily sales, allowing their owners only a prescribed amount for their daily expenses. Soon, he expounds, all large Japanese-owned businesses, so harassed

by this economic warfare, were forced to close for financial reasons, or were simply ordered to close. Those who benefitted from this economic warfare were once again their business rivals: Chinese merchants who were able to buy Japanese businesses after the Peruvian government shut them down, and Japanese small businesses because of the lack of competition from larger ones.

<insert figure 4 about here>

Higashide provides one last example of anti-Japanese inflammatory propaganda in Peru. In the last days of 1942, the FBI became aware of a new fashion trend among Japanese Peruvians and managed to turn it into the so-called "people's uniform incident": a tailor in Lima, inspired by the latest Japanese fashion, decided to use khaki-colored cloth to make what the FBI inaccurately claimed were "military uniforms."⁷ The tailor's explanation that the uniforms were simply a cost-saving measure in wartime Peru was unconvincing. Immediately following the FBI's reports, twenty tailor-shop employees and those who had placed orders were arrested, deported to an internment camp in Panama, and thus forced to leave their families behind. Higashide finds this incident so deeply absurd that he resorts once again to humor: "One felt compassion for them, but when one imagined Japanese residents of Peru dressed in 'people's uniforms' boarding military aircraft it seemed somewhat comical. Exactly as the rumors had purported, the Japanese 'people's army' of Peru was making a move" (127--28). Emmerson also remembers with sarcasm this "atmosphere of suspicion and distrust---where every Japanese barber was assumed to be an admiral in disguise and every Japanese tailor a constant recipient of secret orders from Tokyo (suspicious documents and uniforms in at least one instance turned out to be relics of the Russo-Japanese war)" (127--28).

In addition to the spreading of false rumors, another tactic used by U.S. intelligence agents was the drafting of a blacklist of dangerous Axis nationals known as the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: "Shivers passed through me. 'Can this really be true?' I thought. My name was included in the list. We learned that the list had been leaked to reporters by a local US agency" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 114). The Peruvian print media, which published these lists, was quick to collaborate with an American propaganda machine bent on creating distrust among the local population, disheartening and bankrupting citizens from Germany, Japan, and Italy, and expelling leaders from their communities. To use Higashide's vocabulary, dark clouds became darker when, in 1942, representatives from the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela created the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, which recommended to Latin American governments the internment of Axis nationals and the close supervision of potentially subversive activities. On January 24, 1942, the Peruvian government severed diplomatic ties with Japan, and the deportation of leaders of the Nippo-Peruvian community began.

While the strategic use of innuendo was designed to turn Peruvian public opinion against the Axis powers and its overseas citizens, a more practical reason for the forced transportation of Peruvian Nikkei to U.S. internment camps also existed: "American authorities apparently intended to transfer all 'enemy aliens' residing in South America to the United States for the purpose of exchange, if necessary, for Americans held in Japan" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 129). As Gardiner has explained, in the plans for prisoner-of-war exchanges, the Japanese government included 10 international merchants from Peru and Bolivia and 25 Japanese residents of Mexico. However, it did not request the repatriation of the 226 Peruvian Nikkei included by the United

States in its exchange list and, in fact, was not interested in that exchange. Eventually, of the 737 Latin American Nikkei (55 percent of the total exchange) used as pawns and leaving aboard the M.S. Gripsholm from New York to Japan, 484 were from Peru (Gardiner, 84).⁸ As an example of the consequences of this historic injustice, the historian Stephanie Moore cites the oral testimony of the Peruvian citizen Naeko Tamashiro (recorded by Wesley Ueunten, of the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project; Lima, Peru, March 25, 1999), where the latter remembers the horrors of her deportation to Okinawa, then under United States rule: "Not even at night could we rest . . . at night, Americans and non-Americans---there were Filipinos among the soldiers---would come to our village . . . to rape women . . . They broke into homes. Today, one can go to a court, but back then, one could only cry in silence" (n.p.; my translation).⁹

As could be expected, nativism did not appear overnight in Peru, a country where xenophobic rioting was certainly not new. Higashide mentions several historical precedents that coincided with violent revolutionary uprisings. In none of these cases, however, did Peruvian mobs exclusively target Japanese-owned shops or Japanese homes; the establishments owned by Chinese and Italian nationals were also victimized in previous lootings. He witnessed one of these attacks during the Cerro Revolution that toppled the regime of Augusto B. Leguía. As he recalls, fearing that President Leguía's pro-Japan leanings would work against them, Japanese store owners prepared for the worst by using protective shutters over their shops. Once Leguía was ousted, Japanese- and Chinese-owned shops in Lima and other cities were looted by mobs. More than half of the shops ransacked were Japanese owned. Still, Higashide insists that racial discrimination was not as prevalent in Peru as in other countries: "In Peru there was discrimination according to social

class, but, unlike the United States, there was no strong tradition of discrimination based on race. With economic success, the Caucasian community also came to respect and trust us" (102). All this would change partly because of U.S. wartime propaganda's success in turning typical examples of nativism, prejudice, and cultural friction into anti-Japanese hysteria.

By June 1936, widespread xenophobia and anti-Japanese sentiment in Peru became obvious because of newly passed laws that included immigration quotas. Four years later, immigration ended altogether, and many Nisei, particularly those who had received their formal education in Japan, were accused of being fifth columnists and saw their citizenship revoked.

Popular resentment about the economic success of Peruvian Nikkei was also taking its toll, as evidenced in these comments made by Peruvian foreign minister Alberto Ulloa: "The increase of Japanese immigration and the activity developed by these immigrants have created social unrest . . . because their conditions and methods of working have produced pernicious competition for the Peruvian workingmen and businessmen" (qtd. Barnhart, 169). But the spark that ignited radical anti-Japanese sentiment was a violent incident whose cause was business competition within the Japanese Barbers' Trade Association in Lima. Two men named Higa and Hayasaka, backed by the Japanese consulate and the two Japanese-language newspapers---the Lima Nippō (Journal of Lima, 1929-1941) and the Perū Jihō (Chronicles of Peru, 1921-1941)---were trying to reduce competition by closing certain barber shops.¹⁰ When a barber named Furuya resisted attempts to have his shop closed, the association formed a group of twenty or thirty men that invaded Furuya's home and arrested him after brutally beating him. In the process, they also injured a Peruvian woman, María Acosta, who died from her wounds. An Acosta relative happened to be the owner of a tabloid newspaper; in retaliation, he began to publish defamatory

articles directed at the Japanese. Other newspapers then began to publish articles encouraging their readers to boycott Japanese-owned shops and began to spread the same rumors circulated by the FBI about secret military activities among Japanese residents. As a result, on May 13, 1940, students at the Guadalupe Middle School in Lima staged an anti-Japanese demonstration that drew onlookers. With police consent, it soon escalated into the looting of most shops and of 630 houses owned by Japanese in Lima, Callao, and other cities. Attacks continued throughout the following day in spite of the Japanese consulate's protests. The resulting economic devastation was such that 316 persons had to be repatriated to Japan on July 14, 1940. Following the riots, the Nippo-Peruvian community, having reached 25,888 members by then, including 9,000 Nisei (Emmerson, 131), still had to endure the majority population's racial epithets, a fact that exacerbated the community's feelings of isolation and anxiety. Japanese newspapers were also strictly censored. Under Higashide's leadership, the Nippo-Peruvian community in Ica took preventive measures such as dissolving its Japanese Association, closing its Japanese-language elementary school, and avoiding large gatherings.

Although at first the United States had only requested the deportation of Axis diplomatic and consular officials, aliens considered dangerous, and some Japanese businessmen, the Peruvian government preferred to rid itself of the entire Japanese community. Widespread corruption and lack of coordination between Peruvian and American officials led to the subsequent deportation of Japanese nationals and of Peruvians of Japanese descent who were neither considered dangerous nor featured in the blacklists compiled by the American embassy. Thus, Emmerson bitterly remembers, "We prepared lists, which we presented to the Peruvian authorities. These authorities, committed at least personally if not officially, to the expulsion of all Japanese, treated our

proposed lists rather lightly. As the second and third ships departed, it became clear that the passengers who actually embarked were not the ones so carefully identified by us" (143). As mentioned, when men on the Proclaimed List escaped deportation through bribery or substitution (rich Japanese immigrants would pay less-wealthy ones to be arrested in their place), the Peruvian police simply arrested Nikkei "substitutes" at random (sometimes from Peruvian prisons) to fill quotas. Higashide vehemently condemns this dishonorable practice: "To go out to arrest any persons simply to meet quotas once the ship was anchored was simply without reason or justice. Because of this, a large number of persons not on the US lists of deportees were nevertheless sent to the United States" (129).

A notoriously anti-Japanese police chief, Moisés Mier y Terán, as well as other Peruvian officials, often used coercion to derive personal benefit. During a trip to Arequipa, Higashide had the opportunity to meet the unscrupulous Terán, who later led the repression against the Nippo-Peruvian community. His bribes, extortions, and rough tactics embodied the Peruvian correlate of the FBI-led conspiracy against Peruvian Nikkei, which was endorsed by U.S. army and navy agents. Gardiner has also recorded Chief of Investigations Terán's habit of soliciting bribes: "A reliable informant insisted that Mier y Terán . . . planned to grab the lion's share of the protection money paid by Japanese. Learning of this, [Director of Government César] Cárdenas García forced Mier y Terán to divide the booty equally" (104).

After the war, President Harry Truman signed a decree for the expulsion of all Latin American internees still in the United States, but Peru was one of twelve Central and South American countries deciding, in the 1945 international conference of American states in Mexico City, not to accept the return of their Japanese residents. So determined was the Peruvian government

not to allow their re-entry that it made its case before the United Nations. Interestingly, it requested the return of German internees, while simultaneously using the exclusionary law passed in 1940 against Japanese immigration to forbid the return of Peruvian Nikkei. Eventually, as Higashide notes, Peru allowed the return of 79 of the deportees who were Peruvian citizens. Yet 364 of the 2,118 detainees who were not allowed to return and who refused to be deported to Japan "remained in the United States with no place to go" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 177). The Spanish embassy's objections against this injustice went ignored.

<S1>Nippo-Peruvian Resistance<\>

Japanese Peruvians were not passive victims of international interests during World War II. Along with the denunciation of racism and injustice, Higashide provides examples of Japanese resistance. He recalls how, in Peru, some avoided deportation by hiding, by paying "substitutes" to take their places, or by using bribes. Once in the Texan detention camp, Higashide witnessed the defiance of the Japanese American "anti-citizenship" group, who advocated renouncing their U.S. citizenship. As he recalls, they received harsh treatment from American authorities and were placed in extremely crowded conditions. Another form of resistance used by Nippo-Peruvian internees was litigation. They followed the example of some German internees by filing habeas corpus petitions to challenge their detention, claiming that they were not natives or citizens of an enemy country, as stated in the Alien Enemies Act of 1798. When these Japanese Peruvians heard that a San Francisco attorney, Wayne M. Collins, was visiting Crystal City, they hired him to work on the habeas corpus petition on their behalf.

In other passages, Higashide transforms his subject position through acts of disidentification with his ethnic group. He is critical, for example, of the oppositional demeanor of an internee group that he calls "little frogs." Their "war of attrition" consisted in breaking chinaware, as they believed that the destruction of state property would decrease the enemy's material resources. At one point, Higashide voiced his embarrassment, an action that gained him a reputation for being pro-American: "I grew irritated by such foolishness and warned them to stop. I 'sermonized' to them that, as Japanese, they were representatives of a great civilization and were obligated to behave in a higher, more civilized manner" (159). He also praises, as he does elsewhere, the patience of the camp's administrators, who simply replaced the chinaware without complaining. On the other hand, Higashide did not mind antagonizing the most vocal internees. He once advised two young Japanese Peruvians to join a recruitment program that would send them to work outside the internment camp, although the decision was perceived by some as collaboration with the enemy. Later in the narrative, Higashide expresses again his detachment from the Japanese militaristic ideology that had survived in the isolated Nikkei community when he talks about fellow internees, a Japanese Peruvian and a Japanese American, who, upon hearing news of Japan's unconditional surrender, considered committing ritual suicide: "Speaking very loudly, the Peruvian businessman addressed the Japanese American, 'If this report is true, we should take up short swords and mutually stab each other in suicide here and now. Is that not so?'" (173). As we can see, a collective psychology that had been characterized by its cohesiveness throughout the months of internment began to gradually break apart.

Nippo-Peruvian women also confronted the manipulation of their families by international speculation. A prominent example in the testimonial is the

heroic demeanor of Higashide's wife, first while she hid her husband in an underground secret room in their house, and later, when she was left behind in Peru. During these trying times, her courage challenged the testimonialist's early doubts about the character of Nisei---she proved to be a "true daughter of Japan" and a good follower of the "way of the warriors" (131; with this last phrase, Higashide is referring to the Bushidō). After all, according to Nitobe, "The tripod that supported the framework of Bushido was said to be Chi, Jin, Yu, respectively Wisdom, Benevolence, and Courage" (85). Gardiner also mentions the rage of Nippo-Peruvian women when they were ordered to clean toilets and bathrooms aboard the USS Cuba and suggests an explanation for their behavior that perhaps only reflects his own prejudice and chauvinism: "The outspokenness of the Japanese women, contradicting their usual quiet and self-effacing demeanor, possibly derived from the moral and psychological reinforcement their husbands provided" (94).

At a personal level, Higashide also proudly describes his own defiance of the establishment. First, he avoided the government's economic boycott against Japanese nationals by becoming his wife's "shop manager": he closed the shop and opened a new one with a business permit in her name, hoping that her status as a Peruvian citizen would prevent the closing of their business. Later, in a new example of ingenuity, he outwitted Peruvian authorities by hiding in his own home. In the room he excavated there, Higashide was able to listen to broadcasts from Japan, for he had connected the antenna of his shortwave radio to the antenna of a neighboring school. After almost a year in hiding, in January 1944 he made the mistake of thinking that it was safe to appear in public and was arrested. As had happened when he first read his name in the blacklist, he once again felt proud: "While it is debatable whether or not I was a major figure, the fact was I was the only person arrested in the

province of Ica this time. Four detectives had been sent from Lima to arrest me. Perhaps, I thought, I was a major figure after all" (136).

<S1>The Price of Social Prestige and Assimilation<\>

Aihwa Ong maintains that "in translocal strategies of accumulation, the migrant's ability to convert economic capital into social prestige is limited by the ethnoracial moral order of the host society" (25). This statement could certainly explain Higashide's trials. After a fellow Japanese national gave Higashide the Otani Company in Cañete (located in southern Lima Region), he made a conscious effort to make acquaintances beyond the imaginary (albeit seemingly insurmountable) borders of the Nippo-Peruvian community. He was interested in making these types of connections not just for business purposes but also to integrate himself with his new country or, in his own words, to have a "sense of belonging" (8). That these upper-level social groups (prominent figures in political, business, and law enforcement circles) accepted him must have seemed at first like a blessing; however, this social prestige was later deemed considerable enough to earn him the label of "dangerous" among U.S. intelligence agencies. Indeed, Higashide's success in securing the affection and support of the Peruvian elite thanks to his economic success and his leadership position in the Ica Japanese community resulted in his downfall: although he avoided involvement in political activities, he was an early victim of wartime anti-Japanese propaganda. His first reaction, Higashide confesses, was to wonder why such a young man without political affiliations, with modest economic success, living in a provincial town, and being in Peru for only a decade was included on the blacklist. Only much later would he learn the truth behind his arrest and deportation: "Rather than being influential persons or leaders within their respective communities, those on

the first list were Axis nationals who had involved themselves deeply with the local Peruvian establishment" (Higashide, Adiós to Tears, 115).

Pride and dignity (let us keep in mind that "honor until death" is one of the main principles of the samurai code Bushidō, which Higashide so admires) are two principles underlying the entire narration. As stated in Nitobe's rendition of the Bushidō, "A good name---one's reputation, the immortal part of one's self, what remains being bestial---assumed as a matter of course, any infringement upon its integrity was felt as shame, and the sense of shame (Ren-chi-shin) was one of the earliest to be cherished in juvenile education" (68). At times, in Higashide's text, these two concepts are enhanced through visual aids, as seen in the two telling photographs on page twenty-six of the English version: whereas the first one shows his father at age fifty, dressed in traditional Japanese clothing, with a humble, cheerless face, gazing down with hunched shoulders, the second one shows a twenty-year-old Higashide, wearing a European suit and bow tie and holding a prouder stance with shoulders back and chin up. This attitude led him to refuse being driven in a paddy wagon when, after almost a year in hiding, he was summoned to police headquarters in Lima in January 1944, going by taxi instead. Higashide often describes his proud demeanor in the face of deportation. First, he takes pleasure in describing the embarrassment of the chief of the Ica police, who made this remark after delivering the deportation order in March 1942: "It is truly unfortunate, but this also is the demand of the government of the United States. As you know, we are not in a position to take opposing measures. I ask that you understand that point" (119). Then, Higashide emphasizes how he kept his composure under varied circumstances: "Taking great care to express myself formally, I bowed to him and took leave of the officer" (119). He also provides a detailed depiction of the

embarrassment of an investigating officer in Lima: "I vividly recall that it was the investigating officer, rather than I who was being questioned, who avoided eye contact" (139).

At this point, the testimonialist begins to describe the humiliating experience of imprisonment and deportation. After the arrest, he was placed in a urine-soaked jail cell where he had to eat "disgusting, smelly meals" (239), while awaiting deportation to an undisclosed location. On the day of his deportation, Higashide realized that he was a "prisoner of war" as he was led down to the gangway by American soldiers carrying rifles. In a scene that is eerily reminiscent of the arrival of Chinese coolies in Latin America and the Caribbean, Nippo-Peruvian prisoners were forced to undress and surrender all their possessions. Then, they were locked into the hold of a ship that would take them to internment camps, first in Panama, where they performed unpaid hard labor, and then in the United States. Proof of the voyage's harsh conditions is that, in the seventeen days that it took the USS Cuba to reach New Orleans, the prisoners were allowed on the upper deck only three times. The 1929 Geneva Convention agreements pertaining to the treatment of prisoners of war were violated when forcing Japanese Latin American civilians into unpaid hard labor during transport and in the Panama Canal Zone. The United States also breached international law---it was prohibited to take prisoners from a nonbelligerent state to a belligerent one. Since Higashide was not travelling with his family, he was sent to Kenedy, a camp for "single men." Six months had passed after being deported from Peru when, in July 1944, he was finally reunited with his wife and five children at the "family camp" in Crystal City, Texas.

In the same manner that he displayed self-restraint and calmness, Higashide tries to demonstrate his capacity for forgiveness. Although he has

not forgotten the injustices he suffered, the last chapters emphasize his attainment of material success and spiritual harmony after months of extenuating work in the Seabrook Farms food processing plant and the hardships endured during the subsequent relocation to Chicago: he has overcome all difficulties and has not allowed resentment to ruin his life. Likewise, although having been rejected by his host countries, Peru and the United States, he still opens his book by expressing a love for these two countries equal to that felt for his native land. He is also quick to praise American agencies' excellent planning, efficiency, and efforts to accommodate and attend to the needs of "prisoners of war" in relocation camps. Yet this is not a case of Stockholm syndrome.¹¹ Throughout the narrative, Higashide never hides his disappointment with U.S. human rights violations (he had always admired the United States for its principles of freedom and equality), although these took place in wartime and the Axis nations were responsible for similar or worse injustices: "Why, then, had that country moved to take such unacceptable measures? Where was the spirit of individual rights and justice that had filled the Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution? If I termed Peru, even provisionally, a 'third rate country,' was not America, in this instance, no different?" (143).

Similarly, Higashide voices his disappointment with Peru, a country where he had found a new life and started a family. In the opening chapters of Adiós to Tears, he justifies, almost apologetically, his decision to leave an economically depressed Japan that offered him no future as an architect. The testimonialist also confesses that his first choice had always been to move to the United States (as stated, he associated America with freedom and equal opportunity), but prohibition against Japanese immigration made him consider Peru as an alternative. The Nippo-Peruvian community, as he expounds, was more

advanced than the Japanese American one, because most of its members had moved from agricultural work to own businesses in urban areas. Although the Peruvian government also prohibited free immigration, Higashide obtained a counterfeit passport. His final deportation to the United States, however, capped a series of disappointments with Peru that had begun early after his arrival, when he did not expect to find the desolate desert terrain of the Peruvian coast. He later adds a description of cultural shock upon learning about Peruvians' penchant for bribery, theft, alcohol abuse, and superstition. More importantly, he recalls his realization of Peru's betrayal:

<EX>Peru had severed diplomatic ties with Japan, but it was still a third party to the dispute.¹² Even if it had been pressured by the United States, what country with any pride and independence would have said, "Yes. We shall comply," and hand over innocent people? If it were only those with Japanese citizenship, a case might have been made. But the Peruvian government had given in to American pressure even to the point of deporting naturalized citizens and Peruvian citizens who had been born there. (142--43)<\>

Adiós to Tears is a remarkable narrative that should be included in the canon of Latin American testimonials. In it, Higashide shows how, along with the violation of human rights committed against Japanese Americans during World War II, the U.S. government went beyond its borders to recruit surrogates for the exchange of prisoners of war. Therefore, it adds a new page to the history of the Japanese diaspora and to the sad episode of the deportation of Latin American residents and citizens to U.S. internment camps. Simultaneously, as Barnhart points out, it reveals further nuances to the historical notion of citizenship in Peru and the rest of Latin America:

<EX>The drastic treatment meted out by an American state, Peru, to a group of its citizens with the encouragement and assistance of another democracy, the United States, and eventually with the sanction of all the republics of the Western Hemisphere reveals the sad level to which the status of citizenship in these democratic nations declined under the pressures of prejudice and war. (178)<\>

<TXNI>This testimonio is also crucial for understanding how foreign political propaganda (in this case that of American anti-Japanese agitators) successfully overturned Peruvian officials' widespread support for the Axis powers and turned mainstream society against their Japanese neighbors, including naturalized and native-born Japanese Peruvians. Cultural prejudice, together with economic competition and wartime anxiety, became the perfect culture medium for the re-birth of nativism, nationalistic xenophobia, racial anxiety, and ultimately, anti-Japanese hysteria.<\>

A protagonist of this deportation program, Emmerson, tries to explain the human rights violations of innocent Nikkeijin in the atmosphere of the times: "The war against Japan was a total war. After the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the enemy was deemed capable of any act, no matter how unreasonable or unlikely. As a consequence, the enthusiastic exploitation of prejudice, hatred, emotion, and covetousness became respectable and acceptable" (149). However, he also admits his shame for having participated in the deportation-internment program: "It is hard to justify our pulling them from their homes of years and herding them, whether born in Japan or in Peru, onto ships bound for a strange land, where they would live in concentration camps" (148). Emmerson's use of the term "concentration camps"---as opposed to "internment," "relocation," or "alien detention" camps---in the previous quotation is noteworthy. The end result was the tragic disruption of the lives

of hundreds of Latin American Nikkei, some of whom were separated from their families forever.

Adiós to Tears is also an important document for understanding the perception and self-perception of the Japanese diaspora in Peru and its significance in the formation of Peruvian national identity. This text, as do others in this study, challenges the traditional debates about Peruvian national identity that only consider the dichotomy between criollos and indigenous people, disregarding people of African and Asian descent. Finally, as shown, although the cosmopolitanism of "flexible citizenship" can be socially and economically rewarding in times of peace, Higashide's autobiographic, historical, and testimonial account shows its structural limits, dangers, and personal costs during wartime, regardless of how much hard-earned cultural capital and social prestige have been accumulated as a strategy for flexible positioning.

The second chapter in this section devoted to Nikkei testimonials analyzes two different books that incorporate collective voices as well as different approaches and issues, including Uchinanchu identity and nationalism. As noted, characters can identify and then disidentify with their country of origin (Peru) and their ethnic homeland (Japan). Historical divisions and occasional animosity between Okinawans and "mainland" Japanese, together with the alienating effects of the dekasegi experience, add to the complexity of the portrait of Peruvian Nikkei.<\>

<CN>2<\>

<CT>Okinawa: El reino de la cortesía and Okinawa:ú<\>

<CST>Dialogues with Nationalism and Renegotiations of (Sub)Ethnicity<\>

<TX>This chapter explores the cultural and political messages in two books that blend historical study and testimonials: Ricardo Munehide Ganaja Kamisato's Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense (Okinawa, the Kingdom of Kindness, and the Testimonial of an Okinawan Peruvian, 2008) and Doris Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro Inami's Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú (Okinawa: A Century in Peru, 2006). Both works may be conceived as part of a strategy of self-affirmation of subethnic (since many Okinawans also identify with Japanese ethnicity) Uchinanchu (Okinawan) identity within the larger ethnic Japanese community in Peru, which responds to a history of discrimination, particularly during the first years of the immigration process. The presence of a large Okinawan Peruvian community complicates Peruvians' traditional assumption of unity within the ostensibly homogeneous colonia japonesa and the notion of Nikkei identity itself. Although it is still today a taboo topic within Peru's Nikkei community, the testimonials, memoirs, and oral histories analyzed here also focus, like Higashide's testimonial Adiós to Tears, on the traumatic experiences of the 1940 anti-Japanese riots and the deportations to internment camps in the United States. Furthermore, in contrast with the post-national narratives found in subsequent chapters, these texts represent an expression of Nikkei Peruvian writing that is unapologetically nationalistic. The Okinawan ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the authors and testimonialists seem to guide the development of the narratives, even in cases where we may find, in the same text, different stages of self-identification or non-identification as Japanese

or Okinawan. Generational differences are also highlighted as representative of the evolution of Nikkei Peruvian worldviews.

<insert figure 5 about here>

In 1609, the Satsuma clan, from what is now the Kagoshima Prefecture, invaded the Ryūkyū Kingdom and forced it to pay tribute to the Satsuma and Tokugawa shogunates. To avoid conflict with China, to which the Ryūkyū Kingdom continued to pay tributes, the shogunate held back from complete annexation. Consequently, for two centuries the Ryūkyū Kingdom maintained relative autonomy and domestic political freedom. Four years after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, however, the Japanese government launched a military invasion of the kingdom and annexed its territories, renaming them Ryūkyū han. In 1879, it became the Okinawa Prefecture of Japan. Okinawans' status as second-class Japanese citizens was evidenced by their not having the right to send representatives to the National Diet of Japan (established in 1890) until 1912. The United States occupied the islands after World War II and did not return the last of them until 1972.

As Masterson points out, although Ryukyuan (or Okinawans) consider themselves culturally Japanese, they were not fully accepted by the Naichi-jin in Peru. Quoting a 1956 study by Tinger, he reveals that "nowhere else in Latin America was the division between Okinawans and the Naichi-jin as pronounced as it was in Peru" (Masterson, 64). Proof of these ethnic divisions lies with the fact that the Okinawan community created its own fraternal organizations, separate from the Naichi-jin central organizations,¹ such as the Asociación de Jóvenes Okinawenses (Okinawan Youth Association; which later became the Asociación Provincial de Okinawa [Provincial Association of Okinawa]), created in 1909, and the Asociación Fraternal Okinawense (Fraternal Okinawan Association; now called Asociación Okinawense del Perú [Okinawan

Association of Peru]), founded in 1911. The website of this last association echoes, still using an antagonistic tone, the bitter fights within the Nikkei Peruvian community throughout its history:

<EX>This new association found many critics and detractors among other groups from other Japanese prefectures. The main reason was that Okinawans maintained a different culture from that of immigrants from other prefectures. . . . Even the Japanese Consul, Kasaga, discriminated (for cultural reasons and because of the Okinawan majority) against the formation of this new association, fomenting a tense atmosphere between the Japanese diplomatic mission and this association, which lasted approximately one year. During this time, the internal struggles were generated by the Naichi against the Uchinanchu. (n.p.)²<\>

Further evidence of these tense relations is that, as Chikako Yamawaki reveals, "marriage between descendents of the Okinawa prefecture with descendents of other Japanese prefectures only began to take place after the 1950s."³ The blend of the testimonial and the historical analyzed in this chapter, along with Doris Moromisato's writings, represents an attempt to assert Okinawan cultural nationalism and to strengthen the fading links with their Okinawan cultural homeland.

Edited by Doris Moromisato, Ricardo Ganaja's first book, Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, is both a journey of individual self-exploration and a celebration of Uchinanchu (Okinawan) identity, as seen against the background of mainstream Peruvian and Naichi cultures. Although the title suggests that it is both a historical study and a testimonial, the "testimonial" part is often fictionalized, using a type of narrator and dialogues that are more commonly associated with fiction. Every chapter is divided into two parts: one historical, based on Ganaja's research (although the research of one chapter

was done by his brother), and the other testimonial, inspired by the author's experiences and memories. Perhaps closer to the memoir genre than to the testimonial, as it is normally understood in the U.S. academy, we will not find in this text, as one would expect, an explicit denunciation of sociopolitical injustice written by one of its victims. In fact, the victim of the first marginalization example provided is a non--Nikkei Peruvian boy, and the victimizers happen to be his Nikkei classmates. Moreover, rather than responding to an ethical commitment, Ganaja's main goal, as he posits in the prologue, is to leave a cultural legacy to his three children and to anyone interested in Okinawan culture. Instead of the denunciation of oppression, it is the preservation of his culture and the desire to honor his forefathers' memory that are the motivational sources to this book. Moreover, while at times Ganaja speaks for the collective voice of the Okinawan community, he also confesses that he became de-ethnicized for a long period, particularly after becoming aware of the dekasegi phenomenon. Then, as he explains, he hardly had any contact with community members: "My only contact with the Uchinanchu was when I visited the AFO [Asociación Fraternal Okinawense; Okinawan Fraternal Association], taking my Obaa [grandmother] on her wheelchair to make sure she did not get tired, where she could meet relatives and other obaasanes [grandmothers] who were her age."⁴ Actually, for most of the text Ganaja speaks either for himself or for his immediate family, often in a humorous and lighthearted manner, filled with colloquialisms and vulgarities. This approach is very different from that of typical Latin American testimonials.

Ricardo "Hide" Ganaja (1962--) is a Sansei whose grandparents immigrated from Okinawa. He is currently the director of Kyodo Real State Agency and Ganaja Motor. He decided to write the book after travelling, along with Doris

Moromisato, to Okinawa in 2006, to participate, along with the Peruvian Nikkei delegation, in the Fourth Worldwide Uchinanchu Taikai, a festival that is held every five years.⁵ After visiting the humble, wooden Okinawan house where his deceased grandmother lived before moving to Peru, Ganaja promised her that he would finish this project. The book's "acknowledgments" set the conciliatory tone that predominates throughout. After thanking his mother, his brother Pedro "Taka" Munetaka, and others for the family's preservation of Okinawan culture, Ganaja thanks his classmates at the La Unión school for teaching him to get along with "uchinanchu, perujin y naichaa" (i.e., Okinawan, Peruvian, and "mainland" Japanese people). Later, he describes how he became aware of the historical marginalization of Okinawans, and, proud of his Uchinanchu identity, he tries to avoid offending "mainland" Japanese people: "I am not trying to open old wounds between Uchinanchu and Naichi. On the contrary, I think that today no Okinawan feels marginalized, either in Japan or in any other place on the planet."⁶ Yet the author emphasizes, as does Doris Moromisato in her prologue, the unique cultural traits that differentiate Okinawan culture from that of the Naiji-jin. In fact, I argue that Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense constitutes, in part, a proud attempt to highlight these differences. This constant give and take between calls for solidarity and unity within the Japanese community (and, by extension, with the Peruvian population in general) and the proud affirmation of cultural specificity will reappear in Moromisato and Shimabukuro's Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú, although in the latter, the demand for a formal apology from the Peruvian government to the Japanese community for the abuses committed during World War II is more explicit.

The topic of national allegiance and affiliation is a leitmotif in Ganaja's book. We also perceive a series of de-ethnification and re-

ethnification processes. As we will see, at different stages of his life, Ganaja feels more Peruvian, Japanese, Nikkei, or Okinawan, according to the circumstances. Personal experiences and historical events affect how he sees himself and the cultures around him. Ganaja highlights three historical moments when the Japanese community in Peru was persecuted and oppressed, all of which made him question his allegiance to Peru and feel more loyal to Japan. First, as a child he heard from the elders in his community about the looting of May 1940 and how during World War II, the Peruvian government sided with the Americans: "Since then, I realized that it was impossible to be Peruvian, even if they forced me to sing the national anthem of Peru and even if I respected the flag, the rosette, the history. . . . I also swore never to marry a Perūjin. No matter how hard I tried to be Peruvian, the Perūjin made me think just the opposite, always in the same corner."⁷ The corner he mentions is where neighborhood children would insult him every day, using anti-Asian racial slurs. Chapter 16, written by Ganaja's brother, Pedro Munetaka, addresses a second traumatic event for the Okinawan community: half of the 1,771 Nikkei deported to the Manzanar, Crystal City, and Kenedy internment camps during Manuel Prado Ugarteche's government were of Okinawan origin, and the Peruvian government only allowed the repatriation of 68 of them (79, according to most historical records). A more recent (albeit less distressing) event took place when, immediately after Alberto Fujimori won the 1990 presidential election, several xenophobic and nativist attacks against the Japanese community were reported by the national media.

The heterogeneity of the Japanese community in Peru, and particularly the differentiation between Okinawan and Naichi cultures, is another overarching topic in the book. Thus, immediately after Doris Moromisato's prologue, Ganaja acknowledges: "In that time, I had no idea that we, Okinawans

or Uchinanchu, were different from Tafukenjin, Naichi, or Yamatunchuu. . . . I did not understand why the elderly, when mentioning a surname, would say: 'That one is an Uchinanchu, this one is a Yamatunchuu.' Neither did I understand the cultural differences, but they always told me that we were different."⁸ This ethnic and regional separatism becomes more prominent during his school days. Thus, in chapter 6, the young Hide asks his elder brother, Taka, whether he would fight for Japan or Peru in case of a war between the two countries. Without hesitation, Taka assures his brother that he would fight for Japan. Ganaja then mentions that, back then, he was unsure of whether he shared his brother's conviction. By contrast, in chapter 17, his doubts about national loyalty seem to disappear. After being denied service in a restaurant in Japan, he resents the discrimination against Spanish-speaking dekasegi and, suddenly, recalls his conversation with Taka: "I made a fist and the direction of my imaginary bullets became quite clear to me."⁹ Interestingly, by establishing parallels between Japan's ethnic relations and those in the Andean country, the author's dekasegi friend, Seiho, reminds him that Peruvians are not different from the Japanese: "If they think you are dekasegi, you are like an Indian who has just come down to Lima."¹⁰ Then, Seiho shows that he has learned an important lesson while in Japan when he begs Ganaja to be kind to indigenous people on his return to Peru. By day's end, as he does several times throughout the book, the author addresses his late grandmother directly: "I didn't feel part of this society either. Japan belonged and will belong only to the Japanese. No matter if you are Nikkei, Uchinanchu or Naichaa; white or indigenous Peruvian; here, we are all gaijin, we are all brothers, we are all pariah in this land."¹¹ In Japan, Ganaja realizes that he is considered a gaijin (foreigner); in Peru, on the other hand, he is not a

full-fledged citizen because he is perceived as a chino or a ponja.¹² He therefore disappointingly feels that he is neither Japanese nor Peruvian.

The marginalized status of the Peruvian indigenous people and that of Okinawans in Japan is likened throughout the book. The author recalls, for example, how one day a Naichi classmate hurt his feelings by telling him that, according to his grandfather, in Japan all Okinawans were considered serranos (indigenous, mountain people). Adding to his feelings of second-class citizenry, Ganaja realized that his grandmother spoke Uchinaguchi (Okinawan) instead of Nihongo (Japanese), a language that then he considered superior. At any rate, in line with the book's optimistic outlook, young Hide seems to recover quickly from these insecurities: back then, he still felt more Japanese (and especially more Okinawan) than Peruvian. Curious about these ethnic differences within the Nikkei community, he organized indoor soccer games where "red skins" (Okinawans) played against "pale faces" (Naichi-jin). Later, however, he realized that he had selected a dark-complected Naichi boy for the Okinawan team, and no one seemed to care, including the boy. All things considered, he disparages, often using an irreverent tone, the strange distinctions that Nikkei adults make: "The only thing I know with absolute conviction is that we had a lot of fun together and that the differences that the old folks would talk about were pure bullshit."¹³ Although expressed in a lighthearted tone, this is one of the central messages of the book: although cultural differences abound, these should not be cause for antagonism. Repeatedly, Hide refutes the nationalistic views of his grandparents' generation as well as the stolid regionalism of his parents. For example, he finds it ridiculous that rivalries exist between city and country people, or among those from northern, central, and southern Okinawa. He is not alone: as he does, his Nikkei classmates refuse to sing either the Peruvian or the

Japanese national anthem, and try to woo pretty girls, regardless of whether they are Uchinanchu, Naichi, or Chinese. The children of his generation, therefore, were able to overcome the resentment and condescension still predominant among their parents and grandparents.

Having studied in Nikkei schools all his life, and never leaving Barranco's Nikkei community, Ganaja was left with few options but to feel more Japanese than Peruvian. However, his time at the University of Lima coincided with a process of progressive de-ethnification that only deepened after he became aware of the negative experiences of the Peruvian dekasegi who migrated to Japan in the early 1990s to work: "The 'dekasegi phenomenon' affected me very much because we discovered that we were not equal to the Japanese but were, instead, their second-class cousins, only necessary to work in the jobs they did not want. It was hard to understand that many migrated in search of a better future, but there they were nothing but gaijin. Once again, I lost my Japanese identity."¹⁴ Like other Peruvian Nikkei, he began to have identitarian uncertainties, fluctuating from side to side or staying in a non-nationality limbo: "We were Nikkei. We were not 100 percent Peruvian, but neither were we Japanese; not even in our dreams."¹⁵ Moreover, when Ganaja asked one of his Japanese suppliers if Peruvian Nikkei were considered their equals in Japan, he sensed the latter's contempt: the supplier simply smiled, muttered something in Japanese that Ganaja could not understand, and condescendingly finished his beer. Afterward, the author admits that he stopped being so hospitable to his Japanese suppliers; Japan eventually became a thing of the past for him.

Likewise, during his second trip to Japan, Ganaja felt disappointed when he stayed with a family of Korean descent and learned that they had to adopt Japanese surnames to avoid being marginalized: "In that moment, I understood

that Japan was a peculiar country and that the German Aryan supremacy of the Second War was a children's game compared to the way some Japanese think about their blood heritage."¹⁶ The sociologist Keiko Yamanaka has also condemned this situation: "Nearly a century after their forebears began to arrive in search of a better life, Koreans remain socially stigmatized and economically segregated by the nation in which they and their parents were born and raised, whose language they speak, and whose culture they largely share" (192). These passages in Ganaja's text signal a process of progressive disidentification with the ethnic homeland. Paradoxically, the family stay also changed the poor opinion he had of those of Korean descent in Peru: "I, who feared South American Koreans, considering them 'troublemakers,' 'swindlers,' 'immoral businessmen,' and other prejudicial expressions, offered a toast to all good Koreans and not just to Man Bo Park, coach of the Peruvian national volleyball team and the only esteemed Korean in Peru."¹⁷ As we can see, the inter-ethnic distrust was not limited to the Okinawan--Naichi-jin or to the Japanese-criollo dichotomies; it also affected their relations with the Chinese, Korean, and indigenous communities. In any case, what is here are the identity transformations: Ganaja, like Augusto Higa in his testimonial Japón no da dos oportunidades, feels fully Peruvian, perhaps for the first time, upon realizing he does not belong in Japan.

By contrast, his third trip to Japan in 2006, where he participated in Okinawa's Fourth Worldwide Uchinanchu Taikai Festival, changed everything. He realized that Latin American Nikkeijin were not perceived the same throughout Japan. In fact, the author suddenly recovered the old emotional attachment to the ancestral homeland of his ancestors and became forever re-ethnified when he was fraternally welcomed in Naha. Ganaja remembers how he felt when he saw signs that read okaerinasai, meaning "welcome home." As he explains, this term

has special connotations because it is reserved for family. He also was moved when at a concert by the singer Shookichi Kina the latter asked the audience from where they came; Ganaja and his brother replied that they had come from Peru to attend the Uchinanchu Taikai Festival. The singer then openly expressed his fraternal emotions: "You are all welcome, but you, Japanese tourists, should know that they come from far away to visit the land of their ancestors. They are not tourists, they are Okinawan. This is what we feel for all the Okinawans living all over the world."¹⁸ Indeed, this episode is so important for Ganaja's identitarian self-construction that he included it in the first of the twenty-one chapters. He describes at length how well he was received in Okinawa and how it made him draw closer to his Uchinanchu identity. Impressed by the beauty of the seascapes and the hospitality of its people, the author also feels at home in Okinawa because people share his dark complexion, unlike the Japanese and Koreans who, according to him, are taller and lighter complected. More importantly, in the book, the acceptance of overseas Okinawans as equals marks yet another cultural difference with respect to "mainland Japanese," who tend to dismiss Nikkei as gaijin.

As seen, although Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía does not describe the type of repression or marginalization that is typical of Latin American testimonials, undoubtedly a common thread of ethnic and racial animosity is present. The generational gap is also evinced. While young Hide had noticed that a Japanese neighbor always stayed away from him and his family, considering them inakanchuu (a derogative term used against Okinawans, meaning mountain people), he does not understand his own family's narrow-mindedness: "The truth is that I didn't give a damn about these types of distinctions. For me, we were all the same, but different from the Perujin. Above all, we were friends. . . . Old geezers' stuff. Screw them!"¹⁹ The younger generation seems

to have overcome the prejudice and the resentful nationalism of the past. Several of Ganaja's family members, particularly his beloved grandmother, express without guile their disapproval of ethnic mixing, including having friendships with non-Okinawans. After his loving and caring grandmother dies, the author speaks directly to her spirit in nostalgic dialogues that convey to her his disappointment with Japan as well as the joy of finding the house where she lived before moving to Peru. A widow with six children from the age of thirty, his grandmother is described as the anchor of Okinawan culture at home. For example, she wants her grandson to eat goyaa, an Okinawan dish, and scolds him by telling him that he does not seem Uchinanchu but Perujin, when he refuses to eat it. When Hide answers that he was born in Peru and, therefore, is Peruvian, she insists: "---No, you are nihonjin [Japanese]."²⁰ This same affectionate elderly lady, however, also advises the three single aunts who live in Ganaja's house never to marry a Naichi-jin, and much less a Peruvian. She does not even approve of Hide's friends from "mainland" Japan: "---;Haasamionaa! [Good Heavens!], you have many Naichaa friends. Well, better Nihonjin than Perūjin friends---she said dryly" (48).²¹ Yet Ganaja does not present this attitude as unacceptable racism and intolerance; instead, the grandmother is described as a product of her time. In any case, by book's end, she has won at least a battle: Ganaja feels unquestionably attached to his Okinawan cultural origins.

As stated, the first case of ethnic discrimination mentioned in the book surprisingly involves Nikkei children's mistreatment of a Peruvian classmate: none other than Ollanta Humala, the current president of Peru (1963--), the vote winner in the 2011 presidential election who later also won the runoff election against Keiko Fujimori. Ganaja admits that Humala was made the target of all the racial prejudice that he and his classmates had learned at home.

Hide would cheat every time he played poker with Humala (paradoxically, the latter's surname means "warrior who sees all"), and when Humala found out and demanded his money be returned, the Sansei boy asked two bigger friends to beat the future president, in exchange for his tutelage at examination time. Nikkei boys' social relations with children of Chinese descent were also conflictive. Ganaja confesses the extent of his hatred whenever other boys called him Chinese or other related insults (the Japanese in Peru are often referred to as "Chinese" just as the "Chinese" in Brazil are often called "Japanese"). Proud of Japan's superior economy to that of Communist China, he made every effort to appear different from the Chinese, except when he went to a party in the Chinese community school, hoping to pick up a Chinese girl with beautiful thin legs, much different from "the turnip legs of 'Panja' girls."²² In turn, young Chinese, the author recalls, could not forgive the atrocities the Imperial Japanese Army committed in China during World War II. Yet Ganaja clarifies that, by the time those regrettable events took place, his family had been living in Peru for several years; therefore, it had nothing to do with Japanese war crimes. As mentioned in the introduction, with a mixture of serious and lighthearted tones characterizing the book, the author mocks Chinese pronunciation of Spanish: "Therefore, Chinito: 'Stop messing around with the Japanese in Peru, OK?'"²³ Ironically, during his visit to Okinawa, Ganaja learns that his surname comes from Chinese lineage, as is true for many Okinawans.

Since one of the avowed goals of Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía is to contribute to the preservation of Okinawan culture in Peru, it is not surprising that so many passages describe Okinawan vocabulary, worldview, and cultural traditions. The sections with detailed descriptions of cultural practices and rituals are more extensive than those with denunciatory or

political emphasis. Several passages are associated with the author's grandmother, who was the keeper of traditional customs, including the music heard at home; after she died, the author bemoans, Okinawa, its songs, and its history began to die with her. We learn, for example, that both of Ganaja's parents came from samurai families, but as his grandmother elucidates, Okinawan samurai were quite different from Naichi ones: they did not carry a sword. Through his grandmother's story, we are also introduced to the topic of picture brides. She herself was one, and as she puts it half jokingly, by the time she saw her would-be husband, it was too late---young people then had no choice but to obey their parents. Her husband proved to be an alcoholic who spent all their savings treating his friends to drinks.

Religious practices are also considered a key part of the Okinawan Peruvian worldview in this book, particularly if we take into account that some of them, like the Okinawan funeral rituals in Peru, had disappeared in Okinawa because of the Japanese tradition of cremation. The fourth chapter describes the offering of Japanese incense to the but sudan (Buddhist family shrine) and the custom of praying to ancestors. Two religious figures are depicted in more detail: the bonsō (Buddhist monk), who prayed for the deceased in Japanese, and the yuta (spiritual advisor; she seems to also work as a medium, a profession more commonly known as norī), who, through a hypnotic trance, was able to understand the deceased's demands.²⁴ With his usual humor, Ganaja describes how horrified he became as a child upon learning that the family had to visit the cemetery to invite deceased relatives (an uncle had brought the ashes of all their ancestors from Okinawa) to visit their home. And once again connecting the Okinawan and Andean communities, Ganaja also notes how similar the Andean Day of the Dead is to the Okinawan ritual of feasting at the graves of deceased family members during the

Shiimii-sai (known as Seimei Sai in Japanese) , celebrated during the year's third new moon. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to wonder whether Ganaja is subconsciously linking Peru's First Nations to his ethnic community to claim in a place in the national imaginary.

<insert figure 6 about here>

As for the Japanese worldview, Ganaja focuses on two pivotal concepts: on (favor, obligation, debt) and giri (duty, sense of duty, honor, decency, courtesy). Nitobe also dwells on the concept of giri in his version of the Bushidō: "In its original and unalloyed sense it meant duty, pure and simple---hence we speak of the Giri we owe to parents, to superiors, to inferiors, to society at large, and so forth" (31). Ganaja emphasizes the role that order and hierarchy play in Japanese culture. This role explains, for example, the need that kirai Nisei (Nisei educated in Japan) have to be consulted when important community-related decisions are to be taken in Peru. Curiously, baseball is considered another important aspect of Peruvian Okinawan culture. This sport was the only topic of conversation Ganaja could share with his taciturn and strict father. Like the grandmother, his father is described as a very proud Okinawan. The only time Ganaja saw him happy, as he recalls, was when his dream of the construction of an Okinawan stadium came true.

An aspect of Ganaja's family life that he does not remember with nostalgia is the time he spent working in his father's store "with no salary, with no vacation."²⁵ Ganaja describes the anguish he felt, at age twenty-two, having to compete with his father's non-Nikkei employees: "I had to be better than the Perūjin salesclerks, who knew most of the prices. To be considered a good salesclerk, one could not plagiarize any list; I had to demonstrate that I was not a 'daddy's boy' and show why I had gone to college. I wanted to earn

the respect of the five employees who worked with me."²⁶ For the author, therefore, family life and, by extension, the Nikkei world with all its intergenerational tensions at times became claustrophobic, a prison from where he wished he could flee.

Some passages point to a subtle process of cultural hybridization, as we see with pisco usage in the butsudán. We also find signs of Peruvianization in terms that Japanese Peruvians invent by mixing Spanish and Japanese, such as ojiisanes (or the more informal ojii-chanes, grandfathers) and obaasanés (or the more informal obaa-chanes, grandmothers). This is what Ganaja calls "the home Nihongo [Japanese]," that is, the mixture of Spanish, Japanese, and Okinawan that some Okinawan Peruvians still use (several terms that Ganaja transcribes to Spanish are no longer used in Okinawa). Ultimately, in the book, language and religious practices become axial landmarks of Okinawan cultural nationalism. Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía is thus a crucial text in understanding the type of Japanese immigration predominant in Peru. Moreover, it is a valuable instrument for witnessing in action the construction and fluidity of national identities, as well as the absurdity of nativism and ethnic animosity. Full of contradictions, this text shows the tension between, on the one hand, the desire to celebrate the uniqueness of Okinawan culture and to denounce past abuses and, on the other, a larger need not to offend other Peruvians, including Naichi-jin, by expressing views that may be considered too essentialist or separatist. More interestingly, it represents a case study of the ongoing dialogue within the Okinawan Peruvian community about different types of nationalist discourse, be they Okinawan, Japanese, Peruvian, or a blend of the three.

Ganaja acknowledges Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú (Okinawa: A Century in Peru, 2006), co-written by Moromisato and Shimabukuro, as one of his

historical sources. At first sight, both books seem to be part of a series, because they are both titled "Okinawa," have the same square physical format, and display almost the same golden hue on their covers. Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú collects very brief testimonies or oral histories of eighteen members of the Okinawan Peruvian community who, because of their age, are affectionately referred to as obaachan (grandmothers) and ojiichan (grandfathers).²⁷ Although it includes a collection of Okinawan voices, it shares with Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía the celebration of Okinawan identity, the honoring of the elderly, and the emphasis on the heterogeneity of the Peruvian Nikkei community: "After more than a century, the Japanese Peruvian community continues to be perceived as a homogeneous and compact block. And that is a mistake, as diversity is its sign."²⁸ Okinawan cultural difference is emphasized in the introduction by pointing out that most Okinawan immigrants migrated to Peru during the Meiji era and, therefore, before Okinawa had been completely assimilated to the Japanese Empire. Along these lines, the first appendix included by the co-editors, an essay by Okinawan Nobel Prize for Literature recipient Kenzaburo Oe titled "Mi pueblo tiene la risa de Corea y Okinawa" (My People Have the Laughter of Korea and Okinawa), differentiates Okinawans from Naichi-jin through the former's great sense of humor: "I think that Tokyo's culture unfortunately lacks humor. If the nation's capital has no humor, the outlying areas do. My people had its laughter. This laughter has no relation with Tokyo."²⁹

As Moromisato and Shimabukuro state in the prologue, the immigrants' memories represent a cardinal patrimony of the Nikkei community, which will help future generations understand their origins and why they live in Peru. Like Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú blends bibliographical research on Okinawan history and emigration with short

biographies and personal testimonies of the last Okinawan immigrants. It also denounces, more confrontationally and unapologetically than Ganaja's text, injustices committed against the Japanese community in Peru, particularly that of the terrible 1940 looting ("There is not a single immigrant who does not remember with the same fright this racist plundering")³⁰ and the deportation of numerous Peruvian Nikkei to internment camps in the United States:

<EX>In contrast with Peru, the United States' government apologized to the more than one hundred thousand affected persons. In Peru, this topic is still considered an anecdote, never a political and humanitarian matter; neither governments nor the Japanese community plans to bring up the topic. Indifference from the Peruvian state for not acknowledging its imperfection as a republic because of its profoundly racist and discriminating nature, despite its democratic discourse? Fear on the part of the Nikkei community of claiming its full right to citizenship? This historic topic is pending in the agendas of Peru and the Japanese Peruvian community.³¹<\>

<TXNI>Moromisato and Shimabukuro highlight the case of Siyi Yakabi, an Okinawan baker from Huancho who arrived in Peru in 1917. Once Yakabi's stay in the Crystal City internment camp was over, he was not allowed to return to Peru; he had to travel with his family to Okinawa. According to his indignant granddaughter, Naeko Tamashiro, although they had to live in the Okinawan jungle, eating tree bark while being attacked by swarms of mosquitoes, no government has ever apologized for their suffering.<\>

<insert figure 7 about here>

Three of the book's sections, "Anti-Japanese Expression," "Sacking and Earthquake," and "The War: the Arrival of Infamy,"³² summarize decades of abuse. In contrast to the humor found in Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía,

Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú is seriously political and denunciatory. While this open condemnation may not be unexpected to American readers, as Moromisato and Shimabukuro emphasize in the previous quotation, these topics are considered taboo within the Nippo-Peruvian community. Indeed, in my visit to the Japanese-Peruvian Cultural Center in March 2010, I saw exhibits on the horrific effects of nuclear warfare on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but no mention of the 1940 looting or the traumatic deportations to U.S. internment camps. When I broached the subject with Mercedes Baba, assistant director of the center's museum, and Rosa, an elderly Okinawan who goes weekly to the center to make artisanal handicrafts and sing traditional folk songs, they refused to discuss it for fear of opening old wounds and of perhaps creating resentment among their descendents. They were visibly uncomfortable discussing the topic. Along these lines, in the testimonial Japón no da dos oportunidades, Augusto Higa tries to obtain information about this experience of the looting from a co-worker named Sakay Machi, but the latter refuses to discuss sad recollections: "Don't pick at that old wound. Those sad events are a thing of the past. They left us unchanged."³³

To return to Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú, the testimonials provide, along with examples of oppression and resistance, positive stories of survival, solidarity, cooperation, and adaptation to a new culture, in spite of linguistic barriers. They reveal the Okinawan immigrants' work ethic, resiliency, and creativity. As we learn, most immigrants left Okinawa to flee the poverty, hunger, and overpopulation (Japan's population grew "from 32 million in 1879 to 51 million in 1910, and 58 million in 1920" [Endoh, 64]) that plagued the land after the economic reforms of the Meiji era (1868--1912). Many Okinawan women also arrived in Peru as (sometimes-reluctant) picture brides. Overall, Okinawan immigrants were hoping to save money to be

able to return home after a few years, but World War II changed that goal. Coinciding with Seiichi Higashide's Adiós to Tears, although some of these testimonials recall the sacking of 1940, the Peruvian government's confiscation of Japanese and Nikkei assets, and the deportations to the United States, none openly express resentment or bitterness. Perhaps reflecting fear of disrupting the harmony in their social milieu, neither do they echo the hostility between Naichi and Okinawan immigrants stressed by Moromisato and Shimabukuro in the introduction.

In the section devoted to the mini-testimonials, Moromisato and Shimabukuro wisely acknowledge that they are the result of a process of self-reconstruction that involves both reality and fiction. Consequently, they do not necessarily reflect who a person was, but rather how he or she "would like to be remembered."³⁴ Among the most interesting mini-testimonials compiled is that of Kama Chinen (1907--), from Kochinda Cho, who, arriving in Peru in 1936 with her husband, was fleeing poverty. They left two children behind with relatives. Among other jobs, she worked as a food peddler and later opened a store and a small pacifier factory. Chinen remembers that during the postwar period, a group of kachigumi in her community refused to accept the fact that Japan had lost the war. When the Peruvian government took her land away, she naively believed that it was because she did not speak Spanish. In 1964, she was able to bring her son to Peru, but he did not like the country and returned to Okinawa. Similarly, when she travelled to Okinawa in 1984, everything had changed so much that she did not feel at home there either.

<insert figure 8 about here>

The story of Tsuyo Higa de Toyama's (1911--) family, from Okinawa Shi, is reminiscent of Seiichi Higashide's. She had eight children with Zensei Toyama, the man her parents suggested that she marry. During World War II, her

family was victimized by the anti-Japanese sentiment incited by the United States in Peru. Her restaurant in Tacora was attacked during the 1940 looting. Later, her husband, an active member in the Japanese community, had to go into hiding to avoid being deported to the United States. Higa de Toyama discloses, in her limited Spanish, how they avoided imprisonment: "My husband was all day outside the house, hiding, since investigator could come and find him. We would switch off outside light so that husband didn't come and he no longer came home; but if I turned on light, it was because there was no danger. That was the sign. They didn't take my husband. It was this way that he stayed safe."³⁵

Another Okinawan victimized by the 1940 spoliation is Kinichi Tabagua (1912--), from Katsuren Cho. Tabagua reunited with his father in Peru at the age of sixteen, and he did not see his mother or siblings until thirty-seven years later. He remembers resting only three days a year. During the looting, he hid at his neighbors' house, but much merchandise from the restaurant where he worked was stolen: "Took everything, there were fifty boxes of beer, twenty-four box of Coca-Cola, everything taken, everything, there is nothing."³⁶ Two more testimonialists remember how their farms were seized during the war. Ei Yoz, from Urasoe Shi, was eighteen years old when she arrived in Peru. She had planned to stay in Peru for five years, but could not return to Okinawa because of World War II. Ei grew cotton in Huacho and was forced into marriage. During the war, her family's land was seized by the government. Likewise, Shoichi Azato, from Kitanakagusuku Son, lost his farm in Bocanegra after being expelled. He had arrived in Peru in 1939, fleeing poverty and, like many others, did not return to Okinawa because of the war. He is now an amateur actor and speaks Quechua, which he learned from former employees at his coffee shop.

Another commendable example of resiliency is that of Seiki Irei (1910--), from Chatan Cho, who travelled to Peru at the age of seventeen, with the dream of becoming a millionaire. Realizing that Japan was preparing for World War II, he decided not to return. After years of hard work, Irei had to close two businesses because of two different earthquakes. His son Masushiko Irei bemoans the fact that "most immigrants had the wrong idea about Peru because of the employment agency, which in order to promote their business would say: go to America. There, the sidewalk paving stones are made of gold. My father's idea was to return as a millionaire after three years."³⁷ Along the same lines, Kama Arakaki, from Nakagusuku Son, was swindled by another Okinawan. In spite of this setback, however, she survived, recovered, and even opened a store at age seventy. Arakaki arrived in Peru when she was seventeen years old, and after working on a farm, she and her husband opened a bakery. One day, she received a letter from Okinawa informing her that her grandfather wanted to see her one last time before dying and advising her to sell the bakery to a countryman living in Peru. In the end, the entire episode was nothing but a lie by a neighbor who wanted to steal their business. As shown, not always was there solidarity within the Nikkei community in Peru.

<insert figure 9 about here>

In the chapters devoted to the history of Okinawan immigration to Peru, which began on November 21, 1906, Moromisato and Shimabukuro insist that the antagonism between Naichi-jin and Okinawans in Japan continued in the new country:

<EX>In the 1920s, tension reached its apex and the Japanese consulate forced them [Okinawans] to dissolve the prefectural institution they had created. The Japanese state, through its embassies and consulates, looked after the unity of its overseas subjects to keep the cohesive and

powerful image of the empire. Yet, especially in cities, Okinawan immigrants did not share spaces with those from other prefectures; in fact, they only did business and formed families with their fellow Uchinanchu.³⁸<\>

<TXNI>As they clarify later, today more mixed marriages take place between Naichi-jin and Okinawans, and differences are less common, although they persist. Still, the mere fact of claiming, early in the first page of the introduction, that 70 percent of the Nikkei population in Peru is of Okinawan origin (even though in a 1989 census by Amelia Morimoto, Okinawans were less than 50 percent [Masterson, 235]) reflects the power struggles that continue within the Nikkei community. Likewise, other passages clarify that Okinawans were the first (before the immigrants from any other Japanese prefecture) to create a Japanese organization in Peru and to help their own prefecture in Japan after the war by sending clothing, food, and money. We also learn that the Okinawan community "is the Japanese group that preserves its cultural roots more faithfully"³⁹ and that the Asociación Femenina Okinawense del Perú (Okinawan Female Association of Peru), founded in 1978, is the largest Nikkei institution of its kind in Peru.<\>

Moromisato and Shimabukuro give special credit to two leaders of the Okinawan community: Sentei Yagui (as evidenced in chapter 1, he was an important information source for Seiichi Higashide) and Ginyu Egei. Sentei Yagui helped his community by establishing the first Japanese organization (another symbolic victory over the "mainland" Japanese community) in Peru in 1909: the Asociación Juvenil Okinawense (Okinawan Youth Association). Its goal was to unite Okinawans through sports. He also introduced a financing method called tanomashi, which was most helpful to those immigrants who did not speak Spanish and did not trust Peruvian banks. Yagui also explored the Peruvian

Amazon in search of possible investments, but during World War II, all his properties were seized and he was sent to an internment camp in the United States. His family never received a formal apology from the government: "Until today, no amends have been made for this outrage."⁴⁰ Along the same lines, Ginyu Egei embodied the importance Okinawan immigrants gave to their children's education. When Japanese schools were closed during the war, he devoted himself to managing a banana farm and to repairing pianos so that he could purchase books written in Japanese for his students. Egei was also president of several Okinawan and Japanese associations.

Unfortunately, the part dealing with testimonials in Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú, which is potentially the most original and interesting, leaves, in my view, much to be desired. Perhaps because of space limitations (the book is bilingual, with numerous photographs), summaries of interviews with Okinawan elders are shorter than would be expected. At the museum of the Japanese-Peruvian Cultural Center of Lima, visitors can listen to extensive interviews (although not translated to Spanish) with Japanese immigrants. These recordings complement the book's very brief summaries.

<insert Figure 10 about here>

Overall, the book offers an itinerary of the Okinawan community's self-representation. It begins with the first Okinawan migration wave in 1906 and the reasons for Okinawans' departure. In line with the identity politics of the rest of the book, one of the sections focuses on the different experiences that Okinawan and "mainland" Japanese women had in Peru, emphasizing the former's ability to work proficiently in public spaces: "Okinawan women did not limit themselves to staying at home organizing their domestic life; instead, they administered their own businesses and had to cope with the authorities

and large wholesalers."⁴¹ Other segments show differences between the Japanese community in general and the rest of the Peruvian population. While one affirms that the Nikkei community has the largest number of artists in Peru, another points out how, in contrast with the passivity of blacks, Chinese, and Andean workers before them, the first Japanese immigrant group initiated a labor strike and requested the mediation of the Japanese consul to put an end to their employers' abusive practices. Moromisato and Shimabukuro proudly claim that education is the main factor for these cultural differences: "Evidently, the degree of education played a predominant role in Japanese workers' self-esteem."⁴²

After the brief oral histories of the last Okinawan immigrants, another subchapter concentrates on the creation of Okinawan associations as a way to build a new Okinawa in Peru. It ends with the dekasegi exodus that began in 1988, the negative impact it had on Japanese associations in Peru, and the mirror creation of associations in Japan based on their area of origin in Peru. A new section, before the two addenda, focuses on the Okinawan legacy in Peru and Okinawans' integration into mainstream culture through culture and art. Interestingly, the same association between the Japanese and Andean worldviews that was so prominent in Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía resurfaces. Perhaps again reflecting a subconscious attempt to find acceptance within Peruvian mainstream society, these Nikkei artists manipulate history to create deep cultural links between Japan and Peru. Thus, the Nikkei musician Pedro Seiji Asato (1940--) composed "Preludio y Ricercar" (Prelude and Ricercare), mixing the pentaphonic Japanese and Inca themes "Tabarazaka" and "Tankar Kisqa," because the latter "reminded him of the similarity between Japanese and Andean music."⁴³ Likewise, the Nikkei painter Erika Nakasone Chinen makes this connection while explaining her use of a mixture of Japanese

and pre-Columbian colors: "I feel many similarities between both cultures, in their syncretism and in their philosophy, in the importance they gave to the magical and religious world, and in their respect for nature."⁴⁴

From Nikkei testimonials and essays, we move on, in the second part of the book, to Nikkei fiction, including a short novel by Augusto Higa (contextualized by his dekasegi testimonial), a collection of short stories by Fernando Iwasaki, and two more stories by Carlos Yushimito del Valle. While the novel again treats issues of ethnic identity, the short story collections adopt a very different approach: Iwasaki's uses Japanese characters in these narratives as caricatures to produce a social commentary on contemporary Spanish society; Yushimito's two collections do not usually address Japanese or Nikkei issues, focusing instead on the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and a dreamy world inhabited by perverse children.<\>

<PN>Part II<\>

<PT>Nikkei Narratives<\>

<CN>3<\>

<CT>Nippo-Peruvian Self-Identification in Augusto Higa's La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu and Japón no da dos oportunidades<\>

<TX>Chapter 3 analyzes two works by Augusto Higa Oshiro, a Nikkei Peruvian author born in Lima in 1946. After graduating from the University of San Marcos with a bachelor's degree in Peruvian and Latin American literature, he worked as editor of the Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo (National Institute of Research and Development; INIDE). Higa currently teaches literature in several universities, including the Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal, and gives creative writing workshops. Besides the works analyzed here, he has published two short story collections, Que te coma el tigre (May the Tiger Eat You, 1977) and La casa de Albaceleste (Albaceleste's House, 1986), and a novel, Final del porvenir (End of the Future, 1992).¹

This chapter explores literary madness as a vehicle for cultural self-revelation. It also analyzes the identitarian self-definition and the identity transformations of a Japanese Peruvian through the use of kenshō in Higa's novel La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu (Katzuo Nakamatsu's Enlightenment, 2008) and from the perspective of Higa's real-life experiences in Japan, as recounted in his testimonial Japón no da dos oportunidades. By contrasting these two works, I highlight the continuities and changes across Higa's opus. More importantly, they are two of the best articulations of the processes of de-ethnification and re-ethnification (by their recurrence in this literary corpus, they seem to be key components of the Nikkei condition) that can be found in Nikkei Peruvian cultural production.

Although the testimonial was published fourteen years before the novel, I shall begin with the analysis of the latter, which is, in my view, Higa's

crowning literary achievement. In an interview with Maribel de Paz, the author admits that Nakamatsu is his alter ego, a character who struggles with his own marginality and loneliness, just as Higa himself has done throughout his life. Yet he sees his protagonist as the typical loser, in contrast with the relentless fighters Nakamatsu admires such as, for example, his father's friend, Etsuko Unté, and the Peruvian avant-garde poet Martín Adán (1908--1985).² Higa also considers this novel "a rematch"³ with himself, as it helped him, through the Nisei perspective, to find his self. Regardless of the author's comments, however, the connection between La iluminación and the author's disappointing dekasegi experience (as well as the testimonial he wrote to denounce the abuses suffered by Latin American dekasegi in Japan) seems to be self-evident.

Katzuo Nakamatsu, the protagonist of La iluminación, is a self-destructive and suicidal Nisei college professor and a frustrated writer who progressively loses his mind after being dismissed from his job as a literature professor for being too old. His inability to identify with the Peruvian reality surrounding him has also increased his existential angst and has contributed to his loss of reality. From the beginning, we learn about the liminality of his life through the narrator's commentaries: "As he was the son of Japanese parents, a Nisei, almost a foreigner, and all those places, their people, were alien to him, and they only constituted his proximity, the neutral zone where he deposited his gaze, and he was banned from going in, being like them, having legs, having eyes, having arms."⁴ The next 127 pages encompass the protagonist's psychological decline, his descent into madness, and his preoccupation with how he will die. He borrows a friend's gun, but never has the courage to use it. He chooses, instead, a slower means of self-destruction: wandering the most dangerous and sordid streets of Lima. This

type of behavior shows points of connection with other examples of literary madness. As Lillian Feder argues in her Madness in Literature (1980): "The mad protagonist generally inhabits the familiar world of civilized people, although in his madness he may retreat to the savage environment and condition of the traditional wild man. Furthermore, although his aberrant thoughts and behavior may determine his essential role, as savagery does the wild man's, madness is still but one aspect of his nature, and it may emerge only in extreme or extraordinary circumstances" (4). In the novel, Nakamatsu's wandering through unsafe neighborhoods in a state of deep anguish is the equivalent of this walking alone into the wilderness.

Madness, a key topic of La iluminación, is a leitmotif in Higa's opus. Feder provides a definition of madness that accurately explains the psychological problems suffered by Nakamatsu and other characters in Higa's fiction: "In attempting to cover persistent and variable characteristics of actual as well as literary madness, I define madness as a state in which unconscious processes predominate over conscious ones to the extent that they control them and determine perceptions of and responses to experience that, judged by prevailing standards of logical thought and relevant emotion, are confused and inappropriate" (5). In a previous novel, Final del porvenir, we find a predecessor of Nakamatsu in the grotesque character of Matías, who also suffers existential angst: "Enlightened, pierced by the fervor of reason, his eyelids dull, he felt that neither good nor evil existed, resolving his angst, he yelled that death was the incarnation of nothingness in man, and that we lived abandoned in sidereal space, aimlessly, without consolation, without forgiveness. They left him talking to himself."⁵ Like Nakamatsu, Matías has paranoid delusions, poses aimless metaphysical questions, wanders through marginal streets, spends time with vagrants, and becomes extremely soiled. In

addition, he cries for no reason and becomes inexplicably disturbed, furious, and violent. Madness also abounds in the short stories in La casa de Albaceleste. For instance, Matute, the protagonist of "Sueños de oro" (Golden Dreams), the opening story of the collection, is so obsessed with winning the lottery that he ends up confusing dreams with reality. The following story, "Corazón sencillo" (Simple Heart), also has an obsessive protagonist, the cholo Berto Vargas, who dreams of flying while fearing that he will break like glass. In the third story, "La boba" (The Simpleton), it is Alderete Gómez who has delusions of grandeur and is so obsessed with a girl everyone thinks is a simpleton that he waits daily, in the sun or rain, for her to leave the house so that he may see her.

Since Nakamatsu can only see himself and his psychological imbalances in relation to others, the following pages will explore his peculiar relationship with members of his own ethnic group, as well as with indigenous people and criollos.

<S1>A Nisei Observes Himself and the Other Nikkeijin<\>

Higa reveals a perceived trait of Nippo-Peruvian identity through the structure of the novel. Benito Gutti, the protagonist's former colleague, whose name only appears midway through the plot, has to narrate Nakamatsu's adventures and thoughts, as this quiet man would never have felt comfortable unveiling his most intimate feelings: "He spent time with friends, he could even have a conversation, exchange opinions, gossip, [author query: is there more to this quotation, such as "tell"?) questionable jokes, but never reveal personal secrets or express intimate feelings, as his Asiatic temperament and that imperturbability of a distrustful, cold, perhaps disdainful person prevented him from doing it."⁶ Gutti's main narrative function is intimately

related to his not being of Japanese origin; he thus lacks familiarity with the identitarian dilemmas of this community. As a cultural outsider who is not a friend of the protagonist, Gutti narrates the latter's physical and mental voyage in an unknown world. Yet, in his "report," he is able to write about Nakamatsu's deepest thoughts, thanks to their conversations and to the writings Nakamatsu has given him. These include archives, diaries, notes about his parents, studies of Japanese Peruvian families, and an unfinished novel about Etsuko Unté and other Issei (first-generation Japanese immigrants). While some passages address the protagonist directly, in most of the text Gutti refers to him in the third person. Sometimes, however, it is difficult to distinguish Gutti's ideas from those of Nakamatsu.

After the protagonist becomes paranoid and schizophrenic, he begins to wear 1940s-style clothing to emulate the outfits he has seen Etsuko Untén wearing in old photos. Untén was also a source of inspiration for a novel Nakamatsu tried to write but never finished. Untén and the protagonist's father, Zentaró, had been runaways; they made a living by challenging people to fight (this anecdote also appears in Final del porvenir). The reason behind Nakamatsu's eccentricities is that he feels imprisoned in his own body and wishes to transform himself into one of the two persons he admires, Untén or Martín Adán---two uprooted, marginalized, and vilified characters. He also hears the singing of imaginary birds at home and resentful voices from the past that remind him of the sad history of those first Japanese immigrants in Peru: how they were mercilessly abused with rocks, insults, and mockery; were forced to work jobs that no one wanted; and were persecuted, robbed, and deported during World War II. Nakamatsu is re-living the harrowing experiences of these Japanese immigrants, as passersby mock him and children knock him down, trying to take off his pants. Like the narrator, the voices in his mind

provide information that this introverted protagonist would never volunteer. The third way by which the reticent Nakamatsu opens up is through the mentioned delusional alter egos. As Higa revealed to me in an interview, he considers this taciturn nature a consequence of World War II, which made these "children of the war" (Japanese Peruvians born in the 1930s and 1940s, such as himself) live as foreigners in their own country, always keeping secrets and speaking as little as possible. Although a process of mestizaje took place, some urban Peruvian Nisei continue to have an outsider mentality: "They are hermetic in the eyes of Peruvian families," according to the author. Therefore, in a way, Nakamatsu embodies the spirit of urban Nikkei. The suffocating anti-Japanese atmosphere in which they lived as children has made them enclose themselves in their own world.

In this context, Nakamatsu remembers his tenacious parents and other "defiant and inexpressive"⁷ members of the Nippo-Peruvian community who fought indefatigably and heroically, always enduring Peruvians' resentment and hatred; they had preserved their customs, fraternity, arrogance, and their "race pure."⁸ Paradoxically, soon after we learn that, according to the omniscient narrator, this ostensibly racist thought is roaming in Nakamatsu's mind, the latter accuses Peruvians themselves of racism: "Why did our skin, our Japanese eyes, our physicality generate suspicion and rejection? Why were we [Peruvians] racist, womanizing, and pedestrian?"⁹ Moreover, although I translate the term cholero in the previous quotation as "womanizing," the racist---albeit common---etymology of the term cannot be overlooked: it comes from the term cholo, meaning "Indian" or mestizo, and it refers to people who like to spend time with "cholos," and particularly to men who like to carouse with "cholas."

The novel opens with Nakamatsu strolling alongside ponds with carps in Lima's Parque de la Exposición and admiring the "secret spirituality"¹⁰ of sakura (cherry blossoms). Consequently, from the novel's first scene, he is following ancient Japanese traditions, like flower-viewing in the Hanami festivals. In Japanese culture, cherry blossoms are associated with the Buddhist concept of mono no aware (a sensitivity of ephemera) and symbolize the transient nature of life, hence the melancholic overtones about mortality that open the novel. Suddenly, Nakamatsu senses "the eternity of the instant,"¹¹ which is normally understood as a positive sense of melancholy in Japanese culture. This evocation of serene melancholy and spiritual longing is related to the concept of wabi-sabi (part of the Japanese worldview centered on accepting transience), which acknowledges that nothing lasts, is complete, or is perfect. Yet, far from reaching spiritual harmony, Nakamatsu becomes distressed: he is a fifty-eight-year old widower without children, and feels exhausted, empty, desolate, and lonely. Shivering and covered with sweat, he tries to cope with an intense death drive, a first sign of his existential and psychical fall. His instinct leads him to wander city streets, including those of marginal neighborhoods, until he realizes that he has never belonged to the world he sees around him. Once home, he adds to previous self-perceptions of Japanese culture by wondering whether he has inherited his ancestors' fatalism, which compels him to accept his destiny passively. Later, he is strolling along Campo de Marte, lost in his own thoughts, when he sees a graceful Japanese-style bridge in the park. Suddenly, nostalgic tears come to his eyes, his heartbeat increases, and he feels a renewed death drive. This bridge reminded him of the cultural schism in his life; he again feels shame, guilt, desperation, and emptiness. These feelings of shame and guilt are intricately related to the theme of madness throughout the novel. The

connection that Michel Foucault made, in Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason (1964 [author query: Works Cited has 1988]), between madness and repression (or exclusion) is reflected here in the protagonist's repression of these feelings. But as will be seen, by reclaiming the discourse of the madman, Higa establishes a direct link between madness and knowledge.

In contrast with Nakamatsu, during World War II the Okinawan Etsuko Untén showed his Japanese pride and defied Peruvian prejudice against his people by whistling the Japanese national anthem, "Kimigayo," in public, as loudly as he could. During childhood, Nakamatsu had heard about this haughty friend of his father, and now, he perceives him as a hero and as his double. Untén, a kachigumi (Nikkei who believed that Japan was victorious in World War II), never acknowledged Japan's defeat and was convinced that, once the Rising Sun won the war, Emperor Hirohito would send a ship to rescue the Japanese community in Peru.

This short novel has limited action, few characters, and almost no dialogue. As he did in Que te coma el tigre and Final del porvenir, in La iluminación Higa continues to depict daily life in the underprivileged neighborhoods of his youth. Yet the orality and colloquialisms typical of his previous works now give way to a poetical and discursive narration of the ethnic, identitarian problems of the Nisei community, as seen through subjective eyes: the narrator's and the protagonist's. During the 1970s and 1980s, influenced by the leftist Grupo Narración's _ideology---a group to which he belonged along with Antonio Gálvez Ronceros, Gregorio Martínez, and Oswaldo Reynoso---Higa tried to write engaged, socially committed literature from the perspective of the urban lower classes, among which feature criminal youth gangs and prostitutes. By contrast, after the traumatic war against the Maoist

guerrilla Sendero Luminoso during the 1980s, his perspective evolved dramatically. Although Higa here reconciles the ostensibly insular world of Lima's Nikkei community with that of the criollo underworld found in marginal neighborhoods, the problems studied in La iluminación are not so much sociopolitical or economical in nature as they are ethnic, sexual, and personal (including the demons that torment the protagonist). The novel deals mostly with present-day, individual alienation and other problems facing humanity. Nakamatsu only writes, strolls, and thinks; most of the plot unfolds in his head. However, we learn about abuses committed against the Nikkei community during Manuel Prado Ugarteche's government through the protagonist's flashbacks. Lost in his musings or talking to himself, he constantly walks around the city and around the house, as if he were trying to return to his ancestral land.

The protagonist has an avowed feeling of unhomeliness.¹² Yet he shows a certain comfort with the local culture (it is his own, after all). This is evident, for instance, when he visits Masao Uchida, a former schoolmate, and both show their adaptation to criollo culture by drinking coffee while talking about soccer and local waltzes. Uchida shares the protagonist's resentment against the society where they live. We learn that he was forced to retire and to live off the remittances that his children send from Japan because his store was losing money; it was continually robbed and nearby drug addicts frightened his customers away. Nakamatsu again shows some comfort with the local culture upon looking for protection in a church where he prays to the Virgin Mary. Yet the narrator (paradoxically, he is supposed to be unfamiliar with Japanese culture) refers to the protagonist's Catholic faith using the equivalent Japanese Buddhist term, tariiki, which means, more specifically, a path toward enlightenment and nirvana.

Nakamatsu himself explains Nikkei uprootedness, including his own, as being the result of behavioral idiosyncrasies intrinsic to the Japanese national psyche and essence. He concludes that his own apathetic and distant nature is part of his Japanese identity: his parents and other Japanese in his neighborhood were equally uncommunicative and always maintained the same rancor and arrogance. At one point he realizes that he has never loved anyone and that no one has ever loved him. As if he were trying to find his identity by following ancient Japanese traditions and rituals, once he regains his spiritual harmony, Nakamatsu goes to Lima's cemetery, El Ángel, to bid farewell to his ancestors in the but sudan (Buddhist family shrine) and to burn incense at their graves. Once there, he refuses to reminisce about his father, an authoritarian and lecherous man who arrived from Yokohama in 1918, and was one of 840 Issei sent to the Cañete haciendas. By contrast, he has no problem reminiscing about the thorny relationship he had with his wife Keiko, who died of cancer twenty-five years earlier, at the age of thirty-nine. But, again, the only way he is able to express his feelings is through someone else's poem, in this case the title of a poem by the Italian poet and novelist Cesare Pavese (1908--1950), known for his lonely and isolated characters who end up betraying their ideals and friends: "Death will come and will have your eyes."¹³ The protagonist confesses that he always tolerated "his racial fracture without despair,"¹⁴ but after Keiko's death, he stopped visiting his Nisei friends, and his shame about feeling foreign in his own country increased. Perhaps sensing the double marginality of being Okinawan, he cannot fully identify with either criollos or Naichi-jin: "She [Keiko] was an untiring fighter, realistic, kind. And, on the opposite side, Katzuo, inquisitive, intellectual, ambiguous between his original Nisei world and the Criollo world, as if he didn't belong to either one."¹⁵

Besides this worldview divided between two very different cultures, another source of shame for the protagonist is his poverty. As a college professor, he receives a modest salary and must live in a humble dwelling inherited from his parents. In contrast, his four siblings own successful businesses. Not surprisingly, these feelings of shame and guilt are, according to Feder, among the most common symptoms of an alienated mind: "Inappropriate pathological guilt, for example, was among the most common symptoms of mental disturbance prevalent in Western civilization so long as the authority of state, church, and patriarchal family was assumed" (Feder, 5).

<S1>A Nisei Observes the Cholos<\>

Paradoxically, while Nakamatsu condemns the discrimination that Nikkei have suffered in Peru, he finds Andean cultural practices (except for Quechua oral mythology) repulsive. For instance, he perceives popular burial ceremonies as disrespectful and reprehensible acts:

<EX>he noticed a gang with ekeko faces, parading through the garden, under the sakuras, with their multicolored chullos and their pouches to their backs. Those malformed beings emitted grunts, mumbled in Quechua, covered in jackets and ties, their little moustaches highlighting their wax faces, as if they were doodles. They jumped around, stumbled among themselves, while the festive people that met there applauded, cheered, and threw coins. Coarse. Brutal. Crude. He couldn't stand it.¹⁶<\>

<TXNI>That the burial is not kept private (i.e., only for family members) is such a cultural shock for Nakamatsu that he suffers a nervous breakdown: he starts to shake while wandering around panting and weeping. After this experience, the death drive he felt in the opening scene now becomes more intense. A similar situation takes place in chapter 4: "Some time later, he

found a noisy funeral procession. The crowd was carrying a coffin covered with little belts, and a rain of flowers descended over the road. Men in embroidered vests, women in long, black skirts appeared escorted by musicians with hats, who sang curious mulizas to the music of violins and a saxophone."¹⁷ The omniscient narrator further explains that Nakamatsu "detested tribal acts"¹⁸ and considered them grotesque and abominable. This time, however, the protagonist feels moved by the girls' weeping and the open, theatrical display of emotions, so contrary to his own personality. He goes on to follow the retinue for some time and unexpectedly accepts the transformation of pain into a "primitive," noisy, and colorful jubilation.<\>

During one of his strolls, Nakamatsu's nostalgic, intimate thoughts are interrupted by the sound of bullet shots: a merchant has killed a "chichero-looking" gang member during a robbery. The use of this derogative term again suggests his distaste for Andean culture.¹⁹ Nakamatsu then recalls two sad lines from Martín Adán's poem "Aloysius Acker": "and for you, the dog does not cry / and for you, the mother does not howl."²⁰ Given that, in this unpublished poem, Adán sees Acker as his double, as an extension of his ego, it may be concluded that Nakamatsu might have seen his own death mirrored in the gang member's. Yet these lines only reflect his flagrant indolence: "He shrugged, went through the crowd, without pity, he couldn't help it; after all, it wasn't his dead person, nor his fellow man, nor the extension of his body, nor his blood, nor his eyes, nor his race."²¹ It is understood, then, that the protagonist is unsympathetic because the Andean youngster is of another race.

In the third chapter, Nakamatsu continues to stroll under the lead-colored sky of Lima, lost in thought, reminiscing melancholically about his childhood, his youthful adventures, his family and friends, and the "world in

ruins after the arrival of the barbarians."²² These mysterious barbarians are plausibly the indigenous Peruvians who have descended to the capital city from the sierras. In the following passage from Final del porvenir, a blend of feelings of rejection and compassion, a student named Matías shares Nakamatsu's aversion to Indians and also calls them "barbarians": "Thousands of little Indians riding donkeys populated La Parada, shoeless, dark-skinned, shirtless, dusty, would go deep into the city, alien to any logic, untouched by any reasoning, barbarians, without scruples, without order, without morals."²³ Significantly, throughout Final del porvenir, indigenous people are often described under a negative light: "With the uneven and styleless way Indians walked"; "[doña Francisquita] ranted about the brothel owners, corrupt women, Indians who came down from the hills chewing máchica."²⁴

<S1>A Nisei Observes the Criollos<\>

To return to La iluminación, its protagonist went through a process of de-ethnification throughout his youthful years only to end up re-ethnifying himself thanks to the Japanese values he had learned as a child: "For years, in his youth and before Keiko's death, he had been like everyone else, a vicious and criollo improviser: he had friends, frequented bars, loved partying, and was a dazed gambler. Bitter experiences, crises, and dangers had made him go back to what he considered his natural Asiatic roots."²⁵ Consequently, he now sees discipline, pain, and suffering as paths to purification, perfection, and the negation of his ego before reaching satori. Likewise, he accepts frugality, austerity, and Buddhist-like detachment as part of a valuable Japanese cultural heritage. Nakamatsu, therefore, enters or leaves Japaneseness according to circumstances.

It is important to point out that the ultra-nationalist Etsuko Untén, the Issei whom Nakamatsu admires and imitates, and who is described with heroic traits at the novel's end (some of his peers think he is mad), was a racist who married a Peruvian woman as a result of a bet, but refused to consummate the marriage because "for Etsuko Untén, that jumble of races was impossible, and more so for a Japanese."²⁶ In 1941, realizing that war was imminent, he abandoned his wife, sold the brothel he owned, and moved to Lima to support, along with other countrymen, Japan's expansionism. Untén, who refuses to admit that Japan lost the war, symbolizes, for Nakamatsu, indomitable Japanese pride in the face of adversity, even when his countrymen were being persecuted and deported to internment camps in Texas. Nakamatsu is clearly traumatized by this historic episode that recurrently comes to mind: "When Prado's government expropriated the businesses, schools, properties, large farms and industries owned by the Japanese, it was a terrible blow. Leaders were imprisoned and deported, there were black lists, blackmails, thefts, plunder . . . One could not leave the house, as neighbors would throw rocks. We were enemies, nihongin, and we lived a war that we had never looked for."²⁷

Along with Etsuko Untén, the other heroic figure whom Nakamatsu sees as his alter ego is Martín Adán, considered, along with César Vallejo and José María Eguren, one of the greatest Peruvian poets. He identifies both with the poet's marginalization and loneliness, as well as with his aestheticism and relentless search for beauty. The protagonist imitates the clothing style that Adán would wear and visits the bars and seedy neighborhoods that the poet frequented. Echoes of Adán's biography are also found in the novel: like Nakamatsu, the poet was rumored to be gay, became increasingly impoverished, and, during his last years, spent time in mental institutions. Adán would also

get inebriated in downtown bars, daydreaming as Nakamatsu does in the novel; he also had the double identity of Rafael de la Fuente Benavides and his artistic name, Martín Adán. Still within the frame of his inner battle, Nakamatsu thinks about his own physical deterioration and his insomnia, and thus recites these existential lines from Martín Adán's poem "Escrito para una amiga" (Written for a Friend), pertaining to the writing process: "I'm not the Other / I can't tell you about anything else but myself / But who am I between what I am not? / Where might my destiny be? . . . Hope is a hard thing. / It is a human tripe. / Something from which it hangs, I don't know how / From the Soul / Like the body hangs. / As its nothing hangs."²⁸ Nakamatsu sees his spiritual brother's poetry as a useful tool to express his own feelings. Interestingly, in these passages about a Peruvian poet whom he admires and imitates to the point of wanting to be him, we see the protagonist's only identification with the criollo world, because he perceives most of the other criollos in the novel as antagonists. As suggested by the book's cover of the San Marcos edition, after being fired and forcibly expelled from the university building, he imagines that his former colleagues are laughing at him and insulting him (it is unclear in the text whether or not he is having hallucinations). In any case, the Xanax pills he takes for anxiety and panic disorder do not seem to bring him relief.

<S1>A Nisei Strolls through Lima<\>

Along with Nakamatsu's interactions with different Peruvian ethnic groups, the other tormented relationship he has in the novel is with Lima, his city. La iluminación includes numerous detailed descriptions of cityscapes that at times mirror, in an example of pathetic phallacy, Nakamatsu's emotional state. While visiting bars and brothels in opulent or working-class

neighborhoods (El Agustino, Breña, and El Porvenir) in La Victoria, he tries to remain faithful to Zen Buddhist beliefs. Motionless, concentrating on his rhythmic breathing while his mind goes blank, he contemplates his fellow denizens and urban nature in these spaces. Everything surrounding him---except for the ocean, which he sees from a pantheistic perspective---is foreign to him. He seems to echo Jean-Paul Sartre's famous line in Huis clos (No Exit), "L'enfer, c'est l'autres" (Hell is the Other). Junkyards, traffic jams, the stench emanating from restaurants, ramshackle and crowded minibuses, and, above all, the people he sees (homeless men, "social-climber Mestizos and tacky Andean people"²⁹), all contribute to his increasing anxiety. This feeling of rejection turns into "horrendous panic"³⁰ when he sees the shantytowns rising on the hills and slopes, populated by people with "tortuous faces and prominent wombs" with a "barbarian sense of progress, charging against everything."³¹ Here, we again see the use of "barbarian" to refer to the indigenous peasants who have emigrated to the capital.

In other passages, rather than being an urban observer, Nakamatsu walks without paying attention, happy to dwell in an existential nothingness. In the narrator's words, his strolling and his breathing exercises render him mute, blind, without ideas or memories, without arms or legs, without space or time. Only then does he find inner peace. Therefore, Nakamatsu does not walk the city to experience it (as is typical of the flâneur, according to Charles Baudelaire), but rather to escape himself. Other than those moments of identification with nature in the city's parks, most of his reactions to the urban experience are of utter rejection and negativity. He does not want to attract attention to himself. Nakamatsu is not much of a cynic or a disengaged, flamboyant, and self-aware dandy---quite the contrary. And neither is he a badaud, or rubberneck (to use Walter Benjamin's term), as he never

loses his individuality in the crowd. But eventually, as will be seen in the next subchapter, there is "light at the end of the tunnel" for him.

<S1>Reconciliation through Kenshō<\>

Nakamatsu considers the possibility that he is possessed (it is suggested in the last pages of the novel) and finally realizes that he is losing his mind. He experiences overwhelming feelings of abandonment and uselessness, until he loses all hope: his delusional anxiety is making him feel persecuted and threatened by dark shadows even while dreaming. Desperate, he engages male and female prostitutes of all ages, gets inebriated, and spends time with drug addicts, alcoholics, and homeless people, until his former colleague, Benito Gutti, finds him in the street, soiled and with torn clothes. One day, a childhood friend named Juan Miyazaki suggests a certain yuta, an eighty-year-old Okinawan medium or spiritual advisor, who is able to see Nakamatsu's yellow aura when he undergoes convulsions. She hears Japanese voices from the past and sees Etsuko Untén's personal war against Peruvians during World War II. Besides leading a resistance group in support of Japan's expansionism, Untén built houses in various cities to help those Japanese who had lost their jobs and who were harassed by the majority population. The yuta also hears the rancorous voice of an old Nisei woman who has been tormenting the protagonist by reminding him that, during Prado's repression, Peruvians stole his father's business; that other Japanese men were blackmailed by the police, deported to the United States, or accused of being fifth columnists; that the Chinese reported them to Peruvian and American authorities; and that they would place Chinese flags on their businesses to avoid being confused with the Japanese. It is revealed, then, that these atavistic traumas are ruining Nakamatsu's life.

Tellingly, Nakamatsu's friends' attitudes whenever he reveals his intention to commit suicide can be considered indolent, at best. Thus, when Nakamatsu runs into Paco Mármol and asks him about how best to commit suicide without feeling pain, he nonchalantly recommends a bullet to the temple. Similarly, when the protagonist asks Masao Uchida to lend him his gun, the latter understands his intentions and willingly does so. Again, a friend does not object to Nakamatsu's suicide.

At a climactic point in the plot, Nakamatsu is strolling through the Parque de la Exposición when he sees a sakura, or cherry blossom, the national flower of Japan. Suddenly, in a sort of pathetic fallacy, the beauty of the scenery elicits a death wish. He is experiencing *mono no aware* (literally, "pathos of things"), a sense of fleetingness, a nostalgia evinced by object contemplation. This strong nostalgic feeling is caused by his amazement while contemplating the harmony between the spirit and the cherry blossom's shape. His sensitivity toward utmost beauty provoked such feelings of sadness and anguish that they led to a death wish. We find a parallel scene at the end of chapter 8, where Nakamatsu, now a mentally and physically deteriorated homeless man, who has had his sexual identity unexpectedly transformed (perhaps again in connection with Martín Adán's homosexuality), has another awakening (the title of the novel) upon seeing a handsome, dark-skinned teenage boy in a market in the El Agustino neighborhood: "The desired, coveted, a thousand times dreamt, infinitely foreboded-in-dreams teenager."³² Subsequently, he screams, takes off all his clothes, goes down on his knees, and whispers twice: "Beauty exists."³³ This scene echoes the same experience of *mono no aware*, which in some cases, such as this one, can also produce happiness and euphoria. Although at first the reason the protagonist feels this type of sublimation is not explained, the scene reveals an identification of

beauty with liberation similar to that of art with freedom from existential angst proposed by French existential philosophers. Later, we learn that Nakamatsu has experienced "the vision of the essential nature,"³⁴ that is, kenshō, a Zen Buddhist term for the enlightenment experience, which is to see one's nature or true self.³⁵ In a flash of sudden awareness achieved through meditation, purifying pain, and constant control of his own breathing (at times aided by the monotonous movements of crocheting), he finally understands the nonduality of his body and mind. The protagonist has seen the pure, essential nature of his mind as an illuminating emptiness, a condition believed to be essential in reaching Buddhahood or nirvana.

Furthermore, the criollo boy's beauty has opened the door to the protagonist's association with his native land (i.e., to his own Peruvianness). At last, Nakamatsu has found himself and his place in the world, which can be understood either as a genuine way of being Nisei in Peru or as an alternative to being Peruvian. Before this enlightening moment, he rejected all things Peruvian, except for the admired poet Martín Adán; now, he is finally able to accept his country as is, with all its virtues and flaws. Consequently, Nakamatsu is also able to accept himself. The admiration of the intense beauty of the sakura and the criollo boy has taught him that he inhabits a third space between the Peruvian and Japanese realities: he is Japanese Peruvian, a hybrid new entity. He can now reconcile both worlds, but more importantly, he realizes that he is first and foremost a human being. This is precisely what the "enlightenment" in the title of the novel has revealed to him. Kenshō and satori have saved him from his inadequate feelings of orphanhood. Now, identifying with either culture is no longer important. Although he ends up being interned in a mental hospital (as was his idol, Martín Adán), once the terrible thoughts plaguing him leave his conscience,

Nakamatsu can finally lead a normal life until his death in spiritual peace and recovered sanity, two months after leaving the hospital: "all dualities, contradictions were being resolved, unified" (110).³⁶ In line with the Japanese idea of *mono no aware*, the protagonist accepts his past as well as who he has become with melancholic resignation, thus bringing closure to his mental anguish. Madness, after all, has worked as a tool for cultural self-exploration that leads to anagnorisis: the protagonist eventually makes a critical discovery that provides a sudden awareness of his own relationship with the ostensibly antagonistic society where he lives. This self-revelation saves his life and restores his sanity.

The ensuing section addresses similar concerns, but this time through a testimonial approach.

<S1>Japón no da dos oportunidades: The Perūjin versus the Ponja<\>

A text that complements La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu is his testimonial Japón no da dos oportunidades (Japan Does Not Give Two Chances, 1994), where Higa describes a painful process of de-ethnification. In this autobiographical work of non-fiction, he recalls his experience as a *dekasegi* in Japan, where he moved, hoping to escape Peru's economic crisis, "to satisfy his defeated vanity" and to find his true identity: "To meet again with my natural past, that story full of intimate ghosts, which the circumstances cut abruptly, when my parents decided to settle in Peru."³⁷ Therefore, Higa claims to have had both economic and personal motivations. Once there, however, he realized, after being badly mistreated and humiliated while employed by four Japanese factories, that he was not Japanese but Peruvian: "One afternoon, Vicente accompanied me to the station. We made our farewells with a hug. He explained to me his ambition to create a company in Ota. I smiled melancholically. I

imagined a butterfly crossing my window, I stretched my hand, I couldn't catch it. Happiness does not last, it is like Japan, it never gives two chances."³⁸ The butterfly symbolizes the happiness that the author could not find in a country where he was considered not only a foreigner but also a legal minor. Ultimately, the linguistic and cultural barriers proved to be unsurpassable; what he found in his parents' country was loneliness. As he did, the other dekasegi come to the sad realization that whereas in Peru they are not considered citizens, in Japan they are mistreated for being foreigners: "We are the frontier, those who are in limbo,"³⁹ explains a co-worker named Carlos Maehira. Higa and his Nippo-Peruvian coworkers became a "living border."⁴⁰

Higa's descriptions of the Japanese he met and of the companies that hired him, for the most part, are negative. In particular, he and his Latin American co-workers cannot identify with an employer's disciplining and behavior that makes them feel like robots. The Peruvian dekasegi's language, religion, culinary taste, sense of humor, individualism, family orientation, and fellowship make them feel out of place in Japan: "We considered ourselves natural products of Peru, with some difference in nuances and a particular color."⁴¹ Likewise, their Japanese co-workers cannot understand their talkative and festive behavior. The author also condemns the rampant xenophobia in Japanese society. Because the Japanese dislike and mistrust the Latin American dekasegi, Japanese companies do not provide insurance and, as Higa reveals, steal money from foreign workers at every opportunity: "According to the Argentine Carlitos, since April or May, the 'Shin Nihon' recruited people from Peru as if they were pigs, under the modality of ticket on credit. The whole business consisted in fooling unwary people and making them work for three to five months, exploiting them to the maximum through discounts, fines, unlawful charges, etc."⁴² As happened in nineteenth-century

Peru, when Chinese coolies first arrived, Japanese recruiting companies hired, as intermediaries, compatriots of those being recruited. These intermediaries collaborated willingly in their exploitation: "Their style consisted in fooling temporary workers, and, to that purpose, they had accomplices in Lima, naturally Peruvians of Japanese descent, who were willing to sell their own compatriots under the pretext of helping them."⁴³ This passage recalls descriptions of the first Chinese coolies' arrival in Caribbean and Latin American countries. Now, however, Asian workers are "returning home" as the new coolies.

In Japan, cultural gaps between Nisei and Sansei Peruvians are more obvious than in Peru. Young Sansei, who express themselves more frankly, see themselves as complete foreigners in Japan, but aspire to a protracted stay. By contrast, Nisei, forty years or older, feel like they are living between two worlds, and try to imitate local behavior. Most of them, however, have family in Peru and cannot afford to stay in Japan for very long. For this reason, Higa wonders what he has in common with other Nikkei from Brazil and Argentina. To emphasize the differences, he describes the stereotypically Argentine behavior of Carlitos, "from Buenos Aires and a swaggerer,"⁴⁴ a Nikkei working for the same company.

As in La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu, where the protagonist complains about discrimination against Japanese Peruvians while referring derogatorily to Peruvian natives, in Japón no da dos oportunidades, Nikkei who resent Japan's prejudice against them deride their undocumented indigenous compatriots who migrated to Japan pretending to be of Japanese descent:

<EX>[Agena] identified the Indian "Nikkei" by means of the following inspection: "They have a greengrocer's face or look like a black Indian from a barrack hut, aimless people, accustomed to walking shirtless in

the streets. . . . They do not respect the customs, nor are they interested in adapting. They want to impose the law of the most daring. Now, because of these chichas [Indians], the Japanese are going to hate us even more. They can send us all back, legal and illegal."⁴⁵<\>

<TXNI>More interestingly, Ikeda, an irreverent thirty-year-old Sansei who detests his Japanese bosses, repeats an insult that may have been used against him in Peru: "Death to the Ponjas [Japs], sons of a . . .!"⁴⁶ In this context, Takeyuki Tsuda has commented on Brazilian dekasegi's ethnic criticism of the Japanese: "Although these 'Japan-bashing' sessions are often wide-ranging and sometimes involve negative commentary on various aspects of Japanese society, they are frequently based on critical assessments of the manner in which Japanese Brazilians are treated in Japan" (147). This rejection of the Japanese in Japón no da dos oportunidades (also echoed in other testimonials studied here) is a way for the dekasegi not only to vent and relieve their frustration but also (for Nikkei writers too) to assert indirectly their Peruvianness: they are legitimate Peruvians precisely because they do not like Japanese from Japan.<\>

Higa's eighteen-month stay in Japan ended when he realized that he could no longer endure the noise that a Japanese Peruvian woman, "Flor sin retoño" (Shootless Flower), makes at night to keep him awake. One night, unable to withstand his insomnia, he repeatedly banged his head against the wall, screaming. To worsen the situation, an indigenous compatriot, "el chicha Marcelo," told everyone in the factory about this episode. Therefore, everyone thought that Higa had become mad. After these traumatic and disappointing experiences, his emotional connection with Japan became forever weakened. But, in consonance with La iluminación, beyond finding his true condition as a Latin American, he learns to see himself as a human being, regardless of national

borders: "We can add that at the level of conscience, the sense of the world has widened for the bulk of the Nikkei population, as, emerging from the local sphere, we have acknowledged our universal dimension as human beings, ignoring cheap nationalisms."⁴⁷ In La iluminación, Nakamatsu comes to exactly the same realization, hence the title of the work: "For Katzuo, the indisputable fact of his own existence was enough, beyond nationalisms or the intrusion of customs. The sure fact was that he was alive; the rest bordered on metaphysics."⁴⁸

With these two works, La iluminación and Japón no da dos oportunidades, Higa argues that Japanese Peruvians are not a projection of Japan in Peru. Although some links remain, continuity with the fatherland ceases: Japanese Peruvians have created a new, hybrid culture, which is an inextricable part of mainstream Peruvian culture. His essay "Dos visiones sobre los Nisei: Watanabe y Matayoshi" (Two visions about the Nisei: Watanabe and Matayoshi, 2009) reveals the tensions and contradictions present in welcoming Peruvianness while at the same time adopting a culturally "defensive" program: "There exists among the Nikkei in general an instinct of cultural and racial preservation, what anthropology calls 'cultural resistance.' . . . We cannot renounce that which we learned at home. Let us assume our Peruvianness from this Japanese culture in a defensive way; it is our best option."⁴⁹ Both works, La iluminación and Japón no da dos oportunidades, may also be viewed as a veiled apology for ostensibly turning his back on Peru during his dekasegi experiment. They may also be read as the claim to place of a Nikkei Peruvian who, having switched alliances from Peru to Japan, switches back to Peru after the disappointing dekasegi experience. Higa somewhat confesses in Japón no da dos oportunidades that he felt fully Peruvian while in Japan. Therefore, the concept of ethnicity becomes nuanced---if not determined---by situational

circumstances. As Jeffrey Lesser points out in the case of Japanese Brazilians: "Nikkei does not mean the same thing in Japan as it does in Brazil; it does not mean the same thing in the factory as it does in the bank; and it does not mean the same thing for an immigrant to Brazil as it does for her/his grandchild" ("Introduction," 2--3). Perhaps more interesting is the fact that, as seen in Ganaja's case, transnationalism leads to patriotism. Higa's individual case may also be placed in the context of Nikkei group identity, which, as Ropp posits, "emerged out of the contradictions of the encounter that took place in Japan between the imagined shared ancestry and the 'economic miracle' and the real demands of subcontractors and assembly lines; and in the encounter in Peru between a 'revalorized' Japanese heritage and the actual creolization and Peruvianization of the post-Nisei generation" (121).

La iluminación and Japón no da dos oportunidades, therefore, show that transnational processes of flexible citizenship do not always lead to emancipatory, counterhegemonic, and subversive outcomes. Previously, we saw that by immigrating to Peru, Higashide avoided unemployment and the military draft in Japan, only to be deported to an internment camp in Texas. Likewise, both Higa in the testimonial and his fictional protagonist in the novel echo the limitations and adverse vicissitudes often suffered by transnational communities: the disorientation and uprootedness caused by the dislocation of transnational migration may also produce psychological disorders. Tsuda has studied mental disorders among Brazilian dekasegi: "2 to 3 percent of them suffer from psychological problems, which is notably higher than the rate of mental illness among the general Nikkeijin population in Brazil. Such individuals usually show minor psychological symptoms such as mild neurosis, persecutory delusions, slight paranoia, auditory hallucinations, anorexia, and insomnia" (135). In this context, during his dekasegi experience in Japan, the

déclassé Augusto Higa loses his sense of place and feels disempowered. Besides suffering from anxiety and insomnia because of the Nippo-Peruvian woman who prevents his sleep (could this be one of the "auditory hallucinations" mentioned by Dr. Décio Nakagawa in the previous quotation?), Higa realizes that the ethnic homeland of his dreams is not a true homeland, as Latin American dekasegi are socially rejected as gaijin (foreigners). He has to reconsider his national alliances; he ends up defining himself as fully Peruvian and Latin American. And perhaps reflecting autobiographical sentiments, the anomic protagonist in La iluminación, Nakamatsu, suffers the profoundly alienating effects of liminality and social detachment. The absence of an identifiable homeland leads the character to an ineffective search for a source of social belonging, to suffering from hallucinations and paranoia, and to having suicidal thoughts.

The happy ending to Nakamatsu's story is a prelude to the light-hearted humor found in Fernando Iwasaki's essays and short story collection, a characteristic to be analyzed in the next chapter. In contrast with the two Higa works analyzed in this chapter (incidentally, his other works make no reference to his Japanese ethnicity) and the memoirs and oral histories analyzed in chapter 2, Iwasaki represents, along with Carlos Yushimito, the post-national and post-nationalist face of Nikkei Peruvian cultural production. This study's inclusion of these two authors is necessary to show the heterogeneous nature of the Nikkei Peruvian community and its cultural production.<\>

<CN>4<\>

<CT>Lima + Seville = Okinawa<\>

<CST>The Japanese as Caricature in Fernando Iwasaki's España, aparta de mí estos premios<\>

<TX>Fernando Iwasaki (1961--),¹ with José Watanabe, is one of the most international Peruvian authors of Japanese origin. Although his opus does not generally treat the Japanese or their identity, four of his texts reflect this ethnicity: the historical study Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI (The Far East and Peru in the Sixteenth Century, 1992); the short story "La sombra del guerrero" (The Warrior's Shadow), included in the collection Un milagro informal (An Informal Miracle, 2003]; the collection of essays Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco (My Poncho Is a Flamenco Kimono, 2005); and the collection of short stories (or novel, as Iwasaki conceived it) España, aparta de mí estos premios (Spain, Take These Awards from Me, 2009).² In addition, two stories in Libro de mal amor (2000), "Rebeca" and "Itzel," mention the Japanese origins of the autobiographical protagonist.³ The author repeatedly states that he does not identify with a single national identity, be it Peruvian, Spanish, or Japanese. Instead, he considers having multiple identities more appealing. His only link to Japan is a surname inherited from a Japanese grandfather and some Peruvian relatives who moved there as dekasegi and still live there. Yet he has visited Japan and has received job offers from Japanese universities, Tokyo University among them. In a September 2010 interview, conducted by me in Seville, Spain, Iwasaki explained that most Nikkei authors prefer to be perceived not as Japanese but as Latin Americans (from my conversations with Carlos Yushimito, he feels likewise). Referring to his own case, he stated half jokingly: "But all of a sudden, I see myself on

the tatami."⁴ Nonetheless, in the four mentioned texts, it is evident that Iwasaki is perceived as Japanese because of his surname, particularly outside his native Peru. In this chapter I argue that this perception has ended up shaping some of his texts.

"I am skeptical of generations, labels, and flags," Iwasaki proclaims in "Santa Prosa de Lima" (Holy Prose of Lima), included in Mi poncho, a collection of essays where he explores his multiple cultural identities.⁵ Yet, whether he likes it or not, his ethnic heritage seems to follow Iwasaki everywhere. In a speech at London's Instituto Cervantes on October 12, 2004 (a date to celebrate Heritage Day in the Hispanic world), which he titled "La visa múltiple como identidad en la narrativa peruana contemporánea" (The Multiple Visa as Identity in the Contemporary Peruvian Narrative), he states: "In Peru, no one is surprised when someone has a Japanese surname, because early on, from the time when we start in school, we have friends who have Italian, Slavic, Chinese, Jewish, Anglo-Saxon, Portuguese, Armenian, German, and---of course---Japanese names. However, it is not that way in Spain, where people are still surprised when one has a strange name without being a soccer player."⁶ The author also noted his situation's irony in Mi poncho: "On more than one occasion I have had to speak about literature and identity, which seems to be nonsensical when one lives in Spain, has a Japanese surname, and was born in Peru. For this reason, I always answer that my poncho is a flamenco kimono."⁷ As he admitted in our interview, he had never felt so Japanese until he moved to Spain, particularly after Alberto Fujimori's electoral victory, when numerous journalists wanted to interview him because he is both a Peruvian of Japanese origin and a close friend of Mario Vargas Llosa's, the election's runner-up.

Although he refuses to identify with a specific national identity, Iwasaki admits that these types of identitarian dilemmas have troubled him for some time. Besides being often asked about his own national and cultural identity, he is aware that many people expect to find more Japanese characteristics in his personality than there are. Yet when asked in an interview whether he inherited Japanese traits, he answered, with almost no hesitation, that he identifies with how the Japanese look at the past. Likewise, in the prologue to El descubrimiento de España (The Discovery of Spain, 1995), an essay that undoubtedly prefigures the fictional rendition of the same topic found in España, aparta, Iwasaki clarifies: "Every time they ask me if I have stopped being Peruvian, I always answer that if 'patria' [motherland] is the 'parents' land,' the 'children's land' does not have a substantive yet, but it may be more essential and intimate than the other one. Must I insist on the fact that Spain is my children's land?"⁸ And he insists on these identitarian issues at the conclusion of El descubrimiento de España:

<EX>As a colophon, I must say that I let myself be loved by a couple of ministries and I am now also a Spanish citizen, a vicissitude that has not required any act of faith because my only motherlands are my memory and the body of the woman I love; although I confess that I love being like the one who discovered that beyond the border was his home, his world, and his city" (235; italics in the original).⁹<\>

<TXNI>Therefore, albeit somewhat indirectly, Iwasaki seems to be making some (perhaps unconscious) identitarian choices in his answers to questions about cultural belonging. As he usually does in his works, Iwasaki has tried to expose his perplexity through humor, resolving the conundrum with a simple theorem: "Lima + Sevilla = Okinawa" (García Pastor, n.p.).<\>

To all these factors, I would add that Iwasaki shares with fellow Peruvian Vargas Llosa an aversion to nationalistic discourses, as evidenced by their support of the Spanish politician Rosa Díez and her political party, Unión Progreso y Democracia (Union, Progress, and Democracy; UPD), known for their opposition to regional nationalisms in Spain.¹⁰ This political stance is evidenced as well in his essay rePublicanos: Cuando dejamos de ser realistas (rePublicans: When We Stopped Being Realists, 2008), where the author avers: "For a Latin American man who is used to seeing that the progressive, transgressive, revolutionary, and politically correct thing is to negate the nation, it turns out to be at least intoxicating to realize that nationalism in Spain has progressive, transgressor, revolutionary, and politically correct credentials."¹¹ His negative views on national identity are voiced time and again in this same book: "National identity is a very handy resource that can be useful to negate either one thing or its opposite, but that in any case it will always be an abstraction, a civil metaphor, and a collective representation that legitimizes and justifies the gregarious ostentation of all the narcissisms that would be intolerable in individual persons."¹² Along these lines, in "La visa múltiple como identidad en la narrativa peruana contemporánea," where Iwasaki discusses literature's capacity to define and interpret national identities, he asks: "Why does one have to be from just one country when one can be from all of them and none?"¹³ He later adds, with his usual sarcasm, that he agreed to speak "about identities, visas, and passports, which in the end is the only thing that counts whenever one travels to speak about literature."¹⁴ After lamenting his daily finding of new literary or philological border customs where one has to show his national identity, then admitting ironically that, having lived in Seville since 1989 and having a Japanese surname, his literature could hardly be considered genuinely

Peruvian (i.e., telluric and pre-Colombian), he declares: "I do not accept cultural border customs and I do not acknowledge anyone's authority to require the literary passport . . . what I intend to have is a multiple and undefined identity---Peruvian, Japanese, Italian, and Spanish, with its respective passports---to the dismay of literary critics."¹⁵ As seen, in spite of Iwasaki's disdain for national identities, this topic continues to be a source of inspiration and one of the most recurrent in his oeuvre.

Likewise, in "Die kartoffelblüte o la flor de papa" (Die kartoffelblüte or the Potato Flower), included in Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco, he mocks Latin American authors such as Jorge Luis Borges, who claimed to have read mostly non-Hispanophone literature, as well as those who only acknowledge their national literature's influence. In the end, he presents himself as the "poster boy" of literary transnationalism: "To travel the world with a Spanish passport, but having a Japanese surname and having been born in Peru, has turned me into a living refutation of regionalisms, identities, and traditional outfits."¹⁶ Iwasaki goes even further in "El escritor 'comunitario.' Fútbol, identidad y literatura" (The 'European Community' Writer. Soccer, Identity, and Literature), where he praises the literary benefits of being an expatriate: "Exile and rootlessness are great for artists, poets, writers, and soccer players to discover the mirages and limitations of national identity."¹⁷

Moving on to Iwasaki's fiction, we find in "La sombra del guerrero" his only work (along one of the chapters in España, aparta de mí estos premios) to include Peruvian Nikkei characters. Yet he shies away from the realistic approach that characterizes the first paragraphs of the story to end up orientalizing his own ethnic group, by exoticizing it through the stereotypical image of the samurai warrior. In the early 1980s, inspired by

the stories he had heard about his grandfather (ojiisan), whom he never met, he wrote this short story about two old samurai, which is told through a first-person narrator with some autobiographical traits: "My father, the son of a Japanese man and a Peruvian woman, never took me or my siblings to frequent the Japanese community; neither did he mention any relative to us and we were all raised in Catholic schools. In due time, the university ended up consolidating our western worldview and Japan never awakened any atavistic feeling in us."¹⁸ From the beginning, therefore, the protagonist admits his complete ignorance of Asian themes and sarcastically confesses that his view of the Japanese came from Kurosawa Akira's (1910--1998) films and from advertisements of electronics. This caveat perhaps justifies the author's eventual distortion of Nikkei Peruvian reality, since echoes of Kurosawa's 1954 film Seven Samurai (Shichinin no Samurai) are indeed present in the short story.¹⁹

One day, a Japanese man named Yoshitaro Kohatsu pays him a visit. He again mocks his stereotypical assumptions when he deems the visitor's thinness "'very oriental'" (42; in quotation marks in the original).²⁰ Kohatsu explains that he served as palace advisor in the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido and that he hails from an ancient and noble lineage. He then recalls when, in 1867, the imperial family regained its power after fifteen-year-old Prince Mutsuhito (1852--1912; emperor of Japan 1867--1912) and his pro-Western advisors defeated the Tokugawa shogunate that had governed since 1603. After his family lost its wealth because of these political changes, Kohatsu unsuccessfully conspired against the Meiji emperor (when Prince Mutsuhito became emperor, he took the name Meiji, meaning "enlightened rule emperor"). Subsequently, the emperor discovered that Kohatsu had moved to Peru to avoid a death penalty, and he ordered his execution, but given that he was a samurai,

only a samurai could end his life. That is how the narrator's grandfather, Takachi Kawashita, took the Bushidō oath and followed him to Peru to kill him.

The story piqued the narrator's interest, since---following another autobiographical trait---his father never talked about his grandfather Kawashita. For decades, the two samurai, Kohatsu and Kawashita, fought with swords (according to the Bushidō code, Kawashita could execute another samurai only after defeating him in combat) in the mountains, the rainforest, and all throughout Peru. When Kawashita at last defeated Kohatsu, the latter asked: "Why do we fight? You have been chasing me for over fifty years and now that you have me, what will you do? The Meiji Emperor no longer exists, Japan lost the World War, titles have been abolished, and they say there is now a republic."²¹ With these words, Kohatsu changed Kawashita's mind, and later, they became good friends and worked as masons, carpenters, and cooks. Kohatsu finally reveals that he is there to fulfill a promise he made to his former enemy: to entrust the narrator with an ancient katana (Japanese backsword) that is over one thousand years old. Kawashita never fulfilled the promise he made to the Meiji emperor to kill Kohatsu with that sword or, if he failed, of killing himself, and Bushidō, Kohatsu explains to the narrator, states that if a warrior does not fulfill his promise, he must die like a samurai (i.e., committ seppuku, the ritual suicide by disembowelment).

When the narrator asks Kohatsu why he is entrusting him with the katana instead of giving it to his father, the old samurai answers that the narrator's father never loved his own father because the latter abandoned him to obey the emperor's orders; Kohatsu assures the narrator that he too is different because he is a poet. Once the narrator touches the magic sword, he suddenly gains knowledge of his grandfather's millenary culture and decides to follow the unwritten precepts of the Bushidō on how to attenuate a samurai's

shame: he will commit seppuku to save his grandfather's honor. This final act is seen in the story as indelible proof of the protagonist's sudden and true essential Japaneseness. After all, seppuku, as Nitobe clarifies in his rendition of the Bushidō, "was not a mere suicidal process. It was an institution, legal and ceremonial. An invention of the middle ages, it was a process by which warriors could expiate their crimes, apologize for errors, escape from disgrace, redeem their friends, or prove their sincerity" (103). The narrator has magically learned the key Japanese concept of on (debt, obligation, favor) in its two different varieties, which appear in the story: the ko on (unlimited devotion to the emperor), and the oya on (filial piety), the debt one owes his parents (or, in this case, grandfather). The poetic last sentence of the story---"From the other side, the smell of the cherry blossoms comes to me"²²---shows that, facing death, the narrator has magically acquired the samurai sense of honor and Bushidō wisdom, through which we learn that the populace compared the samurai's short life to that of a beautiful, fragile, and pure cherry blossom: "As among flowers the cherry blossom is queen, so among men the samurai is lord" (Nitobe, 139). Having learned to appreciate life as a fleeting gift, the samurai choose the short-lived, but beautiful, cherry blossom as their symbol and as a melancholic reminder of death. As seen, although this short story deals with Japanese and Nikkei characters in Peru, Iwasaki does not portray the everyday life of his fellow, contemporary Nikkei, but rather the epic, exoticized, and mythical world of Japanese legends, including somewhat stereotypical samurai.

"La sombra del guerrero" anticipates the stories collected in España, aparta de mí estos premios in that its Japanese characters act blinded by a fanatic and anachronistic sense of duty, set on obeying orders, and ignoring the passage of time. Kohatsu embodies an exotic strangeness that apparently

becomes contagious: the narrator goes from being ignorant of Japanese culture to showing his discipline and absolute obedience to Japanese traditional values by committing seppuku. Not unlike the stories in España, aparta, "La sombra del guerrero" is partly based on facts: as noted, Iwasaki's grandfather, a political dissident of the Meiji Restoration, avoided contact with other members of the Peruvian Nikkei community for fear of being killed. Fernando Iwasaki's father never talked about his own father, Ariichi Iwasaki, but the author learned from his uncle Luis that Ariichi was from Hiroshima and that, after spending time in Paris, he moved to Lima. He ended up marrying a Peruvian and dying in that city in the 1940s. Ariichi Iwasaki belonged to a shizoku (formerly known as samurai) family, part of the Japanese warrior gentry or caste, but because he was not the elder son, he could not be considered a samurai. After the Meiji Restoration, the grandfather, a political dissident, had to choose between changing his name to stay in Japan or leaving the country. Consequently, he lived in France for a time but was expelled because, then, Japan would demand, before opening an embassy in any country, that all Japanese political dissidents residing there be expelled. In Paris, Ariichi met the Japanese expatriate painter Fujita Tsuguji (1886--1968), and when the latter went to Peru, he paid him a visit.

Fernando Iwasaki's Japanese grandfather will again be a source of inspiration in his essay "Las hormigas en Francia caminan con elegancia" (Ants in France Walk with Elegance), included in Mi poncho, where he imagines the latter's adventures in Paris:

<EX>More than a century ago, a dissident of the Meiji Restoration spent the first years of his exile in Paris, before poverty and the Great War persuaded him to travel to Peru. My grandfather was one of the few Japanese living in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century and the

beginning of the twentieth. I like to fantasize that it was Pierre Loti who spoke to him about the great pagoda by Eiffel; perhaps one of the kimonos that Monet bought was his; I want to believe that he met Mr. Hadata, Proust's florist, or that he would speak about Momosuke Iwasaki with Madame Sadayakko. But there is no way for me to know because my grandfather Ariichi died in Lima when my father was only twelve years old and I could only give him his life back through the minor magic of literature. That is why I will one day write about the years that my grandfather Ariichi spent in Paris. Ari-ichi means "the first of ants," and I am sure that my grandfather would have also found it fun to know that ants in France walk with elegance.²³<\>

In contrast with "La sombra del guerrero," the irreverent and iconoclastic España, aparta depicts the Japanese humorously. This description is anticipated by the author's photograph, sitting in the lotus position in the inside of the book's dust cover. It is also anticipated on the book's cover, where we see nineteen ninjas coming out of the Osborne bull (the unofficial national symbol of Spain), as though it were a Trojan horse, to invade Spain. In the background, we see the war flag of Imperial Japan. Although this is, undoubtedly, a very funny and witty book, the author, as he posits in the essay "El texto como pretexto" (The Text as Pretext), included in Mi poncho, takes humor and laughter seriously: "Humor has always had corrosive effects against power, whether it is a dictatorship or a school run by nuns."²⁴ From this perspective, in España, aparta, the author offers a humorous approach to the fascination certain Japanese show before Spanish culture, which turns into a condemnation of how banalized mass media and daily life in general have become in Spain. Beyond an abundance of bizarre and eccentric Japanese male characters (the only female appears in the "The Cubist geisha"), España,

aparta is a parody of a popular sub-culture: the new obsession in Spain and in many other countries with "reality" shows, clairvoyants, astrologists, lives of celebrities, and other shallow topics, collectively known in Spain as telebasura (trash TV). It seems that all in life, from the most banal to the rarest occurrence, can be turned into a reality show or into another type of spectacle that will deliver economic profit and increase network ratings.²⁵ Thus, in an interview with María Dolores García Pastor, Iwasaki criticizes the tendency "to turn privacy into news; to turn thought into a commercial; to turn civil society into an audience, as if ratings were the democratic measure of something."²⁶ Incidentally, here one could argue that ratings are often the democratic measure of popular taste and preferences. Along with this trivialization of culture and life, Iwasaki mocks the absurd competition among the seventeen autonomous communities in Spain (a veiled criticism of regional nationalisms) and the extravagant number of literary awards given throughout Spain, many of them with localist or atavistically folkloric topics, similar to those included in España, aparta.

The Japanese characters in these stories either have been living underground for years or lead a normal life; regardless, no one notices their nationality. Once they are noticed, however, they immediately become media stars, and books written about them are instant best sellers. The humorous premise of España, aparta is that it offers readers (here the implied reader is "probably from overseas"²⁷ and, more specifically, Latin American) an infallible formula for winning minor Spanish literary contests. The result is a dicey stylistic exercise on how to apply rule number three in its "Decalogue of the Habitual Contestant"²⁸: creating a "mother cell" short story that can later be cloned and tailored to the different topics and criteria set forth by each literary competition. Thus, all seven "homotextual" stories that win

literary competitions in España, aparta are supposed to be versions of the account of a Japanese Brigadist (i.e., member of the International Brigades, groups of foreign volunteers who fought for the Spanish Republic against the Falangist or Fascist forces in the Spanish Civil War [1936--1939]) left and forgotten in a cave for nearly seventy years. Indeed, identical or similar paragraphs are repeated in the stories, and these share common characters and structural traits; however, the plots are quite different. At the beginning of each story, we can read the award criteria (some are outrageous), and at the end, the jury's explanation of their decision, in spite of the objections of some members. The juries are composed of real persons, and Hipólito G. Navarro, a writer from Huelva, Spain, participates in all of them, including one formed by the Platform of Progressive Women from Catalonia. Suggesting the contestants' tendency to be obsequious, every short story is preceded by a quotation from a work by a jury member.

All versions of the original short story share a leitmotif: the caricatured Japanese protagonist (as is well known, samurai and geishas are go-to topics for stereotypes of Japan and the Japanese) wanting to become Basque, Catalan, Andalusian, or Spanish. In addition, these Japanese characters can be as nationalist as any Basque or Catalan, and have as much familiarity with national or local cultural traits as any local person. Yet, in El descubrimiento de España, Iwasaki suggests, always humorously, that a fundamental difference may exist: "A Japanese will never be tacky even if he dresses as a matador, wears the sombrero of a charro or a gaucho costume, because that doubtful privilege belongs to our societies of Hispanic tradition, where our mawkishness, grotesqueness, and pompousness define our cultural identity. Unamuno intuited one more element that has ended up being indispensable: the tragic sentiment of life."²⁹ In certain interviews, Iwasaki

has argued (hopefully in a joking manner) that the kitsch, hortera (in Spain, somewhat a synonym for "tacky"), and huachafo (roughly the equivalent Peruvian term) have been the most important Hispanic contributions to Western culture.

At any rate, through a blend of fact and fiction, Iwasaki conveys the idea that, if unlikely facts are true (the surname Japón in the town of Coria del Río, in the province of Seville; the presence of three Japanese brigadists who fought for the Spanish Republic; the discovery of Kirishitan³⁰ or crypto-Christians in Japan who have clung to the teachings of Basque and Navarro Jesuits for three hundred years), then incredible or far-fetched rumors could be probable. Thus, instead of looking for the truth of lies, as Vargas Llosa famously defined fiction, Iwasaki searches for the implausible in truth. The author explained that he chose this nationality for his characters not because he is a Nikkei (although this is, in my view, debatable) but because it is the one Spaniards consider more distant or alien to their culture. Interestingly, with this confession, he reveals his true implied reader: not Latin American writers competing for minor Spanish literary awards, but Spaniards in general. Popular perception has it that when a Japanese is determined to do something, he or she can overcome all obstacles in pursuing that goal. Likewise, Iwasaki argues that, in the Spanish imaginary, Japanese people are capable of duplicating, through discipline and repetition, all types of behavior or artistic expressions. Mentioning this nationality supposedly predisposes Spaniards to expect something that is uncommon from the character. And, thanks to these Japanese characters causing astonishment and perplexity, Spanish readers can conceive of implausibility as probable.

To leave no doubt that this should be the expectation, a section of each short story always begins by mentioning three real-life accounts about Japanese holdouts in the Pacific (of course, several more could have been

added). As Iwasaki expounds in an interview, these historical examples portray the Japanese as the archetype of persons who find no limits in the fulfillment of their duties, a trait that turns them into the antithesis of the Hispanic condition: "Japanese discipline, the sense of duty and the delicate attention to detail are in the antipodes of the Hispanic idiosyncrasy and, for this reason, a Japanese determined to be Basque, Andalusian, or Catalan is capable of succeeding where Chileans, Argentines, or Peruvians fail."³¹ At the same time, these historical examples add verisimilitude to the Japanese characters in España, aparta, who hide for decades in different parts of Spain, unaware of the Civil War's conclusion or that of Franco's dictatorship: the implicit assumption is that when dealing with the Japanese, all is possible. Another factor that motivated Iwasaki to choose Japanese protagonists is that, in his view, a fascination has arisen about Japanese culture in Spain, as proven by Isabel Coixet's film Mapa de los sonidos de Tokio (Map of Tokyo Sounds), the success of Ray Loriga's novel Tokio ya no nos quiere (Tokyo Doesn't Love Us Anymore), and of Haruki Murakami's books.

These Japanese characters have mastered regional or national marks of identity to the point of erasing cultural differences and becoming "just another Spaniard." Their Spanish neighbors do not notice that they are Japanese. To show that these exaggerated stories are loosely based on facts, Iwasaki includes collages of photographs, created by him. Even the last page of the book, which includes the date it was printed, reminds us that it coincides with the anniversary of when the only Nippo-Peruvian bullfighter in history, Ricardo Higa Uyehara "Mitsuya," took the alternativa from his mentor Manuel Mejías "Bienvenida." In the end, however, the focus of this "mixture of Tora, Tora, Tora and Toro, Toro, Toro (Bull)"³² (as Iwasaki describes España, aparta) is not the mimicry of the Japanese protagonists or their identity, but

rather a satire of reality shows and Spanish regional identities. Iwasaki uses anachronistic Japanese characters to problematize contemporary Spanishness and nationalistic sentiments. That beyond hybridity, a Japanese person can become so Basque, Catalan, Andalusian, or Spanish represents, in itself, an anti-essentialist statement.

On the other hand, with España, aparta Iwasaki insists on a claim he had already made in Neguijón (2005) and Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco (2005): that there has been a sui generis magical realism in Spanish literature since the Middle Ages. Thus, in the essay "Die kartoffelblüte o la flor de papa," a title taken from a famous huayno,³³ he argues: "Anyone who knows minimally this delirious culture that engendered lives of saints, chronicles of the Indies, and Golden Century novels, would agree with me that in the Latin American butterfly of magical realism there was once a Spanish Baroque worm."³⁴

Each of the titles of the collection's seven short stories includes a Japanese word that is known universally: haiku, kimono, geisha, sake, katana, sushi, and tsunami. The first short story or chapter in the collection, "El haiku del brigadista" (one of three that take place in Andalusia), was also the first that Iwasaki wrote and the "mother cell" used for all other literary metamorphoses aimed at adhering to the implausible criteria of seven minor literary awards. In it, we find the four main characters that will re-appear in the remaining stories. We too have the first example in España, aparta of the public's fascination with "reality" television. At first, the morbid audience of the reality show "Cavernícolas Solidarios" (Supportive Cavemen) believes that the Japanese brigadist's violence against the contestants living in Malaga's "La Pileta" cave is part of the show; once they realize it is a real event, prime-time ratings increase to record-breaking levels. The Japanese character is then humorously referred to as "the irate Nipponese," "the yellow

warrior," or the "alleged Japanese terrorist,"³⁵ and the sensationalist yellow press publishes lengthy articles about Islamic fundamentalism in Japan, the Nipponese terrorist's training in martial arts, and other imaginative stories. At one point, they notice that Yoneyama is wearing the Spanish flag of the republic as a hachimaki, or headband, around his head and realize that he is not a terrorist but a heroic member of the International Brigades who, along with two compatriots (one was Jack Shirai),³⁶ defended the Second Republic. It turns out that Yoneyama hid for nearly seventy years in a cave, unaware of the Spanish Civil War's end. Subsequently, the Spanish government orders the law enforcement officers who had left him in a coma because of their blows to return the medals awarded to them for his capture. Eventually, Yoneyama becomes an international star, surpassing the fame of other Japanese-origin persons, such as former Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori and soccer player Hidetoshi Nakata.

All seventeen Spanish autonomous communities, as well as Japan and Cuba, send medical teams to help Yoneyama. Later, autonomous communities, cities, and towns compete for the honor of caring for the Japanese brigadist. Spanish Television takes advantage of Yoneyama's coma by turning the situation into a successful twenty-four-hour reality show that is retransmitted to fifteen countries and whose "zen atmosphere impregnated little by little the daily life of the country" (26).³⁷ Likewise, books about Yoneyama's hardships top best seller lists and everything Japanese sounding (ironically including flamenco as though it were a Japanese export to Spain) becomes trendy. Japanese tourists and pilgrims travel to visit him, while former brigadists recognize him on television and, as it happens in the other short stories, express surprise at learning that he is Japanese: "I thought he was a gypsy,"³⁸ says one of them. Later, experts question the comatose brigadist through hypnotic

regressions, a spiritist in trance, and a Trotskyist, Peruvian Nisei medium.³⁹ When Yoneyama awakens from the coma, he receives three medals, that of Andalusia, of Congress, and of the Basque Country. In the end, the Japanese protagonist commits suicide by jumping into the abyss while thinking about a haiku poem (traditionally, samurai would write death poems before committing seppuku) that exhibits a pessimistic view of contemporary Spain: "Endless night / I do not see light / outside the cave either."⁴⁰ Later, hundreds of haiku written over prehistoric paintings are discovered on cave walls. The story ends with the omniscient narrator's guess that a theme park to attract Japanese tourism will be built on that site.

The second short story, chapter, or version of the original short story, "El kimono azul" (The Blue Kimono), is based on the true story of the relationship between Colonel Moscardó (José Moscardó Ituarte, 1878--1956) and a Japanese family indebted to him. To prove the veracity of some information in this chapter, the page before the criteria list for this literary contest shows a collage that includes a photograph of Hidefugi Komatsubara dedicated to Captain Moscardó. It also includes a photograph of a newspaper article detailing an agreement between Izquierda Unida (United Left; IU; a far-left party) and the Falange Auténtica (Authentic Falange; FA; a neo-fascist party) that displaced the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; PSOE) from power in the Ardales municipality of Malaga. Then, the author builds upon these facts. Ultimately, such idiosyncratic occurrences in Spain somehow make the Japanese characters look less extravagant and strengthen Iwasaki's notion that Latin American magical realism traces its roots to Spain. The story ends when the Japanese protagonist decides that he can only restore his family's honor by committing suicide within the dignified seppuku ritual. His decision fuels multiple debates about political

correctness and multiculturalism in Spanish society, but the ceremony is eventually televised in pay-per-view by a cable station.

[author query: please insert callout for Figure 10]

<insert Figure 11 about here>

The third short story, "La geisha cubista" (The Cubist geisha), was inspired by Pablo Picasso's relationship with Madame Sada Yacco, which Lesley Downer describes in Madame Sadayakko: The Geisha Who Seduced the West (2003). In the end, the protagonist, Michiko Arakaki, donated Picasso's drawings in a solemn ceremony and received an ovation after uttering three words in Catalan. The presence of Japanese characters who use Catalan or Basque words, either because they share nationalistic feelings or because they are asked to do so by nationalists, may be read in the context of Iwasaki's ideas about this topic, as expressed, for example, in his essay rePublicanos: Cuando dejamos de ser realistas: "Why is it important to pose the matter of autochthonous languages? Because in Spain linguistic diversity is one of the foundations of national identity, and national identities in Spain are the foundation of pro-independence demands."⁴¹ The fourth version of the "mother cell" story, "El sake⁴² del pelotari" (The Basque Pelota [or Jai Alai] Player's Sake) is, along with "El sushi melancólico" (The Melancholic Sushi), one of two short stories dealing with Basque nationalism.⁴³ In it, Ahitori Tsurunaga, a Japanese man of Basque descent, and the hidden Christians (or kakure Kirishitan) of Ogimachi had been hiding in the mountains of Shirakawa-Go for over three hundred years, unaware of the end of Christian persecution in Japan. In the same humorous vein found in previous stories, here, after people in the Basque Country learn that the Kirishitan of Ogimachi use Basque words in their liturgy, cities like Bilbao, Pamplona, and Azpeitia compete for becoming sister cities of Ogimachi. Tsurunaga, who is between 116 and 120 years old, has remained youthful owing

to his consumption of a Japanese version of the Spanish pacharán---a liqueur traditionally from Navarre---that he made from a Japanese plum-like fruit called umeboshi (there is a real Japanese liqueur made from umeboshi). Eventually, Ogimachi becomes a theme park for Basque visitors, and we are told that Tsurunaga disappeared, presumably fleeing from a vow of chastity.

The fifth version, and perhaps the funniest of all, is "La katana verdiblanca" (The Green and White katana), where a ninety-three-year-old Peruvian Issei, Makino Yoneyama, asks for permission to fulfill the final wish of his teacher, an ikebana master and descendent of Kirishitans: to spread his ashes over the home stadium of the Sevilla Fútbol Club. Eventually, a Japanese television station sends a camera crew to Coria del Río to film a very successful reality show based on the lives of Yoneyama and Komatsubara. To prove the story's veracity, Iwasaki includes photographs of the statue to samurai Hasekura in Coria del Río and those of Makino Yoneyama and Makoto Komatsubara.⁴⁴ The sixth short story, "El sushi melancólico," was inspired by a public altercation between two famous Catalan chefs. Iwasaki believes that the media's reporting of the feud and its consequences is yet another example of the trivialization of Spanish public life, where inconsequential gossip has replaced more important sociopolitical news. In the fictional version of the event, Iwasaki subtly mocks nationalism when, in a live interview, an obscure elderly cook, Michiko Arakaki, who grew up in a training facility for Jesuit priests that also served as a shelter for descendents of a Kirishitan community in Hiroshima, wears an ikurriña (Basque flag) as her hachimaki while donning a label on her shirt insulting renowned chef Ahitori Tsurunaga in Japanese and in Basque. She denounces Tsurunaga for betraying Basque cuisine by introducing exotic and transgenic ingredients into its traditional dishes.

Inspired by the many Japanese students of flamenco music and dance at the Fundación de Arte Flamenco Cristina Heeren (Cristina Heeren Flamenco Foundation), of which Iwasaki is the director, the last short story, "Tsunami de Sanlúcar (Tsunami of Sanlúcar)" deals with the experiences of a Japanese flamenco ensemble. In it, the hilarity of rancid provincialisms and the competition among autonomous communities are accentuated again. Eventually, the four Japanese flamenco artists perform so well (mixing flamenco art with elements of the Japanese Noh theater) that they turn into a media sensation in Spain and Japan.

As seen in these satirical texts, Iwasaki's interests lie not so much in the Peruvian Nikkei community or in the Japanese themselves, but rather in how the Japanese are perceived in Spain and what this perception reveals about contemporary Spanish society. All said, Japanese characters are stereotypical caricatures that serve to analyze, from a sarcastic perspective, sociocultural and political issues in contemporary Spain. By book's end, it is unclear which characters are more extravagant and eccentric: the assimilated Japanese immigrants or the Spaniards with their regional nationalisms and obsessions.

The last text to be analyzed in this chapter is the historical study Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI (1992 [author query: Works Cited has 2005]), which Iwasaki humorously dedicates to his mother, "an explorer of the Orient in her own way" (she married a man of Japanese descent).⁴⁵ This book, originally written as the thesis for an M.A. in history at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (1987--1988; defended in 1992), reveals the exploits of Peruvians in the Philippines, China, and Japan during the sixteenth century, and those of Asians in Peru. Interestingly, contradicting Iwasaki's voluntary de-ethnification in public speeches, the preface to the 2005 Peruvian edition addresses his motivation for this research:

<EX>No choice is fortuitous or at least it should not be. If I dedicated several years to wearing myself over documents dealing with the history of Spain in the Orient, it was because I had a personal debt with that culture that somehow concerns me.

Yet, now that I am no longer a historian, I have not given up on the joyful reading of Tanizaki, Takuboku, Mishima, Kawabata, and Akutagawa, where I have finally filled up the emptiness that ate at my heart.⁴⁶<\>

<TXNI>In the 1992 introduction, however, this idea was manifested more as a speculation than as a fact: "I am left with the doubt of knowing if it was an atavism that made me choose this research topic, perhaps the rough tact of wood in a Kyoto temple or the innocence of my daughters, unaware of the incredible itinerary of our name. Some day, I will tell Paula and María Fernanda another history of the Far East and Peru that perhaps will never populate the books but our memory instead."⁴⁷<\>

The study shows how in the streets of newly founded Lima, one could buy Chinese products as well as books describing exotic Oriental voyages. Ships would bring members of religious orders with long evangelizing experiences in the Far East along with news about the riches in the Philippines. Soon, the first Chinese and Japanese nationals appeared in Lima's census. Moreover, we learn that it was common to get silver pesos minted in Lima and Potosí circulating in Manila, Macao, Nagasaki, and different Chinese cities. Perhaps more importantly, according to Iwasaki, Chinese and Japanese warlords' awareness of the destruction of the Inca Empire made them distrust Spanish missionaries and ambassadors. The author modestly admits that Peruvians ("peruleros" as he calls them) who embarked toward remote Oriental kingdoms have more literary than historical capital, given that they were, for the most

part, smugglers whose voyages ignored royal prohibition of trans-Pacific commerce. These transgressions went largely ignored, because documentation was sporadic.

The third chapter, "Juan de Solís, a Peruvian among samurai (1589--1594),"⁴⁸ describes the stay of Spanish-Peruvian smuggler, Juan de Solís, in Nagasaki, Satsuma, and Nagoy between 1591 and 1594, i.e., forty-three years after Francis Xavier's arrival in Japan. Before travelling to Macao and Japan, he reached Peru from Moya, Spain, in 1569, as a servant of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Iwasaki describes the process by which Solís turned into an enemy of the Jesuits. The order's activities in Japan were followed with suspicion by Spanish authorities. The Jesuits tried to prevent the Spanish conquest of Japan by stressing its purportedly poor land quality and the military power of the taikō Toyotomi Hideyoshi. They also emphasized their own influence over Christian Japanese warlords, who allegedly could provide thousands of warriors to aid in the conquest of China (in contrast with the Jesuits' depiction of the Japanese, a document included by Iwasaki describes the Chinese as effeminate, cowardly, and weaponless). Following the taikō's request, the seventh governor-general of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, sent Dominican friar Juan Cobo as ambassador to Japan in 1591. The latter had to cope with the intrigues of both the Jesuits and Juan de Solís. Solís, who lived in Satsuma and joined Cobo as an interpreter, immediately informed him about Portuguese and Jesuit wrongdoings.

Solís was the first sailor to go from Callao, Peru, to Macao, via Panama. In Macao, he dealt with litigation by Portuguese nationals who accused him of slander. Also, his ship was seized upon arrival in Macao, for breaking laws that forbade direct commerce between the East and West Indies. However, the Jesuit Alessandro Valignano requested Solís's liberation in exchange for his

depositing six thousand ducados in Jesuit accounts in Japan. After Solís arrived in Nagasaki, he realized that neither the Jesuits nor the Portuguese were willing to return the money to him. He then complained to the taikō, Hideyoshi, who forced them to return it. These events antagonized the Jesuits, who later became more frustrated with Solís after learning that he had uncovered their lie: they had falsely claimed that a present they gave the taikō came directly from the Spanish Crown. Feeling swindled and disappointed, the taikō made Solís his protégé and ordered the destruction of Catholic churches.

Later, an envoy sent by the governor of the Philippines realized that Juan de Solís's collaboration as an interpreter and his influence on the taikō were significant. A year after the envoy's visit, Solís described how the taikō had honored Father Juan Cobo, Captain Lope de Llano, and others in the envoy with a sadō (traditional tea ceremony), a highly unusual gesture. As Iwasaki explains, Solís continued his personal war against the Jesuits, testifying in court cases in Manila where he claimed that, years before Father Juan Cobo's envoy, Hideyoshi had already expelled the Jesuits because of their military support to Christian warlords. Solís also argued that the reason the church in Nagasaki had not been destroyed immediately was that the Jesuits bribed the taikō. After the latter learned that the Jesuits' gift did not come from the Spanish Crown, he ordered the church's destruction. Solís insisted that the taikō's repression against Christians had nothing to do with Father Juan Cobo's envoy; rather, it resulted from the Jesuits' transgressions and lies. Based on a witness's deposition in the study, Iwasaki concludes that Solís instigated the destruction of other Jesuit churches in Japan. Before he could return to Peru, the Spanish-Peruvian died at sea during a storm. The chapter includes appendixes with Juan de Solís's depositions about Father Juan Cobo's

envoy and about the destruction of the Jesuit church in Nagasaki; an indictment that took place in Japan in 1592; and an excerpt from Luis de Guzmán's historical study of Jesuit missions in the Far East. Iwasaki concludes Juan de Solís's story with poetic overtones: "In spite of the clandestine character of his enterprise, Juan de Solís left a rich judicial trail throughout Manila, Nagasaki, and Macao; but, beyond his lawsuits, we prefer to remember him in a golden room in Nagoya, when his days in Peru and Japan were only one, thanks to the magic of the tea ceremony."⁴⁹

Besides the third chapter, the sixth, "Population on the move between the Orient and Peru,"⁵⁰ is relevant to this study. There, we find traces of commercial links, political relations, and trans-Pacific travels between Peru and the Philippines. Iwasaki notes that the Manila Galleon would bring Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, and even East Indians (the latter, thanks to the 1581 consolidation of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies under King Felipe II) to Mexico. They were often slaves, and some ended up landing in Peru some time later. The author mentions, for example, the case of a Chinese slave named Diego Yndio who, in 1575, filed a lawsuit requesting his emancipation. He had been sent from Lima to Spain by a sinister character named Francisco de Castañeda, who traded both indigenous Peruvian and Chinese slaves. By 1613, there were 114 Asians in Lima (17 were slaves and only 8 had arrived via Mexico), coming from China, the Philippines, Japan, and the Portuguese colonies in Asia.

Again, in contrast with Iwasaki's avowed wish to de-ethnify his writing and his public image, these texts show at least a deep-seated interest in East-West cultural relations and in the Japanese in general. Although it is often approached from an uncommitted or sarcastic angle, his Japanese ethnic heritage has undoubtedly left a mark on his opus.

To continue with texts by Nikkei authors who do not always reflect the vicissitudes of the Nippo-Peruvian community, and whose literary settings are often located away from Peru, most of Carlos Yushimito's stories, analyzed in the next chapter, set aside Nikkei issues. These stories focus instead on an imagined Brazilian society, one that may be read as a microcosm of or a metaphor for Latin America's problems.<\>

<CN>5<\>

<CT>Carlos Yushimito's Post-nationalist and Post-identitarian Short Stories<\>

<TX>Carlos Yushimito del Valle (1977--) was considered a rising literary star in Peru, even before the prestigious Granta magazine featured him, in 2010, among the twenty-two best young Spanish-language writers under thirty-five.¹ As he explains in an interview with Alfredo Kato in the Peruvian journal Diario Perú Shimpo, his grandfather's surname, Yoshimitsu, was changed by a Peruvian customs official when he thought he heard his grandfather say "Yushimito." In the same interview, Yushimito describes himself as what Japanese call an Ainoko (a derogative term to describe a "half-Japanese" or a person of mixed-race).² The author has no links with any Nikkei institution and has described his Japanese heritage as an affective memory:

<EX>Personally, I keep my Japanese heritage mainly as an affective memory that makes me want to write, not exclusively about this fact, but to reflect, try to understand, remember, show my solidarity, etc. with people who lived a historical experience similar to that of my father or my grandfather, with small or big variants, but with which I can somehow identify. I have developed a passionate interest in this topic also as a topic of memory, because I have spent a long time getting information, listening to stories about the persecutions suffered by the Japanese and Nikkei, the discrimination and the racist sackings to which they were subjected, the official lack of protection, and the Peruvian state's abuse in many periods of our history, and all this makes me sensitive to a reality that inspires solidarity, reflection, and memory in me, even though I did not participate in it.³<\>

His grandfather, Eisuke Yoshimitsu, hailed from the southern prefecture of Kagoshima and was expelled from Japan in the 1930s, after having fought, according to his koseki (Japanese family registry or census), in three wars: the war against China, the one against Russia, and World War I. He decided to move to Peru a few years before World War II. In Santa, Ancash, north of Lima, he opened a grocery store and married the Peruvian Abigail Ponte. Although he was not on a deportation list, he had to move to Lima after Manuel Prado Ugarteche's government expropriated his grocery store. Because of his reserved nature, his family does not know why he was expelled from Japan. They learned of it upon seeing a "stamp of expulsion" in his passport. Although he made his children promise that they would not travel to Japan, his aunt remembers seeing him weeping before a portrait of Emperor Hirohito. Yushimito's grandfather refused to register his children in the Peruvian koseki, and perhaps for this reason, the author was not a member of Nikkei institutions in Lima. Japanese was never spoken at Yushimito's grandparents' house, other than a few words, such as "obachan" (grandmother or female senior citizen). As a traditional Naichi, Yushimito's grandfather did not enjoy fraternizing with Okinawans.

Like Iwasaki, Yushimito rarely includes Japanese or Nikkei characters and topics in his works. Yet, as will be seen, this perceived absence is very telling of the diverse and heterogeneous nature of Nikkei writing. Yushimito adopts a post-national approach that rejects the barriers of national borders and identities. In this context, when asked about his relationship with Peruvian literature, the author answered:

<EX>I believe that my relationship with it is as extraterritorial as with any other. I have never felt comfortable with national margins, because I do not think there is a limit in reading. Perhaps there are

limits with respect to the sensitivity it evokes, which brings you closer to one author than to another one, but, of course, this configures a completely different cartography that dismantles the political maps that we have made an effort to build.⁴<\>

Before analyzing his main publications, the short story collections Las islas (The Islands, 2006) and Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde (Lessons for a Boy Who Is Late, 2011), let us look at two of his short stories published earlier, "Ciudad de Cristal" (Crystal City) and "Oz," which have Japanese or Nikkei characters and may be considered parables on freedom and solitude. "Ciudad de Cristal," published in the anthology Ten en cuento a La Victoria (Take into Account La Victoria, 2009) after receiving first place in Lima's Second Narrative Contest, addresses a key event in the history of the Japanese in Peru.⁵ Paradoxically, it may convey more information through its omissions than through what the text includes. Like the title, the story contains a veiled denunciation of Japanese deportations during World War II: "Ciudad de Cristal" is the Spanish translation of Crystal City, the name of the largest internment camp in the United States during World War II. Its internees were mainly from South America, particularly from Peru. This title, then, predisposes us to read a story about the illegal kidnappings in Peru of Japanese nationals and of Peruvian citizens of Japanese ancestry to be used as pawns in prisoner-of-war exchanges between the United States and Japan. Instead, what is detailed in this story is how such actions impact on the life of a seven-year-old boy whose father is an interned (read "kidnapped") Japanese citizen. To create a more credible Nikkei atmosphere, Yushimito includes Japanese vocabulary, such as ojisan (uncle or middle-aged gentleman), obachan, and gohan (cooked rice).

As Yushimito explained in my interview, the topic of Japanese deportations to the United States was broached sporadically and, then, succinctly in his family's conversations: "At home, we don't talk about that, and I suspect that this silence, this private protection, is in part an attitude that has also been adopted by the Japanese Peruvian Association. There is a criterion of 'curative' amnesia: the idea that those aggressions must be silenced to avoid hampering the integration---which is difficult enough already---of the Japanese community in Peru."⁶ He first heard about this episode from an uncle, who referred to the 1970 earthquake (the most destructive earthquake in recent Peruvian history) as divine punishment for the plundering and mistreatment of the Japanese and Nikkeijin in Peru. Initially disregarding historical antecedents, Yushimito focuses on the adventures of Pedro/Hideo, a Nikkei boy, and his relationship with Nazareno, a non-Nikkei teenager. Nazareno is having an affair with Hideo's sister and gives money to her grandmother. Hideo detests the situation, but limits his expressions of discontent. It is implied that, after Hideo's father is deported, Nazareno, who was working at the family's store, begins to manage it. Hideo and Nazareno hunt spiders for fighting. It is also understood that neither one is aware of the government's outrageous betrayal of the Japanese community. Hideo takes his name from his Japanese grandfather, Hideo Komatsu, who is now in an internment camp in Texas. Pedro is also his name, because it was the Spanish name that his father chose on arriving in Peru from the Japanese island of Hokkaido. The omniscient narrator underscores the innocence that keeps these children safe from unsavory political events: "For him, it is only a name, not the coherence of an uprootedness smudged in a list with his new identity: Hideo or Pedro, what is a name, after all, but an identity that gets lost in the sound that the other men barely recognize?"⁷

Later, Mr. Tsuchigumo, a shopkeeper from Kajiki, advises Hideo to go with his dog to the market at night to look for a big spider that can win all fights.⁸ The eventual capture of the spider creates an indirect parallel with the internment of the boy's father in the Crystal City camp. It is suggested further in the plot: "There she is still. The spider obeys with caution, resigned, sad."⁹ The repetition of the phrase "although he does not understand this yet"¹⁰ when referring to Hideo Komatsu's thoughts intensifies the contrast between his innocence and the harsh reality his parents and the rest of his community are living. But suddenly, Mr. Tsuchigumo asks the boy a question that reveals the true political background of these dialogues: "---Anything about your old man?"¹¹ Before the boy answers that his family has not heard anything on the radio, the omniscient narrator explains that ever since Pedro Komatsu, Hideo's father, was taken to the internment camp, no one has heard from him. Yet a neighbor found a piece of paper thrown from the truck used to transport the Japanese prisoners, which explained his sudden departure: "From his father, they only know that he threw a note so that they knew that he was not disappearing of his own free will. That they were taking him away because of a war that he had not fought, but, perhaps, had lost. And that he was a good man, that he was not abandoning his children."¹²

The second section of the story returns to the child's innocent world. There, Nazareno shows his large spider to Hideo, whom he calls "Chino," in a derogative way. At story's end, Hideo takes revenge against Nazareno for sleeping with his sister. Announcing the tone of a more recent short story, "Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde," after having subjected the spider to hunger and his vigilance (amplified by the glass, as his grandmother points out), instead of having it fight Nazareno's spider, Hideo frees the insect inside Nazareno's bedroom, hoping that it will sting him. Should the spider

recognize Nazareno as he who kept a hateful eye on it while in captivity, it will bite him. While it may be expected that the narrator repeats for a third time the phrase "although he does not understand this yet," he never does. It is up to the reader to make that connection. The narrator, however, jumps back and forth to the sad reality of the adult world: "With a bobby pin that the grandmother no longer missed, as she did not miss having been left on her own, involved in her own silence."¹³ Just like the spiders are enclosed in their glass dwelling, the grandmother takes refuge in her deafness. Therefore, the story narrates a traumatic event in the history of the Nippo-Peruvian community, indirectly veiling a denunciatory tone. To date, "Ciudad de Cristal" is Yushimito's only text dealing with Peruvian Nikkei characters and issues.

Another short story with a Japanese protagonist and first-person narrator is "Oz," first published in the magazine El hablador in 2009 and later included in Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde, with a dedication to José Watanabe's widow. It is preceded by an epigraph taken from Watanabe's El otro Asterión: "That last nerve of yours so thin / That becomes soul."¹⁴ Yet the only clue about the human protagonist's ethnic background is his name, Harumi, that of Watanabe's father. The title was derived from L. Frank Baum's children's novel The Wonderful Wizard of Oz (1900), which was reprinted as The Wizard of Oz and popularized by its best-known film adaptation, the 1939 musical fantasy directed by Victor Fleming. Yushimito's story includes a tin man named H. H. (initials for Hombre de Hojalata, meaning Tin Man) that was an unbeatable chess player until one day he allowed a defiant man named Euwe to win.¹⁵ Because he suffers from Alzheimer's disease, Harumi does not remember how he created H. H., but he comes across a book in his library with marginal notes that he does not remember making. The book tells the story of a famous

Viennese watchmaker named Maelzel, who had created a chess player automaton dressed in Turkish attire. The machine travelled all over the world until a dwarf inside was discovered. This passage seems to be a metaphor for the relationship between the author and his own works, whose publication allows them to take on a new, independent life.

Although some sentences, such as "H. H.'s eyes going through the weak barrier that isolates us,"¹⁶ make us think that perhaps there is someone inside the tin man, it is never clear whether it magically became human. We find out later that at one point H. H. refused to obey orders (Yushimito's robots, like his human characters, are also determined to recover their dignity) and that now he lets Harumi win chess games, something that they both enjoy. It seems as if H. H. has discovered the joy of being imperfect and having his own free will. One day, H. H. learned how to feel and how to have a heart, and he enjoyed it so much that his creator was incapable of taking it away from him. In his last days, plagued by Alzheimer's disease, Harumi realizes that he spent his life fighting loneliness: "My only need was always having company."¹⁷ For this reason, he is now grateful that H. H. has become more human. At story's end, Harumi tells H. H. that if he wants to die, all he has to do is to remove the heart-shaped brooch on his chest. Then, he asks H. H. to kill him by smothering him with a pillow after falling asleep.

Overall, "Oz" can be interpreted as a parable of freedom, free will, and solitude. The story, a literary projection of Maelzel's dream of creating a chess player automaton, is about human frailty, with the failed attempt at imitating the creative capacity of God. As mentioned, it may also be read as a metaphor for the writing process: once the writer publishes his work, the lies of fiction become their own truth, independent from reality and from their author. As Yushimito declares in an interview with Pedro Pablo Guerrero: "The

story makes me think of the writer's role and the machine of writing. Perhaps one can see in this artifice a poetics to reinvent simulation, falsification, the dazzling beauty of fraud."¹⁸ In the end, Harumi becomes progressively less human (at one point, he will remember nothing, like a machine), while his creation, H. H., is progressively more human: unlike his creator, H. H. can archive data in his memory and ask reflective questions. Toward the story's end, Harumi is afraid of living without memory, and in the end, he asks to be killed so that his tin man can enjoy freedom. Echoing Roland Barthes's ideas in "The Death of the Author," the tin man triumphs over his creator and, implicitly, the text over the author.

<insert figure 12 about here>

A third text with a Japanese character is "Criaturas aladas" (Winged Creatures), a fragment of his first novel (which he is currently in the process of writing) published by the Spanish-language version of Granta magazine in an issue titled "Los mejores narradores jóvenes en español" (The Best Young Narrators in Spanish). With his usual poetic and elaborate language (he describes a street as a "dry tongue," for example), Yushimito introduces an enigmatic Japanese man, Kunigami, who is looking for a rare butterfly known as La Soberana (The Sovereign One) in a place called Río Negro. Although he fears its extinction and has just learned that the only person who might give him clues, Claussen, is dead, he still hopes to find it. The story takes place in the mid-1990s, when Peru was overwhelmed by Sendero Luminoso's terrorist violence. As the author explains, "One of the book's motifs is a reflection on memory, on fake cures for political amnesia."¹⁹

Yushimito's literary reputation, however, was built mostly on the publication of Las islas (2006), a collection of eight short stories that have nothing to do with the world of Peruvian Nikkei and that take place in Brazil,

a country he has never visited. While most of these marginal, urban epics are set in the favelas (shantytowns) of Rio de Janeiro, such as the fictional São Clemente, others, like "Apaga la próxima luz" (Turn off the Next Light), take place in the sertões (the northeastern semiarid backcountry) or in a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro, as is the case of the fantasy story "El mago" (The Magician). In an interview, he provides clues about this choice, which he places in the context of his generation's literature:

<EX>Perhaps now we see everything through a different lens which makes us read outside the tradition of national literatures---a tradition which wasn't defined exclusively by the spaces that were represented (be they local or cosmopolitan), but rather by the urge or need to write in order to understand or question national identities. This was already partly the intention of previous generations, but with Bolaño and perhaps with ourselves as substitutes (I hesitate to use the word "heirs"), the idea of identity starts to shift, becoming less stable, less certain. This leads us to question not just the role of the state but also of other institutions. And that means we have a greater affinity with some authors than with others. What I mean is that it's possible to continue being a Peruvian or Mexican or Panamanian writer without giving up that national label, but also without giving up our individual roles, which find common ties in language, imagination and expectations. (Brock, n.p).<\>

<TXNI>I find this lengthy quotation useful to understanding Yushimito's less-stable and more postmodern idea of national identity, as found in his short stories. In another interview, he contextualizes his decision with his fondness for Brazilian music, film, and literature (he quotes several Brazilian

writers in the epigraphs of Las islas). He also addresses Brazil's symbolic estrangement as he perceived it through the years and, by extension, Brazil's marginality and precariousness that non-Brazilians hold as true. Rather than a specific place, therefore, Yushimito's Brazil is an ambiguous scenario where he is comfortable exploring universal themes. In other words, the Brazilian location is nothing but a stepping stone for a post-nationalist universality. In Yushimito's own words, "When I accepted the need for the stories to take place there and not anywhere else, what I wanted was to venture in its own fiction, to delight in inventing Brazil on the basis of my own referents and even my own ignorance, which was the biggest license to finally give it life."²⁰ Alternatively, the use of Brazilian settings allowed Yushimito to address Peru's problems (poverty, violence, insecurity, drug trafficking) without being too influenced by the immediate referent of Peruvian pueblos jóvenes or shantytowns, which were closer to his own reality than Rio de Janeiro's favelas.<\>

Therefore, this intuitive Brazil, an allegorical space of barbarism, violence, heroism, and dignity, represents Yushimito's strategy to transcend, in his writing, the potential limitations of nationality. As he explained, inspired by the artificial and caricature-like Brazil re-created by John Updike, he allowed himself the license to name characters and streets that would sound like Spanish with a Portuguese flavor. In any case, the verisimilitude of his short stories appears scarcely affected by this narrative strategy. Most of his short stories are linked by a common lyricism and an atmosphere that at times borders on the mythical and timeless. This mythical marginality is beautifully re-created (or perhaps created) through a prose that fluctuates, as required, between street language and the poetical evocations characterizing some of the narrators' descriptions and the characters' interior monologues.

Yet Niki Tito suggests, in his review of Las islas, that there is a "lack of correspondence between the musical, at times poetical, rhythm of the prose and the harsh anecdotes about characters in direct contact with death, which produces a disturbing effect on the reader."²¹

When asked about the book's title in the same interview, Yushimito responded that the islands represent an imaginary space, one that could also be related with the physical space of the favelas (islands within the city of Rio de Janeiro) or the affective space of human relations.²² The book opens with "Bossa Nova para Chico Pires Duarte" (Bossa Nova for Chico Pires Duarte), the fragmented narration of a crime of passion involving jealousy, infidelity, and machismo, which Yushimito described as "a very personal reading of the myth of Prometheus."²³ The first short story with a Brazilian theme published by Yushimito, it is characterized by the same epic tone that the narrator, an old musician named Eduardo, uses in his own songs. We soon learn about a love triangle: Francisco "Chico" Pires Duarte, a handsome mulatto hit man, murdered his boss, the mobster Pinheiro (he appears in other stories of the collection), after having an affair with his wife, Fernanda Abreu.²⁴ By the end of the first part of the story, we realize that Chico has gone to the wake of the man he has just killed, Pinheiro. In spite of the advice he is given, Chico refuses to leave that house, as he is hoping to recover his dignity by being murdered by Pinheiro's other henchmen. Ultimately, he accepts his tragic destiny. A flashback leads the reader to when Chico was philosophically pondering murder, while awaiting Pinheiro's arrival: "Killing a man is carrying out an act of optimism, an enterprise that is too big, he thought. A temerity that is only scary if one does not think at the same time that there exists a possibility of a victory over guilt."²⁵ Incidentally, some critics have pointed out that Yushimito's young sicarios (hit men) from the slums

speak too philosophically. Yushimito, however, claims that his philosophizing sicarios are derived from Quentin Tarantino's hired assassins in the film Pulp Fiction (1994). Another flashback leads to the initial scene of humiliation that perhaps gave rise to the drama. In this climactic moment, Pinheiro asks his wife to greet his hit man Chico with a kiss. Then, he adds in a condescending and mocking manner: "The gentleman here is in love with the lady."²⁶ Subsequently, Pinheiro threatens the young man, warning him that if he again catches him looking at his wife lasciviously, he will pay dearly. In the last paragraph, a proud Chico unproblematically accepts his tragic destiny. Unable to convince Fernanda Abreu to accompany him to São Paulo, the impulsive young man commits a crime of passion like those in Eduardo's songs. He is finally able to avenge his damaged honor and now walks freely and alone toward the weapon that will kill him, knowing that he has acted in accordance with his (broken) heart.

The second short story of the collection, "Una equis roja" (A Red X), is considerably shorter.²⁷ Yushimito wrote it for a short story contest inspired by Miguel de Cervantes's novel Don Quixote.²⁸ A procurer named Señor Sancho narrates the story of Hidalgo, a Spaniard who, three years earlier, fell in love with Dulce, the most successful prostitute in the brothel, and who, unable to convince her to be his partner, decided to spend his life close to her. Hidalgo's obstinate determination draws the compassion of other prostitutes, who see him as harmless and pathetic, almost as a father who is willing to listen to them whenever they feel troubled. Once he spent his life savings (he never tried to buy Dulce's services), he was hired to sweep the brothel: "We kept him like a street dog one warms up to, with an unconditional friendship."²⁹ In exchange, he was entitled to a room that the prostitutes no longer wanted to use, tobacco, and whatever alcoholic drinks the clients left

on the tables. But the best payment was that he got to stay close to Dulce. In one of the scenes, a difficult conversation between Hidalgo and Dulce takes place; he promises to take her anywhere in the world, but she turns down the offer, explaining that she sees him as a father figure. Then, Señor Sancho describes Hidalgo's infinite sadness when the latter hears, sitting on the corner of his bed while engrossed in desolate thoughts, Dulce having sex with the city inspector, as payment for him placing a red "x" on the city map, an official recognition that allows the brothel to remain open for business. In contrast with other characters in Las islas, who fight without fear of consequences to regain their human dignity or honor, in "Una equis roja," Hidalgo, in his quixotic vision of achieving the impossible, voluntarily humiliates himself by accepting a menial job. Yet it could be argued that he never gives up or loses hope, although it is clear that he has no chance of fulfilling his dreams. His name echoes Don Quixote's surreal dreams; Hidalgo's hope for Dulce's love is equivalent to Don Quixote's perception of windmills or Dulcinea del Toboso.

"Tinta de pulpo" (Octopus Ink) is the title of the third short story, where two characters, Wagner and Ciro, Pinheiro's henchmen, wait by the seashore for Cuaresma (a character reappearing in "Tatuado," as both stories are intimately connected) to show up to kill him. The reader learns that, to be rid of his enemies, Pinheiro bribed their henchmen, but later, led by Cuaresma, they betrayed him. Yet the reason Pinheiro decides to eliminate his former hit man is that he has twice dreamt about him. As a result, Pinheiro, a faithful follower of Candomblé, consulted a babalaô who told him that the spirit of Yemanjá was demanding redress for having fought on the day of her festivity.³⁰ Pinheiro then orders Cuaresma's execution. As Diego Trelles Paz explains: "Here is where the mythical dimension that explains the cold

passivity of Yushimito's characters before the possibility of death begins: Pinheiro---like Wagner, Ciro, Cuaresma or Chico Pires---believes in divine will, he is a devout criminal. He does not trust in luck; he fears it."³¹ The story reveals the henchmen's uneasiness, the suspense of the wait, and their eventual regret for having killed their friend. In the end, Ciro shoots Cuaresma in the head, to spare him from being tortured by Wagner before his assassination, as ordered by Pinheiro. To ensure that their boss is satisfied with the job, Wagner brutally kicks the corpse until the skull is cracked open and several other bones are broken. In the last scene, Ciro cannot cope with the remorse of having killed his friend and asks Wagner: "Does all this shit really make any sense for us?"³² When Ciro asks Wagner if he believes that Pinheiro has been dreaming of Cuaresma, he answers that Pinheiro's dreams are nothing but octopus's ink, hence the title: "Dreams only tell us what we don't want to hear. They disguise themselves to get to us. . . . Like octopuses. They distract us with their ink while they escape."³³ Ciro then realizes that all was a ploy to distract him; he accepts his upcoming death with the same fatalistic, almost existentialist disposition, as Chico Pires Duarte. Pinheiro, his father-in-law, has ordered Wagner to bring Ciro to the house so that he may have him killed also. Ciro's last words show his concern for his son, Brandão, who is about to be born: "Do you think that he will raise him well?"³⁴ In turn, Wagner's answer, "Yes---said Wagner impatiently. Look at me,"³⁵ reveals that he is Pinheiro's son, the reason why he had been so lucky with him ("his good luck with the boss").³⁶ This also explains Wagner's earlier answer when Ciro asked him whether he believed in luck: "In one way or another, we have always taken the luck we have from somebody else."³⁷ Brandão, Ciro's son, will have the luck that his father never had. At any rate, like Chico Pires Duarte, Ciro has accepted an inevitable tragic destiny.

"La isla" (The Island) is the story of Guilherme Fonseca,³⁸ whose father, Luizinho, has recently died. Guilherme returns to his pleasant childhood memories, when he and his father would go fishing with the pilot, João Guiraldes. The protagonist remembers how his father would often swim two kilometers to an island, where he stayed for several hours. During that time, the boy would stay with Guiraldes, listening to his sea adventures; that is why he called him Captain Nemo. Although he always enjoyed the wait, the boy never understood his father's strange behavior. With time, the secrecy around the ritual turned it into a mystery: "Every time he asked why they stayed by themselves on the boat while his father swam toward the island, the man that kept him company answered that he would understand it when he grew up."³⁹ Although as an adult he never gave it much thought, his father's passing awoke those memories. After his father's wake, Guilherme visits the elderly Guiraldes, who is grateful for all Luizinho did for him and decides to take Guilherme to the island (although now blind, he knows the route by heart) so that he may discover the secret. The story ends when Guilherme and Captain Nemo are about to arrive at the now almost mythical island. In contrast with other stories in the collection, here the protagonist does not face a solitary confrontation with his own death, but with that of his father Luizinho.

As the narrator conveys, Guilherme was aware that his mother died as an indirect result of his birth. When Guilherme asked why he did not remarry, his father said that he had not found anyone who could replace Nuria. The reader now understands Luizinho's habit of walking the island's beaches. It was how he mourned, by returning to those idyllic moments that the couple had spent there. Luizinho was unable to overcome the trauma caused by her death. It is also given that, thanks to Guiraldes, Guilherme at last understands his father's behavior, but as the anonymous critic who wrote the article "That

<'>70s show" acutely argues, the story's message is perhaps much deeper, one that helps to understand the human condition:

<EX>Guilherme's discovery is also an inheritance: isolation as a way to elaborate an unfinished mourning for the death of a loved one and for whom there are no substitutes. Yushimito, consequently, abandons his character at the gates of a key experience of maturity: the torturous memory of those who die, which, at the same time, inserts in our conscience the solitude of the species. Solitude, as a definitive state in the minimal vicissitudes of his marginal characters, is an inheritance from García Márquez that Yushimito diffuses like a plague in each of his short stories. For this reason, the book is titled The Islands: all its stories leave us facing a lonely and dissipated humankind where, in the end, every man, confronted with an extreme situation, confirms his isolated nature.⁴⁰<\>

<TXNI>All considered, "La isla," like his short story "Lecciones de un niño que llega tarde," evokes the protagonist's loss of innocence during the painful passage toward adult life.<\>

"Apaga la próxima luz" (Turn Off the Next Light) takes place in Brazil's sertão (semiarid regions of Brazil's Northeast), and it is based on a historical character: the cangaçeiro leader Virgulino Ferreira, alias Lampião.⁴¹ The story begins when the decrepit Antônio Honorato da Silva boards a bus, and an elderly woman, acting as the intra-diegetic narrator, realizes that he is the person who, many years earlier, shot her brother Lampião while he and his wife lay asleep in a cave. Although she never reveals her relation to Lampião, the narrator lets Honorato know that she has recognized him. She confesses to him that she still keeps the newspaper reports (which are part of

the story), including one with a picture of the young soldier holding her brother's severed head. In the end, the reader realizes that time has cured her wounds. Now that the sister has met the aged killer, she finally accepts fate (like characters in the other stories) and no longer feels a need for revenge. Instead, she limits herself to watching him get off the bus and continues living nostalgically with her memories.

In "Seltz," the insecure first-person narrator, Antonio Carlos Pereira, also known as "Toninho," assumes the identity of Bautista, his boss, to improve his chances professionally and with women. Again, characters from previous stories, like Ciro from "Tinta de pulpo," reappear. Toninho looks in the mirror one night and feels handsome and sophisticated. His daytime job, however, is advertising electrical appliances while wearing a ridiculous crocodile suit. Being a good dancer and sporting his new look, he wins over Julia Oliveira's heart, Bautista's girlfriend. But he eventually returns to his sad reality: "I was once again the grand crocodile that promoted the electronic devices sold in Mattos Electronics, dancing for children" (179--80).⁴² When Julia looks for him at the store, Toninho hides until she leaves, embarrassed of his job. Upset, he shoves a child that has grabbed the suit's tail, and he hides in the restroom. With echoes from Octavio Paz's chapter "Máscaras mexicanas" (Mexican Masks), included in El laberinto de la soledad (The Labyrinth of Solitude, 1950), "Seltz" explores the imploding, contained violence hidden behind the character's mask. By story's end, however, Toninho is ready to face reality with pride: he will talk with his boss (who has found out about the two of them), with the boy's parents, and with anyone else who wishes to talk to him. This way, "Seltz" concides with "Bosa Nova para Chico Pires Duarte" in the determination of their protagonists to uphold their manhood (or personhood) and recover their dignity by sleeping with their

bosses' women in a somewhat oedipal fashion. But Toninho's story ends before the reader can see him succeed.

Toninho's adventures are interwoven with the wildlife documentaries of the Discovery Channel, shown on every television set in the store. The idea is to send potential customers the subliminal message that purchasing a television set is beneficial to their children's education. Still within the realm of a sensual Brazilian world, away from Rio de Janeiro's slums but into a space of shopping malls and consumerism, characters are animalized throughout the story, in their descriptions and actions, implying that there is a parallel struggle for the survival of the fittest. For example, characters are compared to injured cats, drug-sniffing dogs, or gorillas. Julia claims that men protect each other because of their "animal instinct," and at one point the crocodile suit becomes Toninho's own skin: "I felt a shiver sliding through my long crocodile tail."⁴³ And just as in those territorial fights between wolves that Toninho watches every day on the Discovery Channel, where the humiliated loser exposes his neck to the stronger male as a sign of surrender, in real life he too must surrender to Bautista, the son of one of Rio's richest and most powerful men. Thus, Toninho admits in the last paragraph: "Perhaps my neck had been exposed way before knowing that I was going to lose."⁴⁴ The illusion of victory Toninho felt while having intercourse with Julia Oliveira vanishes once Julia looks for him in the store. He does not have the courage to face his boss or to reveal the nature of his job and his true identity to her. He is unconsciously emulating hyenas appearing in the Discovery Channel documentaries, which must first wait for the lion to get his fill of the prey so that they may have what remains. Although they are aware of the danger, they carry on. As Francisco Ángeles keenly points out in his review of "Seltz": "The protagonist seeks to reestablish his

human side by beating his owner in a match on the terrain where he feels more comfortable (women). He is aware of the consequences, but he is still willing to fight. . . . 'Seltz' is a story about human beings' vindication."⁴⁵ There is, therefore, an animal side to relations in a consumer society, beyond animal costumes. Exploiting the "behavioral determination"⁴⁶ of customers, Toninho, with his crocodile suit, lures children to the television set area, so that their parents may fall into the store managers' trap. He was also subject to these animal relations and behavioral patterns, but unlike the fatalistic characters in the other stories (or perhaps emulating their fearless exposure to danger), he is now determined to reverse the situation despite the risks.

"Tatuado" (Tattooed), a prequel to "Tinta de pulpo," describes the violence in Rio's favela São Clemente. Pedro de Assís, alias Mamboretá ("praying mantis" in Guarani), has returned to São Clemente and is determined to get another tattoo on his chest, thus completing the tattooing of his entire body. We learn that Pinheiro, the boss appearing in several stories, managed to gain control of the drug trafficking business in São Clemente by murdering a competitor, old Tomé, and now wants to do likewise with his successor, Mamboretá. The latter, however, is not afraid. For months, the war for drug-dealing supremacy yields numerous deaths. While Milton Menezes, known as Belego (appearing in "Tinta de pulpo"), tattoos Mamboretá, they converse. Mamboretá confesses that he spent time in prison for killing a man; Belego retorts that he spent time in prison for a similar crime: "That there are many ways to kill a man, sir. And the worst of all is saving him."⁴⁷ In the end, Mamboretá is killed. The next day, graffiti, portraying an orchid and reading "Pinheiro reigns," appears near where he was shot. The orchid is like the one Belego tattooed on Mamboretá's chest; it is therefore assumed that Belego

killed him. When Pinheiro's seven-number hand tattoo (identical to Belego's prison tattoo) is described, the reader learns the identity of the man who helped Belego in prison, as Belego himself mysteriously declared a few pages before: "God knows that there was never justice for the poor in the courts and that if I survived, it was thanks to the protection of someone as big as he is."⁴⁸ Belego returned Pinheiro's favor by killing his nemesis.

The story that closes the collection, "El mago" (The Magician), narrates Evangelista's encounter with the illusionist Xavier Ptolomeo, who hypnotizes him. The second part of the story describes the scenes from the hypnotized Evangelista's perspective. His mind and perceptions are manipulated by the magician. "El mago," previously published in a 2004 collection with the same title, lacks the experimental complexity and fatalism of the other stories in Las islas. However, it shares the same toponymies and the same Spanish with a Portuguese flavor, close to portuñol, present in "Apaga la próxima luz" and other stories. Rather than delving into the topics of magic or fantasy, the story, to be read in consonance with Guimaraes Rosa's epigraph, "Everything, besides, is the tip of a mystery,"⁴⁹ deals with the intuition of the senses, with the ability to observe the world in order to access a deeper reality; hence the exploration of rain sounds in the first paragraph, reminiscent of Symbolist poetry: "That curious way to feel the rain when you listen to the sound that its continuity produces and feel how it pecks the umbrella, and you feel a botanic sound that slides off of everything while it forms parallel lines on the ground. But it is not the touch of sharp humidity that, after all, makes you recognize the rain. It's its sound."⁵⁰ Evangelista finds something familiar with the magician's face seen on the posters and decides to purchase the most expensive tickets. After being hypnotized by the magician, he can hear audience laughter behind him, but cannot turn his head. He knows

that his answers to the magician's questions sound ridiculous, but he is unable to answer otherwise. When Evangelista asks the magician what he has done to him, his mysterious answer does not set him at ease: "'It's what I'm telling you,' continued the magician loudly. 'One fears darkness, but should fear brightness,'"⁵¹ perhaps implying that Evangelista's world under hypnosis may indeed be the real one. In the end, the protagonist remains puzzled, wondering about his own senses.

As seen, half of the collection's stories---"Bossa Nova para Chico Pires Duarte," "Tinta de pulpo," "Apaga la próxima luz," and "Tatuado"---involve extreme violence in a world of corruption and power struggles, where marginal characters try to keep their dignity, at times meeting an epic death. Yushimito has compared Mamboretá (the praying mantis) and Pinheiro to the Greek god Cronos or the Roman god Saturn, who devoured his children to prevent their overthrowing him, as was foretold. Whereas in "Tinta de pulpo" and "Tatuado," submission to the boss, Pinheiro, leads them to kill their own friends, in "Bossa Nova para Chico Pires Duarte" (and at a different level, also in "Seltz") the reader finds the opposite: an almost oedipal revolt against this seemingly omnipotent kingpin (in an interview with Yushimito, he identified Chico with the titan Prometheus, who stole fire from the gods). In turn, while no physical violence (other than the protagonist's inner violence against himself) is found in "Seltz," human dignity and pride resurface, particularly in the last passage. Only the Quixotic Spanish protagonist of "Una equis roja" voluntarily humiliates himself for a lost cause: the love of the brothel's most successful prostitute. Two stories, "La isla" and "El mago," share a fascination for mystery and the unknown. Another common thread is found among several of Yushimito's characters: they seem in the midst of some type of quest. The protagonist of "Bossa Nova para Chico Pires Duarte"

gives his life in exchange for recovering his honor, once he realizes that he has no chance of convincing Fernanda to follow him; Hidalgo, in "Una equis roja," does not give up in his obsession to conquer Dulce's heart; Guilherme, the protagonist of "La isla," tries to find himself through the mystery involving the island to where his father would swim; and Toninho, in "Seltz," realizes that he bravely has to face his own reality.

Yushimito is not the first Peruvian writer to deal with Brazilian topics. Vargas Llosa wrote his celebrated novel La guerra del fin del mundo (The War of the End of the World, 1981), which takes place in Brazil (Fushía, a protagonist of an earlier Vargas Llosa's novel, The Green House, was also Brazilian). As does Vargas Llosa, Yushimito uses the technique of communicating vessels, by which two or more stories being told simultaneously (interlaced stories in Vargas Llosa's novel and interconnected short stories in Yushimito's collection) complement and modify each other. This technique, which tries to reflect the complexity of a reality filled with contradictions, forces the reader to be active, an accomplice in the creation of meanings. Thus, some characters, like Pinheiro, become round once they appear in several stories and the reader learns more about them. This is how the plot of "Tinta de pulpo" is interconnected with that of "Tatuado."

Another technique that demands an active reader, perhaps inherited from Vargas Llosa, is the use of "hidden data." Yushimito tends to hide key data for understanding the text. It is progressively revealed, creating suspense and increasing the reader's interest in the plot's denouement. This approach demands a careful reading (if not a second reading) of short stories like "La isla," "Tinta de pulpo," and "Tatuado" (this last one, as seen, contains pivotal information for understanding "Tinta de pulpo"). Likewise, Yushimito resorts to Vargas Llosa's "Chinese box" technique, by which we find a series of

stories (some are central; others are secondary) intercalated. Thus, the characters' dialogues inform the reader of data provided earlier in an ambiguous or incomplete manner, so that he or she may find a hidden truth or discover a lie through comments by, at times, secondary characters. This technique adds verisimilitude to the narration. Yushimito appears fond of fragmented text as well, disrupting the chronological plot through frequent analepses and prolepsis. Alternating intra-diegetic, first-person narrators and extra-diegetic, omniscient narrators, he resorts to sudden changes in the narrative focalization, reminiscent of the formal experimentation that characterized the narratives of the Latin American Boom. Some short stories, such as the first one in the collection, are narrated through the use of cinematographic techniques. As an example, the last line in section seven ends with Fernanda's answer to Chico: "You know that I can't do it."⁵² Then, the beginning of the next section is linked to it by a similar sentence, this time uttered by one of Pinheiro's henchmen: "Of course you can't do it that way."⁵³ Likewise, the influence of film noir may be noticed in "Tinta de pulpo" and other stories.

Las islas presents a fatalist conception of a world where, at some point, characters submissively accept their own destiny: they will have to face death by themselves, like an island in the ocean (perhaps this is a possible connotation of the collection's title). Such a fatalistic and oppressive outlook does not hinder the use of a highly lyrical language that, although it may at times affect the characters' verisimilitude, contributes to the creation of a unique fictional world. Its referent is not real-life events (except for "Apaga la próxima luz"), but a fiction based on other fictions (Brazilian literature, film, and music, all familiar to Yushimito).

Switching now to his newest short story collection, besides "Oz," Yushimito includes, in Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde, four other short stories not previously published in Las islas. The story that lends its title to the collection deals with the sadistic killing of small animals by two seemingly innocent children: a seven-year-old narrator, named Gregorio, and his nine-year-old deaf and mute friend Margarita. Between piano lessons, these indolent children find their happiness in a garden where they can immobilize, torture, and chop into pieces with different instruments small animals such as wood lice, crickets, slugs, moths, bees, and snails. At one point, their cruelty seems to be extended to other human beings. Thus, when Gregorio's father dies, the boy weeps momentarily, but his feelings are ambiguous. Margarita, in turn, envies his luck and wishes that her father, a pianist, would die as well. She also thinks about killing him by mailing a scorpion to him and wishes she could cut all his fingers to prevent him from playing the piano. It is implied that she feels abandoned by him.

From the first line of the story, Gregorio, the narrator, evokes the sinister nature of his future friend by perceiving her as a shadow that caresses the door. Subsequently, Margarita's discreet, modest, and ceremonious behavior in the presence of her aunt, an elderly piano instructor, is contrasted with the instant complicity that characterizes the children's world in the story: she looks at Gregorio and points to the garden to meet there. Then, he fearfully describes the little girl's squeaking, her pale skin with visible veins, and her vampire-like smile: "Every time she smiled, her teeth would exhibit a sharp row of canine teeth, while a thin tape of red gums wrinkled over them. Regardless of when or in what circumstances she did it, it always ended up filling me with a fear that I tried to hide."⁵⁴ Soon, however, the reader finds out that the narrator, who is recalling his childhood, was no

less vicious than Margarita: "Although the exertion of cruelty on them never generated any feeling of sadness or remorse in me, the inventory of perverse and ingenious evil deeds that a girl as little and as sweet as Margarita could improvise never ceased to surprise me."⁵⁵ He confesses that, at the time, their activities together never seemed strange to him. Throughout the story, the evil wickedness embodied in seemingly innocent and vulnerable children, who display a tender affection for each other, makes the atmosphere even more eerie. The two friends improvise merciless trials for the animals, then classify them by their resistance to pain. In another metaphor for the loss of innocence, the story ends mysteriously with the narrator digging deep into a tunnel that Margarita had begun for the two of them, as if both were travelling to a different reality: their new reality in the world of adults.

In an interview with Carles Geli, Yushimito provides clues about this new atmosphere in his recent short stories: "Don't you see in The Pied Piper of Hamelin, taking all the children with him, a great metaphor for human genocide? I wanted my short stories to entertain that wickedness; that is why a Cheshire-type cat says what he says or a robot argues with its creator."⁵⁶ In fact, the epigraph to Lecciones is a quotation from Robert Browning's text, which the author associates with his own short story "Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde." The talking cat mentioned by Yushimito appears in "Mr. Munch," a short story where we find out, thanks to the cat's comments, that the non-reliable narrator, Miguel, helped his friend Ernesto Malinsky commit suicide. We also learn that afterward, the narrator stayed in his friend's apartment for months without paying rent; that he was now dating the latter's widow, Lucinda; and that he received the work promotion that perhaps Malinsky deserved, had he lived. The story suggests that the perverse narrator has been using marketing techniques learned at work to identify people's weaknesses and

to make them feel the need they have for the product offered (himself, in this case). Now, Miguel is afraid that one day his talking cat, with his accusing yellow eyes, will reveal the secret to Lucinda: that he pushed her husband off the armchair and pulled on the rope instead of trying to stop him when he committed suicide by hanging.

In another short story where protagonists show questionable moral standards, "Los que esperan" (Those Who Wait), a group of journalists exploits people's superstitions. The plot opens with an epigraph in Latin taken from chapter 5, titled "De Angelis" (About the Angels), of the encyclopedia Etymologiae (Etymologies), written by the Spanish scholar and ecclesiastic Saint Isidore of Seville (560?--636): "Uriel is interpreted as 'God's Fire,' as we read that the fire appeared in the bramble. We also read that the fire was sent from above and that it fulfilled what had been ordained."⁵⁷ This epigraph announces the protagonist's love for etymology, the name of the last "monster" to be photographed, and the divine fire that appears as an earthquake at the end of the story. Journalists manage to sell more newspapers by publishing photographs of anomalous human bodies that purportedly announce apocalyptic natural disasters---a girl with four arms, for example, is presented as the lobster girl who augurs hunger and thirst in northern Peru. However, to their surprise, natural disasters do occur after the photographs' publication. The first-person narrator and his peers soon begin to see themselves as good citizens who offer a helpful service to the public. In fact, they bring the government's attention to certain cases, and as a result, one of the families receives a pension and a grant for their daughter with birth defects. Their readers, in turn, "were happy to know that the world was full of ugliness, imperfection, and vice";⁵⁸ they felt satisfied to learn that the root cause of their unhappiness was beyond their control. Eventually, the narrator and

editor of the newspaper, who came up with the idea after noticing that the word "monster" comes from the Latin "monstrare," meaning "to show," ends up believing his own prophecies when, right after visiting one of the "monsters," a huge earthquake devastates the city of Lima. This belief somehow contradicts his previous statement that he could not pray because he no longer believed in anything. Although some of the birth defects and physical deformities are explained by the use of thalidomide (an intertextuality with Mario Bellatin's texts, such as Biografía ilustrada de Mishima [2009]).

), the tone of the narration also echoes Gabriel García Márquez's magical realism: an exoticized Latin American world of deformed bodies, miraculous prophecies, and superstition ends up winning the battle against reason and (Vargas Llosa's) literary realism.

Another story, "Madureira sabe" (Madureira Knows), was previously included in the eponymous short story collection. Narrated by a man recalling his childhood, it deals with his friendship, as an eight-year-old boy, with his lonely, seventy-year-old math teacher, Valdemar Madureira. As the title suggests, Madureira knows that an indigent woman roaming the neighborhood is actually the boy's mother, who abandoned him five years before. The story takes place in a neighborhood in a Brazilian city (perhaps Brasilia) where a labor strike has caused a hazardous accumulation of garbage. Throughout the plot, the boy reminisces nostalgically about his last memories of his mother. At one point, he runs into a woman wearing dirty rags and dragging a garbage bag whom other boys in the neighborhood always mock and harass with rocks. Before that day, the boy noticed that she would always observe him from afar. Unexpectedly, it seems that the boy metamorphoses into the same cat with yellow eyes that appeared in the story's opening and in "Mr. Munch": "Tense like a bow, I feel like miaowing, and I miaow with a sad boy's voice capable

of waking up the entire building, the entire block, the entire Ciudad Nueva. I look at her with my intense yellow eyes."⁵⁹ In the end, the woman is found dead on the street. Instead of looking at her like everyone else, the boy, perhaps finally intuiting that she is his mother, prefers to look up at the sky.

These four stories, not previously published in Las islas, mark a new direction in Yushimito's fiction, as they incorporate fantasy and even flirt, occasionally, with magical realism. This is perhaps an oedipal reaction against the overshadowing figure of Vargas Llosa: according to Yushimito, because of the influence of the latter's realism, the use of the fantastic has been uncommon in contemporary Peruvian literature. In a twist that rewrites and corrupts the perfect, utopian, and moral world of traditional fairy tales, there is also a switch from the world of adults to that of children, even though some of the stories are told from the perspective of men who remember their childhood. Finally, the seemingly predestined fate of several characters in Las islas sometimes takes a perverse and amoral turn, where cruelty is described as just another aspect of everyday life.

It still remains to be seen whether Yushimito continues with the post-nationalist and post-identitarian approach that characterizes most of his short stories, or whether, in the novel he is writing about political amnesia through a Japanese protagonist, he joins other Peruvian writers who choose to reflect their Japanese ethnic background in their writings.

Part III closes the book by concentrating on the poetry of two Nikkei writers: José Watanabe (a crucial figure not only in Japanese Peruvian literature but also in Peruvian and Latin American poetry) and Doris Moromisato. While Watanabe's poems and essays reflect his own reading of the Japanese culture passed down by his Issei father, with special emphasis on the influence of haiku and the Japanese notion of enryo, Moromisato's poems incorporate topics of gender, sexuality, and ecology, often within the framework of Uchinanchu cultural nationalism.<\>

<PN>Part III<\>

<PT>Nikkei Poetry<\>

<CN>6<\>

<CT>Japanese Culture and the Politics of Cultural Belonging in Watanabe's Poetry<\>

<TX>In an essay titled "Aspectos de la cultura del Japón" (Aspects of Japan's Culture), Peruvian writer Javier Sologuren posits that "the poetic feeling, nourished by a profound love for nature and its revelations, is a living constant underlying all forms where the Japanese people's literary and artistic expressions are articulated."¹ It could be argued that echoes of Sologuren's assertion are heard in the poetry of José Watanabe, Doris Moromisato, and Nicolás Matayoshi, who seem to have inherited a traditional admiration for nature, perhaps influenced by some Buddhist precepts that are typical of Japanese literature and art. All three see nature as a teacher that enlightens and reveals hidden truths about human nature and the universe. However, I believe that it is wrong to assume that their appreciation of nature is only a direct consequence of their Japanese cultural heritage; their having been raised in bucolic areas is an equally plausible reason. From this perspective, in this chapter possible echoes of Japanese culture (the haiku, Japanese art, the notion of enryo) in Watanabe's poetry will be cautiously explored, while arguing, perhaps paradoxically, that critics have overstated this influence in his works. The first subchapter also explores the politics of cultural belonging in Watanabe's essays and poetry.

<S1>The Politics of Cultural Belonging<\>

The poet José Watanabe Varas (1946--2007), perhaps the most famous Peruvian writer of Japanese origin, was born to a father from Okayama, Japan, and a Peruvian mother who was a descendent of the ancient Moche (a pre-Colombian

people from the coast of Peru) in Laredo, a little town near Trujillo, in northern Peru, the setting to many of his poems.² The fifth of eleven siblings, he belonged to a humble family of peasants. His father, Harumi Watanabe, arrived in Peru in 1916 and worked on a sugarcane farm in San Agustín, near Lima. Once, he won the lottery and the family was able to move to Trujillo. According to the poet, in Laredo "there were ten Japanese men, more or less. They were Issei (first generation)."³ His father was the only Japanese married to a Peruvian woman. In his testimonial "Laredo: Donde los japoneses se hallaban" (Laredo: Where the Japanese Lived),⁴ included in Los imperios del sol: Una historia de los japoneses en el Perú (Empires of the Sun: A History of the Japanese in Peru, 1996), Watanabe explains that most Japanese in Laredo were small business owners or tenant farmers from Okinawa. Most had previously worked in sugarcane fields and, to withstand the hard work of harvesting with a machete twelve one-hundred-meter furrows of sugarcane, they learned to chew coca leaves. Thus began, according to Watanabe, "their process of cultural assimilation."⁵ All the Japanese in Laredo, he adds, chewed coca leaves, and some had even become familiar with the magical powers of this plant. They had fully adapted to Peruvian culture, and they were, as Watanabe puts it, "cultural Mestizos."⁶ Japanese immigrants married local women, became Catholic, cooked regional dishes in their fondas (inns), owned chicherías,⁷ and sang local songs. As seen, Watanabe stresses transculturation and mestizaje between Japanese immigrants and Peruvian locals. He also insists that their parents' Japanese culture was not as influential on Nisei children as the local one: "In our daily life Japanese culture did not have enough relevance as to lead the children into a really deep identity problem. Our basic nationality has not been determined by them. More than by our race, the

Nisei are included in the contradiction of a Peruvian nationality that is still in formation."⁸

In the version of this testimonial appearing on the Discover Nikkei website, Watanabe includes a last paragraph missing in the version of "Laredo: Donde los japoneses se hallaban" found in Los imperios del sol, perhaps to avoid damaging the image of the Japanese community in Peru. There, as seen in the epigraph to the introduction to this study, he adds:

<EX>Last year in Callao, where there is a good number of Nisei, some of them tried to organize themselves to run in the general elections. Their leaders declared that they did not have racist motivations, but this caveat suggests something that, contradictorily, demonstrates their great criollismo: they wanted to take advantage, very opportunistically, of the "affinity of the eye," unaware that ideological and political affinity are above anything else.⁹<\>

<TXNI>Then, a footnote clarifies that "the affinity of the eye," in Peruvian popular parlance, "refers to people of Asian origin, because of their slanted, different eyes."¹⁰ Therefore, Watanabe turns an episode interpreted as ethnic separatism into yet another proof of the deep-seated Peruvian ethos of the Nisei. In Watanabe's argumentation as well as in the strategic suppression of this last paragraph by the editors of Los imperios del sol, we have clear examples of Nikkei Peruvian politics of cultural belonging.<\>

Although Watanabe is aware of the looting, deportations, and persecution suffered by Peru's Japanese, he remembers the "noble way" (in his own words) they avoided transmitting resentment to their children. His father had to hide in a sugarcane field after the deportations of Japanese nationals began in 1940, but as Watanabe recalls, he would blame the war atmosphere for these attacks. In an interview with Tsurumi, Watanabe records what he perceives as a

change of attitude toward the Japanese: "Although my father came to Peru as an adventurer, to survive, he had to work on a farm. In those times, there was no other work for the Japanese. Peruvian society, which is racist, did not give them other working alternatives. Now, it is different. Racism against the Japanese no longer exists; only against other ethnicities."¹¹ In this same interview, after absolving contemporary Peruvian society from anti-Japanese racism, he turns to self-criticism, claiming that he has only felt discriminated by the Japanese community, where people would call him "mitad/mitad" (half/half), "halfa," "konketsu" (son of two), and "ainoko" (son of perturbed passion), because he was the son of a Japanese who had married a Peruvian (Tsurumi, The Closed Hand, 237).

The topics of mestizaje and assimilation into mainstream Peruvian culture also appear in Watanabe's poetry. Thus, in his poem "Este olor, su otro" (This Smell, His Other), the smell of the parsley his sister chops recalls the poetic voice of his father, who would not eat soup without this "secret of local cuisine."¹² In a flashback, we see his father's seemingly easy assimilation to the dominant culture by accepting parsley as soup seasoning. The "other" of parsley (here a symbol of the local, Peruvian culture) mentioned in the poem is probably a Japanese cooking herb (symbol of a dispersed Japanese culture), now fossilized and forgotten in a basket hanging from the ceiling. The remaining lines bring the reader to the present and are directly addressed to his father. The poem speculates that his father's fondness for parsley was part of a larger secret. Tsurumi acutely suggests that "the father had integrated this custom into the family's routine to enable his children to plant their roots together as a family in their native Peruvian soil" (2012, 152). Debbie Lee-DiStefano agrees, claiming that this secret was "that the father would need to let the outside culture dominate his

own so as to have a sense of belonging" (57). Then, the poetic voice laments his father's passing, on the Day of the Dead, in the lines "today we sit lonely and decimated at the table" and "our houses, Don Harumi, have fallen down."¹³ Without the father, parsley, while reminding the poetic voice and his sister of him, has lost its comforting power; it has become a disquieting reminder of sad memories. Although the poetic voice includes the apparently sarcastic or resigned phrase "the things of this country,"¹⁴ the poem, as a whole, seems to celebrate a healthy process of mestizaje, rather than decrying the loss of Japanese customs. Watanabe left no doubt about his favorable opinion of miscegenation in his essay "Elogio del refrenamiento": "Our features, sooner or later, will end up as it should be: dissolved in the Mestizo landscape of our country."¹⁵

Therefore, it is clear that, in spite of this proud acknowledgment of his Japanese heritage, Watanabe fully identified with Peruvian culture. In an interview with Alonso Rabí do Carmo, he explained his own Peruvianness as the result of a conscious and arduous effort: "What happens is that, for me, it has been difficult to manage to interiorize the concept of homeland, because I am biracial, as they say now in the United States. My father is Japanese and my mother, Peruvian, Peruvian chola. Then, I have lived in these two worlds. Of course, one says 'I am Peruvian,' but, in reality, I had to achieve being Peruvian."¹⁶ In the same interview, he confesses that, after exploring national allegiances while writing El ojo de la memoria (Memory's Eye), he concluded that his only homelands are his body and his hometown, Laredo (both the lived space and the imagined poetic place). In light of this identitarian self-assessment, Diego Otero's interpretation of "El lenguado" (The Sole), from Cosas del cuerpo, seems appealing. After reading the lines "I am / Grey against grey. My life / Depends on copying indefatigably / The color of the

sand, / But this subtle trick / That allows me to eat and evade my enemies / Has deformed me,"¹⁷ Otero asks the rhetorical question: "To what point is not this parable in the poem a reflection about Nikkei identity, about the drive for a need of adaptation?"¹⁸ Otero interprets the dream described in the last lines of the poem: "At times, I dream that I expand / And wave like a plain, serene and fearless, and bigger / Than the biggest. I am then / The entire sand, all the vast bottom of the sea,"¹⁹ as an allusion to art and poetry as vehicles for freedom from identity cards and migration offices. By contrast, although one does not necessarily have to follow the poet's interpretation of his poem, Watanabe revealed, in his interview with Muth, that in "El lenguado" he was metaphorically pondering death: "I suggest that death must be something like an integration into something larger and more beautiful than oneself. 'El lenguado' dreams about being the entire ocean floor."²⁰ The same idea, as will be seen in this chapter, resurfaces in the poem "Animal de invierno."

Anyway, in Watanabe's poetry no apparent contradiction between his father's Japanese culture and his Peruvian identity is found. In the poem "El vado" (The Ford), from La piedra alada, he appears to imply that this identification with Peruvian culture was his parents' wish: "There [by the river bank], / According to the custom, they sowed my navel / Between the joint of two trees / So that I had a fatherland."²¹ Indeed, Watanabe ratifies this idea in his interview with Tsurumi: "My father did not make an effort, he did not insist on jpanicizing us . . . It was a lost battle. He allowed us to build our identity in everyday life."²² His father's desire to integrate himself into Peruvian society is evidenced by his decision to learn Spanish and to marry a Peruvian woman instead of returning to Okinawa to find a wife or asking for a "picture bride," as immigrants often did then. Consequently, perhaps, Watanabe does not see himself as outside Peruvian culture.

The next three subchapters will deal with the influence of Japanese literature, art, and worldview on Watanabe's writings.

<S1>Watanabe and the Japanese Haiku<\>

The poet learned about the value of contemplation during his long and silent walks with his father. He also claimed that his father's personality led him to use contention in his poetic language. Harumi Watanabe's influence in his son's poetry and worldview is evident in the number of times José mentions his father in the poems.²³ Harumi introduced the future poet to haiku with a poem that he recited and translated while the two sat in the barnyard. The poet recalls that, although he could not understand the haiku recited by his father, he intuited that it hid a secret wisdom, because the latter would get lost in thought after reciting. Later, young Watanabe read collections of Japanese haiku and translated the poems with the aid of a bilingual friend. Thanks to these books, he became familiar with the writings of canonical haiku poets, such as Matsuo Bashō (1644--1694), Kobayashi Issa (1763--1828), and Yosa Buson (1716--1783). In a prologue to a catalogue for Tilsa Tsuchiya's art titled "Tilsa: La pintora bendita" (Tilsa: The Blessed Painter), Watanabe subtly defines haiku as "brief Japanese poems that constitute an exercise in humility before nature."²⁴ He elaborates further on the secrets of haiku in his essay "El haiku y Occidente" (Haiku and the West), postulating that the haijin (writer of haikai or haiku) avoids the use of rhetorical devices, limiting himself to transferring his perception as objectively as possible:

<EX>The poet who is suddenly enlightened by a perception
simultaneously receives the ability to write, the words to
transmit his experience to other men. One can say that the poem
comes with its words, but it comes to the mouths of men of refined

spirit and elaborate language. The poet must intervene as little as possible and, for this reason, he avoids technical-poetic devices and, among them, especially the metaphor.²⁵

Along these lines, in the interview with Tsurumi, he goes as far as to point at this influence of Japanese haiku as the distinctive trait of his poetry: "I have been influenced by haiku poetry. This is what makes me different. I write re-created haiku."²⁶ Of course, Watanabe is not the only Peruvian Nikkei poet who has flirted with the format and/or spirit of haiku. As seen in the introduction, Nicolás Matayoshi imitated this format in several poetry collections.

Although Watanabe was not a Buddhist, in a 2003 interview with Randy Muth he admits to having been influenced by the Buddhist worldview through his father's contemplative demeanor and through his fondness for haiku, which he considers "an expression of Zen Buddhism."²⁷ Watanabe's readings of Japanese haiku are particularly noticeable in his fondness for the intimate contemplation of landscapes and animals, at a time when most Generation of 1970 writers conceived of poetry as a tool for social change (during General Juan Velasco's dictatorship) and were inclined to treat urban and political themes.²⁸ The poet himself has identified narrative and descriptive tendencies in his poetry that are close to parable. Echoing traditional haiku, he also tried to turn simple anecdotes, expressed with a language that is accessible and devoid of rhetorical devices, into deeper, transcendental knowledge. Thus, in his interview with Muth, he states that, although his poems are not haiku, they share the same spirit: "I do not write haiku. But the spirit is perhaps in my poems, which are a bit longer, learning that language somehow dictates the poems. The poem is already written in nature and one only has to pick it up."²⁹ When Watanabe posits that his poetry shares the spirit of haiku, he

refers to his writing without dramatization and without drawing conclusions, so that the reader may be touched by the situation found in the poem.

Likewise, when he published Historia natural (Natural History) in 1994, the poet had already expressed his identification with Japanese haiku: "Somehow, the parable is a form of knowledge and there I applied the technique of the haiku: saying the things that I have seen, but with a certain complicity so that the other level beneath what has been said can be understood."³⁰ This "other level" of transcendental truths is metaphorically represented as "flags" behind the "fog" of everyday reality in the title of his collection Banderas detrás de la niebla (Flags behind the Fog, 2006). And it seems to be related to the Japanese concept of yūgen, i.e., the subtle profundity of things that may only be vaguely suggested by poems. Yūgen suggests what may lie beyond what may be said with words; it is not, however, an allusion to another reality.

This play between the observation of transient and impermanent objects, to draw a superior, permanent, and transcendent conclusion, appears also in "En el ojo de agua" (In the Spring), from Cosas del cuerpo (Things of the Body, 1999). From his childhood memory of drinking water at a spring, alongside horses and other children, while waiting for "the poor dispatches of the unfathomable,"³¹ the poetic voice draws a deeper knowledge: "At age fifty, / You already know that no god is going to speak to you clearly. / In the old spring / This time around there are not definitive images either. / Abandon here your arrogant lucidity / And drink."³² Now without nostalgia, the poetic voice explains that age has taught him to substitute the sense of incommensurable mystery with simplicity. The last line, "and drink," connotes a *carpe diem* perspective: stop your juvenile, metaphysical lucubration and live life intensely before it passes. As the title of the collection suggests,

an aging Watanabe establishes a new hierarchy where the physical prevails over the metaphysical: our body is our homeland and our most precious possession. A similar rejection of intellectual and metaphysical conundrums resurfaces in "El camello" (The Camel), the last poem in the anthology Poesía completa, where the proverbial gaze of the camel is at first seen as stupid and insulting, and then as reasonable: "Or perhaps reasonable, / Because in the middle of the desert / That simplifies our objectives, I ask: / Why do we dare deal with immensities? // There is no answer / And the sun sets between the two humps of the camel."³³

The parabolic writing noted in "En el ojo de agua" continues in "El guardián del hielo" (Ice Guardian), also from Cosas del cuerpo. The poem is characterized by its narrative and conversational nature, like much of Watanabe's poetry and that of Generation of 1970 poets, who often resorted to colloquialisms in their works. Not describing a scene or moment in nature, as is typical of traditional haiku, but rather the simple melting of ice cream, the seemingly insignificant anecdote brings about a deeper thought, again related to the concept of *carpe diem*: "One cannot love that which flees so fast. / Love fast, the sun told me. / And that is how I learned, in his ardent and perverse kingdom, to not let life down: / I am the guardian of ice."³⁴ As seen, haiku's concept of moving from the momentary detail or instant to the eternal and transcendent teaching left a mark in Watanabe's ars poetica. Yet, rather than ambiguously evoking or suggesting the broader, wise, and implicit teaching so that readers may draw their own conclusions, he explicitly exposes it without delay. And, moving from tradition, his Peruvian haiku often awakens readers, urging them, as in "En el ojo de agua," to stop thinking in depth and live more simply.

Watanabe also used a haiku by Kobayashi Issa, "I return to my town: / Everything I find and touch / Becomes a blackberry bush,"³⁵ as an epigraph to his collection of poems La zarza (The Blackberry Bush), included in Historia natural, and then mentioned it again in "En el cauce vacío" (In the Empty River Bed), also from Historia natural: "In the return, everything turns into a blackberry bush, said Issa."³⁶ From these Japanese masters, he learned that wisdom did not necessarily reside in the poet himself, but could be found in landscapes, if one was sensitive enough. His poetry reflects his early love for haiku. As the title "Imitación de Matsuo Basho" (Imitation of Matsuo Bashō), from El huso de la palabra (The Spindle of the Word, 1989), suggests, Watanabe derives inspiration from the Japanese poet Matsuo Bashō to write the exquisite haiku that closes his prose poem: "At the top of the crag / Gambol the he-goat and his mate. / Bellow the abyss."³⁷ The death theme, so prominent here, permeates Watanabe's entire opus; it comes across as an intrinsic part of love and life. He acknowledged its prominent presence in his works: "The topic of death always concerned me, since I was a child. Many epidemic diseases like the plague came to this town. For example, the bubonic plague and the bubonic fever, which killed people and many times killed my classmates."³⁸

In "Imitación de Matsuo Basho," the poetic voice sees the risky, lascivious games that goats play on dangerous crags and instinctively connects the themes of love and death to his own rebellious escapade with a young lover. The poem tells how he escaped on horseback with his young lover to a mountain hamlet, fleeing from old morals. Then, they were free and fearless, just like the goats in the haiku. With time, however, they married, their families forgave them, and their carefree love was "consecrated," i.e., formalized by matrimony. The poetic voice's pursuit of love results in his adhering to societal conventions and necessities: once married, he built a

house. Yet he now misses the purity of the rebellious adventures of his youth: he mentions in the last lines that "love should have never built a house."³⁹ He laments how society's morals brought his young and pure love to the abyss mentioned in the third line of the haiku. Likewise, the poem "El niño del río" (River Boy), from Cosas del cuerpo, praises the risks a boy runs in a river, jumping from one slippery stone to another, disregarding safety: "He was the beauty / Of the continuous living / In risk."⁴⁰ As seen, the notion of enjoying daily life fearlessly and, at times, irrationally, together with the more sensual carpe diem message, are constants in his poetry.

Wanatabe invokes Matsuo Bashō again in his poem "Basho," from Banderas detrás de la niebla: "The old pond / No frogs. / The poet writes with his cane on the surface. / The water has been trembling for four centuries."⁴¹ With these four lines, he pays homage to Bashō's most famous haiku, "An ancient pond / A frog jumps in / The splash of water" (1686), and switches the imagery to reflect Bashō's impressive worldwide influence. With these references to Japanese poetry, he also pays homage to his father and to his ancestral culture. Moreover, in a poem dedicated to his mother and brother, "Casa joven con dos muertos" (Young House with Two Dead), from Historia natural, he quotes a well-known haiku by the Japanese poet Arakida Moritake (1473--1549): "A fallen blossom / Returning to the bough, I thought--- / But no, a butterfly" (trans. Steven Carter).⁴² However, in the last two lines of his poem, "A beautiful and horrid mistake / When two pale butterflies fly over the yard," Watanabe transforms Moritake's playful imagery into a morbid and phantasmagoric scene, suggesting that these two butterflies embody the souls of the two dead persons in the house mentioned both in the title and in the middle of the poem: "The little souls sitting there rested as on the edge of an abyss / And sometimes they would look at us as if we were the abyss."⁴³

In another poem, "Mi ojo tiene sus razones" (My Eye Has Its Reasons), Watanabe quotes "Harumi's old haiku"⁴⁴ without specifying whether it was written by his father, Harumi Watanabe, or read or recited by him: "In the fog / I touch the blurred boat. / Then, I embark."⁴⁵ This time, however, the idyllic scene with his lover by the ocean does not lead to reflections about death; rather, the poem focuses on the poet's own perceptual habits. The poem speculates about what the poetic voice did or said in that romantic scene, since he claims not to remember it well. The only scene that remained engraved in his memory is indicative of "his eye's reasons," to paraphrase the title: the young woman sits on a projecting rock, lifts her skirt, slides her feet into the sea water, and "her naked thighs find comfort on the rock."⁴⁶ Ultimately, in line with the mentioned anti-metaphysical poems, the sensual image that closes the poem invalidates the plausible philosophical haiku message (or the potential beauty of the seascape); what only matters to the poetic "I" is the memory of those beautiful thighs in the sun.

<S1>The Influence of Other Aspects of Japanese Culture<\>

Watanabe also evokes Japanese culture in poems that do not imitate haiku. In "Jardín japonés" (Japanese Garden), included in La piedra alada (The Winged Rock, 2005), he describes the symbolic representation of a natural landscape in a karesansui (Japanese rock garden), popularly known as "dry landscapes" or "Zen gardens" because they are found in Zen Buddhist temples of meditation. The first stanza describes a rock not higher than the average reader's knee. It is sitting on raked white sand, facing the eastern side of the garden. The stone asks for silence. Then, the poetic voice offers his advice or instructions on how to use the garden: "Look at the rock and learn: it, / With humility and discretion, / In the floating light of the afternoon, / Represents

/ A mountain."⁴⁷ Visitors must contemplate the rock and meditate. As is known, the sand or gravel in Japanese rock gardens symbolically represents the ocean and other bodies of water. It is sometimes raked into patterns that recall waves, and the act of raking is supposed to help Zen priests concentrate. Also as part of these "mind-scapes," stone arrangements often represent mountains or islands. In the poem, the Japanese garden is presented as a peaceful alternative to the noise of arrogant words and gesticulations, which, as will be seen in the analysis of "La impureza," are anathema to the Watanabe family's worldview. The rock is associated with the Japanese notion of enryo, that is, the majesty of restraint, humility, and discretion. In the poem, it is a symbol for Zen Buddhism's emphasis on emotional self-control. Like the rock, the person who chose it and brought it to the garden is a quiet man, again inviting the visitor (or reader) to silent meditation and introspection.

The central position and symbolism of the stone in "Jardín japonés" may be contrasted with the three ignored stones described in the untitled poem that opens the section of previously unpublished poetry in the collection Poesía completa. In the poem, the three stones are on the beach and a man sits on one to rest, without noticing the other two; his mind is somewhere else: "Not chosen for contemplation, looked at / Without ideas, the stones / Were not ever going to be remembered by that man."⁴⁸ The poetic voice is, therefore, melancholically contrasting this superficial scene with the philosophical depth and transcendence of a Zen garden.

Visual arts were a source of inspiration for Watanabe. As the poet stated in several interviews, he inherited this love for art from his father, who completed his academic art training in Japan before moving to Peru. He also kept his father's books on the great European masters. However, the artistic inspiration for Watanabe's poetry seems to come from the East. In

"Los amantes (grabado erótico de Hokusai)" (The Lovers [Erotic Woodprint by Hokusai]), from the collection Banderas detrás de la niebla, the poetic voice praises the delicate art of the Japanese artist and woodblock printmaker Katsushika Hokusai (1760--1849), whose most famous work is "The Great Wave off Kanagawa." The poem describes the undulating silk clothing with gracious patterns of tiny spring flowers that covers two lovers, exposing a white shoulder and a thigh. The cloth flows down to the tatami mat like a river: "If the light of the flesh is white / The silks flow like a river of empty coloration, a river / That comes off the lovers' bodies / Who, oblivious to the world, ignore / How those little red flowers shake."⁴⁹ Hokusai is also mentioned in the poem "Acerca de la libertad" (About Freedom), from Álbum de familia (Family Album, 1971): "They say that Hokusai would buy birds in order to free them."⁵⁰

Watanabe makes another brief incursion into Japanese culture in "El kimono," a poem published in the Peruvian magazine QueHacer in 1999, in the context of the centennial celebration held to honor the first Japanese immigration to Peru.⁵¹ The two stanzas recall an anecdote involving his (by then dead) parents. It opens by explaining their dissimilarity because of their different cultural backgrounds. The poetic voice then hopes that they are more alike now in the afterworld. It is learned that his austere father gave his wife a kimono as a gift, and unaccustomed to being pampered by him, she cried in silence. In the last stanza, the poetic voice asks his stern Japanese father to be less reticent and more communicative. He wants him to stop his mother's weeping by describing the scene painted on the back of the kimono, which she cannot see: "In the back of the kimono / A red salmon jumped. / Over my mother's shoulders, the fish / Seemed to go up her beautiful and bluish / Mestiza hair."⁵² As Watanabe confesses in the article "Elogio del

refrenamiento"published in QueHacer, he often wished that his father "were more expressive, as much as the effusive people that surrounded us."⁵³

Paradoxically, in his interview with Tsurumi, he argues that his parents' worldviews were similar: "There was not a big difference between my parents' philosophies. There was an affinity in my parents' ways."⁵⁴

His father's loving memory reappears in "Las manos" (The Hands), where the poetic voice recognizes his father's hands in his own: "My father came from so far / Crossed the seas, / Walked / And invented paths / To end up leaving me only these hands / And burying his / Like two very tender, lifeless pieces of fruit."⁵⁵ The initial lines seem to bemoan Harumi Watanabe's fruitless efforts and risks: his only legacy was the son's hands. A closer reading, however, might result in a different interpretation. Watanabe often expressed his admiration for his father's vast culture, his extensive readings on Japanese culture, and his fluency in Japanese, Spanish, English, and French. He also wondered how an educated Buddhist man, influenced by the Bushidō, who loved reading and painting, felt working humble jobs on farms and in sugar refineries. If this interpretation is accepted, the hands' legacy may explain his mission, writing about his father's experiences and thoughts, which the latter was unable to undertake. In other words, Watanabe received his father's knowledge of the Japanese worldview and an appreciation for the visual arts, literature, and film; he now searches for words that try to reflect that knowledge in his poetry. Further on, the poetic voice discovers his own Japanese traits, stating that his hands could belong to any figure in the ukiyo-e Japanese woodblock prints by Kitagawa Utamaro (1753--1806).⁵⁶ In turn, the poem's last stanza recalls his father's tenderness while caressing his hair during childhood. In addition, it suggests that the burial of the poet's hands will put an end to his father's adventures and exploits: "But it is

quite easy to understand / That with these hands / They will also bury a little of my father, / Of his arrival from so far, / Of his tenderness that knew how to model over my hair / When he had his hands to catch any wind, / Of any land."⁵⁷

Besides references to his Japanese father, Japanese art and culture, and his readings of Japanese literature, Watanabe mentions ideograms in "La bicicleta" (The Bicycle), from Historia natural, and in "El maestro de kung fu" (The Kung Fu Master), from Cosas del cuerpo, he finds inspiration in Chinese martial arts. In this last poem, the poetic voice praises the graceful movements of an old master, who practices martial arts, early in the morning, in a sandy area of the Barranco neighborhood in Lima. He describes the imitation of the movements displayed by animals prior to attacking as a type of dance. The poem ends with a dialog between the Chinese master and the poetic voice: "---You have guessed that I create my adversary / When I dance---the master tells me. / And he denies it, very Chinese, and only says: he is the one who makes me dance."⁵⁸ Muth has associated these last lines with Zen Buddhism: "The maximum goal of Zen Buddhism is highlighted: the fusion of subject and object. Like the martial arts expert in the poem, who declares that his movements come from another conscience, the haiku poet proclaims that he only transcribes that which nature dictates, revealing the obfuscation of the subjectivity and the objectivity of things."⁵⁹

<S1>The Influence of the Japanese Notion of Enryo<\>

His father's presence is again felt in "La impureza" (The Impurity), from El Huso de la palabra, a poem that Watanabe wrote in 1986 while in a Hanover hospital being treated for lung cancer. The poetic "I," fearing death's grip, aspires to imitate his father's sobriety and pride in the face of extreme

adversity, that is, when Harumi Watanabe was suffering from cancer but could not afford the needed morphine: "But don't patheticize. You're the son of. Don't dramatize."⁶⁰ Yet he wonders whether he will be able to overcome his fears and control his emotions, to determine whether he has inherited his father's Japanese stoicism: "The Japanese / Ended up 'bitten by a cancer braver than eagles,' / Without money for morphine, but with what elegance, listening / With what elegance / The notes / First restrained and then like a thousand rushing / From the kotó / From the Radio Hour of the Japanese Community."⁶¹ His mother's resilience is equally evoked in the third stanza. The poetic voice emphasizes his double cultural heritage by oscillating from "The Japanese" to "la serrana" (referring to his mother's Andean origin), only to realize melancholically that his parents cannot assist him in this moment of agony. The poem ends by conveying the idea that perhaps by openly accepting his own fears, he will again become the child who always counted on his parents' protection. Ironically, this thought is a clear departure from his intention, in the poem's first lines, of imitating his father's self-discipline, courage before death, and enryo (restraint, diffidence, reserve), as depicted in the Bushidō:

<EX>The discipline of fortitude on the one hand, inculcating endurance without a groan, and the teaching of politeness on the other, requiring us not to mar the pleasure or serenity of another by manifestations of our own sorrow or pain, combined to engender a stoical turn of mind, and eventually to confirm it into a national trait of apparent stoicism.

(Nitobe, 92)<\>

In "Elogio del refrenamiento," Watanabe recalls his motivation for writing this poem. In a conversation with the poet, a neighbor referred to a Japanese man as "his countryman." This statement makes him wonder whether

Peruvian Nikkei have a Japanese sense of identity, besides physical appearance and traditional cuisine. He then moves from the collective to the individual, pondering which aspects of his own personality may be considered Japanese. He realizes that he feels Nikkei in critical situations: "My normal tendency to despondency, for example, becomes an unusual temper. It is not a petulant appeal to the stereotype of the Japanese who is imperturbable before adversity; it is an intimate pressure that signals a responsibility to me: be like your father."⁶² Watanabe thus confesses that, after learning about his diagnosis at a German hospital in 1986, he felt tempted to scream and weep to relieve his anguish and impotence. Yet, ashamed that his fear was the only impurity in that aseptic room (hence the title), he was able to restrain his emotions. This episode inspired him to write "La impureza" years later.

Watanabe disclosed the meaning of the lines dedicated to his father: "This 'elegant' (stoic, I should have written) conduct in a borderline situation shaped, since the old times, our parents' ways. They grew up listening to samurai stories that they later repeated to us. The implicit teachings in the plots almost always insisted on showing dignity in extreme situations and, especially, before death."⁶³ Following Bushidō, which influenced civil society through art and oral history, Japanese Peruvians underscored the importance of an honorable death, one that did not leave the corpse in a shameful position. The poet indirectly reflects this notion in "La piedra alada" (The Winged Rock), included in the 2005 collection of the same title, where a pelican chooses to die on a desert rock, looking for "dignity in his final pose."⁶⁴

Although in some poems Watanabe asks his father to behave differently, in "Elogio del refrenamiento" he clarifies that his father's self-control and discretion were the personal traits that he admired most:

<EX>He was always calm. It seemed that all his acts had an impeccable inner anchorage. That natural self-control was the aspect that I appreciated the most, the one that impressed the most. . . . His serene attitude seemed to tell us that there is a natural order that does not require adding unnecessary commentaries to our acts. Deep inside, we can have the tragedies, intensities, abysses, but these must not be expressed with big gestures.⁶⁵<\>

<TXNI>In an interview with Tsurumi, Watanabe elaborates on his notion of Japanese restraint: "Restraint is not suppression; it means self-control and keeping one's dignity. My father and my mother were that way of their own free will, because they thought that human beings must be discreet. The word in Japanese is 'enryo,' which means 'a dignified stance.'"⁶⁶ As may be seen, although he identifies his own self-restraint as a Japanese trait inherited from his father, he adds that his mother also possessed this quality.<\>

Watanabe reproaches himself again in "El ciervo" (The Stag), from Historia natural. The poetic voice describes a recurrent dream where a stag looks proudly at him. A hunter eventually shoots the stag, but it gets away and licks to cure the wound. The stag reappears in another of his "hypochondriac dreams"⁶⁷: "My fear will cover it again with the attributes / Of an immortal. And looking at it that way / I look at myself / But only in my dream / Because the voice of my vigil does not enter there, and the stag / Never listens to / My rage: / You are not of flight and will die on the floor, bitten / By the dogs!"⁶⁸ Although this time the poem does not mention the poetic voice's desire to maintain his father's restraint in critical situations, the reader can sense the connection between the rage mentioned in "The Stag" and the poetic voice's shame for fearing death in "La impureza."

Watanabe had previously used the eagle image appearing in "La impureza" in "Poema trágico con dudosos logros cómicos" (Tragic Poem with Questionable Comical Achievements) from Albúm de familia: "Here, everyone has died with a moving modesty, / My father, for example, the lamentable Prometheus / Silently bitten by a cancer braver than eagles."⁶⁹ In "Poema trágico con dudosos logros cómicos," his father's pain is described more graphically: birds are associated with the eagle that daily pecked at Prometheus's liver (Zeus's punishment for the Titan having given the secret of fire to humans). As to their modest death, Watanabe is perhaps evoking his brothers' death for lack of medicine. In this context, Tsurumi notes: "Watanabe was one of eleven children born to Harumi Watanabe and Paula Varas. Two of their children, without the medicine they needed, died of meningitis when they were living in secret in the village of Baraza during World War II" (2012, 278). The word "tragic" in the title refers to his family's deprivation, the absence of doctors and priests when needed, and their resignation before death. Only sporadically, asserts the poetic voice in a seriocomic tone, do they wonder about death. The poem's end, "to the sea / We know as Death," quotes a known line from "Coplas por la muerte de su padre" (Coplas on His Father's Death), by the Spanish poet Jorge Manrique (1440--1479),⁷⁰ to stress his family's resignation before death's inevitability.

From a review of Watanabe's cultural identity and politics, and the influence of Japanese culture in his writing, the last subchapter briefly addresses critical flaws in interpretations of his poetry.

<S1>Critical Readings of Watanabe's Poetry<\>

Although in this chapter echoes of Japanese culture in Watanabe's poetry have been heard, critics have been overzealous in their estimation of this

influence. While the poet acknowledges the influence of haiku and of his father's teachings in his worldview and poetry, it would be a mistake to associate his entire poetic production with Japanese culture. As Watanabe himself postulates, "Trying to understand Fujimori from the point of view of Japanese-ness is a conceptual error. It is like trying to understand my poetry or Tilsa [Tsuchiya]'s painting from the point of view of Japanese-ness. That is exoticism and all exoticism is a form of racism."⁷¹ Indeed, other analyses are perhaps as valid, including the consideration of the influence of Peruvian poet César Vallejo, French symbolism, and the Andean worldview. Likewise, recurrent topics of death, family, nature, the human body, and the arts in his poetry are not always related to a Japanese worldview. César Vallejo's influence is evident, for example, in references to universal fraternity in the prose poem "El envoi" (The Dispatch), from El huso de la palabra: "However, the blood that is going into my body corrects me. It speaks, without rhetoric, of a vaster fraternity. It says that it comes from everyone, that I should receive it as a dispatch from the species."⁷²

Along these lines, echoes of a different type of cultural hybridity, this time connected to his mother's Andean worldview, may be noticed in Watanabe's answer to Tsurumi's question about his religious beliefs (reminiscent of the poet's reflection on death in Muth's interview cited above): "If we transcend, I want to integrate myself in bigger things. I would like to be part of something bigger than I, like a mountain."⁷³ In Andean cultures, as it is known, the apus (in Quechua) or huacas (in Aymara) are used to ask favors from the mountains or picchus, which are thought to embody the souls of dead caciques or curacas.⁷⁴ A similar notion appears in "Animal de invierno" (Winter Animal), from Cosas del cuerpo, where the poetic voice visualizes, in the last stanza, his own transformation after death into a mountain: "I have

come for the nth time to feign my resurrection. / In this stone world / No one will be happy with my awakening. I will be alone / And I will touch myself / And if my body continues to be the soft part of the mountain / I will know / That I am not the mountain yet."⁷⁵ As Watanabe sagaciously proposes in his poem "Simeón, el Estilita" ("Simeon Stylites"), from La piedra alada, "Wisdom / Consists in finding the place from which to speak."⁷⁶ In this context, the positionality of Watanabe's poetic discourse goes beyond ethnic identitarian premises.

The next chapter, devoted to Doris Moromisato's poetry, closes this section on Nikkei poetry. It is noteworthy that it might have also been included in chapter 2, because many of her poems focus on Okinawan identity. Besides pointing out the echoes of her Japanese/Okinawan ethno-cultural identity in Moromisato's poetry, the analysis in chapter 7 concentrates on the representation of marginalized groups within the Nikkei community and the expression of taboo topics (e.g., alternative sexual lifestyles), which is in itself a claim for space.<\>

<CN>7<\>

<CT>Gender Roles, Sexuality, and Uchinanchu Cultural Identity in Doris Moromisato's Poetry<\>

<TX>Whereas Fernando Iwasaki avowedly tries to de-ethnify his public discourse, the Nisei Doris Moromisato Miasato's case (1962--) is different: not denying her Japanese cultural heritage, she celebrates her Okinawan identity, particularly after 1990.¹ Her poetry can be analyzed from numerous angles, as it moves from ecological and feminist concerns to lesbian desire and ethnopolitical engagement within the Japanese community and Peruvian society at large. The youngest of eleven children of two peasants from Okinawa Shi who emigrated to Peru in the 1930s, she takes pride in her ethnicity and regional culture---she was the director of the Asociación Femenina Okinawense del Perú (Okinawan Female Association of Peru) and the cultural director of the Okinawa Shi Kyoyukai del Perú. Chapter 2 explored Moromisato's mediation of Nikkei testimonies, but she also owns a poetic opus. Her poetry may be understood as a projection of her strategic Okinawan self-affirmation. It likewise complements her criticism of the erasure of Asians from the imaginary of Peruvian national identity, apparent in several essays she has written and volumes she has edited.

Moromisato describes her national-identity development in the essay "El mundo de afuera y el mundo de adentro: ¿Qué es ser Nikkei peruana?" ("The Outside World and the Inside World: What Is It to Be a Peruvian Nikkei?"), included in Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú (2006), a book co-written with Juan Shimabukuro Inami. She reveals that during her childhood an outside world existed where the Peruvian national anthem was sung and all Japanese were supposed to keep low profiles and avoid mixing languages: "We were like samurai

armies facing adverse territory. Sacrificed and messianic souls carrying over our shoulders the entire weight of Japanese heritage."² But there was also an inside world with different codes, where she heard the Okinawan language and was surrounded by Japanese almanacs, decorations, and Buddhist altars. In this private world, she was addressed by her Japanese (and official) name, Midori (Doris is a nickname). She was also supposed to worship the Japanese emperor and her father. In both situations, however, silence and discretion were the law, as we will see in her poem "Tregua de cenizas" (Ash truce). She confesses that it was exhausting to move constantly from one world to another. Thus, she closes her essay with a recommendation to eliminate the divide between these two parallel realities in order to build, instead, a more united society.

As she does in her poetry, in this essay Moromisato draws attention to the fact that the Japanese have often been ethnocentrically excluded from the Peruvian national project and imaginary: "Until today, the message has been clear: we are allowed to be Peruvian provided that we disseminate in the mass, hiding characteristics and muzzling our diversity."³ Recent events have been determinant for Peruvian Nikkei self-perception. For some time, discloses Moromisato, a few optimistic members of this community believed that Alberto Fujimori's presidential victory meant the closure of the immigration circle. This dream, however, came to an end with the beginning of the dekasegi experience: "Working in the land of their ancestors turned out to be a certainty for some and a resounding slap to one's identity for others."⁴

As a child, Moromisato's mother tongue was Uchinaguchi (or Okinawan), and she spoke a Spanish interlaced with Japanese and Okinawan words. Although she never learned to speak Okinawan or Japanese, several poems reflect her bicultural upbringing through the inclusion of words from the Okinawan and Japanese languages, as well as Japanese nursery rhymes and legends. Moromisato

addresses again her Okinawan identity in her prologue to Ricardo Ganaja's testimonial Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense (2008), which deals, among other issues, with the conflicts between Okinawans and Naichi-jin in Peru. She posits that Okinawan culture, in contrast to what is seen as the cautious, discreet, cold, and inexpressive Japanese nature, is "characterized by happiness, generosity, passion, and politeness, which are nothing but a consequence of the warm landscapes and the permanently pacifist history of the ancient Empire of Ryūkyū, today called Okinawa."⁵ In this vein, her foreword to Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú underscores the heterogeneity of the Japanese community in Peru: "Okinawan immigrants arrived in Peru during the Meiji era [1868--1912], or under its subsequent influence and, for this reason, they had not been completely assimilated to the Japanese Empire. They maintained, in Peru, their characteristics, which they have kept until today."⁶

Moving on to Moromisato's poetry, in an interview with Debbie Lee-DiStefano she explains the difference between two of her collections of poems: "Chambala era un camino represented my ethnic and linguistic liberation. There, I mixed Castilian, Japanese, and Okinawan. Diario de una mujer es ponja (Diary of a Panja Woman) represented my sexual liberation. There, I freed myself from muzzles and self-censorship."⁷ Indeed, the three thematic cornerstones of her poetry are gender, sexuality, and ethno-cultural identity. According to Lee-DiStefano, the poet's immersion into Japanese culture in the 1990s coincided with the fact that "Fujimori's presidency revitalized the interest in learning Japanese customs" (19). Tellingly, the only reference to her Japanese ethnic background in her first collection of poems, Morada donde la luna perdió su palidez (Dwelling Where the Moon Lost Its Paleness, 1988), appears in the last poem, "Manuscrito" (Manuscript), where she mentions the

Japanese island of Hokkaido and describes a samurai committing ritual suicide, or seppuku, after honoring the emperor. Perhaps as a direct result of the cultural impact of Fujimori's political career, Moromisato self-orientalized her own writing in the following two collections of poems.

Her cultural heritage and place of origin are visible in the title of her poetry collections. Her second collection, Chambala era un camino (Chambala Was a Road, 1999), includes in its title the name of her hometown, Chambala, a farming community on the outskirts of Lima where several Okinawan families settled in the 1940s, bringing with them the old country's customs. This town also lent its name to the title of a poem in Morada donde la luna perdió su palidez, "Chambala," where the poetic voice recalls her childhood dreams, her mother's kisses, and her sadness after the death of relatives. She described Chambala, when interviewed, as a "territory of the heart that she could have called Okinawa."⁸ Okinawan culture was so present in Chambala that, in Moromisato's view, she had her first real contact with Peru when she entered the University of San Marcos at age seventeen.

Chambala era un camino, an autobiographical book of nostalgic childhood memories, is dedicated to her mother, whom she describes as a peasant from Akmichi "who came to this shore to be reborn in me."⁹ In the interview, Moromisato explained that, in 1988, six months after the publication of her first book, her mother died, after having been left a widow for seven years. Her passing was "an existential earthquake"¹⁰ for the poet, which made her leave Chambala. However, she returned there in 2002 to live.

The NoEvas Editoras edition is decorated with Japanese traditional ink drawings. An introductory note titled "Everything happened in Chambala"¹¹ provides the poetic voice's own conception with a mythical aura: a beam of light crossed the sky in Chambala, her mother noticed a tiny molecule in the

universe, and nine months later Moromisato was born. Claiming to remember being born, she describes the experience. The book nostalgically evokes the carefree and provincial life of her childhood, when she enjoyed family life, together with bucolic landscapes. Using an introspective tone, it mourns the passing of her immigrant parents and bemoans the ecological degradation of this idealized place. Poetry becomes a cathartic attempt to find answers and, especially, a place in the world, by re-appropriating the comforting memories of deceased parents and childhood friends who immigrated to the city.

The first poem, "El hogar" (Home), continues this melancholic and timeless remembrance ("Carrying in my hands a dead pendulum;" "And a sad / still / tired clock")¹² of a child's worldview populated by innocent dreams and ruled by the central presence of an authoritarian father: "My father was a temple / The sun would go down to die in his arms at five."¹³ The description introduces her father's image as a hieratic, omnipotent, and fearsome god who rules over the family. Other lines add to the effect: "No one moved my father's place mat"¹⁴; "And my siblings, very quietly / Buried their dreams in a bowl of soup."¹⁵ By contrast, the memory of her loving mother draws opposite emotions: "The stars illuminated me through my mother."¹⁶ The poetic voice describes, at the poem's end, a clock that does not work and an old Japanese almanac covered with dust and "hoping to become yesterday,"¹⁷ which evoke the immigrant parents' failed attempt at holding on to their last homeland memories. The family scene is seen through the girl's hopeful eyes, as in the next poem in the collection, "Antes de la luna llena" (Before the Full Moon), where the poetic voice contrasts the omnipresent silence in the home (the silence and discretion mentioned in "El mundo de afuera y el mundo de adentro" also characterize this poem) with noisy childhood beach games.

In the four poems of "Crónicas de mi padre" (Chronicles of My Father), a Nisei woman describes her father as a rigorously self-restrained, stoic, and taciturn Issei marked by sadness and longing for his country. Moromisato's father moved to Peru in 1930, at the age of twenty-four. In 1936, he returned to Okinawa, and after an arranged marriage, he brought his wife to Peru in 1937; she was nineteen years old. When Moromisato was born, her father was fifty-six years old. According to Moromisato, out of consideration for her father, she never talked to him. He was a serious and quiet man who spoke about himself in the third person. In "Mi padre" (My Father), the poetic voice describes her unsettled relationship with this man who "Was blind in one eye. / He was a man full of nerve. / He had an old shirt and eyelid drooping / Over a sad eye."¹⁸ As a child, she sometimes thought that he was insane and wondered whether "God turned over his black pupil / To make him see inside his heart."¹⁹ In spite of her father's peculiar demeanor (he told his children of a convicted man who rode a horse crying over the woman he killed for her unfaithfulness), the poetic voice's love for him is evident in the last lines: "I knew that he was lying / And sometimes I loved him / One-eyed father / Damned liar / My old man."²⁰ Incidentally, Moromisato also expressed love for her father in the dedication of Morada donde la luna perdió su palidez, where she thanks him for bequeathing his past to her. Yet a poem, "Tregua de cenizas" (Ash Truce), reproaches him for his incapacity to show affection: "Release, father, please, your tenderness / Soon, for this unknown love is exhausting me."²¹ Here, perhaps as a result of a cultural and generational clash, he is again described as a distant, impassive, and quiet man who refuses to acknowledge his daughter's need for affection.

Returning to Chambala era un camino, in "La luna sobre el arrozal" (The Moon over the Rice Paddy), the poet's father plays three strings of an old

guitar (he pretends that it is a shamisen, or three-stringed Japanese lute) and sings in Okinawan about sailors traversing the Okinawa sea and saluting the moon before returning home.²² Her father's mouth has grown tired of Spanish words and returns to his mother tongue, nostalgically singing a traditional Okinawan song. In contrast with the severe image of the "temple" in the poem "Home," the poetic voice tenderly describes this uprooted old man whose tired heart is dying from melancholy. The poetic voice again makes her love for the old man apparent by confessing that, like the candles in the yard, her heart began to melt from compassion. The image of the father singing old songs at night reappears in "Chambala era un camino estrecho y polvoriento" (Chambala Was a Narrow and Dusty Road) and in her prologue to Ricardo Ganaja's testimonial Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense (2008): "His voice---the broken timbre of his voice---seemed to transport him back to the territories of the soul where all is filled with melancholy, where age dissipates and nothing exists except for the landscape that is built with the longing, resigned, sad heart."²³ Moromisato adds, in the prologue, that her mother was equally homesick and could hardly hide her sadness and melancholy.

The homesickness theme continues in the poem "Aquí en Laredo (Hacienda Laredo, 1932)" (Here in Laredo [Laredo Hacienda]), where the poet empathizes with an unnamed Okinawan immigrant (it is understood that she talks of her father because the section is dedicated to him) and imagines how he felt when working on a farm in Laredo: "Here the boss orders in a strange language / And he spits with anger if I cannot manage to understand what he wants."²⁴ After work, still daydreaming about his home in Uchiná, Okinawa, the immigrant puts his machete down and enjoys the moonlight by the seashore. In the last poem of this section, "Aguacero de enero (Chambala, 1953)" (January Downpour

[Chambala, 1953]), another unnamed immigrant---perhaps the same one---is working on the farm while wondering about the whereabouts of the ship that brought him to Peru. He nostalgically remembers his father farming rice in Okinawa and his own farewell tears; suddenly he recovers his pride and hopes upon realizing that, in contrast with the destitution prevalent in his homeland, he now (in 1953) owns land: "January downpour, close friend / Sprinkle my tears / My scarce and white hair / Do not tell anyone that I am happy under your mantle."²⁵

The five poems of the section "Madre no canta más" (Mother No Longer Sings) constitute an elegy to her beloved, deceased mother. The first one, "Todas las nubes no alcanzan para nombrarte" (All the Clouds Are Not Enough to Name You), recalls how the poetic voice and her mother exchanged Japanese words. The reader learns that the mother sold guinea pigs and ducks to ensure her daughter's studies. The poem mourns the loss of this unconditional ally: "But one winter mother abandoned the dwelling / She left slowly, without bothering anyone, / The dinner set in the larder, / Just gilded tempura aroma."²⁶ This humble woman who vanished without making any noise left a sad lesson for her daughter: "Not asking anything from the hours or the stars / But letting them fall and drop / Over us, / Humble land."²⁷ As Tsurumi points out, these lines epitomize Japanese/Okinawan philosophy: "They should not ask too much from life, but accept what is offered with humility" (2012, 181). Another lesson, this time about life and death, is included in the poem's title "Toda madera también es ceniza" (All Wood Is Also Ashes). The poetic voice remembers how her mother talked about her three dead children. While they warm their hands by the fireplace, a flame creates an image of the poet's deceased father carrying the body of her sister Yasu, in hopes that a divine breath returns her to life. In the end, all that is left of the dead children

is their mother's memory of her giving birth to them and of their faces in the butsudan (Buddhist family shrine). Yet the living and the dead bond through their sharing the only fire in the house.²⁸

The poet's mother is the poetic voice in most of the stanzas of the poem "Me pregunto qué extraño sortilegio tiene la muerte. Versos de mi madre, cuando morí" (I Wonder What Strange Sorcery Death Has. Verses by My Mother when I Died). In it, Moromisato imagines the poems that her mother would have written had the poet preceded her in death. Perhaps because of the change in viewpoint, this poem provides the harshest image of Moromisato's father. In the first stanza, the mother describes how a young Moromisato would tremble and breathe softly, fearing that any unwanted noise might anger her father. The second stanza is written in italics to signal the change of perspective: a prolepsis takes us to the present, when the poetic voice, now Moromisato, strolls along the beach early in the morning, singing an old song and recalling her mother. Then, the poem returns to the mother's perspective: she now fears for her daughter's life after noticing that her stern and cruel father is looking at her. As if talking through telepathy, the mother thinks: "One day you would be big like I was / And you would gather in your chest this immense desire to flee / As I felt it."²⁹ The fourth stanza is again in italics. Years later, Moromisato watches birds on the sand, "with their chests open, burst by death,"³⁰ which remind her of her mother. The mother's viewpoint governs the rest of the poem, where her husband's love for their daughter is described as "cruel and small-minded."³¹ She too admits to being afraid of her husband. One day, the mother sees her daughter die. The mother relived her youth through her daughter; now that she is dead, her mother's youth vanishes. In effect, the poem implicitly invites women to rid themselves of abusive spousal relations and to find a voice for themselves.

The father's image is not improved in another poem of this section, "Madre no canta más." We find an overworked mother who, besides taking care of her children and the house, has to do additional work in the orchard. The reason for this work is contained in the second line of the poem: "to avoid leisure time, as my father would say."³² The poet portrays herself as a frustrated infant who, unable to talk, cannot ask her mother to stop suffering. In the second stanza, the poetic voice recalls her mother's love and claims to have been born to wipe and soothe her mother's tired forehead. Her mother's hopeless resignation is depicted in the line, "until death caught up with her after being ready for it for so long."³³ After the poetic voice's failed attempts at recovering her lost childhood and finding her mother's singing voice in the house, she feels lonely. Her mother's sadness and fear (this time of death) reappear in the last poem of the section, titled "Chambala, 6 de setiembre" (Chambala, September 6). The poetic voice lies on the bed where her mother used to rest (the only inheritance she has received from her), recalling their conversations as death drew near. Without her mother, the poem's beautiful landscapes have become empty and sterile. Her father's cruelty and lack of tact are again recalled in "El fantasma de mi padre ronda mi pequeña habitación" (My Father's Ghost Wanders around My Little Room), where, in an early morning dream, he rips off the heads of the wallflowers that the young girl had dreamt of in order to teach her a lesson: "'Everything is ephemeral / Like the color of the sky.'³⁴ Again, besides the generational gap, Moromisato's criticism of her father's behavior may respond to a clash between Eastern and Western worldviews.

The poetic voice's mourning of her mother's passing continues in the next section "Tillandsias y desiertos" (Tillandsias and Deserts). In the poem "Todas las ballenas van al sur" (All Whales Travel South), she maintains she

found in nature reason to live after her mother died: the whales' migration to the south to bear their calves recalls for her an image of her own birth. Likewise, in "Otsukisama" she recalls her mother's idealized memories of the homeland, an Okinawa where no one suffered or lost their harvest, where people would happily harvest at midnight under the moonlight while singing, and where no one would become tired, die, or miss loved ones. The poem begins and ends with the same image: "A door opens and like every night / I go up a step that leads to my origin"³⁵ (the gap between "opens" and "and like" is intentional). This unspecified "origin" seems to be either the poet's mother and her Okinawan ethnicity, or the old bed where her mother is now lying and where the poetic voice was conceived, as mentioned in "Madre no canta más." The title of the poem probably refers to the Japanese festivals that honor the autumn full moon, known as Tsukimi or Otsukimi.

Like Watanabe, Moromisato finds inspiration in Katsushika Hokusai's art. Thus, the poem "Hasta que a Hokusai se le escape el mar" (Until the Sea Gets Away from Hokusai) refers to the ukiyo-e series of large, color woodblock prints titled "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji" (it consists of forty-six prints) and imagines the Japanese artist drawing the mountain and waves. The last poem in the collection, "¿Dónde estás, Momotaró?" (Where Are You, Momotaro?), returns to childhood dreams, recalling a Japanese children's song about the legend of a mischievous goblin born inside a peach, which Francisco Loayza included in Simiente japonesa. Leyendas y cuentos antiguos del Japón (Japanese Seed. Legends and Old Short Stories from Japan, 1913). The poetic voice's father planted a peach tree before her window so that she might see it grow. As a young girl, she imagined that the gobbling Momotaro climbed its branches. In the end, however, this benevolent image of her father falls apart when she mentions that time pushed him far from her. The last line, repeating

the poem's title, suggests her longing for her happy childhood days. The text written in poetic prose that closes the collection condemns the pollution of Chambala and again evokes her childhood's bicultural environment: "I learned, attentive, my duties: catching life in Japanese, reconstructing everything in Castilian, loving in Uchinaguchi [the original language of Okinawa or the ancient kingdom of Ryūkyū], and observing Quechua seeping like a cloud through the window."³⁶

Moromisato's third collection of poems, the confessional Diario de una mujer es ponja (Diary of a Panja Woman, 2004), continues the introspection found in the previous book, but adds a journey of self-exploration that includes an open declaration of her sexual orientation. Although less explicitly stated, however, her first collection of poems, Morada donde la luna perdió su palidez, already included several poems that hinted at lesbian desire and eroticism, such as "Si la noche fuera azul no existirían los deseos" (If the Night Were Blue, Desires Would Not Exist) and "La inmaculada historia de Mnasidika, mi amiga" (The Immaculate Story of Mnasidika, My Friend). In this last one, for example, we read: "I am the unbridled God, now / That my polymorphic sex dilates / Among crouching virgins' tight cries / To my fury's luck, / Briefly copulating while I wander; / And among pubes and wild breasts, I flee / Into exile . . ."³⁷ Other poems in this collection have overt sadomasochistic overtones, such as "Aullido sagrado" (Sacred Howling), or, as is the case of "A este cuerpo enamorado" (To This Body in Love), exalt the female body (her own, in this case) and its sexuality: "I love this body that ties me up / The erect nipple over the sad chest,"³⁸ declare the first two lines.

Returning to Diario de una mujer es ponja, it embraces in the title the nickname for Nikkei in Peru, Argentina, and other South American countries:

the word "Ponja" changes the order of the two syllables of the Spanish word for Japan ("Japón"). Through the rhetorical figure of the calambur (pun), the poet separates the first syllable in the Spanish "esponja" (sponge) to modify the meaning of the word. As it is common among minority groups, Moromisato turns an insult into a source of ethnic pride. This ethnic pride is reflected in her poetry. For instance, in her poem "La mujer es ponja" (The Woman Is Ponja), included in Diario de una mujer es ponja, Moromisato addresses the construction of her identity as a woman and as a descendent of Okinawans living in Peru. She echoes her countryman, the novelist José María Arguedas (1911--1969), when he described Peru as a country of all breeds, but she symbolically establishes her roots, mentioning more than once the tropical hibiscus, whose beautiful flower is emblematic of Okinawa: "What am I? I ask to a leaf of the hibiscus"; "The moon shines in the leaf of the hibiscus"; and "I tear out the leave of the hibiscus."³⁹ Identitarian questions are posed from the first line of the poem, "What am I, who am I?"⁴⁰ and repeated throughout. On the other hand, landscapes and nature are central to the poem, as they are in her remaining poetry. The poetic voice describes herself as an insignificant point overwhelmed by nature's power. Looking for the pathetic fallacy effect, she describes the moon's immense reflection in her pupils. Female solidarity and identification are such that she turns into the moon itself: "The curve of her womb trapped inside me. / I am / The moon."⁴¹ Once the poetic "I" begins to bemoan her unhomeliness, however, the list of terms becomes progressively negative (scabs, paranoia, bile, obsessions), and the idyllic nocturnal scene turns sour: "Twenty-five million and there is no place for me. / My great-grandfather did not fight for saltpeter / My grandmother did not bury her bones here."⁴² Following a trait of surrealist poetry, the negativity continues in new lists: words like "verbiage," "tuberculosis," "caries," "labyrinths,"

"desolations," "routine," "salmonella," and "prejudice" are mixed with those of body parts, like "ovaries," "lungs," and "arteries." Eventually, the poetic voice returns to the state of spiritual harmony that opened the poem. She finds the necessary strength in her Okinawan cultural heritage, as represented by the hibiscus, and in the example provided by the personified moon, which does not have doubts or allow anything to daunt her: "I tear out the leaf of the hibiscus / I keep the moon in my pocket / I keep myself with it. / Another night."⁴³

The imprint of the Japanese worldview is also palpable in the title of her erotic poem "Haiku," also from Diario de una mujer es ponja: "You enter me as softly / As a butterfly / Gliding through a beam of light // Oh, who understands / The sadness of the iris / The robust weariness over its green leaves. // You come out as softly from me / As a beam of light / Gliding through a butterfly."⁴⁴ Although the poem, with three stanzas of three polymetric lines without rhyme, is not a traditional Japanese haiku (another dissimilarity with traditional haiku is the simile), it does contain the typical reference to the natural world, and it concentrates on a particular scene or instant that has transcendental implications. She also uses simple and seemingly spontaneous words, always avoiding frivolous lexical artifice and witty displays of verbosity. Her short poem emulates the simplicity of traditional haiku by taking advantage of the evocative power of silence. In "Haiku," sexual penetration is delicately described through the presence of three elements of nature: a butterfly, a thread of light, and an iris. Although in Christian symbolism, the iris represents purity, chastity, and innocence, here it shares the sexual connotations it had among ancient Egyptians and Greeks: the phallic shape of the flower's pistil led the ancients to associate it with fertility. Finality and sense of completion are achieved through a

simple inversion: the image of the first stanza, a butterfly gliding through a beam of light, is beautifully reversed in the last stanza, where a beam of light goes through a butterfly. Curiously, in an interview with Tsurumi, Moromisato argues that one cannot write haiku in Spanish: "I did not write anything in Japanese form because I think the Spanish language does not work when writing a haiku. It would be betraying the haiku. The Japanese language uses ideograms, while Spanish is syllabic. One cannot play with the verses. I think that in order to create a haiku, one must be a Zen Buddhist and have a zen worldview."⁴⁵ Incidentally, Moromisato is Buddhist.

Moromisato again blends homoeroticism with ethnic heritage in "Para amarte, también" (To Love You, Also), subtitled "(Después de saber cómo ama Cristina Peri Rossi)" ("[After Knowing How Cristina Peri Rossi Loves]"), from the same collection. For the amorous encounter between Moromisato and the Uruguayan writer Cristina Peri Rossi (1941--) to take place, a number of unusual coincidences, as well as familiar and historical events, had to occur. Addressed to Cristina Peri Rossi, the poem first revisits Moromisato's family history: her father had to deceive her mother and make her his (no details about the deceit are provided); then, the couple had to overcome doubts during the trans-Pacific voyage, withstand the feeling of uprootedness, and learn a new language. In these stanzas, the poetic voice links her ethnicity to two different national events: Francisco Pizarro killed Diego de Almagro, an act that caused "an immense river of blood"⁴⁶ in Peru, and a war led to the overthrow of a Japanese emperor considered divine. Following the family lineage and historical events in two countries, a third occurrence was the poet's decision to write (it is understood that the lovers met because of their common fondness for literature). The use of anaphora with "para amarte" (in order to love you), repeated ten times throughout the poem, stresses the

poetic voice's attraction to Cristina Peri Rossi's body and fears: for a love scene to take place, "the fences had to be demolished / And fears had to leave your body."⁴⁷ This poem, therefore, contributes to the book's public acknowledgment of its author's lesbianism. The collection addresses a double marginalization: one with her sexual orientation, the other with her ethnicity.

As in her previous books, in Diario de la mujer es ponja Moromisato makes references to Japanese art. In "Atrapando insectos bajo la luz de una antorcha" (Catching Insects under the Light of a Torch), for instance, she mentions the woodblock prints of Suzuki Harunobu (1724--1770), known for his ukiyo-e style shunga (erotic images): "A line of ants climbs toward your waist / Is it love? / This instant is love? / No. We are a woodblock print by Suzuki Harunobu."⁴⁸ The famous erotic scenes in Harunobu's prints find an echo in the last stanza of the poem: "Behind me / Your ankle withdraws under the night / Of my nape / Like a defeated branch / A drop comes off."⁴⁹ The line of ants represents her fingers. This image reappears in "Contranatura. Apuntes antes de arribar a un teorema del amor" (Contranatura. Notes before Arriving to a Theorem about Love): "With curiosity, I observe, like ants, the display of your fingers."⁵⁰

The main themes in Diario de la mujer es ponja coincide with Moromisato's research interests. Her poetic discourse is characterized by (at times explicitly lesbian) love and sexuality. In "Diario de una marginal" (Journal of a Marginal Woman), she describes herself not as a marginalized victim but as a moral dissident. She chooses to deviate from traditional habits and customs, although the world, according to the poetic voice, disapproves of her love and desire for another woman.⁵¹ A second recurrent theme is her Okinawan and Japanese cultural heritages, as evidenced in "La

mujer es ponja." Thirdly, the topics of gender oppression and the female body are prominent in several poems, including "Anatomía" (Anatomy), "No puedo eludir la tristeza" (I Cannot Avoid Sadness), and "Escena de familia / con mujer adentro" (Family Scene / With a Woman Inside). Although in our interview in Lima Moromisato claimed that this last poem is not autobiographical, one can easily find traces of previous poems in the image of the authoritarian and abusive father, who mistreats his docile wife after she spills wine on the table: "He curses your mother, pulls the door and leaves, / Your mother cleans and gets covered in grease."⁵² The poem establishes a counterpoint between a solitary scene of adolescent masturbation and a routine family scene at the dinner table. The poetic voice addresses in the second person the fifteen-year-old girl who is learning to "love herself"⁵³ in front of her room's mirror, while listening to her parents argue, until her mother tells her that the soup is getting cold. The unpleasantness of her family's cursing, spitting, slurping, and burping is contrasted to the sensual vocabulary that describes the erotic scene in the other room. The poem ends on a positive note: "You open the door, look at the table / And from the sad drawer of your fifteen years / You extract a smile."⁵⁴ In Lee-DiStefano's view: "In the end, by becoming the initiator of her own sexual gratification, she metaphorically becomes the master of her own destiny. Therefore, although the title shows the woman eclipsed by the family, she is not. She has found the woman inside of her and has set her free" (42).

In her interview with Tsurumi, Moromisato, who considers herself a radical feminist, claims that, with this book, she wanted to write a "bible for women" (2007, 428).⁵⁵ In this context, a fourth recurrent theme is the solidarity and sorority with other women.⁵⁶ The final recurrent themes are reading and writing--which are noticeable in "Para amarte, también," "Ardo,

como Sor Juana," and "Marc Bloch en el parque universitario" (Marc Bloch at the University Park)---and her spiritual communion with nature. Thus, while Moromisato sometimes blends her elegies to her mother with the Japanese tradition of moon viewing (in "Otsukisama," for example), in other poems, such as "La mujer es ponja," she identifies with the moon as a continuum of femininity. The moon is also part of the titles of her first collection of poems and the eponymous poem included in it.

Again, although perhaps a coincidence, the appreciation of nature, because of the heavy influence of Buddhism, has traditionally been a key aesthetic theme in Japanese art and literature. Her communion with nature is also evident in the seventeen poems of Paisaje terrestre (Terrestrial Landscape, 2007), the most telluric of her books and, according to Moromisato, the last collection of poetry she will publish. Consciously avoiding similes and metaphors (in keeping with traditional haiku), its poems describe the places Moromisato visited (Greenland, Patagonia, the pampa, the Nazca lines, the Amazon River, and the Paracas desert) and manifest an unconditional love for the natural world. The ecocritical approach of the book (Moromisato proudly states that it was published on recycled paper) mixes celebratory and nostalgic tones. The joyous description of landscapes complements the defense of nature from the corrosive actions of mining and oil companies. Likewise, animals are often conceived of as equals, as seen in "Domingo en Chambala" (Sunday in Chambala): "A hummingbird lands on the molle tree. / Nothing disturbs it, its task is to continue existing. / And he knows it. / I am not more than him / I must live because soon the moon will come out."⁵⁷ Although, for the most part, Paisaje terrestre avoids sexuality, so central to Diario de la mujer es ponja, or the introspection that characterized Chambala era un camino, some poems return the reader to the same Chambala of her first

collections. In "Domingo en Chambala," the wind, which brings the scent of sweet potato tempura, reminds the poet of her mother, who continues to inhabit her memory: "The smell of my memory is stronger than my nose. / My mother, tender and disciplined / Chops on the wooden board / Chook, chook, chook."⁵⁸ The poetic voice seems to lead a double life: one governed by her perceptions and another, the most important, guided by childhood memories of family life. The last two lines emphasize her bicultural upbringing and her polyglot present: "Tráfago, cerro, otsukisama, yunta, dark, Uchinanchu, / Which word will I choose to conjure the future?"⁵⁹

Likewise, in "El arte de arrancar la malayerba" (The Art of Pulling Weeds), we find a Buddhist view of the oneness formed by the poetic voice and the natural world. In the last lines, she asks her lover to listen to the earth's symphony. This way, she will acknowledge to the poetic voice whether her love is reciprocated: "If you look at me and say no / Weeds will grow inside my chest / My heart will get lost in the mud / Corrupt with love I will wander through the earth."⁶⁰

Another poem, "A un reno en Groenlandia" (To a Reindeer in Greenland), continues the ecological perspective of the book: instead of killing an animal, a hunter chooses to eat berries and moss. The same condemnation of hunting reappears in "Cornamentas" (Antlers), where the poetic voice uses the perspective of a newborn animal seeing the prairie for the first time, eating the first berries, and receiving the first licks and caresses from its mother, while death hides behind the trees in the shape of a hunter and his rifle: "Waiting for the last drop of blood to flow / From my chest / Because of a bullet that goes through my heart."⁶¹

In the same vein, the poem "Genesis" argues that when God created the world and placed human beings on it, he planted the seed for the end of the

natural beauty he had created: "But he created humankind / And, thus, extermination."⁶² The next stanzas ask the Lord to return us to chaos, after eliminating the beauty of his creations, listed in twenty lines beginning with the anaphora "haz que" (make): "Oh, God, turn your creation's skin over / Return us to nothingness."⁶³ The poem "Amazonas" speculates on Francisco de Orellana's reaction upon seeing the vastness of the Amazon River: "I see him coming from far away, bearded and dirty / Full of sweat and bitten by innumerable insects, / With his mouth open, incapable of understanding so much beauty."⁶⁴ In this confrontation between nature and culture, between natural beauty and human beings ready to destroy it irrationally, the poetic voice also envisages the Spanish explorer seeing mythical Amazon warriors ready to kill him: "He discerns the female warriors washing their fierce bodies with rain water / And they / Only look for his red heart to deposit the poison of their arrows."⁶⁵

Overall, Moromisato, through her poetry, shows respect for the natural world. Her poetry resonates with the activism of an ecologist. Through the movement "Poetas por la Tierra" (Poets for Earth), Renace-Peru, she has compiled collections of poems honoring nature, which were collectively read on Earth Day. She also asks for people of Asian descent to have a place in the Peruvian national imaginary, as well as asking for a place for women, including lesbians, in a patriarchal society. Her open expression of lesbian desire is already in itself a claim for space and recognition within the Nikkei community.<\>

<CT>Epilogue<\>

<TX>Why study literature and other forms of cultural production in relation to Nippo-Peruvian identity and history? As seen in previous chapters, Nikkei writing may be interpreted as a call for acceptance into the imaginary of the Peruvian nation, which challenges the traditional criollo-indigenous duality (as Sino-Peruvian, Afro-Peruvian, or Jewish Peruvian cultural production does as well). While some discursive practices establish cultural differences between Nikkei and non-Nikkei, or between Okinawans and Nihonjin, others are devoted to proving the essential Peruvianness of Nikkei writers and their ethnic community. Along these lines, these works construct an ethnic space that inscribes the Japanese and their descendents in Peru's present and future history (remember Alberto Fujimori's positioning of the Nikkei community as a model for a future Peru). It also reflects the process of racial formation and the evolution of this community's public image from the negative "yellow peril" to the more recent idea of a "model minority" that can set the path to a better future for the country. A series of symbolic and historic milestones becomes recurrent in this racialized group's representative writings: the inception of the immigration process, the lootings of May 1940, the deportations during World War II, the victory of Alberto Fujimori in the 1990 presidential election, and the dekasegi phenomenon, which threatens to continue weakening a community that has lost many of its young and most promising members. Nikkei writing also depicts the evolution from an insular mentality with a closely and firmly integrated organization and institutions to a new generation of Japanese Peruvians who are open to integration and intermarriage, and whose choice of ethnic self-identification is less rigid. Evidence of a surviving fear of victimization persists, as found in the Nikkei

community's anxiety about the potentially adverse consequences of Fujimori's victory in the 1990 presidential election.

Other texts expose the at times insurmountable obstacle that their Asian phenotype poses for Nikkei in their quest for integration into mainstream Peruvian society. On the other hand, as seen, today this physical appearance carries with it positive connotations of honesty and diligence, a stereotype that, paired with Japan's international prestige, Fujimori used to his advantage during his political career. His campaign's motto during the first presidential election, "work, honesty, and technology," suggested that Peru was a country in need of "Japanization." More importantly, besides the many cases of nativism, xenophobia, Nippophobia, and racism depicted in these works, several texts show the often painful process of transculturation and cross-cultural hybridization that have taken place in Peru since the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants. In addition, these pages reveal an obvious negotiation of national allegiances and cultural identities that exposes the fluidity of identitarian layers. This process sometimes allows the character or testimonialist to enjoy multiple public and private identities, or to enter and leave Japaneseness strategically, depending on what approach is politically advisable in each case.

Referring to Chinese in West Indian literature and to those narratives used in the articulation of national identity as belonging, Anne-Marie Lee-Loy argues: "There is more than one way to imagine the boundaries of national belonging, and the fictional images of the Chinese capture this inherent instability" (4). Indeed, one could argue that the same may be said about the Japanese in Peru: Japanese and Nikkei characters often represent the human borderland between the Peruvian and non-Peruvian, becoming self-evident in the recurrent phrase "even the Japanese." In texts written by Nikkei authors,

traces of an inner struggle are found, an identitarian self-exploration that goes beyond the authors themselves to encompass the rest of their ethnic communities. This heterogeneous self-representation also contests the often stereotypical, anamorphous, or grotesque Japanese and Nikkei characters appearing in works by non-Nikkei Peruvian authors, such as José María Arguedas's novel El sexto (1961); Mario Vargas Llosa's novels La casa verde (The Green House, 1965), Historia de Mayta (The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta, 1984), and Travesuras de la niña mala (The Bad Girl, 2006); and Mario Bellatín's novels El jardín de la señora Murakami, Shiki Nagaoka: Una nariz de ficción, Biografía ilustrada de Mishima, and his short story "Bola negra" (Black Ball, 2005), among many others. And by so doing, it explores and challenges notions about what it means to be a Nikkei and what constitutes Peruvianness.

<S1>Future Studies on Peruvian Nikkei Writing<\>

Besides the works analyzed in previous chapters, many others could have been chosen. Because of limitations of space, however, I had to select the works I considered most representative of Peruvian Nikkei writing. For the same reason, I have not analyzed any of the numerous works written by non-Nikkei Peruvian authors about the Japanese and the Nikkei, such as the ones mentioned in the previous paragraph. A Nisei poet and anthropologist from Huancayo, whose writings are only briefly mentioned here, is Nicolás Matayoshi Matayoshi (1945--).¹ Like Fernando Iwasaki, Carlos Yushimito, and José Watanabe, he rarely reflects his Japanese ethnic and cultural background in his writing. Although he has a large corpus of poetry and short stories, because of space limitations I chose to analyze the works of other Nikkei poets, such as José Watanabe and Doris Moromisato, instead. However, his writing and life

experience are equally representative of the cultural vitality of Peruvian Nikkei and of the Nikkei Peruvian condition in general.

The son of an Okinawan father and a Peruvian mother, he describes himself as the mestizo son of Japan and the Andes, but as an outsider to his own culture: "I have always been a witness to a culture that was strange to me and I was strange to her. At home, Oriental customs dislocated me from the environment. . . . I am the creation of a culture that I never managed to understand fully."² He considers himself Peruvian, but as he states in the previous paragraph, his Japanese heritage was always an obstacle to full integration with his country's culture. Yet, more so than his Japanese heritage, the Andean cultural influence is the one felt in both his poetical and his academic work. In contrast with the costeño (from the coast) Nisei poet José Watanabe, Matayoshi is a serrano (Andean) Nisei.

In 1981, Matayoshi was the protagonist (or the victim) of a turbulent political episode, when the Huancayo police accused him of terrorism and subversive ideas. As Nelson Manrique elucidates:

<EX>The repressive response [against Sendero Luminoso] was ineffective and indiscriminate. A paradigmatic case was the detention of Nicolás Matayoshi, Hans Carlier, and Carlos Taype. Matayoshi, a Huancayo poet and activist in the Izquierda Unida (United Left) Party, was accused of being a senderista leader intellectually responsible for terrorism in the central sierra. . . . The three accused men were publicly well known and declared anti-senderistas. Despite national and international pressure, Matayoshi spent several months in prison. (197)<\>

<TXNI>Matayoshi is currently one of the directors of the non-governmental organization Asociación Gente del Mañana (GeMa) and the director of the publishing house Punto Com . His poetry, like Watanabe's and Moromisato's,

echoes Japanese haiku and shares these authors' regional pride as well as their identification with nature. Yet it often incorporates social criticism, which is, for the most part, absent from the oeuvre of the others. His call for universal solidarity is reminiscent of several poems by the great Peruvian poet César Vallejo (1892--1938). During his time in prison, Matayoshi wrote the following engagé poem, the first in his collection Poemas para llegar a casa (Poems for Arriving Home, 1988): "Still / There is time to love / In times / Of swords. // Love / Is dressed as a warrior / And it has its place / In the battle."³

Matayoshi's Japanese heritage is reflected in his collections Te amo (I Love You, 1973) and Poemario (Collection of Poems, 1993), where he uses a format that is reminiscent of haiku. Several of its love poems are formed by three polymetric verses without rhyme, some with references to the poet's communion with nature, such as this one from Poemario: "Winter of latent life / in the heart of the naked tree / in the love offered up in waiting."⁴ This format, present in most of the poems, is associated with eroticism and love. When the topic of the poem that closes the collection switches from love to armed struggle, however, the format changes into a longer poem of twenty-three lines. The first lines echo this sudden change of tone and topic: "With love songs I almost don't arrive / To the end / My song turned into a rifle. / It was no longer / Sugary word / Honeyed writing / Now it is / Brutal and defiant word / Clear and naked word."⁵

While Poemario is dominated by love poems to his muse, a woman, his collection of ecological poetry Gaia (1993)---whose sections are tellingly titled "I Love My Planet," "Gaia, Primordial Mother," "Abaddon," and "Pacha Mama"⁶---is filled with love poems to the Earth, its animals (whose names appear in italics, and sometimes with their Latin name), plants, islands, and

mountains, with a particular emphasis on the Andean mountains and its animals, as we see in the poem that begins with the lines: "Tell me, oh oracle, Vultur gryphus [Andean condor] / Majestic Lord, in the Colca Canyon!"⁷ He has also written microrrelatos (mini-short stories), such as "Fama" (Fame) and "Globalización." The latter mocks today's globalization and ties the topic to his criticism of Peruvian politicians. Like Watanabe in his poem "Basho," from Banderas detrás de la niebla, in "Fama" Matayoshi seems to refer to the culture of his ancestors and, in particular, to the most famous haiku by the Japanese poet Matsuo Bashō (1644--1694): "An ancient pond / A frog jumps in / The splash of water" (1686):

<EX>In order to be famous, he took care of his prestige. He praised all those who held an opinion about him. We have to admit that he jumped very well. For this reason, he wanted to be the only one and the best; but he was afraid of his competitors. That is why he jumped behind their back, kept a singular diet, and studied all the factors to achieve his goal. The day of the big jump arrived, everyone was paying attention. He explored the terrain, located the best place, and took an impressive leap. A majestic arch stayed drawn on the pupils of all the observers, who were surprised and could not believe it when the frog, jumping higher than the cricket, swallowed it in one bite. That basho!⁸<\>

<TXNI>As we can see, the story leads the reader to think that the protagonist is a person, only to find out at the end that it is a personified frog. Yet the last exclamation, "That basho!" although the name is not capitalized, suggests that Matayoshi is referring to the famous haijin's (writer of haikai or haiku) writing and, particularly, to his preparation and training before his masterpiece's composition.<\>

Another name that often appears among Peruvian Nikkei authors is Rafael Yamasato, allegedly a Nikkei poet from Ferreñate, Lambayeque, and the author of the collection Estambre (Stamen), who died after a long and painful illness in Santo Domingo de los Colorados, Ecuador. Several of the titles of the poems in Estambre also suggest the Japanese ethnicity of its author: "Flor de loto" (Lotus Flower), "Ikebana," "Imitación de Watanabe," "Haiku," "Epigramas," and "Noriko." Among them is this haiku: "Hurt as you are / you fly and fly: / your wings are oblivion."⁹ Some time later, however, first the journalist Diego Otero, in an article published in the journal El Comercio, and then the poet María Gabriel Abeal, in an essay titled "No existe el crimen perfecto" (The Perfect Crime Does Not Exist; cited by Teresa Coraspe), revealed that Rafael Yamasato was simply a pseudonym used by Peruvian writer Hildebrando Pérez Grande (1941--), winner of the 1978 Casa de las Américas Poetry Award for Aguardiente y otros cantares (Eau de Vie and Other Songs).¹⁰ Pérez Grande signed his real name to the collection's prologue. No longer trying to pass for Nikkei, Pérez Grande later signed his real name to a collection titled La nieve y el estambre (Snow and Stamen), which included the poems previously published in Estambre.

Switching from poetry to short stories, the Nikkei author Félix Toshihiko Arakaki (1941--), born in Callao to immigrant parents from Okinawa, collaborated with the group "Narración" and, for some time, published a weekly story dealing with labor unions in the supplement "La Jornada Laboral," of the journal La Prensa. Toshi, as he is known, published the collection Cuentos de años viejos (Short Stories of the Old Years, 1975), which includes eleven socially engaged short stories.¹¹ One of them is "Perico sueña . . ." (Perico Dreams . . .), which evinces the anguish of a seven-year-old boy whose father is a political prisoner. Other short stories not included in Cuentos de años

viejos, such as "El Solar tenía un corazón muy grande. Buenos Aires, mayo de 1978" (The Tenement Had a Very Big Heart. Buenos Aires, May 1978), also show Toshi's concern with sociopolitical issues. Published in 2003, it criticizes political oppression, although with a more specific spatial and temporal framework: as the title indicates, it takes place in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1978. A third short story by Toshi, this time dealing with Peruvian Nikkei, is "Un cuento muy largo de contar" (A Very Long Story to Tell, 2002). It deals with the adventures of a group of Peruvian immigrants in Paris who meet at a college cafeteria. One of them, the Nikkei Juan Takeshi Chiritori, known as El Loco Take, claims to be an African at heart: he misses the city of Chincha and, especially, its Afro-Peruvian population. Later, the narrator remembers how, as children, the well-to-do Nikkei boys would always vituperate Take with racial slurs against blacks. Back in Paris, Take cannot understand why African immigrants do not accept him as one of their own. In a flashback, the narrator remembers how confusing it was to deal with three different languages during his childhood days. At home, his family only spoke Uchinanchu or Okinawan; at the Japanese school he had to learn Japanese; and elsewhere, he encountered the Spanish language: "There began my first battles between the two languages, my parents' against that of the Nipponese imperialism that colonized Okinawa. But then, because of World War II, they forbade Nipponese schools and I had to study Castilian: there all hell broke in my head, the blows among the three languages."¹²

<S1>Other Types of Nikkei Cultural Production<\>

Beyond poetry and short stories, Peruvian Nikkeijin have contributed to other areas of cultural production, including travel narratives, drama, film, photography, chronicles, visual arts, and even bullfighting. In the genre of

drama, we have the Nikkei playwright, scriptwriter, and actor Aldo Miyashiro (1976--). He wrote the play Misterio (Mystery), which opened for the first time in 2003; this drama was later turned into a television mini-series. The title of the play was later changed to Un misterio, una pasión (A Mystery, a Passion, 2009), subtitled Pieza antihistórica sobre la Barra Norte (Anti-historical Piece about the Barra Norte).¹³ It is based on the real-life story of Percy "Misterio" Rodríguez Marchand, considered a symbol of Peruvian "hooligans" (or barras bravas, as they are known in some South American countries). The story shows how, despite the harsh criticism they usually receive, barras bravas often become support groups for youngsters who have no opportunities in life or a sense of belonging. In essence, Miyashiro tries to show the human side of these young Peruvians who use violence to feel alive.

It is also important to mention the Nisei photographer and filmmaker Eulogio Nishiyama González (1920--1996). Born in Cuzco to a Peruvian mother and a Japanese father from Wakayama-Ken who were owners of a restaurant and a bazaar, he began his career as a studio photographer. His main concern in the 1940s, explains Ricardo Bedoya, was filming visiting politicians in Cuzco. In 1945, while working for the Corporación Nacional de Turismo (National Corporation of Tourism), he began filming, with a 16 mm camera, traditional festivities and other events. Bedoya adds that in the 1950s, Nishiyama began assisting with the shooting of foreign films: "In 1951, he became involved in the photography of Cocobolo and in 1952, he filmed documentaries about Cuzco for an American television network, under the production of Robert Peter Pictures; the following year, he participated in the shooting of The Legend of the Inca for Paramount Pictures."¹⁴ In 1956, he filmed Calcheo de maíz, Dina Núñez, and Picantería cuzqueña. With the indigenous photographer and filmmaker Manuel Chambi, he filmed Toros y cóndor and Carnaval de Kanas in 1956, as well

as Lucero de Nieve (Koyllur Riti) and Gran fiesta en Chumbivilcas in 1957. In 1959, he filmed, along with Manuel Chambi and Luis Figueroa, Noche y alba (Bedoya, 134). Finally, in 1962, he directed, along with Luis Figueroa y César Villanueva, the film Kukulí (1962) (Vivas, n.p.). French historian Georges Sadoul described Nishiyama as a pioneer of color indigenista documentaries and as a member of the School of Cuzco (Vivas, n.p.). "El Chino" Nishiyama, as he was known in Cuzco, was also known for his photographic skills. He worked as a reporter for the newspaper La Crónica, where he published photographs of Cuzco's Plaza de Armas, Plaza de Chinchero, and Cuesta Santa Ana, after the earthquake of May 21, 1950, destroyed the town. He recorded the daily life of his hometown with his camera, including events such as the eswachaca (construction of a rope bridge) by indigenous people.

In spite of the relatively small percentage of the Peruvian population that is of Japanese descent, the Nikkei presence is felt in virtually all fields of cultural production, particularly in the visual arts. Two major Nikkei visual artists are the painters Tilsa Tsuchiya and Venancio Shinki. Tilsa Tsuchiya Castillo (1936--1984), born in Supe to a Japanese father and a Sino-Peruvian mother, is widely considered to be one of the most important Peruvian painters.¹⁵ As a child, Tsuchiya elucidates, she was convinced that she would be a painter: "And in that moment, I assumed art as a way to tell the truth, to express people's suffering. Those were the post-war days and the times when they used to throw rocks at me in the street were ingrained in my memory."¹⁶ Her series of eight paintings, titled "Mitos" (Myths), which she presented at the Enrique Camino Brent gallery in 1976, helped define her career. In 1979, she represented Peru at the 15th São Paulo Biennial, and in 1984, she had her first retrospective exhibit, with 106 of her works, in the Sala de Arte of Petroperú. In his essay, "Elogio del refrenamiento" (In Praise

of Restraint), published in the Peruvian journal QueHacer and included in his 2003 anthology Elogio del refrenamiento, José Watanabe finds traces of the Japanese worldview in her works:

<EX>All her beings, including the objects in her still lives, have the majesty of restraint. Perhaps we must look for the true Japanese trait in her painting in Chikamatsu's poetics, whose essence explains all the traditional art of Japan: a creation that is calm, intimate, sometimes imposing, but always without boasting. Tilsa expressed herself through characters that, in their hieratic postures, recast, in their chests, dramas, intensities, abysses. Of all those that populate her opus, almost none of them have arms, perhaps to avoid their expansion.

However, they are not mutilated characters; they are fine the way they are, and they do not miss---and neither do we---their limbs.¹⁷<\>

<TXNI>Coinciding with Watanabe's description, one of her most famous works is the oil painting "Tristán e Isolda" (1974--1975), which shows her typical armless figures with very narrow foreheads. Some critics have claimed that her paintings derive their inspiration from Andean myths. Among them, Arturo Corcuera avers that "in her painting, there are traces of Oriental and pre-Columbian cultures, two bloods that fed her art and that made possible the birth of this great artist, daughter to a Japanese father and a mother from Ancash."¹⁸<\>

The other great Nikkei painter (and photographer) is Venancio Shinki. He too was born in Supe to a Japanese father and a Peruvian mother. During the early 1960s, Shinki adopted European "informalism," which defined the "oriental" through calligraphy-like stains on the canvas. Shinki was influenced by abstract expressionism during the 1960s, but would later return to

figurative painting. He participated in the São Paulo Biennial in 1963 and 1994.

Peruvian Nikkei have also had an impact in the world of music. During the 1940s and 1950s, Luis Abelardo Nuñez (1927--2006), whose full name was Luis Abelardo Takahashi Nuñez, was a composer of waltzes such as "Embrujo" and "Imaginación," and criollo music, such as the Northern marinera "Sacachispas." Born in Ferreñafe, he was popularly known as "El Chino Abelardo." In his last years, he moved to Japan, where he died, but his remains were returned to Peru.¹⁹

The Nikkei have had a presence even in the world of bullfighting. In a section titled "Ricardo Mitsuya Higa, el 'Torero japonés.' El arte del matador" (Ricardo Mitsuya Higa, the "Japanese bullfighter." The matador's art), included in Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú, Enrique Higa Sakuda provides a biographical note of the only Nikkei bullfighter in the history of Peru. It is believed that he was the first bullfighter to utter the usual "con el permiso de usía" (With your permission) in Japanese.

As seen, other than the formal innovations of Watanabe's take on Japanese haiku (adopting its visual and conceptual approach and its thematic content, but rarely its form), Nippo-Peruvian writing does not deviate much in form from the rest of Peruvian and Latin American cultural production. Neither does it present a significant chronological evolution in its themes or worldviews, which should not be surprising if we consider that most Nikkei Peruvian cultural production has been recently published. What is recurrent, as mentioned, is the different levels of ethnic identification as well as the different phases, from ethnification to de-ethnification (or vice versa) and sometimes an ulterior re-ethnification, noticeable in particular in Ganaja's Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía and Higa's La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu

and Japón no da dos oportunidades. On the other hand, while some texts concentrate on political and historical vindication while embracing internationalism (Adiós to Tears), others, such as Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía and Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú, add Okinawan (sub)ethnic difference and pride. Equally important are the examples of the opposite: a more or less explicit rejection of ethno-cultural and national identity that sometimes flirts with a postmodern worldview, as seen in most of Iwasaki's and Yushimito's texts. When studying these authors' works, it is particularly important not to overemphasize their Japanese cultural heritage to avoid reaching simplistic conclusions. In the last chapter, Moromisato's poetry adds, to the Okinawan cultural identity already present in her narratives, dimensions of gender and sexual identification, as well as an ecological perspective. These approaches complement one another in the literary and cultural representation of the Nikkei Peruvian condition and its place within Peruvianness. It should be expected that future studies on cultural production by and about the Nikkei community in Peru will encompass some works that are only mentioned in this epilogue. In any case, it is my hope that this book will contribute to the inclusion of Nikkei authors in the Peruvian cultural canon, which would amplify the understanding of what it means to be Peruvian and would also highlight the complexities of racial and ethnic identity in Peru and Latin America.<\>

<BMT>Notes<\>

<BM1>Foreword<\>

<N>1. "Para ti, / tengo impresa una sonrisa en papel japon."

2. "Le vaya mal, le vaya bien, el japonés sigue su tren. / Le vaya bien, le vaya mal, el japonés siempre está igual."

<BM1>Introduction<\>

Author Note: Part of Chapter 1 was previously published in the article, Ignacio López-Calvo, "Building the Nation from the Outside: Flexible Citizenship, American War Propaganda, and the Birth of Anti-Japanese Hysteria in Peru."

1. As Jeffrey Lesser explains, "Sho Nemoto's arrival during the last week of September 1894 led him to confront a Brazil both eager for, and frightened of, immigrants. . . . The hunt for submissive labor meshed well with Sho Nemoto's not-so-subtle proposition that the Japanese were 'the whites' of Asia" (Negotiating, 82). Later, Lesser adds that "reconfiguring Japanese as non-Asians was an important step in creating 'ethnic' categories for immigrants, and Japanese diplomats eagerly played on such attitudes with constant reminders that their subjects were 'white'" (Negotiating, 87).

2. The second group of 1,175 Japanese immigrants arrived at the port of Callao on June 20, 1903.

3. After Brazil and Peru, the largest concentrations of Nikkei in Latin America are in Mexico and Argentina. There are about nine hundred thousand Nikkei in the United States.

4. According to Estuardo Núñez, Captain Aurelio García García was one of the first Peruvian travelers to write about Japan (40). Fernando de Trazegnies

(1935--), in his novelized historical study about the Chinese coolie experience in Peru, titled En el país de las colinas de arena (1994), gives a detailed account of this historic episode.

5. Lausent-Herrera lists the companies dedicated to the transportation of Japanese immigrants: Morioka Emigration Co. (1899--1920), later called Morioka Imin Kabushiki Kaisha Meiji Shokumin Kaisha (1907--1909); Toyo Emigration (1910--1917); and Overseas Development Co., also known as Kaigay Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha or KKKK (1917--1923).

6. "Así, muchos restaurantes de comida china o peruana tenían como cocineros a inmigrantes japoneses . . . Al ver que los japoneses preparaban comida china, para los peruanos resultó natural que ellos también fuesen chinos. Tanto a unos como a otros se los llamó, entonces, 'chinos'" (85).

7. "Tomando en cuenta que los inmigrantes japoneses consideraban a los chinos un pueblo inferior, el hecho de que aceptasen ser llamados 'chinos' sin reaccionar contra ello, indica que fueron conscientes de que el término era usado afectuosamente" (143).

8. In Brazil, there was a similar attempt to link the ancestral origin of Tupí tribes to the Japanese.

9. "Desde lejanos tiempos, se llama a mi país el Imperio del Sol Naciente y las tradiciones históricas cuentan que para nombrar al Perú se hablaba del Imperio de los Hijos del Sol. Parece, pues, que hubiera alguna misteriosa razón para suponer que ambos países tuvieran alguna relación de origen, que nosotros los hombres de hoy estamos en la obligación de mantener, para bien de nuestros pueblos" (Sakuda, 163).

10. "Habéis al parecer deseado . . . reafirmar un concepto que la ciencia contemporánea no se atreve a discutir. Evocando la gloriosa figura del creador del Cuzco, y asociándola íntimamente en vuestras conciencias al recuerdo del

inmortal emperador japonés . . . La obra que Manco Cápac y [el emperador japonés] Mutsuhito realizaron puso de relieve que cuando los gobernantes descubren y dirigen con acierto a sus pueblos, éstos o se convierten en imperios como el de Tahuantisuyo, o hacen creer a sus coetáneos, y así pasa con el poderoso imperio japonés, en los milagros desconcertantes de la Historia" (Sakuda, 164).

11. "intelectuales y artistas nisei expresaban hasta hace poco su protesta contra la rigidez institucional que domina aún actualmente la comunidad, impidiéndole integrarse por completo. En otras palabras, enunciaban la automarginación de la colonia" (65).

12. "El lector habrá notado que a lo largo de este libro no se utilizan las palabras nisei o nikkei para designar a los descendientes de los japoneses que residen en el Perú, pese a que estos usos se han generalizado. Pienso que no hay razón para ello, como no es necesario emplear sustantivos especiales para los peruanos descendientes de polacos, australianos, alemanes, ingleses, italianos, bolivianos o chilenos. . . . Existe, además, un problema de identidad grupal en estos usos idiomáticos, pues cuando se define a alguien como Nisei o Nikkei se pone en duda su nacionalidad: no se le considera peruano pero tampoco japonés" (489).

13. "trabajo, honestidad y tecnología." A katana is a backsword or samurai sword.

14. "Veo que mi adversario, el ingeniero Fujimori, ha venido con el sable de samurái en alto" (Sakuda, 501); "Mi adversario no es tan buen samurái como aparece en las fotografías" (Sakuda, 508).

15. "Bueno, no había reparado en que se trataba de dos Nikkei sino de dos ciudadanos peruanos que ocupan cargos importantes elegidos por el pueblo . . .; la reacción que nos preocuparía sería la del pueblo, porque el pueblo es

el que ha decidido; no nos preocupa la reacción de los políticos tradicionales" (489; cited by Sakuda).

16. The son of Japanese immigrants, Fujimori was born in Lima. He graduated in 1961 with a degree in agricultural engineering from the Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina. Later, he received a master's degree in mathematics from the University of Wisconsin.

17. It is common in Peru and throughout Latin America to call people of Japanese descent "chino."

18. Fujimori was the third person of East Asian descent to rule a South American country, after Arthur Chung of Guyana and Henk Chin A Sen of Suriname (both of them heads of state, rather than heads of government, like Fujimori). In Peru, the closest predecessors were Fernando Segami, a man of Japanese descent who became mayor of the province of Chancay in 1951, and Manuel Kawashita, who was "the first Peruvian of Japanese origin to be elected to the National Assembly" ("el primer peruano de origen japonés elegido como miembro de la Asamblea Constituyente" [Muth, José Watanabe: el ojo, 17]).

19. "¿por qué no postular también a la presidencia?" (Sakuda, 367).

20. "Los nikkei no celebrábamos porque mirábamos con desconfianza a este desconocido personaje que se lanzó a la política y triunfó abrumadoramente. Su triunfo ocasionó episodios de xenofobia en algunos locales comerciales, como la heladería 4D de Miraflores, en la cual no atendían si se tenía cara de japonés. Corría el rumor de que era mejor no salir mucho de casa para evitar incidentes enojosos" (101).

21. "hemos sufrido la experiencia de la segunda guerra mundial cuando los negocios japoneses fueron saqueados. Un fracaso de Fujimori a la Presidencia nos pondría nuevamente como víctimas y eso sería insoportable. Pero a la vez, si Fujimori llega a la Presidencia, no tendríamos más remedio

que apoyarlo, como una forma de resguardar el prestigio alcanzado por el Japón luego de esa guerra" (1103 [author query: what does "1103" refer to?], April 10, 1990, 29. Cited by Lausent-Herrera, 10).

22. The criollos are sons and daughters of Spanish (or other European) settlers born in the Americas, or their direct descendents. I chose to use the Spanish word "criollo" instead of the English "Creole" because they have different connotations. For example, in the state of Louisiana, as is well known, the latter term refers to the francophone descendants of the early French or Spanish settlers.

23. "Aunque el caso de nuestro protagonista llegó al extremo" (Perú, 15).

24. "No podemos evitar pensar que la aplicación del término dictadura---utilizado en variados contextos---a la política de Fujimori, ha llevado a considerar la era de su gobierno como un periodo excepcional o como un paréntesis en la historia del Perú, aunque sin querer señalarlo abiertamente. Más bien, como hemos indicado en este libro, pensamos que es importante tener presente que las características de la política fujimorista coinciden básicamente con las de la política peruana seguidas hasta los años ochenta. En este sentido, la política de Fujimori es peruana" (602).

25. It was later discovered that Montesinos and his cronies had amassed more than \$274 million, allegedly from drug trafficking and arm dealing with the Colombian terrorist group Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia; FARC).

26. Only Japanese citizens could register births, marriages, divorces, deaths, etc., of family members in the koseki. Introduced in the sixth century, it is the oldest registry in the world.

27. "Tengo el pleno conocimiento de que, entre 1990 y 1991 (cuando su nacionalidad peruana estaba cuestionada), Fujimori intentó renunciar a la nacionalidad japonesa sin que el acto fuera conocido públicamente. Sin embargo, el gobierno japonés respondió sistemáticamente que no había manera de hacerlo debido a que la ley señala que la renuncia debe ser oficializada en la gaceta japonesa. Entonces, Fujimori 'se conformó con' la nacionalidad japonesa" (Murakami, "Interpretando," n.p.).

28. On November 3, 1991, an army intelligence death squad known as Grupo Colina assassinated fifteen people, including an eight-year-old boy, in the district of Barrios Altos. It is also believed that on July 18, 1992, the same paramilitary death squad, Grupo Colina, following orders from the government, kidnapped and murdered a university lecturer and nine students from the Universidad Nacional de Educación Enrique Guzmán y Valle (popularly known as "La Cantuta" and considered a Shining Path stronghold).

29. The Dancer Upstairs is an adaptation of a 1995 novel of the same name by the British author and journalist Nicholas Shakespeare (1957).

30. On July 18, 1999, Oscar Durand, considered the number two man in Sendero Luminoso, was also arrested. A Sansei national police general, General Marco Miyashiro, was one of the leading figures in the arrest of Abimael Guzmán. Sakuda also highlights the case of the Nikkei professor Luis Kawata Makabe (1940--), who joined Sendero Luminoso during the first years of the armed struggle. He was later expelled from Sendero Luminoso, imprisoned for some time, and eventually set free. He now lives in Ica (Sakuda, 366).

31. In the documentary, it is not clear whether it is a narrator or one of the interviewees who is making this statement. While no image of an interviewee is shown, the opinions seem too personal to be those of a narrator.

32. "Era un juego de go. Es un un juego japonés, ¿no? (No es ajedrez ni es damas). Tú vas rodeando y lo vas asfixiando" (n.p.). Go is indeed an ancient Japanese board game for two players with very simple rules but very rich in strategy. The board is designed with nineteen vertical and nineteen horizontal lines.

33. The lawyer Santiago Fujimori (1946--), the younger brother, worked for Alberto Fujimori as an advisor and then ran for vice president on the Alliance for the Future ticket headed by Martha Chávez. He became a member of Congress in the 2006 election. Another Nikkei politician, Jaime Yoshiyama Tanaka (1944--), was president of the Democratic Constitutional Congress and presidential minister under Alberto Fujimori. He ran for mayor of Lima but lost to Alberto Andrade. In December 2007, Yoshiyama was indicted, along with twelve other former ministers under Fujimori, for his involvement in the 1992 self-coup; he was found guilty of sedition, but was only given a four-year suspended sentence.

34. According to the CIA website, in Peru 45 percent of the population is Amerindian, 37 percent mestizo, 15 percent white, and 3 percent black, Chinese, Japanese, and other.

35. As Ayumi Takenaka points out, "With sixty-six community institutions ranging from schools to cultural centers, the Japanese community boasts some of the finest sports clubs, theaters, and hospitals in the country . . . an estimated two-thirds of Japanese Peruvian residents of Lima belong to at least one association and participate in some community activities" (117).

36. Although I am aware that the concept of race is a social construct, there is no doubt that racism still exists, thus making the term "racial" relevant. I use the quotation marks (only the first time I write the term) to note my awareness that it is a contested term.

37. A traditional form of Japanese poetry, the haiku is a brief composition of three lines of five, seven, and five moras (a phonetic unit that determines syllable weight), respectively, typically containing seasonal references and dealing with the natural world. Its unrhymed lines usually try to seize the moment, the "here and now." It is characterized by its brevity, its suggestive nature (it is usually an association of ideas), its capacity for aesthetic emotion, and its links with nature. Among the most famous Japanese haijin (authors of haikai or haiku) are the following: Matsuo Bashō, Yosa Buson, Kobayashi Issa, Usuda Arō, Masaoka Shiki, Ueima Onitsura, Ritsurin Issekiro, Arakida Morikate, Yamasaki Sokan, and Ihara Saikaku. According to Sologuren, the haiku was created at the end of the fifteenth century (76).

38. "El tráfico de chinos se mantuvo hasta 1874 y favoreció más a los hombres de negocios que se dedicaban a importar asiáticos que a la agricultura misma" (24).

39. "Por lo tanto chinito: 'Deja de jodel a los japoneses en el Perú, ¿ok?'" (142). This joke is particularly strange when coming from a person of Japanese origin, because the sound of the letter r does not exist in Japanese, and therefore, Japanese speakers are prone to make the same pronunciation mistake.

<BM1>Chapter 1<\>

1. The struggle continues today thanks to the Japanese Peruvian Oral History Project (JPOHP).

2. The Bushidō is the traditional samurai code of conduct and way of life that emphasizes frugality, loyalty, martial arts mastery, self-discipline, bravery, and honor until death.

3. According to Gardiner, the emergence in Brazil of the Aikoku Doshi-Kai, a nationalistic pro-Japan underground movement, complicated the return of Nippo-Peruvian internees to Peru (151--53). Albeit less fanatical, the Aikoku Doshi-kai (Society of the Japanese Patriots of Peru) was a Peruvian branch of the Brazilian Shindo Renmei. They used false photographs and documents to convince other Peruvian Nikkei that Japan had not surrendered. According to Masterson, this group (composed mostly of Okinawans) operated mainly in Lima and Callao, but also in Huaral and Hunachaco. They "were convincing naïve diehard patriots to advance them large sums of money in hopes of returning to their victorious homeland" (177).

4. As Emmerson reveals, the army and navy also sent staff to Peru to gather information on the German and Japanese communities (127).

5. "Hasta antes de la Guerra de los Quince Años (la Guerra chino-japonesa de 1931 a 1945), había una estrecha relación comercial y personal entre los inmigrantes chinos y japoneses" (120).

6. Emmerson corroborates this account: "Rumors circulated in Lima that arms had been smuggled to Japanese in Callao, that twenty-five thousand rifles had been discovered on a Japanese farm, that eight thousand machine guns had been found concealed in a Japanese florist shop in Lima, that a crate containing an unassembled airplane had been accidentally opened at the port of Chimbote, and that the police had come across caches of arms and ammunition in various towns, intended for use by a fifth column composed of from one to five thousand Japanese ex-soldiers. According to one report, American intelligence officers had been responsible for uncovering the plot" (134).

7. In José María Arguedas's novel El sexto, a secondary character of Japanese origin whom other prisoners call Hirohito is said to have arrived to

the prison in a military outfit. Perhaps the "people's uniform incident" may explain this anecdote.

8. Of the 1,340 Japanese included in the exchange for American prisoners, 484 were from Peru, 390 from the United States, 160 from Panama, 151 from Hawaii, 61 from Canada, 36 from Costa Rica, 34 from Mexico, 6 from Nicaragua, 5 from Cuba, 5 from El Salvador, 1 from Guatemala, and 1 from Alaska (Gardiner, 85).

9. "Hasta en la noche no podíamos descansar bien . . . en la noche, los americanos y no-americanos---había filipinos entre los soldados---venían a nuestro pueblo por las mujeres . . . a violarlas . . . Ellos entraban a las casas particulares. Hoy en día uno puede ir al tribunal, pero en aquel entonces, sólo podían llorar en silencio" (Moore, n.p.).

10. Other newspapers created by the Nippo-Peruvian community were Andes Jiho (1913; the first Japanese-language newspaper published in South America), Nippi Shimpo (1921), Crónica de los Andes (1928), Perú Nichi Nichi Shimbun (1929), Perú Houchi (1940), and Perú Asahi Shimbun (1955) Día. There were also Nippo-Peruvian magazines, such as Peru Shimpo (1950; the only one that is still being published), Sakura (1951), El Nisei (1958), Fuji (1960), Nikko (1954), and Puente (1980).

11. The Stockholm syndrome is a psychological phenomenon where hostages begin to express empathy for or identify with their captors.

12. Peru did not declare war on Japan until February 1945.

<BM1>Chapter 2<\>

1. As Lausent-Herrera (44), Sakuda (153), and Yamawaki (52) explain, albeit with discrepancies, the Sindicato de Peluqueros (Barbers Union) was formed in 1907; the Asociación Fraternal Japonesa (Nipponjin Dooshikai);

Fraternal Japanese or Asociación Japonesa del Perú; Japanese Association of Peru) in 1910; the Asociación de Japoneses (Association of Japanese People), in 1912; and the Sociedad Japonesa (Nihonjin Kiokay; Japanese Society) in 1913. In 1917, following the Japanese consul's advice, the Association of Japanese People and the Japanese Society united to form the Sociedad Central Japonesa (Japanese Central Society), which in the 1980s changed its name to Asociación Peruano Japonesa. Later, the Japanese embassy helped create the Federación de Asociaciones Japonesas del Perú (Federation of Japanese Associations in Peru; Peru-Nippon Juinkay Renmen).

2. "Esta nueva asociación encontró muchos críticos y detractores de parte de otras agrupaciones de otras prefecturas japonesas. La razón principal fue la diferente cultura que los okinawenses mantenían, con respecto a los inmigrantes de otras prefecturas japonesas. . . . El propio cónsul japonés, Kasuga, discriminó (por motivos culturales y de mayoría poblacional) la formación de esta nueva asociación, fomentando un ambiente tenso que duró aproximadamente un año, entre la misión diplomática japonesa y esta agrupación okinawense. En esa época la lucha interna de la colonia japonesa se generaba entre los naichis contra los uchinanchus" (n.p.).

3. "el matrimonio de personas descendientes de la provincia de Okinawa con descendientes de otras provincias japonesas solamente se empezó a dar después de la década de 1950" (132--33).

4. "Mi único contacto con los uchinanchu era asistir al AFO llevando a mi obaaa en su silla de ruedas para que no se cansara y se encontrara con familiares y otras obaasanes de su edad" (43).

5. Ganaja was born in Lima and received a bachelor of business administration from the University of Lima.

6. "no pretendo abrir enojosas brechas entre uchinanchu y naichi. Al contrario, pienso que actualmente ningún okinawense se siente marginado, ni en Japón ni en ninguna parte del planeta" (17--18).

7. "Desde entonces me di cuenta que era imposible ser peruano, así me obligaran a cantar el Himno Nacional del Perú y respetar la bandera, la escarapela, la historia. . . . Yo también juré nunca casarme con perujin. Por más que me esforzara en ser peruano, el perujin me hacía recordar lo contrario, siempre en la misma esquina" (75).

8. "En ese tiempo yo no tenía la menor idea de que los okinawenses o uchinanchuu éramos diferentes a los tafukenjín, naichi o yamatunchuu. . . . No entendía por qué los viejos al mencionar un apellido decían: 'Este es uchinanchuu, este es yamatunchuu.' Tampoco entendía las diferencias culturales, pero siempre me hacían saber que éramos diferentes" (15). A footnote clarifies that tafukenjín, naichi, and yamatunchuu are terms to refer to non-Okinawan Japanese people.

9. "apreté los puños y me quedó totalmente claro el destino de mis imaginarias balas" (125).

10. "Si ellos piensan que eres dekasegi eres como el serrano recién bajado a Lima" (124).

11. "Tampoco me sentí parte de esta sociedad. Japón era y será de los japoneses solamente. Seas nikkei, uchinanchu o naichaa; peruano, blanquito o serranito; aquí todos somos gaijin, todos somos hermanos, todos somos parias en esta tierra" (121).

12. The term ponja is syllable inversion of the Spanish word for Japan. Doris Moromisato proudly appropriates this derogative term in the title of her collection of poems Diario de la mujer es ponja (2004).

13. "Lo único que sé con absoluta convicción es que nos divertíamos todos juntos, y que las diferencias de las que hablaban los viejos eran puras cojudeces" (60).

14. "El 'fenómeno dekasegi' me afectó mucho porque descubrimos que no éramos pares de los japoneses sino sus primos de segunda clase, solo necesarios para trabajar en los puestos que no deseaban. Era duro comprender que muchos emigraron en busca de un mejor futuro, pero allá no eran más que gaijin. Otra vez perdí mi identidad japonesa" (16).

15. "Nosotros éramos nikkei. No éramos peruanos cien por ciento, pero tampoco éramos japoneses, ni cagando" (102).

16. "En este instante comprendí que Japón es un país peculiar y que la supremacía aria alemana de la Segunda Guerra era un jueguito de niños al lado de la manera de pensar de algunos japoneses sobre su herencia sanguínea" (136).

17. "Yo, que temía a los coreanos sudamericanos por 'buscapleitos,' 'estafadores,' 'negociantes inmorales,' y otros calificativos prejuiciosos, brindé por todos los coreanos buena gente y ya no solo por Man Bo Park, entrenador de la selección peruana de vóleibol y único coreano 'bien visto' en el Perú" (136).

18. "Todos son bienvenidos, pero ustedes, turistas japoneses, deben saber que ellos vienen desde tan lejos para visitar la tierra de sus ancestros. Ellos no son turistas, son okinawenses. Eso es lo que sentimos por todos los okinawenses asentados en todo el mundo" (17).

19. "La verdad es que me importaba un comino ese tipo de distinciones, para mí éramos iguales pero diferentes a los perujin, sobre todo éramos amigos. . . . Cosas de viejos, ¡a la mierda con ellos!" (49).

20. "---No, tú eres nihonjin" (26).

21. "---;Haasamionaa! tú tienes muchos amigos naichaa. Bueno, mejor amigos nihonjin que perujin---dijo en tono seco" (48).
22. "las piernas de nabo de las 'ponjas'" (73).
23. "Por lo tanto chinito: 'Deja de jodel a los japoneses en el Pelú, ¿ok?" (142).
24. The yuta is an expert in the Uchinanchu funeral rites. Although Naichi-jin also practiced ancestor worship, they did not use intermediaries or shamans.
25. "sin sueldo, sin vacaciones" (102).
26. "Tenía que superar a los vendedores perujin que sí sabían la mayoría de los precios. Para ser considerado un buen vendedor no valía la plagiar ninguna lista; tenía que demostrar que yo no era el 'hijo de papi' y demostrar por qué había ido a la universidad. Deseaba ganarme el respeto de los cinco empleados que trabajaban conmigo" (102).
27. Juan Shimabukuro Inami is a public accountant and an independent auditor. He has been president of the Shurei Konshin Nikkei Club, and he is currently the treasurer of the Asociación Enmanuel, president of the Consejo de Vigilancia de Aopcoop, and president of the Okinawa Shi Kyoyukay of Peru.
28. "Después de más de un siglo, a la comunidad peruano-japonesa se la sigue percibiendo como un solo bloque, homogéneo y compacto. Y eso es un error, pues la diversidad es su distintivo" (7).
29. "Pienso que a la cultura de Tokio le falta fatalmente el humor. Si el centro no tiene humor, la periferia lo tiene. Mi pueblo tenía su risa. Esta risa no tiene ninguna relación con Tokio" (Oe, 102).
30. "No existe ni un solo inmigrante que no recuerde con el mismo susto este saqueo de carga racista" (18).

31. "A diferencia de Perú, el gobierno de Estados Unidos sí pidió disculpas a las más de cien mil personas afectadas. En el Perú, este tema todavía es considerado una anécdota, nunca un asunto político y humanitario; ni los gobiernos ni la comunidad japonesa tienen la intención de levantar el tema. ¿Indiferencia del Estado peruano por no reconocer su imperfección como república por su carácter profundamente racista y discriminador, a pesar de sus discursos democráticos? ¿Temor de la comunidad nikkei para reclamar su pleno derecho a la ciudadanía? Este tema histórico está pendiente en la agenda del Perú y de la comunidad peruano japonesa" (18).

32. "Expresión antijaponesa," "Saqueo y terremoto," and "La guerra: la llegada de al infamia."

33. "No escarbes la vieja herida, aquellos sucesos tristes ya pasaron, ninguna huella dejaron en nosotros" (88--89).

34. "quisiera que se la recuerde" (25).

35. "Mi esposo paraba todo el día fuera de casa, escondido, pues investigador podía venir y encontrarlo. Nosotros apagábamos luz de afuera para que esposo no venga y él ya no entraba a casa; pero si prendía luz era porque no había peligro. Esa era la señal. A mi esposo no se lo llevaron preso, fue así que se salvó" (40).

36. "todo llevó, había cincuenta cajas de cerveza, veinticuatro cajón de coca cola, todo llevado, todito, no hay nada" (42).

37. "La mayoría de inmigrantes tenía una idea equivocada de Perú por culpa de las agencias de empleo, que para promocionar decían: Vayan a América. Ahí las veredas tienen adoquines de oro. La idea de mi padre era regresar millonario después de tres años" (38).

38. "En los años 20 la tensión llegó a su máxima expresión y el consulado japonés los obligó a disolver la institución prefectural que habían

formado. El Estado japonés, a través de sus embajadas y consulados, cuidaba la unidad de sus súbditos en ultramar para mantener la imagen cohesionada y poderosa del imperio. Aun así, y sobre todo en las ciudades, los inmigrantes okinawenses no transitaban ni compartían espacios con los de las otras prefecturas; es más, solo hacían negocios y formaban familia con sus paisanos uchinanchu" (14).

39. "es el grupo japonés que conserva con mayor fidelidad sus raíces culturales" (77).

40. "Hasta el día de hoy su nombre no ha sido desagraciado por este atropello" (15).

41. "Las okinawenses no se restringieron a quedarse en casa organizando la vida doméstica, sino que, por el contrario, administraron y regentaron sus propios negocios y debieron lidiar con autoridades y grandes mayoristas" (15).

42. "Evidentemente, el grado de instrucción que poseían jugó un papel preponderante en la autoestima de los trabajadores japoneses" (16).

43. "le recordaba la similitud entre la música japonesa y la andina" (81).

44. "porque siento muchas semejanzas entre ambas culturas, en su sincretismo y en su filosofía, en la importancia que le daban al mundo mágico religioso y el respeto a la naturaleza" (80).

<BM1>Chapter 3<\>

1. The title puns on the words el porvenir, which mean "the future," but is also the name of a neighborhood in Lima. Therefore, the title could also be translated as "The End of Porvenir" or "The End of the Future."

2. Martín Adán was the pen name of Rafael de la Fuente Benavides (Lima, 1908--1985), an avant-garde poet known for his metaphysical and hermetic poetry.

3. "una revancha conmigo mismo" (Paz, n.p.).

4. "Pues era un hijo de japoneses, un niséi, casi un extranjero, y todos aquellos lugares, sus gentes, le eran ajenos, y solo constituían su proximidad, la zona neutral donde depositaba su mirada y le estaba vedado ingresar, y ser como ellos, tener piernas, tener ojos, tener brazos" (15).

5. "Iluminado, traspasado por el fervor de la razón, los párpados embotados, sintió que no existían ni el bien ni el mal, zanjando sus angustias, gritó que la muerte era la encarnación de la nada en el hombre, y vivíamos abandonados en el espacio sideral, sin rumbo, sin consuelo, sin perdón. Lo dejaron hablando solo" (113--14).

6. "frecuentaba amigos, incluso podía conversar, intercambiar impresiones, chismes, dudosas bromas, pero jamás confidencias, ni expresar sentimientos íntimos, pues se lo impedía su temperamento asiático, y esa imperturbabilidad de desconfiado, gélido, y tal vez desdeñoso" (15).

7. "díscolos e inexpresivos" (40).

8. "raza no contaminada" (40).

9. "Por qué nuestro pellejo, nuestros ojos japoneses, nuestros humores físicos, generaban suspicacias y rechazos?, ¿por qué éramos racistas, choleros y pedestres?" (40--41).

10. "secreta espiritualidad" (9).

11. "La eternidad del instante" (10). This phrase coincides with the title of a novel by Zoé Valdés, published in 2004, and it also appears on p. 110 of Higa's Final del porvenir.

12. "Unhomeliness" is Homi Bhabha's term in *The Location of Culture* (1994, page 9) to define the sense of being culturally displaced, caught between two cultures, and not "at home" in either of them. It is often felt by those who lack a clearly defined cultural identity.

13. Written in Spanish in Higa's novel: "Vendrá la muerte y tendrá tus ojos" (48).

14. "sin desconsuelo su fractura racial" (45).

15. "Siempre lo supo Nakamatsu, era un orden bipolar, sin hijos, recogido sobre sí, con Keiko emprendedora, agenciándose en pequeños negocios de tempuras y platillos japoneses en la calle Capón. Era luchadora sin reservas, realista, gentil, y en el lado opuesto, Katzuo especulador, intelectual, ambiguo entre su original mundo niséi, y el mundo criollo, como si no perteneciera a nadie" (45).

16. "distinguió una cuadrilla con rostros de ekekos, desfilando a lo largo del jardín, bajo los sakuras, con sus chullos multicolores y sus zurrones a la espalda. Aquellos seres contrahechos emitían gruñidos, farfullaban en quechua, enfundados en sacos y corbatas, los bigotitos acentuaban sus rostros de cera, como si fueran monigotes, echaban cabriolas, tropezaban entre sí, mientras los festivos concurrentes aplaudían, y vivaban, y lanzaban monedas. Zafios. Brutales. Groseros. No lo pudo soportar" (11). Curiously, in the original Spanish, Higa italicizes ekekos, as a non-Spanish word, but not the Japanese word sakuras. The ekeko or equeco is a smiling god of fertility, happiness and abundance of Airmara or Colla origin, who is still worshipped with offerings of cigarettes and liquor in the Andean high plateau, particularly during the summer solstice. Chullos are traditional Andean caps for males.

17. "Al poco tiempo encontró un cortejo bullicioso, la muchedumbre conducía un ataúd cubierto de cintillos, y la lluvia de flores descendía sobre el camino. Aparecían hombres en chalecos bordados, mujeres en faldones negros, escoltados por músicos ensombrerados, quienes entonaban curiosas mulizas sobre violines y saxo" (49). Muliza is a type of Peruvian melody, which is typically sung by the gold and silver miners in Cerro de Pasco.

18. "detestaba los actos tribales" (49).

19. In the last chapter of his La utopía arcaica, Mario Vargas Llosa also uses this derogative term to describe what he considers an "informal Peru" or a "chicha culture," emphasizing the de-indianization, confusion, and lack of harmony produced by hybridization.

20. "y por ti no llora el perro; / y por ti no aúlla la madre" (22).

21. "encogió los hombros, atravesó el gentío, sin lástima, sin remedio, al fin y al cabo, no era su muerto, ni su semejante, ni la extensión de su cuerpo, ni de su sangre, ni de sus ojos, ni de su raza" (22).

22. "mundo derruido con la llegada de los bárbaros" (28).

23. "millares de indiecitos montados en burros poblaban La Parada, sin zapatos, la piel atezada, descamisados, polvorientos, se adentraban en la ciudad, ajenos a cualquier lógica, intactos a cualquier razonamiento, bárbaros, inescrupulosos, sin orden, sin moral" (114--15).

24. "Con el andar descuadrado y sin estilo de los serranos" (8); "[doña Francisquita] despotricaba de los burdeleros, las mujeres corrompidas, los chutos que bajaban de los cerros comiendo máchica" (110). In Peru, máchica is toasted corn flour mixed with sugar and cinnamon.

25. "Durante años, en su juventud y antes de la muerte de Keiko, como cualquier hijo de vecino, había sido chambón, perdulario, e improvisador criollito: tuvo amigos, frecuentó cantinas, amó diversiones, y fue jugador

atarantado. Las experiencias amargas, las crisis y peligros, le hacían regresar a lo que él consideraba sus naturales raíces asiáticas" (69--70).

26. "para Etsuko Untén era imposible el revoltijo de razas, y menos para un japonés" (89).

27. "Cuando el gobierno de Prado expropió los negocios, escuelas, propiedades, fundos e industrias de los japoneses. Fue un golpe terrible, encarcelaron dirigentes, los deportaron, los interrogaron, corrieron listas negras, chantajes, robos, expoliaciones . . . no se podía salir de la casa, pues el vecindario nos tiraba piedras, éramos enemigos, éramos nihongin, y vivíamos una guerra que nunca habíamos buscado" (102--103).

28. "Yo no soy el otro / Yo no puedo decirte sino lo de mí mismo / ¿Pero quién soy entre lo que no soy? / ¿Dónde estará mi destino? . . . La esperanza es una cosa dura. / Es una tripa humana. / Algo de lo que cuelga, no sé cómo / Del Alma / Como cuelga el cuerpo. / Como cuelga su nada" (28-29).

29. "mestizos arribistas y pacharacos andinos" (46). The term "pacharaco" can also have a sexual connotation ("pacharaca" means "prostitute," and it comes from the Quechua word for vagina). It can also refer to a lazy man who wants his wife to support him economically.

30. "pánico horroroso" (50).

31. "rostros tortuosos y de vientre prominente" (50); "bárbaro sentido del progreso, embistiéndolo todo" (50).

32. "El adolescente apetecido, codiciado, mil veces soñado, infinitamente presentido en sueños" (107).

33. "La belleza existe" (107).

34. "la visión de la naturaleza esencial" (107).

35. Although Higa uses kenshō and satori as synonyms, a kenshō awakening is supposed to be a brief, clear glimpse at the true nature of existence, while satori is considered to be a deeper and lasting spiritual experience.

36. "todas las dualidades, las contradicciones se resolvían, se unificaban" (110).

37. "satisfacer la vanidad derrotada" (107); "reencontrarme con mi pasado natural, aquella historia cargada de fantasmas íntimos, que las circunstancias abruptamente cortaron, al decidir mis padres afincarse en el Perú" (108).

38. "Una buena tarde Vicente me acompañó a la estación, nos despedimos en el abrazo, me explicó su ambición de hacer empresa en Ota, sonreí melancólico, imaginé una mariposa cruzando mi ventana, estiré la mano, no la pude atrapar, la felicidad apenas dura, es como Japón, nunca da dos oportunidades" (255).

39. "Somos los fronterizos, los que estamos en el limbo" (59).

40. "frontera viva" (Japón no da, 12).

41. "Nos considerábamos productos naturales del Perú, con alguna diferencia de matiz y un particular colorido" (20).

42. "Según el che Carlitos desde abril o mayo, la 'Shin Nihon' reclutaba gente del Perú como si fueran chanchos, bajo la modalidad de pasaje a crédito. Todo el negocio consistía en enganchar incautos, los hacían trabajar de tres a cinco meses, explotándolos al máximo a través de descuentos, multas, cobros indebidos, etc." (La iluminación, 92). Coincidentally, in Cuba the Chinese coolies were known as zhuzai (little pigs).

43. "Su estilo consistía en enganchar braceros, y para ello tenían cómplices en Lima, naturalmente peruanos de ascendencia japonesa capaces de vender a sus paisanos so pretexto de brindar ayuda" (93).

44. "porteño y compadrito."

45. "[Agena] identificaba a los 'nikkei' chichas a golpe de la siguiente inspección: 'Tienen cara de verduleros o pinta de zambos de barracón, gente sin rumbo, acostumbrada a caminar sin camisa por la calle. . . . No respetan las costumbres, ni les interesa adaptarse, quieren imponer la ley del más vivo. Ahora los japoneses nos van a odiar más por culpa de los chichas, nos pueden regresar a todos, legales o ilegales'" (153).

46. "¡Mueran los ponjas, hijos de la gran flauta!" Here "flauta" is a euphemism to avoid using the word "puta" (whore).

47. "Podemos agregar que en el plano de la conciencia, el sentido del mundo se ha ampliado para el grueso de la población 'Nikkei,' puesto que emergiendo del ámbito local, hemos reconocido nuestra dimensión universal como seres humanos, al margen de los nacionalismos baratos" (Japón no da, 13).

48. "A Katzuo le bastaba el hecho incontrastable de la existencia, no el nacionalismo o la intrusión de las costumbres, el dato seguro era que vivía, el resto lindaba con la metafísica" (La iluminación, 40).

49. "Existe entre los nikkei en general un instinto de conservación cultural y racial, lo que se llama en antropología la resistencia cultural. . . . No podemos renegar de lo que aprendimos en el hogar. Asumamos nuestra peruanidad desde la cultura japonesa a la defensiva, es nuestra mejor opción" (n.p.).

<BM1>Chapter 4<\>

1. Fernando Iwasaki has also written the short story collections Tres noches de corbata (1987), Fricciones (1991), A Troya, Helena (1993), Un milagro informal (2003), Ajuar funerario (2004), and Helarte de amar (2006); the novels Libro de mal amor (2001), Mírame cuando te ame (2005), Neguijón

(2005), and Helarte de amar (y otras historias de ciencia-fricción) (2006); the essays Mario Vargas Llosa, entre la libertad y el infierno (1992), El descubrimiento de España (1996), Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco (2005), and rePublicanos: Cuando dejamos de ser realistas (2008); the collections of chronicles El sentimiento trágico de la Liga (1995) and La caja de pan duro (2000); and the historical studies Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI (1992) and Inquisiciones peruanas (Donde se trata en forma breve y compendiosa de los negocios, embustes, artes y donosuras con que el demonio inficiona las mentes de incautos y mamacallos) (1994). Since 1989, he has lived in Seville, where he is the director of the literary journal Renacimiento, the first Spanish journal to publish a poem by José Watanabe (thanks to Iwasaki). Iwasaki has won numerous literary awards and has also been a member of several literary-award juries.

2. Iwasaki comically changes the title of César Vallejo's work, España, aparta de mí este cáliz (Spain, Take This Chalice from Me, 1937) to title his collection.

3. Thus, in "Rebeca" we read: "But what the rabbi found more interesting was the history of my Japanese family, exiled and persecuted after the Meiji Restoration" ("Pero lo que más le interesó al rabino fue la historia de mi familia japonesa, exiliada y perseguida tras la Restauración Meiji" [143--44]). Likewise, in "Itzel," a character tells the protagonist: "If they kill you, I have a hell of a headline: 'Peruvian of Japanese origin murdered in Seville by a Mexican'" ("---Si te matan tengo un titular de la hostia: 'Peruano de origen japonés asesinado en Sevilla por un mexicano'" [206]).

4. "De pronto, me veo metido en el tatami." A tatami is a mat traditionally made from rice straw in uniform sizes. It is used as floor covering in Japanese houses.

5. "descreo de las generaciones, las etiquetas y las banderías" (n.p.).
The title "Santa Prosa de Lima" is a pun on the name of a famous Peruvian mystic, Saint Rose of Lima (1586--1617), who was the first saint of the Americas.

6. "En el Perú a nadie le extraña que uno tenga un apellido japonés, porque desde la escuela convivimos con amigos que tienen nombres italianos, eslavos, chinos, judíos, anglosajones, portugueses, armenios, alemanes y---por supuesto---japoneses. Sin embargo, en España no es así y la gente todavía se extraña cuando uno tiene un nombre raro sin ser futbolista" (n.p.).

7. "En más de una ocasión he tenido que hablar acerca de literatura e identidad, lo cual parece un despropósito cuando uno vive en España, tiene apellido japonés y ha nacido en el Perú. Por eso siempre respondo que mi poncho es un kimono flamenco" (n.p.).

8. "Cada vez que me preguntan si he dejado de ser peruano, siempre respondo que si la 'patria' es la 'tierra de los padres,' la 'tierra de los hijos' todavía carece de sustantivo y acaso sea más esencial y entrañable que la otra. ¿Debo hacer hincapié en que España es la tierra de mis hijos?" (El descubrimiento, 16).

9. "A modo de colofón, debo decir que me he dejado querer por un par de ministerios y que ahora también soy ciudadano español, azar que no me ha exigido ningún acto de fe porque mis únicas patrias son la memoria y el cuerpo de la mujer que amo; aunque confieso que estoy encantado de ser como aquel que descubrió que tras la frontera está su hogar, su mundo y su ciudad" (235; italics in the original).

10. In his Nobel Peace Prize lecture, Vargas Llosa stated that nationalism "has been the cause of the worst slaughters in history" ("ha sido la causa de las peores carnicerías de la historia"). Likewise, in Iker

Seisdedos's 2010 interview to Vargas Llosa in El País ("Tentaciones"), titled "El nacionalismo es la peor construcción del hombre," Vargas Llosa answered: "I have always felt terrorized by that type of fanaticism. I believe that nationalism is man's worst construct. And the most extreme case of nationalism is cultural nationalism." ("Siempre he tenido terror de esa forma de fanatismo. El nacionalismo me parece la peor construcción del hombre. Y el caso más extremo de nacionalismo es el nacionalismo cultural" [n.p.]).

11. "Para un latinoamericano acostumbrado a que lo progresista, lo transgresor, lo revolucionario y lo políticamente correcto sea negar la nación, resulta cuando menos estupefaciente advertir que el nacionalismo en España tiene credenciales progresistas, transgresoras, revolucionarias y políticamente correctas" (140).

12. "La identidad nacional es un recurso muy socorrido que lo mismo sirve para negar una cosa y la contraria, pero que en cualquier caso siempre será una abstracción, una metáfora civil y una representación colectiva que legitima y justifica la ostentación gregaria de todos los narcisismos que en las personas individuales resultarían intolerables" (142).

13. "¿Por qué hay que ser de un solo país cuando se puede ser de todos y de ninguno?" (n.p.).

14. "de identidades, visados y pasaportes, que al final es lo único que cuenta cada vez que uno viaja para hablar de literatura" (n.p.).

15. "No acepto las aduanas culturales y no le reconozco a nadie la autoridad de exigir el pasaporte literario . . . lo que me propongo tener es una identidad múltiple e indefinida---peruana, japonesa, italiana y española, con sus respectivos pasaportes---para horror de los críticos literarios" (n.p.).

16. "Viajar por el mundo con un pasaporte español, teniendo un apellido japonés y habiendo nacido en Perú, me ha convertido en una refutación viviente de los regionalismos, las identidades y los trajes típicos" (n.p.).

17. "A los artistas, poetas, escritores y futbolistas nos vienen de maravilla el destierro y el desarraigo para descubrir los espejismos y las limitaciones de la identidad nacional" (n.p.).

18. "Mi padre, hijo de japonés y peruana, nunca nos llevó ni a mí ni a mis hermanos a frecuentar la colonia japonesa; tampoco nos mencionó a pariente alguno y todos crecimos en colegios católicos. Con el tiempo la universidad terminó de consolidar nuestra visión occidental del mundo y el Japón jamás despertó en nosotros ningún sentimiento atávico" (41).

19. Iwasaki also acknowledges the influence of Bolaño's "Sensini," Vargas Llosa's La tía Julia y el escribidor (1982), Marsé's El amante bilingüe (1990), and Queneau's Exercices de style (1947).

20. "muy oriental" (42).

21. "¿Por qué peleamos? Hace más de cincuenta años que me persigues y ahora que me tienes, ¿qué harás? El emperador Meiji ya no existe, el Japón perdió la Guerra Mundial, los títulos han sido abolidos y dicen que ahora hay una república" (43--44).

22. "Desde el otro lado me viene el olor de los cerezos" (45).

23. "Hace más de un siglo, un disidente de la Restauración Meiji pasó los primeros años de su exilio en París, antes que la pobreza y la Gran Guerra lo persuadieran de viajar hacia el Perú. Mi abuelo fue uno de los pocos japoneses que vivieron en París a fines del siglo XIX y comienzos del XX. Me gusta fantasear que fue Pierre Loti quien le habló de la gran pagoda de Eiffel; quizás uno de los kimonos que compró Monet era suyo; quiero creer que conoció al señor Hadata, florista de Proust, o que hablaría de Momosuké Iwasaki con

Madame Sadayakko. Pero no tengo cómo saberlo porque mi abuelo Ariichi murió en Lima cuando mi padre apenas tenía doce años y sólo podría devolverle la vida a través de la magia menor de la literatura.

Por eso escribiré algún día sobre los años de mi abuelo Ariichi en París. Ari-ichi significa 'la primera de las hormigas,' y estoy seguro que a mi abuelo también le hubiera divertido saber que las hormigas en Francia caminan con elegancia" (n.p.).

24. "El humor siempre ha tenido efectos corrosivos contra el poder, ya se trate de una dictadura o de un colegio de monjas" (n.p.).

25. Vargas Llosa has also expressed interest in this topic in an essay about how contemporary culture privileges the spectacle ("La civilización del espectáculo"), published in 2009 in Letras libres: "That which does not deal with spectacle is not culture." ("Lo que no pasa por el espectáculo no es cultura" [Seisdedos, n.p.]).

26. "Convertir la intimidad en una noticia. Convertir el pensamiento en un anuncio. Convertir a la sociedad civil en audiencia, como si el rating fuera el índice democrático de alguna cosa" (n.p.).

27. "probablemente ultramarino" (155).

28. "Decálogo del concursante consuetudinario" (155). Roberto Bolaño and the Argentine Andrés Neuman (1977--) are known to have also published decalogues about the short story.

29. "Un japonés nunca será hortera aunque se vista de luces, lleve sombrero de charro o se disfrace de gaucho, porque ese dudoso privilegio nos pertenece a las sociedades de tradición hispánica, donde la sensiblería, lo esperpéntico y la ampulosidad definen nuestra identidad cultural. Unamuno intuyó un elemento más que ha resultado imprescindible: el sentimiento trágico de la vida" (169--70).

30. The term Kirishitan comes from Portuguese cristão (Christian) and refers to the Roman Catholic Japanese community during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Portuguese-sponsored Jesuits and Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans began preaching Catholicism in Japan in 1543. The Jesuit Saint Francis Xavier (1506--1552), from Navarre, was among the first missionaries to arrive in Japan. Catholicism was later repressed, and by the seventeenth century, it had disappeared from public life. However, although there were no European priests, underground Kirishitan communities continued to practice the sacrament of baptism and the liturgy for almost 250 years. Catholicism continued to be outlawed until 1867.

31. "la disciplina, el sentido del deber y la delicada minuciosidad niponas están en los antípodas de la idiosincrasia hispánica y por eso un japonés empeñado en ser vasco, andaluz o catalán es capaz de triunfar donde fracasan los chilenos, argentinos o peruanos" ("Iwasaki presenta," n.p.).

32. "mezcla de Tora, Tora, Tora y Toro, Toro, Toro." "Tora, tora, tora" was the code used by the Imperial Japanese Army to announce the success of the surprise factor in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

33. Huayno is a popular Andean music and dance that originated in colonial Peru. It is performed with guitars, violins, harps, and flutes.

34. "Cualquiera que conozca mínimamente esa delirante cultura que engendró la multitud de Vidas de Santos, Crónicas de Indias y novelas del Siglo de Oro, estaría de acuerdo conmigo en que la mariposa latinoamericana del realismo mágico alguna vez fue un gusano barroco español" (n.p.).

35. "el iracundo nipón" (19), "el guerrero amarillo" (20), "presunto terrorista japonés" (20).

36. Shirai was a volunteer from Hakodate, in the Japanese prefecture of Hokkaido, who fought for the Abraham Lincoln Battalion of the 15th International Brigades.

37. "poco a poco su atmósfera zen fue impregnando la vida cotidiana del país" (26).

38. "Yo me creía que era gitano" (27).

39. Through hypnotic regression (a hypno-therapeutic approach), a hypnotist can ask his or her client under hypnosis to go back to the time and memory (or past life) where his or her problems began.

40. "Noche sin fin / tampoco veo luz / fuera de la cueva" (32).

41. "¿Por qué es importante plantear el tema de las lenguas autóctonas? Porque en España la diversidad lingüística es uno de los fundamentos de la identidad nacional, y las identidades nacionales en España son el fundamento de las exigencias independentistas" (140--41).

42. Here Iwasaki puns with homophonous words: the Japanese drink sake and the Spanish sports term saque (serve). Puns are very common in Iwasaki's writing. For this reason, he identifies with the Cuban Guillermo Cabrera Infante (1929--2005) and the Mexican Jorge Ibargüengoitia (1928--1983).

43. The title of this story, "El sushi melancólico," was probably inspired by Jon Juaristi's essay El bucle melancólico: Historias de nacionalistas vascos (1997).

44. In Extremo Oriente y el Japón en el siglo XVI, Iwasaki provides more details about the adventures of the shizoku Hasekura Tsunenaga Rokuemon: "The daimyo Date Masamune, lord of Aizu, seduced by the ambitious Franciscan friar Luis Sotelo, named the samurai Hasekura his ambassador to the Spanish Crown. The expedition left Tsukinoura in 1613 and travelled to Mexico, Seville, Madrid, Roma, Genoa, Seville, Mexico, and Manila; it returned to Japan in

1620." ("El daimyo Date Masamune, señor de Aizu, designó al samurái Hasekura como su embajador ante la Corona española, seducido por el ambicioso franciscano fray Luis Sotelo. La expedición partió de Tsukinoura en 1613, recorrió México, Sevilla, Madrid, Roma, Génova, Sevilla, México y Manila, y volvió al Japón en 1620" [141]).

45. "exploradora a su modo del Oriente."

46. "Ninguna elección es fortuita o al menos no debería serlo. Si dediqué varios años a fatigar documentos acerca de la historia de España en Oriente, fue porque tenía una deuda personal con esa cultura que de alguna manera me concierne.

Sin embargo, ahora que he dejado de ser historiador, no he desistido de la lectura gozosa de Tanizaki, Takuboku, Mishima, Kawabata y Akutagawa, en la que finalmente he colmado el vacío que me alampaba el corazón" (15--16).

47. "Siempre me quedaré con la duda de saber si fue un atavismo lo que me llevó a elegir este tema de investigación, quizá el rugoso tacto de las maderas de un templo de Kioto o hasta la inocencia de mis hijas, ignorantes del increíble itinerario de nuestro nombre. A Paula y a María Fernanda les contaré algún día otra historia del Extremo Oriente y el Perú que tal vez nunca poblará los libros sino nuestra memoria" (19).

48. "Juan de Solís, un perulero entre samuráis (1589--1594)."

49. "A pesar del carácter clandestino de su empresa, Juan de Solís dejó un rico rastro judicial a lo largo de Manila, Nagasaki y Macao; pero, más allá de sus querellas, preferimos recordarlo en una sala dorada de Nagoya, cuando sus días en Perú y Japón fueron un solo gracias a la magia de la ceremonia del té" (176).

50. "Población en movimiento entre Oriente y el Perú" (281).

<BM1>Chapter 5<\>

1. Carlos Yushimito was born in Lima. He studied literature at the University of San Marcos. In 2008, he moved to the United States, where he studied for a master of arts degree in Spanish at Villanova University. He is currently studying for a doctorate in Spanish at Brown University. His first published book was the short story collection El Mago (2004). His other published collections are Madureira sabe (2007) and Equis (2009).

2. "The word [Ainoko] literally means 'a child of mixture' and is considered derogatory, evoking images of poverty, illegitimacy, racial impurity, prejudice, and discrimination. It is used for animals as well as for any kind of ethnically mixed person" (Williams-León and Nakashima, 210). Ayumi Takenaka has elaborated on the use of these types of terms: "As a way of distinction, Japanese Peruvians have developed labels to apply to different groups; racially 'pure' Japanese Peruvians are, in their own words, Nihonjin (Japanese in the Japanese language) or Nikkei. Racially mixed Japanese Peruvians are usually referred to as Ainoko, Peruvians of Chinese descent as Shinajin (Chinese in old Japanese), and other Peruvians as Perujin (Peruvian), dojin (barbarian in old Japanese), or sometimes gaijin (foreigners)" (117).

3. "Personalmente, mi herencia japonesa la conservo sobre todo como una memoria afectiva, que me hace desear escribir, no exclusivamente sobre este hecho, pero sí reflexionar, tratar de entender, recordar, solidarizarme, etc. con personas que vivieron una experiencia histórica semejante a la de mi padre o a la de mi abuelo, con pequeñas o grandes variantes, pero con las que puedo de alguna u otra manera identificarme. A mí este tema me apasiona también como tema de memoria, porque he pasado mucho tiempo documentándome, escuchando historias sobre las persecuciones que sufrieron los japoneses y nikkei, la discriminación y los saqueos racistas a los que fueron sometidos, la

desprotección oficial y el abuso del Estado peruano en muchos periodos de nuestra historia, y todo eso me hace sensible a una realidad de la que, aunque no participé, también me demanda solidaridad, reflexión y memoria" (n.p.).

4. "Creo que mi relación con ella es tan extraterritorial como con cualquier otra. Nunca me he sentido cómodo con los márgenes nacionales, porque no creo que haya un límite en la lectura. Quizá hay límites en la sensibilidad que reúne, que te aproxima a un autor más que a otro, pero desde luego eso configura una cartografía completamente distinta, que desmonta los mapas políticos que nos hemos esforzado en construir" (Guerrero, 14).

5. The title puns with the words "cuento" (short story) and "cuenta" (account).

6. "No se habla de eso en casa, y sospecho que ésta, la protección privada, silenciada, es en parte una actitud que también adopta la Asociación Peruano Japonesa. Hay un criterio de amnesia 'curativa' al respecto: la idea de que aquellas agresiones deben silenciarse para no perturbar la integración---ya de por sí difícil---que tuvo la comunidad japonesa en el Perú" (n.p.).

7. "Para él sólo es un nombre, no la coherencia de un desarraigo borroneado en una lista con su nueva identidad: Hideo o Pedro, qué es un nombre, después de todo, sino una identidad que se pierde entre el sonido que apenas reconocen los demás hombres" (n.p.).

8. Incidentally, the strange name of the shopkeeper is taken from that of an ancient people in Japan, known as Tsuchigumo or Yatsukahagi. This group supposedly populated the Japanese Alps until the Asuka period (it has been considered folklore, but in the 1870s, small underground dwellings were discovered on the island of Shikotan). Tsuchigumo literally means "ground spider," perhaps a pejorative reference to these people's physical appearance.

Japanese folklore depicts them as dwarves who lived underground and in caves, as do the Ainu of Hokkaido, whose legends include the extermination of a group of small aborigines who dwelled in those lands: a race of pit-dwelling dwarves named the Koropok-Guru. Japanese folktales also include mention of a spider-limbed monster named Tsuchigumo. A Noh play by Kawatake Mokuami (his real name was Yoshimura Yoshisaburō, 1816--1893) alludes to these people in its title, Tsuchigumo (Ground Spider, 1881).

9. "Ahí sigue. La araña obedece con cautela, resignada, triste" (n.p.).

10. "aunque esto no lo comprende aún" (n.p.).

11. "---¿Algo sobre tu viejo?" (n.p.).

12. "De su padre sólo saben que lanzó una nota para que supieran que no desaparecería por su propia voluntad. Que se lo llevaban por una guerra que no había peleado, pero, acaso, sí perdido. Y que era un buen hombre, que no abandonaba a sus hijos" (n.p.).

13. "Con una vieja pinza que la abuela ya no extrañaba, como tampoco extrañaba haberse quedado sola, metida en su propio silencio" (n.p.).

14. "Ese último nervio tuyo tan fino / que se hace alma" (11).

15. This story is reminiscent of the chess-playing "automaton" designed and built by Hungarian engineer Wolfgang von Kempelen (1734--1804) and known as The Turk, the Mechanical Turk, or Automaton Chess Player. From 1770 until it burned down in 1854, it was exhibited throughout Europe and the Americas. However, it was exposed as a hoax in the early 1820s because, in reality, it was not a robot, but a shell with a human inside who moved the Turk's arms from inside the cabinet. Von Kempelen built it for the amusement of Austrian Empress Maria Theresa (1717--1780), and it defeated several opponents, including Napoleon Bonaparte and Benjamin Franklin.

16. "los ojos de H. H. traspasando la débil barrera que nos incomunica" (19).

17. "Mi única necesidad fue siempre la compañía" (21).

18. "La historia me hace pensar en el rol del escritor y en la máquina de la escritura. Quizá se pueda ver en este artificio una poética que reivindique la simulación, la falsificación, la deslumbradora belleza del fraude" (14).

19. "Uno de los motivos del libro es reflexionar acerca de la memoria, de las falsas curas de la amnesia política" (Guerrero, 14).

20. "cuando acepté la necesidad de que las historias sucedieran ahí y no en alguna otra parte, lo que quise fue aventurarme en su propia ficción, regodearme inventando el Brasil a partir de mis propios referentes e incluso de mi propio desconocimiento, que era la mayor licencia para darle finalmente vida" (Ruiz-Ortega, n.p.).

21. "falta de correspondencia entre el ritmo cadencioso, a veces poético, de la prosa y las anécdotas duras de personajes en contacto directo con la muerte consigue un efecto perturbador en el lector" (72).

22. Yushimito also refers to a mythical and paradisiacal island described in an eleventh-century Celtic legend. Portuguese explorers thought they had discovered it upon first arriving on the coast of what is now Brazil.

23. "una lectura muy personal del mito de Prometeo" (Ruiz-Ortega, n.p.).

24. Incidentally, Fernanda Abreu is the name of a Brazilian popular singer born in 1961.

25. "Matar a un hombre es llevar a cabo un acto de optimismo, una empresa demasiado grande, pensó. Una temeridad que solo asusta, si no se piensa al mismo tiempo que existe la posibilidad de una victoria sobre la culpa" (21).

26. "Aquí el caballero está enamorado de la señora" (25).

27. This short story was previously published in Escritura y pensamiento 8.17 (2005): 185--89.

28. The contest was jointly organized by the journal El Comercio and the Ministry of Education through the National Institute of Culture. Yushimito's Hidalgo (the name has quixotic connotations) won third place.

29. "Le conservamos como a un perro callejero al que se ha cogido cariño, con una amistad incondicional" (35).

30. Babalaô is a priest belonging to Candomblé, an Afro-Brazilian religion.

31. "Es aquí donde se introduce la dimensión mítica que explica la fría pasividad de los personajes de Yushimito ante la posibilidad de la muerte: Pinheiro---como Wagner, Ciro, Cuaresma o Chico Pires---cree en la voluntad divina, es un criminal devoto. No confía en el azar, le teme" (127).

32. "¿Toda esta mierda tiene algún sentido realmente para nosotros?" (55).

33. "Los sueños solo nos dicen lo que no queremos oír. Así que se disfrazan para llegar hasta nosotros . . . Como los pulpos. Nos distraen con su tinta negra mientras escapan" (56).

34. "¿Crees que lo criará bien?" (57).

35. "Sí---dijo Wagner, impaciente---, mírame a mí" (57).

36. "su buena estrella con el jefe" (43).

37. "---De una forma u otra, la suerte que tenemos siempre se la quitamos a otro" (44).

38. With this surname, Yushimito paid homage to the Brazilian writer Rubem Fonseca (1925--), one of the main influences on this book, along with Fernando Meirelles's 2002 film Cidade de Deus (City of God).

39. "Cada vez que preguntaba por qué se quedaban a solas en la lancha mientras su padre nadaba en dirección a la isla, el hombre que le acompañaba respondía que lo comprendería cuando fuera mayor" (73).

40. "El descubrimiento de Guilherme es también una herencia: el aislamiento como forma de elaborar un duelo inacabado por la muerte de quien se ama y para quien no existen reemplazos. Yushimito, en consecuencia, abandona a su personaje en la puerta de una experiencia clave de la madurez: el suplicio de la memoria de los que mueren, pero que a la vez inserta en la conciencia de la soledad de la especie. La soledad, como estado definitivo de la peripecia mínima de sus marginales, es una herencia de García Márquez que Yushimito difumina como plaga en cada uno de sus cuentos. Por eso el libro se llama Las islas: todas sus historias nos dejan frente a una humanidad solitaria, separada, donde, al final, todo hombre, confrontado con una situación límite, comprueba su naturaleza de aislado" (n.p.).

41. The cangaçeiros were nomadic bandits (according to some) or revolutionaries (according to others) who roamed the semiarid regions of Brazil's northeast from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Their social banditry was a type of popular resistance against the abuses of landowners, the government, and European colonizers.

42. "Era nuevamente el gran cocodrilo que promocionaba los electrodomésticos de Almacenes Mattos bailando para los niños" (116--17).

43. "instinto animal" (111); "Sentí un escalofrío deslizándose por mi larga cola de cocodrilo" (119).

44. "Quizá mi cuello había sido expuesto mucho antes de saber que iba a perder" (121).

45. "El protagonista busca reestablecer su lado humano ganándole a su amo una partida en el terreno que más domina (las mujeres). Sabe lo que le

espera, pero está dispuesto a dar batalla. . . . 'Seltz' es un cuento sobre la reivindicación del ser humano" (n.p.).

46. "determinación conductual" (107).

47. "Que hay muchas formas de matar a un hombre, señor. Y que la peor de todas es salvándolo" (137).

48. "Dios sabe que para los pobres nunca hubo justicia en los tribunales y que si sobreviví fue solo por la protección de alguien tan grande como él" (136).

49. "Todo, además, es la punta de un misterio" (151).

50. "Esa forma curiosa de sentir la lluvia cuando escuchas el rumor que produce su continuidad y sientes cómo picotea sobre el paraguas, y sientes un sonido botánico que todo lo resbala mientras va formando líneas paralelas en la pista. Pero no es el tacto de la humedad afilada la que, después de todo, te hace reconocer que llueve. Es su sonido" (151).

51. "'Es lo que le digo,' continuó el mago, en voz alta. 'Uno teme a la oscuridad, pero debería temerle al brillo'" (156).

52. "Tú sabes que no puedo hacerlo" (24).

53. "Claro que no puedes hacerlo así" (24).

54. "Cada vez que sonreía, sus dientes formaban una afilada hilera de colmillos, mientras que sobre ellos se arrugaba una delgada cinta de encías rojas. No importaba cuánto o en qué circunstancias lo hiciera, esto siempre acabó por llenarme de un miedo que yo intentaba disimular" (49).

55. "Aunque ejercer la crueldad con ellos jamás me generó ninguna sensación de tristeza o arrepentimiento, nunca dejó de sorprenderme, al mismo tiempo, el inventario de perversas e ingeniosas maldades que podía improvisar una niña tan pequeña y tan dulce como Margarita" (55).

56. "¿No ve en El flautista de Hamelin, llevándose a todos los niños, una gran metáfora del genocidio humano? Quería que mis cuentos jugaran con esa perversidad, por eso hago que un gato tipo el de Cheshire diga lo que dice o un robot discuta con su creador" (Geli, n.p.).

57. "Vriel interpretatur ignis Dei, sicut legimus apparuisse ignem in rubo. Legimus etiam ignem missum desuper, et implesse quod praeceptum est."

58. "estaba feliz de saber que el mundo estaba lleno de fealdad, imperfección y vicios" (119).

59. "Tenso como un arco siento ganas de maullar, y maúllo con una voz triste de niño que es capaz de despertar a todo el bloque, a toda la cuadra, a toda la Ciudad Nueva. La miro con mis intensos ojos amarillos" (76).

<BM1>Chapter 6<\>

1. "el sentimiento poético, nutrido de un profundo amor por la naturaleza y sus revelaciones, es una constante viva subyacente en todas las formas en las que se articula la expresión literaria y artística del pueblo nipón" (74).

2. Watanabe published these collections of poems: Álbum de familia (1971), El huso de al palabra (1989), Historia natural (1994), Cosas del cuerpo (1999), Antígona (2000, an adaptation of Sophocles's tragedy, Antigone [440 BCE], for the theater group Yuyachkani), Habitó entre nosotros (2002), La piedra alada (2005), and Banderas detrás de la niebla (2006). He has also published five poetry anthologies: El guardián del hielo (2000), Lo que queda (2005), Elogio del refrenamiento (2003), Poesía completa (2008), and Path through the Canefields (1997). To commemorate the centenary of the Japanese migration to Peru, he co-wrote La memoria del ojo (1999). All quotations in this chapter are taken from Poesía completa. Watanabe wrote several children's

short stories and was a screenwriter for several films and documentaries, including Maruja en el infierno (1980), La ciudad y los perros (1985), Alias la gringa (1991), and Reportaje a la muerte (1993).

3. "había más o menos diez japoneses, Issei (primera generación)" (Muth, "Entrevista," 113).

4. Watanabe first published this essay in Revista Puente 1.1 (Dec. 1980): 52--53).

5. "su proceso de asimilación cultural" (218).

6. "Mestizos culturales" (218).

7. Chicherías are cantinas where they sell chicha, an Andean alcoholic drink made with corn flour and pineapple juice.

8. "en la vida diaria lo japonés no tenía la vigencia necesaria como para llevar a los hijos a un problema de identidad realmente profundo. Nuestra nacionalidad básica no ha sido determinada por ellos. Más allá de la raza, los niseis estamos incluidos en las contradicciones de una nacionalidad peruana que aún está en formación" (219).

9. "El año pasado en el Callao, donde se concentra un buen número de niseis, algunos de ellos intentaron organizarse para postular a las elecciones generales. Sus dirigentes declararon que no tenían motivaciones racistas, pero este descargo deja sugerido un cargo que, contradictoriamente, demuestra su gran criollismo: quisieron aprovechar, muy oportunamente, la 'afinidad del ojo,' desconociendo que la afinidad ideológica y política está por encima de cualquier cosa" (n.p.).

10. "se refiere a la gente de origen asiático, por los ojos rasgados, distintos" (n.p.).

11. "Si mi padre vino al Perú como aventurero, para sobrevivir tuvo que trabajar en una hacienda. En esa época no había otro trabajo para los

japoneses. La sociedad peruana, que es racista, no les daba otras posibilidades laborales. Ahora es distinta. El racismo contra los japoneses ya no existe, pero sí contra otras etnias" (Tsurumi, The Closed Hand, 233).

12. "secreto local de cocina." (162).

13. "hoy somos comensales solos, y diezmados" (162). "Nuestras casas, Don Harumi, están caídas" (162).

14. "gracias de este país" (162).

15. "Nuestros rasgos, tiempo más, tiempo menos, terminarán como debe ser: disueltos en el paisaje mestizo de nuestro país" (n.p.).

16. "Lo que pasa es que para mí ha sido difícil conseguir interiorizar el concepto de patria, porque soy birracial, como dicen ahora en Estados Unidos. Mi padre es japonés y mi madre peruana, peruana chola, entonces yo he vivido en estos dos mundos. Claro y uno dice 'soy peruano,' pero en realidad yo tuve que conseguir ser peruano" (Rabí, n.p.).

17. "Soy / lo gris contra lo gris. Mi vida / depende de copiar incansablemente / el color de la arena, / pero ese truco sutil / que me permite comer y burlar enemigos / me ha deformado" (193).

18. "¿Hasta qué punto esa parábola del poema no es una reflexión sobre la identidad nikkéi, sobre la pulsión de una necesidad de adaptación?" (n.p.).

19. "A veces sueño que me expando / y ondulo como una llanura, sereno y sin miedo, y más grande / que los más grandes. Yo soy entonces / toda la arena, todo el vasto fondo marino" (193).

20. "planteo que la muerte debe ser algo así como una integración hacia algo más vasto que uno, más bello, más vasto y más trascendente. 'El lenguado' sueña con ser todo el fondo marino" (Muth, "Entrevista," 119--20).

21. "Allí, / según costumbre, sembraron mi ombligo / entre la juntura de dos adobes / para que yo tuviera patria" (368).

22. "Mi padre no pugnaba, no insistió en japonizarnos . . . Era una batalla perdida. Dejó que construyéramos la identidad en la vida cotidiana" (Tsurumi, The Closed Hand, 236).

23. Watanabe dedicated his collection of poems Habitó entre nosotros (2002) to his father. He also mentions him in several poems, including "Las manos," from his first collection of poems, Álbum de familia (1971); "Mi ojo tiene sus razones," the opening poem of his second collection, El huso de la palabra (1989); "Este olor, su otro," from the collection Historia natural (1994); his unpublished poem "El Kimono"; "Diatriba contra mi hermano Próspero," from Álbum de familia; and "Poema trágico con dudosos logros cómicos," from Álbum de familia.

24. "breves poemas japoneses que constituyen un ejercicio de humildad ante la naturaleza" (n.p.).

25. "El poeta que es súbitamente iluminado por una percepción, recibe al mismo tiempo la escritura, las palabras para transmitir a otros hombres su experiencia. Se puede decir que el poema viene con sus palabras, pero viene a la boca de hombres de espíritu refinado y de lenguaje elaborado. El poeta debe intervenir lo menos posible y por eso evita los recursos técnico-poéticos y, entre éstos, especialmente la metáfora" (121).

26. "Tengo una influencia de poesía de haiku. Esto es lo que me hace diferente. Escribo haiku recreado" (Tsurumi, The Closed Hand, 242).

27. "Una expresión del budismo Zen" (Muth, José Watanabe, 119).

28. Among writers of the Generation of 1970 are Antonio Cillóniz, Antonio Cisneros, Rodolfo Hinostroza, Carmen Ollé, Jorge Pimentel, Abelardo Sánchez León, and Enrique Verástegui.

29. "No escribo Haiku. Pero el espíritu tal vez sí está en mis poemas que son un poco más largos, el aprender que la naturaleza de alguna manera nos

dicta los poemas. El poema ya está escrito en la naturaleza y uno solamente tiene que recogerlo" (Muth, "Entrevista," 116).

30. "De alguna manera, la parábola es una forma de conocimiento y allí aplicaba la técnica del haiku: decir las cosas que he visto, pero con una cierta complicidad para que se entienda otro nivel debajo de lo dicho" (cited in Pajares Cruzado, n.p.).

31. "los pobres envíos de lo insondable" (223).

32. "A los cincuenta años / ya sabes que ningún dios te va a hablar claramente. / En el viejo ojo de agua / esta vez tampoco hay imágenes definitivas. / Aquí abandona tu arrogante lucidez / y bebe" (223).

33. "O tal vez razonable, / porque en medio del desierto / que simplifica nuestros objetivos, pregunto: / ¿Para qué nos atrevemos con las inmensidades? // No hay respuesta / y el sol se pone entre las dos gibas del camello" (456).

34. "No se puede amar lo que tan rápido se fuga. / Ama rápido, me dijo el sol. / Y así aprendí, en su ardiente y perverso reino, a cumplir con la vida: / yo soy el guardián del hielo" (228).

35. "Regreso a mi pueblo: / Todo lo que encuentro y toco / Se vuelve zarza." According to Sen'ichi Hisamatsu, Issa is considered "the best of the late Edo haikai poets, known for his humor, down-home sentiment, and simple, colloquial style" (88).

36. "En el regreso todo se convierte en zarza, dijo Issa" (13). Watanabe named one of his daughters Issa.

37. "En la cima del risco / retozan el cabrío y su cabra. / Abajo, el abismo" (65; translation by Tsurumi, "Shadows in the Wind," 117).

38. "El tema de la muerte me preocupaba siempre desde que era niño. A este pueblo llegaban muchas enfermedades de formas epidémicas, la peste. Por

ejemplo la peste bubónica y la fiebre bubónica que mataban a la gente y muchas veces mataban a mis compañeros del colegio" (Muth, José Watanabe, 117). We can find another example of this connection between love and death in his poem "La mantis religiosa" (The Praying Mantis), from El Huso de la palabra.

39. "el amor que nunca debió edificar una casa" (65).

40. "Él era la belleza / del continuo vivir / en riesgo" (227).

41. "El estanque antiguo, / ninguna rana. / El poeta escribe con su bastón en la superficie. / Hace cuatro siglos que tiembla el agua" (413).

42. "Cae un pétalo de la flor / y de nuevo sube a la rama / Ah, es una mariposa" (168).

43. "Una equivocación bella y horrible / cuando sobrevuelan el patio dos mariposas pálidas" (168). "Las almitas sentadas allí descansaban como al borde de un abismo / y a veces nos miraban como si nosotros fuéramos el abismo" (168).

44. "el antiguo haiku de Harumi" (59).

45. "Entre la niebla / toco el esfumado bote. / Luego me embarco" (59).

46. "sus muslos desnudos hallaron comodidad en la piedra" (59).

47. "Tú mira la piedra y aprende: ella, / con humildad y discreción, / en la luz flotante de la tarde, / representa / una montaña" (345).

48. "No escogidas para contemplar, miradas / sin ideas, las piedras / no iban a ser recordadas nunca por ese hombre" (447).

49. "Si la luz de la carne es blanca, / las sedas fluyen como un río de vacía coloración, un río / que se desprende del cuerpo de los amantes / que, cerrados al mundo, ignoran / cómo se agitan esas pequeñas flores rojas" (431).

50. "Dicen que Hokusai compraba pájaros para liberarlos" (32).

51. Ropp studied the importance of the year-long centennial celebration of the 1999 Japanese immigration to Peru to determine the political

positioning of the Peruvian Nikkei community: "The Centenary represented a particular and distinct historical moment in which ethnic specific interests were re-articulated as general interests, as national interests. . . . this idea that the values of hard work, honor, honesty, facilitated that success, locally, nationally and globally, and that this is an example for all Peruvians" (222).

52. "En la espalda del kimono / saltaba un salmón rojo. / Sobre los hombros de mi madre, el pez / parecía subir por la cascada de sus cabellos, / hermosísimos y azulados cabellos / de mestiza" (n.p.).

53. "fuera más expresivo, tanto como la gente efusiva entre las que vivíamos" (n.p.).

54. "No había una gran diferencia entre la filosofía de mis padres. Había una afinidad en el modo de ser de mis padres" (Tsurumi, "The Closed Hand," 401).

55. "Mi padre vino desde tan lejos / cruzó los mares, / caminó / y se inventó caminos, / hasta terminar dejándome sólo estas manos / y enterrando las suyas / como dos tiernísimas frutas ya apagadas" (43).

56. Ukiyo-e is the main artistic genre of woodblock printing in Japan. Japanese woodblock printing and paintings feature landscapes, historic events, theater, and pleasure quarters.

57. "Pero es bien sencillo comprender / que con estas manos / también enterrarán un poco a mi padre, / a su venida desde tan lejos, / a su ternura que supo modelar sobre mis cabellos / cuando él tenía sus manos para coger cualquier viento, / de cualquier tierra" (43).

58. "---Usted ha supuesto que yo creo a mi adversario / cuando danzo--- me dice el maestro. / Y niega, muy chino, y sólo dice: él me hace danzar a mí" (210).

59. "Se resalta el propósito máximo del budismo Zen: la fusión del sujeto y el objeto. Al igual que el experto en arte marcial del poema que declara que sus movimientos provienen de otra conciencia, el poeta del Haiku proclama que sólo transcribe lo que dicta la naturaleza, haciendo patente el ofuscamiento de la subjetividad y la objetividad de las cosas" (Muth, José Watanabe, 60).

60. "Mas no patéticos. Eres hijo de. No dramáticos" (112).

61. "El japonés / se acabó 'picado por el cáncer más bravo que las águilas,' / sin dinero para morfina, pero con qué elegancia, escuchando / con qué elegancia / las notas / medidas primero y luego como mil precipitándose / del kotó / de La Hora Radial de la Colonia Japonesa" (112).

62. "Mi normal tendencia al desánimo, por ejemplo, se hace temple inusual. No es una petulante apelación al estereotipo de japonés imperturbable ante la adversidad; es una íntima presión que me señala una responsabilidad: sé como tu padre" (n.p.).

63. "Esta conducta 'elegante' (estoica, debí escribir) ante una situación límite compuso desde muy antiguo el modo de ser nuestros padres. Ellos crecieron escuchando historias de samuráis que luego nos repitieron. Las enseñanzas implícitas en los argumentos casi siempre abundaban en la dignidad ante las situaciones extremas y, especialmente, ante la muerte" ("Elogio," n.p.).

64. "una dignidad para su postura final" (342).

65. "Siempre estaba sosegado. Parecía que todos sus actos tenían un impecable anclaje interior. Esa contención natural fue el aspecto que más le aprecié, el que más me impresionaba. . . . Su actitud serena parecía decirnos que hay un orden natural que no requiere comentarios agregados e innecesarios

a nuestros actos. Pecho adentro pueden estar las tragedias, las intensidades, los abismos, pero éstos no deben expresarse con largos ademanes" (146).

66. "el refrenamiento no es suprimir; significa autocontrol y mantener la dignidad. Mi padre y mi madre eran así por voluntad propia porque piensan que el ser humano debe ser discreto. La palabra en japonés es 'enryo' que significa 'una postura digna'" (Tsurumi, "The Closed Hand," 410).

67. "sueño de hipocondríaco" (136).

68. "Mi miedo volverá a cubrirlo de atributos / de inmortal. Y así mirándolo / yo mismo me miro / pero sólo en mi sueño / porque la voz de mi vigilia no entra allí, y el ciervo / nunca oye / mi cólera: / ¡no eres de vuelo morirás en el suelo, mordido / por los perros!" (136).

69. "Aquí todos se han muerto con una modestia conmovedora, / mi padre, por ejemplo, el lamentable Prometeo / silenciosamente picado por el cáncer más bravo que las águilas" (35).

70. "Nuestras vidas son los ríos / que van a dar en la mar, / que es el morir." ("Our lives are fated as the rivers / That gather downward to the sea / We know as Death" (vv. 25--27).

71. "Es un error conceptual tratar de entender a Fujimori desde lo japonés. Es como querer entender mi poesía o la pintura de Tilsa desde lo japonés. Eso es exotismo y todo exotismo es una forma de racismo" (Muños Najjar, n.p.).

72. "Sin embargo, la sangre que está entrando en mi cuerpo me corrige. Habla, sin retórica, de una fraternidad más vasta. Dice que viene de parte de todos, que la reciba como un envío de la especie" (107).

73. "Si transcendemos, quiero integrarme en cosas más grandes. Me gustaría ser parte de algo más grande que yo, como una montaña'" (Tsurumi, The Closed Hand, 241).

74. People place three coca leaves (sometimes also hair and nail samples) under stones that point toward these sacred mountains.

75. "He venido por enésima vez a fingir mi resurrección. / En este mundo pétreo / nadie se alegrará con mi despertar. Estaré yo solo / y me tocaré / y si mi cuerpo sigue siendo la parte blanda de la montaña / sabré / que aún no soy la montaña" (199).

76. "La sabiduría / consiste en encontrar el sitio desde el cual hablar" (383).

<BM1>Chapter 7<\>

1. In 2006, Moromisato was invited by the Okinawa Prefecture to the Fourth Worldwide Uchinanchu Taikai Festival, where she was named Goodwill Ambassador. Besides her four collections of poetry, she has also published the short stories "El riachuelo de Ie," included in the collection Memorias clandestinas (1990) and "La misteriosa metáfora de tu cuerpo," included in A flor de piel: 15 versiones del erotismo en el Perú (1995); the essays "Estado de melancolía u otredad en la escritura," in A imagen y semejanza (1998), "Yo mujer, yo hombre, yo Nikkei. Construcción simbólica de la feminidad y la masculinidad en la comunidad peruano-japonesa," in New Worlds, New Lives. Japanese Descedents in Latin America and Japan (2002), and "¿Es una literatura la tierra prometida de marginales y excluidas?" in Ciudad letrada (2002); the testimonial about Okinawan immigration in Peru: Okinawa Shi Kyoyukai del Perú: Testimonios de vida y vigésimo aniversario de vida institucional (1999) and, along with Juan Shimabukuro, the testimonial Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú (2006). She received a bachelor's degree in law and political science from the University of San Marcos. She is also the director of the Colección Espejo.

Poetas por la Tierra, where she published her own Chambala era un camino. She is currently the cultural director of the Cámara Peruana del Libro.

2. "Éramos como ejércitos de samurái enfrentando territorio adverso. Inmoladas y mesiánicas almas cargando sobre nuestros hombros todo el peso de la herencia japonesa" (85).

3. "Hasta hoy el mensaje ha sido claro: se permite ser peruanos y peruanas a costa de diseminar en la masa, ocultando las características y amordazando nuestra diversidad" (85).

4. "Trabajar en la tierra de sus ancestros está significando una certeza para algunos y una rotunda bofetada a la identidad para otros" (Moromisato, "El mundo," 85).

5. "caracterizada por la alegría, la generosidad, la pasión y la cortesía, las cuales no son más que consecuencia de los paisajes cálidos y la permanente historia pacifista del antiguo Imperio Ryu Kyu, hoy llamada Okinawa" (10).

6. "los inmigrantes okinawenses que llegaron al Perú lo hicieron durante la era Meiji [1868--1912], o bajo su influencia posterior, por lo tanto no habían sido completamente asimilados al imperio japonés y mantuvieron en tierras peruanas sus características, las cuales se conservan hasta la actualidad" (7).

7. "Chambala era un camino significó mi liberación étnica y lingüística. Allí mezclé castellano, japonés y okinawense. Diario de una mujer es ponja significó mi liberación sexual. Allí me liberé de mordazas y autocensura" (122).

8. "territorio del corazón que podría haber llamado Okinawa."

9. "que vino hasta esta orilla a renacer en mí."

10. "un terremoto existencial."

11. "todo sucedió en Chambala."
12. "cargando en las manos un péndulo muerto;" "y un triste reloj /
quieto / cansado" (9).
13. "Mi padre era un templo / el sol iba a las cinco a morir en sus
brazos" (9).
14. "Nadie movía el mantel de mi padre" (9).
15. "y mis hermanos muy silenciosos / sepultaban sus sueños en un plato
de sopa" (9).
16. "A través de mi madre las estrellas me alumbraban / y la luna era un
sueño plateado y hermoso en el cielo de enero;" "un péndulo muerto" (9).
17. "esperando volverse ayer" (9).
18. "era tuerto. / Era un hombre lleno de raza. / Tenía la camisa vieja
y el párpado caído / sobre un ojo triste" (29; translation by Tsurumi,
"Shadows in the Wind," 125).
19. "Dios le volteó la bola negra / para que viera dentro de su corazón"
(29; translation by Tsurumi, "Shadows in the Wind," 125--26).
20. "Yo sabía que mentía / y a veces yo lo amaba / padre tuerto /
maldito mentiroso / viejo mío" (29).
21. "Suelta padre, por favor, tu ternura / pronto, que ya me cansa este
amor desconodido" (18).
22. The shamisen is known as sanshin in Okinawan, where it is also a
local instrument (Ganaja, 17).
23. "Su voz---el timbre quebrado de su voz---parecía remontarlo a
territorios del alma donde todo se colma de melancolía, donde la edad se
disipa y nada existe salvo el paisaje que se construye con el corazón
anhelante, resignado, triste" (12).

24. "Aquí el patrón ordena en lengua extraña / y escupe con rabia si no atino a comprender su deseo" (33).

25. "Aguacero de enero, íntimo amigo / rocía mis lágrimas / mi escaso y blanco cabello / y no cuentes a nadie que soy feliz bajo tu manto" (36).

26. "Pero un invierno madre abandonó la morada / se fue despacio, sin molestar a nadie, / la vajilla en la alacena, / aroma a tempura recién dorada" (39).

27. "no pedirle nada a las horas ni a las estrellas / sino dejarlas caer y gotear / sobre nosotras, / tierra humilde" (40).

28. In an interview with Tsurumi, Moromisato explains that in 1949, her sister Yasuko died before the age of three. In 1952, another sister, Shigeko, drowned in an irrigation ditch before her second birthday. And her brother Anichi Alejandro died of cancer at age sixteen (Tsurumi, "Shadows in the Wind," 414--15).

29. "Un día serías grande como yo / y cebarías en tu pecho estas ganas intensas de huir / como sentía yo" (43).

30. "con sus pechos abiertos reventados por la muerte" (43).

31. "Cruel y mezquino" (44).

32. "para evitar el ocio según decía mi padre" (45).

33. "hasta que la muerte le llegó de puro esperar" (45).

34. "todo es efímero / como el color celeste" (56).

35. "Una puerta se abre y como cada noche / subo el escalón que me lleva a mi origen" (53).

36. "Aprendí atenta mis deberes: atrapar la vida en japonés, reconstruir todo en castellano, amar en uchinaguchi y observar el quechua filtrándose como una nube por la ventana" (63).

37. "Soy el Dios desaforado, ahora / en que mi sexo polimorfo se dilate / entre vagidos apretados de vírgenes agazapadas / a la suerte de mi furia, / copulando brevemente mientras yerro; / y entre pubis y senos salvajes, huyo / hacia el destierro . . ." (27).

38. "Amo este cuerpo que me ata / El pezón erguido sobre el pecho triste" (25).

39. "¿Qué soy?, pregunta a una hoja del hibiscus" (13); "La luna brilla en la hoja del hibiscus" (14); "Arranco la hoja del hibiscus" (14).

40. "¿Qué soy, quién soy?" (13).

41. "la curva de su vientre atrapada en mí. / La luna / soy yo" (13).

42. "Veinticinco millones y no hay lugar para mí / Mi bisabuelo no peleó por el salitre / mi abuela no enterró sus huesos aquí" (13--14). The second line refers to the War of the Pacific (also known as the Saltpeter War, 1879--1884), in which Chile fought against Bolivia and Peru over the control of lands containing great deposits of saltpeter.

43. "Arranco la hoja del hibiscus / guardo la luna en mi bolsillo / guárdome con ella. / Otra noche" (14).

44. "Entras tan suave en mí / como una mariposa / resbalando por un hilo de luz. // Ah, quién comprende / La tristeza del lirio / El robusto hastío sobre sus hojas verdes. // Sales tan suave de mí / como un hilo de luz / resbalando por una mariposa" (243).

45. "No escribí nada en forma japonesa porque creo que el español no sirve para hacer un haiku. Sería traicionar el haiku. El japonés utiliza los ideogramas mientras el español es silábico. No se puede jugar con los versos. Creo que para hacer el haiku, hay que ser budista zen y tener la cosmovisión zen" (Tsurumi, The Closed Hand, 250).

46. "un río inmenso de sangre" (27).

47. "debieron derrumbarse las vallas / y marcharse de tu cuerpo los miedos" (28).

48. "una hilera de hormigas trepa hacia tu cintura / ¿es el amor? / ¿este instante es el amor? / No. Somos un grabado de Suzuki Harunobu" (79).

49. "Tras de mí / tu tobillo se recoge bajo la noche / de mi nuca / como vencida rama / una gota se desprende" (80).

50. "Con curiosidad observo, como hormigas, el despliegue de tus dedos" (31).

51. Love and sexuality are also the main themes in these poems: "Para amarte, también," "Atrapando insectos bajo la luz de una antorcha," "Aprendiendo como Copérnico de escuadras y constelaciones," "Haiku," "Contranatura," "Cuarto Lima o cómplice travesía por el humo de la ciudad," "Magma," "Iniciación," "Excusas," "Alegoría," "Giras," "Aquí en Chorrillo," and "La perla es una flor bajo la noche."

52. "Maldice a tu madre, tira la puerta y se marcha, / tu madre limpia y se llena de grasa" (16).

53. "Tú aprendes a amarte con ésa que te imita" (16).

54. "Abres la puerta, miras a la mesa / y del triste cajón de tus quince años / extraes una sonrisa" (16).

55. "biblia para mujeres" (428).

56. The themes of solidarity and sorority are present in "Ardo, como Sor Juana," "Cuarto Lima," "Quiero morir como Virginia Woolf," "Las Furias," "La otra cara de la Luna," and "Autopista."

57. "Un colibrí se posa en el molle. / Nada lo perturba, su tarea consiste en existir. / Y él lo sabe. / No soy más que él / y debo vivir porque pronto saldrá la luna" (n.p.).

58. "El olfato de mi memoria es más fuerte que mi nariz. / Mi madre tierna y disciplinada / troza en el tablero de madera / chuk, chuk, chuk" (n.p.).

59. "tráfago, cerro, otsukisama, yunta, dark, uchinanchu, / ¿qué palabra elegiré para conjurar el futuro?" (n.p.). The nostalgic image of her father appears briefly in another poem of the same collection, "Cuerpo devorado por paisaje urbano," in the tautological line "my father was my father" ("mi padre era mi padre" [n.p.]).

60. "Si me miras y dices no / la malayerba crecerá en mi pecho / mi corazón se perderá en el lodo / corrupta de amor vagaré por la tierra" (n.p.).

61. "esperando que la última gota de sangre fluya / de mi pecho / por culpa de una bala que atraviesa mi corazón" (n.p.).

62. "Pero creó la humanidad / y, así, el exterminio" (n.p.).

63. "Oh, Dios, voltea la piel a tu creación / devuélvenos a la nada" (n.p.).

64. "Lo veo venir desde muy lejos, barbado y sucio / lleno de sudor y picado de innumerables insectos, / con la boca abierta, incapaz de comprender tanta belleza" (n.p.).

65. "atisba a las guerreras lavar sus fieros cuerpos con el agua de la lluvia / y ellas / sólo buscan su rojo corazón para depositar el veneno de sus flechas" (n.p.).

<BM1>Epilogue<\>

1. Matayoshi has published, among others, the poetry collections Te amo (along with Josué Sánchez, 1973), Poemas para llegar a casa (1988), Gaia (1993), Poemario (1993), ¿Qué es poesía? (1997), Valle de luz (1998), and Wariwillka (2000). He has also published the short story collection Relatitos

chiquititos (2006); a study about the mythologies of the Valley of Mantaro, titled Los tesoros de Catalina Wanka (1981), aimed as an alternative textbook to encourage the recovery of cultural identity among peasant children; and Sirenita del Huaytapallana y otras leyendas (2010), a collection of legends, short stories, and myths from Peru's central region.

2. "He sido siempre testigo de una cultura que me era extraña y yo mismo, extraño a ella. En mi hogar, las costumbres orientales me desencajaban del ambiente. . . . Soy hechura de una cultura que jamás llegué a comprender plenamente" ("Soy factura," 83).

3. "Aún / hay tiempo para amar / en el tiempo / de las espadas. // El amor / viste de guerrero / y tiene su lugar / en la batalla" (n.p.).

4. "Invierno de vida latente / en el corazón del árbol desnudo / en el amor ofrendado en espera" (Zúñiga Segura, 48).

5. "Con canciones de amor casi no llego / al final / mi canto tornóse en fusil. / Ya no fue / almibarada palabra / melosa escritura / ahora es / palabra brutal y desafiante / palabra clara y desnuda" (53). The poems included in Poemario first appeared in Te amo (1973), a collection of poems by Matayoshi and Josué Sánchez (1945--).

6. "Yo amo a mi planeta," "Gaia, madre primordial," "Abadón," and "Pacha Mama." Pachamama is an Andean goddess usually translated as Mother Earth or Mother World. Along with Inti, Pachamama is the most benevolent deity. She causes earthquakes and is the fertility goddess of planting and harvesting.

7. "¡Dime oh oráculo, Vultur gryphus! / majestuoso Señor, en el Cañón del Colca!" (31).

8. "Para ser famoso, cuidó de su prestigio. Halagó a cuantos opinaran de él. Debemos reconocer que saltaba muy bien, por eso, quería ser el único y el mejor; pero temía a sus competidores. Por eso saltaba a escondidas, mantenía

un régimen alimenticio singular, estudiaba todos los factores para lograr su cometido. Llegó el día del gran salto, todos estaban pendientes. Exploró el terreno, ubicó el mejor lugar, y dio un salto impresionante. Un majestuoso arco se quedó dibujado en las pupilas de todos los observadores, quienes quedaron asombrados y no salieron de su asombro cuando la rana, saltando más alto que el grillo, se lo tragó de un solo bocado. ¡Ese basho!" (n.p).

9. "Herida como estás / vuelas y vuelas: / son tus alas el olvido" (27).

10. Hildebrando Pérez Grande is also the author of the poetry collections Epístola a Marcos Ana (1963), El sueño inevitable (1963), Aguardiente (1978), and Sol de Cuba (1979). Another Peruvian Nikkei poet that could be mentioned here is Luis Javier Tokumura T., who wrote Camino de Vida (2002), a collection of poems (many of them with Christian overtones) of limited aesthetic quality.

11. Félix Toshi is also a painter and sculptor. After he was invited to the PEN Club conference of Latin American writers that took place in Copenhagen in 1978, he stayed in Europe. He currently lives in France, working as a gardener. He is also the author of the short stories "Yo" and "La fuerza de los días."

12. "Allí comenzaron mis primeras batallas entre las dos lenguas, la de mis padres contra la del imperialismo nipón que colonizó Okinawa. Pero luego, por la Segunda Guerra Mundial, prohibieron las escuelas niponas y tuve que estudiar en castellano: allí se me armaron las más duras peleas en la cabeza, las trompadas entre tres lenguas" (n.p.). Regarding the genre of the novel, the Nikkei Alberto Tocunaga Ortiz (1940--) has published two works: El corralón (1988), about a group of twelve hopeless families in the port of Callao who strive against poverty and hunger, and El evangelio de Nietzsche: El tercer testamento (2009). In this last novel, following a comment that

Nietzsche made in 1888 stating that Jesus Christ did not rise from the dead and that Saint Paul had promoted the false resurrection, the protagonist, a philosopher, finds biblical proof that indeed the resurrection was a lie. He then tries to reveal this secret that the Church has kept for twenty centuries, but a priest is determined to stop him from publishing his book.

13. Un misterio, una pasión was the most sold book in the Fourteenth International Book Fair in Lima. Miyashiro is also the author of the plays No amarás (2000), Función velorio (2001), Los hijos de los perros no tienen padre (2002), Unicornios, Parias (2004), Agua, Durmientes, and Promoción (2006). He has directed the plays No amarás, Función velorio (2001), Los hijos de los perros no tienen padre (2002), Un misterio, una pasión (2003), and Promoción (2006). He was also an actor in the plays No amarás (2000), Un misterio, una pasión (2003), Ojos que no ven (2003), and Amores de un siglo [en "Señorita Julia," de Strindberg] (2009). In addition, he wrote scripts for the television shows Misterio, Lobos de Mar, Golpe a golpe, and La Gran Sangre, as well as the filmic version of the latter. Miyashiro is the host of the television program "Enemigos íntimos" and has written the script for a film titled Teoría del dolor.

14. "En 1951, se involucró en la fotografía de Cocobolo y en 1952 realizó documentales sobre el Cusco para la televisión norteamericana, bajo la producción de Robert Peter Pictures; al año siguiente intervino en el rodaje de La leyenda del Inca para Paramount Pictures" (Bedoya, 133--34). According to Fernando Vivas, as a child Nishiyama collected 35 mm photograms from movie houses and made his first projector with a lens and a candle. Nishiyama received his first camera from Parisian painter Tsuguharo Fujita (Levano, n.p.). He began filming cityscapes and landscapes of Cuzco and its environs with an 8 mm camera.

15. Tsuchiya studied at the School of Fine Arts of Lima, winning the Gran Medalla de Oro de la Promoción (Great Gold Medal of her Class) in 1959. In the 1960s, she studied at the Sorbonne University in Paris and had her first exhibit abroad at the Cimaise gallery in Paris. In 1966, the artist returned to Peru and, in 1972, she participated in the Primer Llamamiento de Plásticos Latinoamericanos (First Call to Latin American Visual Artists), organized by Casa de las Américas in Havana, Cuba.

16. "Y el arte lo asumía en ese momento como un medio para decir la verdad, para expresar el sufrimiento de la gente. Eran los días de la posguerra y se me ha grabado cuando me tiraban piedras en la calle" (Thorndike, 220).

17. "Todos sus seres, inclusive los objetos de sus bodegones, tienen la majestad del refrenamiento. Acaso el verdadero rasgo japonés de su pintura haya que buscarlo en la poética de Chikamatsu, cuya esencia explica todo el arte tradicional de Japón: una creación quieta, íntima, imponente a veces, pero siempre sin alardes. Tilsa se expresó a través de personajes que en sus posturas hieráticas refunden, pecho adentro, dramas, intensidades, abismos. De todos los que pueblan su obra, casi ninguno tiene brazos, acaso para evitarles una expansión. Sin embargo, no son personajes mutilados; están bien como están, y no extrañan---ni ellos ni nosotros---sus miembros" (n.p.).

18. "En su pintura, se decantan lo oriental y lo precolombino, dos sangres que nutrieron su arte y que hicieron posible el nacimiento de esta gran artista, hija de padre japonés y de madre ancashina" (Thorndike, 222).

19. There are also popular Nikkei singers, such as Alberto "Beto" Shiroma, from the band Diamantes, who has been living in Okinawa since 1986, and César Ychikawa, vocalist of the 1960s pop rock band Los Doltons. Other well-known Andean Nisei are the folk singers Angélica Harada Vásquez (1938--),

known as "Princesita de Yungay" and famous for her huaynos and pasacalles, and Juan Makino Tori, born in Jauja and known as "El Samurái del Huayno." There is also a young rock singer, model, and actor named Enrique Sakamoto, who lives in Tokyo. Kenji Yamasato is a Nikkei orchestra conductor, and there are two Nikkei orchestras: Arizona Nisei and Seventy Seven. Luis Terao Haa, from Huancayo, organized a folk band named Huaylarsh Nisei and Antonio Shensato, from Rimac, inherited the name "El Samurái del Huayno" (Thorndike, 17). Finally, Olga Shimazaki is the artistic director of the Peruvian National Ballet.<\>

<BMT>Chronological List of Analyzed Works<\>

<TX>José Watanabe, Álbum de familia (1971)

Seiichi Higashide, Adiós to Tears (1981)

Doris Moromisato, Morada donde la luna perdió su palidez (1988)

José Watanabe, El huso de la palabra (1989)

Fernando Iwasaki, Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI (2005)

José Watanabe, Historia natural (1994)

Augusto Higa, Japón no da dos oportunidades (1994)

José Watanabe, Cosas del cuerpo (1999)

Doris Moromisato, Chambala era un camino (1999)

Doris Moromisato, Diario de la mujer es ponja (2004)

José Watanabe, La piedra alada (2005)

Fernando Iwasaki, Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco (2005)

José Watanabe, Banderas detrás de la niebla (2006)

Carlos Yushimito, Las islas (2006)

Doris Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro Inami, Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú
(2006)

Doris Moromisato, Paisaje terrestre (2007)

Fernando Iwasaki, "La sombra del guerrero" (2008)

Augusto Higa, La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu (2008)

Ricardo Ganaja, Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de
un peruano okinawense (2008)

Fernando Iwasaki, España, aparta de mí estos premios (2009)

Carlos Yushimito, "Ciudad de Cristal" (2009)

Carlos Yushimito, "Oz" (2009)

Carlos Yushimito, Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde (2011)<\>

<BMT>Works Cited<\>

<REF>Ángeles, Francisco. "Medalla de oro. Seltz." Bitácora de El Hablador, 18

June 2007. Web. 31 March 2011.

<<http://www.elhablador.com/blog/2007/06/18/los-disidentes-grupo-final-palabras-finales/>>.

Arguedas, José María. El sexto. Lima: The Sixth, 1961. Print.

Barnhart, Edgard N. "Japanese Internees from Peru." Pacific Historical Review

31.2 (May 1962): 169--78. Print.

Bedoya, Ricardo. El cine sonoro en el Perú. Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad de Lima, 2009. Print.

Bellatín, Mario. Biografía ilustrada de Mishima. Lima: Matalamanga, 2009. Print.

----- . "Bola negra." Pequeñas resistencias. Antología del nuevo cuento norteamericano y caribeño. Vol. 4. Ed. Ronaldo Menéndez, Ignacio Padilla, and Enrique del Risco. Madrid: Páginas de Espuma, 2005. 105--12. Scribd. Web. 1 Dec. 2010. <<http://www.scribd.com/doc/6588127/n-Mario4-Relatos>>.

----- . El jardín de la señora Murakami. Oto no-Murakami monogarati. Barcelona: Tusquets, 2001. Print.

----- . Shiki Nagaoka: Una nariz de ficción. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2001. Print.

Bolaño. "Sensini." Cuentos. Llamadas telefónicas. Putas asesinas. El gaucho insufrible. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2010. 17--33. Print.

Brock, Ollie. "Conversation: Mario Vargas Llosa." Granta, 7 Dec. 2010. Trans. Ollie Brock. Web. 19 Dec. 2010. <<http://www.granta.com/Online-Only/Conversation-Vargas-Llosa>>.

Cidade de Deus. Dir. Fernando Meirelles. Perf. Alexandre Rodrigues, Matheus Nachtergaele, Leandro Firmino. 02 Filmes, VideoFilmes, Globo Filmes, 2002. Film.

Coraspe, Teresa. "No existe el crimen perfecto." Arte literal, n.d. Web. 15 March 2011. <<http://www.arteliteral.com/al/index.php/ensayos/386-no-existe-elcrimen-perfecto.html>>.

The Dancer Upstairs. Dir. John Malkovich. Perf. Javier Bardem, Juan Diego Botto, Laura Morante. Fox Searchlight Pictures, Lolafilms, Mr. Mudd, 2002. Film.

- Downer, Lesley. Madame Sadayakko: The Geisha Who Seduced the West. London: Review Press/Hodder Headline, 2003. Print.
- Emmerson, John K. "Japanese and Americans in Peru." The Japanese Thread by John K. Emerson. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1978. 125--49. Print.
- . The Japanese Thread: A Life in the U.S. Foreign Service. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1978. Print.
- Endoh, Toake. Exporting Japan: Politics of Emigration toward Latin America. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009. Print.
- The Fall of Fujimori. Dir. Ellen Perry. Perf. Ellen Perry, Alberto Fujimori, Keiko Fujimori, Susana Higuchi, Vladimiro Montesinos, Gustavo Goritti. Cinema Libre Studio. 2004. Film.
- Feder, Lillian. Madness in Literature. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason. New York: Vintage Books, 1988. Print.
- . "Of Other Spaces." Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith. Diacritics 16.1 (Spring 1986): 22--27. Print.
- Ganaja Kamisato, Ricardo Munehide. Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense. Ed. Doris Moromisato Miasato. Lima: OKP, 2008. Print.
- García Pastor, María Dolores. "Interview with Fernando Iwasaki." Anika entre libros, n.d. Web. 1 Oct. 2010.
<<http://libros2.ciberanika.com/desktopdefault.aspx?pagina=~/paginas/entrevistas/entre409.ascx>>.
- Gardiner, C. Harvey. Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981. Print.

- Geli, Carles. "Encuentro fascinante lo imperfecto." El País. Talent, 14 June 2011. Web. 8 Dec. 2011.
 <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/Tendencias/Encuentro/fascinante/imperfecto/elpepitdc/20110614elpepitdc_1/Tes>.
- Guerrero, Pedro Pablo. "Carlos Yushimito, narrador extraterritorial." El Mercurio 14. Web. 29 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.carlosyushimito.com/1/El%20Mercurio.pdf>>.
- Higa, Augusto. "La boba." La casa de Albaceleste. Lima: Lluvia, 1986. 25--31. Print.
- . La casa de Albaceleste. Lima: Lluvia, 1986. Print.
- . "Corazón sencillo." La casa de Albaceleste. Lima: Lluvia, 1986. 13--24. Print.
- . "Dos visions sobre los Nisei: Watanabe y Matayoshi." Discover Nikkei, 19 Oct. 2009. Web. 11 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2009/10/19/dos-visiones/>>.
- . Final del porvenir. Lima: San Marcos, 2007. Print.
- . La iluminación de Katzuo Nakamatsu. Lima: San Marcos, 2008. Print.
- . Japón no da dos oportunidades. Lima: Generación 94, 1994. Print.
- . Que te coma el tigre. Lima: Lámpara de Papel Editores, 1977.
- . "Sueños de oro." La casa de Albaceleste. Lima: Lluvia, 1986. 7--12. Print.
- Higa Sakuda, Enrique. "Ricardo Mitsuya Higa, el 'Torero japonés.' El arte del matador." Okinawa: un siglo en el Perú. Lima: Ymagino Publicidad S.A.C, 2006. 82--83. Print.
- Higashide, Seiichi. Adiós to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps. Foreword, C. Harvey Gardiner;

- preface, Elsa H. Kudo; epilogue, Julie Small. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000. Print.
- . Namida no Adiósu: Nikkei Peru imin, Beikoku kyosei shuyo no ki.
Tokyo: Sairyusha, 1981. Print.
- Hisamatsu, Sen'ichi. The Vocabulary of Japanese Literary Aesthetics. Bunkyo-
Ku, Tokyo: Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1963. Print.
- "Inmigración japonesa al Perú: Migración por llamado (yobiyose)." Asociación
Peruano Japonesa, n.d. Web. 1 Jan. 2011.
<<http://www.apj.org.pe/inmigracion-japonesa/historia/migracion>>.
- Iwasaki Cauti, Fernando. El descubrimiento de España. Lima: Punto de Lectura,
2008. Print.
- . "El escritor 'comunitario.' Fútbol, identidad y literature." Mi
poncho es un kimono flamenco. Lima: Sarita Cartonera, 2005. n.p. Print.
- . España, aparta de mí estos premios. Madrid: Páginas de Espuma,
2009. Print.
- . Extremo Oriente y el Perú en el siglo XVI. Lima: Pontificia
Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005. Print.
- . "La geisha cubista." España, aparta de mí estos premios. Madrid:
Páginas de Espuma, 2009. 59--73. Print.
- . "El haiku del brigadista." España, aparta de mí estos premios.
Madrid: Páginas de Espuma, 2009. 19--33. Print.
- . "El kimono azul." España, aparta de mí estos premios. Madrid:
Páginas de Espuma, 2009. 39--54. Print.
- . "Las hormigas en Francia caminan con elegancia." Mi poncho es un
kimono flamenco. Lima: Sarita Cartonera, 2005. n.p. Print.
- . "Itzel." Libro de mal amor. Lima: Alfaguara, 2007. 171--211. Print.

- . Die kartoffelblüte o la flor de papa." Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco. Lima: Sarita Cartonera, 2005. n.p. Print.
- . "La katana verdiblanca" España, aparta de mí estos premios. Madrid: Páginas de Espuma, 2009. 97--112. Print.
- . Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco. Lima: Sarita Cartonera, 2005. Print.
- . Neguijón. Madrid: Alfaguara, 2005. Print.
- . "Rebeca." Libro de mal amor. Lima: Alfaguara, 2007. 133--151. Print.
- . rePublicanos: Cuando dejamos de ser realistas. Madrid: Algaba, 2008. Print.
- . "El sake del pelotari." España, aparta de mí estos premios. Madrid: Páginas de Espuma, 2009. 79--91. Print.
- . "Santa Prosa de Lima." Mi poncho. Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco. Lima: Sarita Cartonera, 2005. n.p. Print.
- . "La sombra del guerrero." Un milagro informal. Lima: Punto de Lectura, 2008. 41--45. Print.
- . "El sushi melancólico." España, aparta de mí estos premios. Madrid: Páginas de Espuma, 2009. 117--133. Print.
- . "El texto como pretexto." Mi poncho es un kimono flamenco. Lima: Sarita Cartonera, 2005. n.p. Print.
- . "Tsunami de Sanlúcar" España, aparta de mí estos premios. Madrid: Páginas de Espuma, 2009. 139--154. Print.
- . La visa múltiple como identidad en la narrativa peruana contemporánea. Speech presented at Instituto Cervantes, London, October 12, 2004. [author query: You commented in your reviewed file: This is also a chapter in Mi. Do you want to add this chapter reference?]

"Iwasaki presenta su libro España, aparta de mí estos premios." Informador.com.mx.

Literatura, n.d. Web. 30 Sept. 2010.

<http://www.informador.com.mx/cultura/2009/135600/6/iwasaki-presenta-su-libro-espana-aparta-de-mi-estos-premios.htm>.

Juaristi, Jon. El bucle melancólico: historias de nacionalistas vascos. Madrid:

Espasa Calpe, 1997. Print.

Kato, Alfredo. "Yo sería lo que los japoneses llaman un ainoko." Diario Perú

Shimpo 60 (June 2010): 15--16. Print.

Lausent-Herrera, Isabelle. Pasado y presente de la comunidad japonesa en el

Perú. Lima: IEP Ediciones, 1991. Print.

Lee-DiStefano, Debbie. The Asian-Hispanic Writers from Peru: Doris Moromisato,

José Watanabe, Siu Kam Wen. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008.

Print.

Lee-Loy, Anne-Marie. Searching for Mr. Chin: Constructions of Nation and the

Chinese in West Indian Literature. Philadelphia: Temple University

Press, 2010. Print.

Lesser, Jeffrey. A Discontented Diaspora: Japanese Brazilians and the Meanings

of Ethnic Militancy, 1960--1980. Durham, NC: Duke University Press,

2007. Print.

----- . "Introduction: Looking for Home in All the Wrong Places." Searching

for Home Abroad. Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism. Ed. Jeffrey

Lesser. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. 1--4. Print.

----- . Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the

Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil. Durham, NC: Duke University Press,

1999. Print

Levano, César. "Nikkeis: La memoria y el futuro." *Caretas.com*, 18 May 2000.

Web. 31 Dec. 2010.

<<http://www.caretas.com.pe/2000/1619/articulos/nikeis.phtml>>.

Loayza, Francisco A. Simiente Japonesa, leyendas y cuentos antiguos del Japón con ilustraciones de Bumpô Niguaa. Yokohama: Kinkosha, 1913. Print.

López-Calvo, Ignacio. "Building the nation from the outside: Flexible citizenship, American war propaganda, and the birth of anti-Japanese hysteria in Peru." One World Periphery Reads the Other. Knowing the "Oriental" in the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula. Ed Ignacio López-Calvo. Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009. 130--47. Print.

----- . Personal interview with Augusto Higa. 17 July 2009.

----- . Personal interview with Carlos Yushimito. 7 Oct. 2010.

----- . Personal interview with Doris Moromisato. 16 July 2009.

----- . Personal interview with Fernando Iwasaki. 16 Sept. 2010.

Loriga, Ray. Tokio ya no nos quiere. Madrid: Alfaguara, 2008. Print.

Manrique, Nelson. "The War for the Central Sierra." Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980--1995. Ed. Steve J. Stern. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998. 193--223. Print.

Manrique, Jorge. "Coplas por la muerte de su padre." Coplas de don Jorge Manrique hechas a la muerte de su padre don Rodrigo Manrique. Madrid: La Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1798. 1-12. Print.

Mapa de los sonidos de Tokio. Dir. Isabel Coixet. Perf. Rinko Kikuchi, Sergi López, and Min Tanaka. Mediaproducción Spain: S.L./Versátil Cinema, 2009. Film.

Marsé, Juan. El amante bilingüe. Barcelona: Planeta, 1990. Print.

- Masterson, Daniel M., with Sayaka Funada-Classen. The Japanese in Latin America. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Print.
- Matayoshi, Nicolás. "Fama." Cortito pero sabroso. Microcuentos. Foros Perú.net, n.d. Web. 8 Jan. 2010.
<<http://www.forosperu.net/showthread.php?t=40119&page=2>>.
- . Gaia. Lima: Lluvia Editores, 1993. Print.
- . "Globalización." Cortito pero sabroso. Microcuentos. Foros Perú.net, n.d. Web. 8 Jan. 2010.
<<http://www.forosperu.net/showthread.php?t=40119&page=2>>.
- . Poemario. Lima: Lluvia Editores, 1993. Print.
- . "Soy factura de un paisaje." Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú. By Doris Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro Inami. Lima: Ymagino Publicidad S.A.C, 2006. 83--84. Print.
- Matayoshi, Nicolás, and José Sanchez. Te amo. Lima: Lluvia Editores,, 1973. Print.
- Miyashiro, Aldo. Un misterio, una pasión. Pieza antihistórica sobre la Barra Norte. Lima: Estruendomudo, 2009. Print.
- Moore, Stephanie. "Los Nikkei internados durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial: La larga lucha por una reparación justa." Discover Nikkei.com, 12 March 2007. Web. March 14, 2007. <<http://www.discovernikkei.org/forum/en/node/2018>>.
- Moromisato, Doris. Chambala era un camino. Lima: NoEvas Editoras, 1999. Print.
- . Diario de la mujer es ponja. Lima: Flora Tristán, 2004. Print.
- . Morada donde la luna perdió su palidez. Lima: Cuarto Lima, 1988.
- . "El mundo de afuera y el mundo de adentro: ¿Qué es ser Nikkei peruana?" Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú by Doris Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro Inami, Lima: Ymagino Publicidad S.A.C, 2006. 84--85. Print.

- . Paisaje terrestre. Lima: NoEvas Editoras y RENACE Perú, 2007. Print.
- . "Prologue." Okinawa, el reino de la cortesía, y testimonio de un peruano okinawense. By Ricardo Munehide Ganaja Kamisato. Lima: OKP, 2008. 9--14. Print.
- Moromisato, Doris, and Juan Shimabukuro Inami. Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú. Lima: Ymagino Publicidad S.A.C, 2006. Print.
- Muños Najar, Teresina. "Honor nipón: Tradicionales normas morales de un código que Alberto Fujimori no entendió." Caretas, 7 Dec. 2000. Web. 11 Nov. 2010. <http://www.caretas.com.pe/2000/1648/articulos/honor.phtml>.
- Murakami, Yusuke. "Interpretando los años de vigencia del fujimorismo: una discusión sobre el libro El Perú en la era del Chino." Argumentos. Revista de análisis social del IEP 4.5 (Nov. 2010). Web. 6 Jan. 2010. <http://www.revistargumentos.org.pe/index.php?fp_verpub=true&idpub=133>.
- . Perú en la era del Chino: La política no institucionalizada y el pueblo en busca de un salvador. Lima: IEP/CIAS, 2007. Print.
- Muth, Randy. "Entrevista a José Watanabe, Lima, Perú, 13 de septiembre de 2003." José Watanabe: El ojo que nos descubre. La poesía de un Nikkei peruano. By Randy Muth. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2009. 113--20. Print.
- . José Watanabe: El ojo que nos descubre. La poesía de un Nikkei peruano. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2009. Print.
- Nitobe, Inazo. Bushido: The Soul of Japan. The Floating Press, 2008. Digital file. <http://www.kobobooks.com/ebook/Bushido-The-Soul-of-Japan/book-o0YAKdlxPE6xX9gFcvI05A/page1.html>.

- Núñez, Estuardo. "Japón y la atracción del Oriente." Japón en la literatura peruana. B César Ángeles Caballero. Lima: San Marcos, 1999. 39--55. Print.
- Oe, Kenzaburo. "Mi pueblo tiene la risa de Corea y Okinawa." Okinawa: Un siglo en el Perú. By Doris Moromisato and Juan Shimabukuro Inami. Lima: Ymagino Publicidad S.A.C, 2006. 102. Print.
- Ojos que no ven. Dir. Francisco Lombardi. Perf. Gianfranco Brero, Gustavo Bueno, and Patricia Pereyra. Aldeal Films, I.J.V. Comunicación, Incacine S.A.C., 2003. Film.
- Ong, Aihwa. Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999. Print.
- Otero, Diego. "Voz naciente. Verbo del Perú y Oriente. Los puentes entre la tradición oriental y nuestra literatura son firmes." El Comercio.com.pe, 23 Nov. 2008. Web. 11 Nov. 2010. <<http://elcomercio.pe/edicionimpresa/Html/2008-11-23/voz-naciente.html>>.
- Pajares Cruzado, Gonzalo. "Murió el gran poeta José Watanabe." Peru21, 27 April 2007. Web. 6 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.librosperuanos.com/autores/jose-watanabel0.html>>.
- Paz, Maribel de. "Higa iluminado." Caretas, 22 May 2008. Web. 15 June 2010. <<http://www.caretas.com.pe/Main.asp?T=3082&idE=777&idS=75>>.
- Paz, Octavio. "Máscaras mexicanas." El laberinto de la soledad. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultural Económica, 1992. 10--17. Print.
- Pulp Fiction. Dir. Quentin Tarantino. Perf. John Travolta, Uma Thurman, Samuel L. Jackson. Miramax, 1994. Film.
- Queneau, Raymond. Exercices de style. Trans. Barbara Wright. New York: New Directions, 1981. Print.

- Rabí do Carmo, Alonso. "El estilo es el lugar donde poso mi alma." Literatura peruana n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.educared.edu.pe/estudiantes/literatura/watanabe5.htm>>
- Ropp, Steven Masami. Japanese Ethnicity and Peruvian Nationalism in the 1990s: Transnational Imaginaries and Alternative Hegemonies. Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 2003. Print.
- Ruiz-Ortega, Gabriel. "Carlos Yushimito, escritor: 'Siempre he privilegiado atmósferas antes que desenlaces en mis historias.'" Letras.s5.com, n.d. Web. 20 Dec. 2010. <<http://www.lettras.s5.com/gro160407.htm>>.
- Sakuda, Alejandro. El futuro era el Perú: Cien años o más de inmigración japonesa. Lima: ESICOS, 1999. Print.
- Seisdedos, Iker. "El nacionalismo es la peor construcción del hombre." Interview to Mario Vargas Llosa. El País "Tentaciones," 2010. Web. 18 Oct. 2010. <http://www.elpais.com/articulo/revista/agosto/nacionalismo/peor/construccion/hombre/elpten/20100829elpepirdv_1/Tes>.
- Seven Samurai. (Shichinin no Samurai). Dir Kurosawa Akira. Perf. Toshirô Mifune, Takashi Shimura, and Keiko Tsushima. Toho Company, 1954. Film.
- Sologuren, Javier. "Aspectos de la cultura del Japón." Japón en la literatura peruana. By César Ángeles Caballero. Lima: San Marcos, 1999. 73--84. Print.
- Takenaka, Ayumi. "Japanese Peruvians and Their Ethnic Encounters." Encounters: People of Asian Descent in the Americas. Ed. Roshni Rushtomji-Kerns with Rajini Srikanth and Leny Mendoza Strobil. Lanhan, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999. 113--18. Print.
- "That '>70s show." La vaca profana. Terra.com cultural. Web. 19 Nov. 2010. <<http://www.terra.com.pe/cultural/articulo/html/art11559.htm>>.

- Thorndike, Guillermo, et al. Los imperios del sol: Una historia de los japoneses en el Perú. Lima: Brasa, 1996. Print.
- Tito, Niki. "Archipiélago posible: Las islas de Carlos Yushimito." Letra de Cambio 2.2 (July 2008): 71--73. Print.
- Tocunaga Ortiz, Alberto. El corralón. Lima: Propaceb, 1988. Print.
- . El evangelio de Nietzsche: El tercer testamento. Lima: Libros en Red, 2009. Print.
- Tokumura T., Luis Javier. Camino de Vida. Lima: Vida y Espiritualidad, 2002. Print.
- Toshihiko Arakaki, Félix. "Un cuento muy largo de contar." Proyecto Sherezade. 2002. Web. 2 Jan. 2010.
<http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~fernand4/cuento.html>.
- . Cuentos de años viejos. Lima: Copapol, 1975. Print.
- . "Perico sueña." Blog. Ozner, n.d. Web. 2 Jan. 2010. <http://renzonavarrete.blogspot.com/>.
- . "El Solar tenía un corazón muy grande. Buenos Aires, mayo de 1978." Cyberayllu, n.d. Web. 2 Jan. 2010.
http://www.andes.missouri.edu/andes/Literatura/FTA_ElSolar.html.
- Trazegnies, Fernando de. En el país de las colinas de arena. Vol. 1 Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995).
- Trelles Paz, Diego. "Las Islas. Carlos Yushimito." Pterodáctilo 5 (Autumn 2006): 126--28. Print.
- Tsuda, Takeyuki (Gaku). "Homeland-less Abroad: Transnational Liminality, Social Alienation, and Personal Malaise." Searching for Home Abroad. Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism. Ed. Jeffrey Lesser. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. 121--61. Print.

- Tsurumi, Rebecca. "The Closed Hand: Images of the Japanese in Modern Peruvian Literature." Diss. The City University of New York, 2007. Print.
- . The Closed Hand: Images of the Japanese in Modern Peruvian Literature. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2012. Print.
- . "Shadows in the Wind: Images of the Japanese in the Works of Nisei Peruvian Poets José Watanabe and Doris Moromisato." One World Periphery Reads the Other: Knowing the Oriental in the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula. Ed. Ignacio López-Calvo. Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010. 114--29. Print.
- United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. "Appendix: Latin Americans." Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Foreword by Tetsuden Kashima. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1997. 303--16. Print.
- Valdés, Zoé, La eternidad del instante. Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 2004. Print.
- Vallejo, César. España, aparta de mí este cáliz. Lima, Peru: EDITEC del Perú, 1992. Print.
- Vargas Llosa, Mario. La casa verde. Madrid: Alfaguara, 1999. Print.
- . "La civilización del espectáculo." Letras libres, February 2009. Web. 17 April 2011. <<http://www.letraslibres.com/index.php?art=13553>>.
- . La guerra del fin del mundo. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1981. Print.
- . Historia de Mayta. Madrid: Alfaguara, 2000. Print.
- . La tía Julia y el escribidor. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1978. Print.
- . Travesuras de la niña mala. Mexico City: Alfaguara, 2008. Print.
- . La utopía arcaica: José María Arguedas y las ficciones del indigenismo. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica de México, 1996. Print.

- Vivas, Fernando. "Metiendo la Nariz. Pantallazos del periodismo de investigación." Caretas.com, n.d. Web. 31 Dec. 2010.
<<http://www.caretas.com.pe/1439/cine/cine.htm/>>.
- Watanabe, José. "Elogio del refrenamiento." QueHacer. Discover Nikkei, n.d. Web. 6 Nov. 2010.
<<http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/nikkeialbum/items/2179/>>.
- . "Elogio del refrenamiento." Elogio del refrenamiento: Antología poética (1971--2003) [author query: page numbers?]. Seville: Renacimiento, 2003.
- . Elogio del refrenamiento. Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2003. Print.
- . El guardián del hielo. Bogota: Norma, 2000. Print.
- . Habitó entre nosotros. Poesía completa. Valencia, Spain: Pre-textos, 2008._301--29. Print.
- . "El Haiku y Occidente." José Watanabe: El ojo que nos descubre. La poesía de un Nikkei peruano. Randy Muth. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2009. 120--25. Print.
- . "Laredo: Donde los japoneses se hallaban." Los imperios del sol: Una historia de los japoneses en el Perú. Guillermo Thorndike. Lima: Brasa, 1996. 218--19. Print.
- . "Laredo: Donde los japoneses se hallaban." Discover Nikkei, 23 Dec. 2008. Web. 1 Dec. 2010.
<<http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2008/12/23/laredo/>>.
- . Lo que queda. Caracas: Monteávila, 2005. Print.

- . Path through the Canefields. Ed. and trans. C. A. de Lomellini and David Tipton. East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: White Adder Press, 1997. Print.
- . Poesía completa. Valencia, Spain: Pre-textos, 2008. Print.
- . "Tilsa: La pintora bendita." Prologue to a catalog of Tilsa Tsuchiya's art. Caretas. Miríada, 23 Feb. 2006. Web. 11 Nov. 2010. <http://www.revistamiriada.org/portal/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogc ategory&id=30&Itemid=58>.
- Watanabe, José, Amelia Morimoto, and Óscar Chambi. La memoria del ojo: Cien años de presencia japonesa en el Perú. Lima: Congreso de la República, Lima 1999. Print.
- Williams-León, Teresa, and Cynthia L. Nakashima, eds. The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001. Print.
- Yamanaka, Keiko. "Feminization of Japanese Brazilian Labor Migration to Japan." Searching for Home Abroad. Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism. Ed. Jeffrey Lesser. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. 163--200. Print.
- Yamasato, Rafael (pseudonym of Hildebrando Pérez Grande). Estambre. Lima: Cuadernos del Hipocampo, 1981. Print.
- Yamawaki, Chikako. Estrategias de vida de los inmigrantes asiáticos en el Perú. Lima: IEP, 2002. Print.
- Yushimito del Valle, Carlos. "Ciudad de Cristal." Ten en cuenta a La Victoria---Cuentos ganadores del 2do. concurso narrativo. Lima: Municipalidad de la Victoria, 2009. 9--17. Print.
- . "Criaturas aladas." Granta 11 (Fall 2010): 35--50. Print.
- . Las islas. Lima: Sic, 2006. Print.

- . Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde. Barcelona: Duomo, 2011.
Print.
- . "Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde." Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde. Barcelona: Duomo, 2011. 44--66. Print.
- . "Los que esperan." Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde.
Barcelona: Duomo, 2011. 104--38. Print.
- . Madureira sabe. Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde. Barcelona: Duomo, 2011. 67--86. Print.
- . El mago. Las islas. Lima: Sic, 2006. 149--57. Print.
- . "Mr. Munch." Lecciones para un niño que llega tarde. Barcelona: Duomo, 2011. 139--71. Print.
- . "Oz." El hablador.com 17, n.d. Web. 23 Dec. 2010.
<http://www.elhablador.com/cuento17_4.html>.
- . "Seltz." Granta 2.113 (Winter 2010): 171--83. Print.
- Zúñiga Segura, Carlos. Cerezos en flor (Haiku japonés). Lima: Capulí, 1986.
Print.<\>

<BMT>Index<\>

[index goes here]

<BMT>About the Author<\>

<TX>Ignacio López-Calvo is a professor of Latin American literature at the University of California, Merced. He is the author of five books on Latin American and U.S. Latino literature and culture: Written in Exile. Chilean Fiction from 1973--Present (Routledge, 2001); Religión y militarismo en la obra de Marcos Aguinis, 1963--2000 (Mellen, 2002); "Trujillo and God": Literary and Cultural Representations of the Dominican Dictator (University Press of Florida, 2005); Imaging the Chinese in Cuban Literature and Culture" (University Press of Florida, 2007); and Latino Los Angeles in Film and Fiction: The Cultural Production of Social Anxiety (University of Arizona Press, 2011). In addition, he has edited the books Peripheral Transmodernities: South-to-South Dialogues between the Luso-Hispanic World and "the Orient" (Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2012); Alternative Orientalisms in Latin America and Beyond (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007); and One World Periphery Reads the Other: Knowing the "Oriental" in the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009); and co-edited Caminos para la paz: Literatura israelí y árabe en castellano (2008). He is the co-executive director of the academic journal Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World. He is currently completing a book titled Decolonial Knowledges: Tusán Writing in Peru.<\>