

Inscrutable Grief: Memorializing Japanese American Internment in Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13660*

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During and after World War II, Japanese Americans occupied a precarious position within the United States.¹ After Pearl Harbor, rumors of fifth column conspiracies proliferated, and anti-Japanese sentiments quickly escalated. This tense situation culminated on February 19, 1942, when President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, giving the government the right to create military exclusion zones and paved the way to the internment of enemy aliens on the West Coast. More than 110,000 Japanese Americans were interned. Roughly two-thirds were United States citizens.

The losses of those affected by internment were great. Forced to quickly leave their homes, most had to abandon, destroy, or sell (at greatly deflated prices) the majority of their belongings. The material losses alone were staggering, but the psychic losses were worse. Internees were separated from their friends—occasionally from their families—and from their homes, businesses, and schools. To add insult to injury, these losses often went unacknowledged in mainstream American culture. In fact, government authorities on both national and local levels told Japanese Americans that the evacuation was for their protection and that they “should be glad to make the sacrifice to prove [their] loyalty.”² Reconfiguring forced losses as willing “sacrifices” that anyone would be glad to make, the government masked the devastation to the Japanese American community.

Over forty years later, President Reagan signed H.R. 442, otherwise known as the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, a landmark bill that officially acknowledged the injustice of internment and hardships suffered, apologized to Japanese Americans, and awarded monetary damages to former internees. This hard-fought victory came after a long report from the Commission on War-time Relocation and Internment of Civilians that confirmed the government's wrongdoing.³ Many factors led to H.R. 442's eventual passage, including shifting cultural understandings of internment that made this kind of unprecedented legislation palatable not just to Congress but also to their constituents.⁴

This article explores how Japanese American cultural production helped reshape mainstream conceptions of internment, focusing on the immediate postwar period. The most publicly circulated type of cultural work at the time was life writing (such as memoirs), and I show how memoir serves not only to publicly record the events of internment but also the emotions associated with it, specifically loss and grief. Such writing made the losses of internment public by representing Japanese American grief, working to turn unacknowledged grief into reparations for grievance.⁵ By focusing on personal experiences of internment, this literature added an important dimension to the redress movement (even in its nascent stages). While we can make a case for political action from statistics and facts—a rational basis for retribution—this enumeration of casualties in neat rows of numbers centers our understanding of loss in objects, not the grieving subjects left behind. Indeed, Sara Ahmed's concept of a queer politics of grief involves recognizing not just the "other's grief, but . . . the other as a griever."⁶ In recognizing the other as a feeling, grieving subject, we may move toward a more empathetic politics. Literature provides a crucial public space for representing and circulating these kinds of grieving subjects, one that can reshape the bounds of recognition.

But the first memoir of internment published was not a straightforward text. Rather, Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13660* (1946) is a dynamic interplay of text and image—pen-and-ink drawings done during her time at the Tanforan Assembly Center in California and the Topaz War Relocation Center in Utah and later paired with contextualizing captions for publication. It is exactly this dialogue between visual and textual that makes Okubo's depictions of grief so affecting—and so innovative in ways that I will discuss shortly. However, despite its generic novelty (the term "graphic memoir" did not exist in 1946) and its groundbreaking status as the first memoir of internment, Okubo's text does not garner much attention outside of Asian American studies. By contextualizing *Citizen 13660* in its cultural moment to demonstrate its techniques for representing Japanese American grief over internment—work that ultimately helps reshape mainstream conceptions of this event, contributing to the unprecedented redress victory—I hope to make a case for this text's larger importance to American studies.

Numerous scholars mention *Citizen 13660*'s mournful mood, but the criticism does not offer a sustained engagement with Okubo's depiction of public

grieving. My examination brings internment losses and internee grief front and center to demonstrate Okubo's interest in representing scenes of mourning in this crucial postwar period, as the book features two memorials held in Topaz and other scenes of less overt grieving. Such a project opens up the range of emotional expressions available to Japanese Americans in this time period by demonstrating the way in which internment was an experience to be grieved.

However, Okubo also signals an awareness of how the greater American public was ill-equipped to read representations of Japanese American emotion—or to comprehend internment as an event worth mourning—and her strategies for representing grief respond to ideologies governing emotional expression. Specifically, I argue that Okubo interrogates the stereotype of the “inscrutable Oriental,” reflecting upon and countering the dominant cultural constructions that influence reception of the text. Her pioneering use of genre—the combination of illustration and text, another collapsing of categories—allows her to familiarize a non-Japanese American audience with the racialized bodies of Japanese Americans. However, she still renders them somewhat flat as the spatial situation of bodies, the facial expressions, and other representations often remain enigmatic, and the text almost never clarifies the illustrations. Okubo's aesthetics of inscrutable grief critiques the paradigms governing Asian American self-expression, opening the door for new representational and reception possibilities. In this text, we do not actually need to recognize the other or her grief to feel for her. Indeed, as the reception history shows, her drawings still deeply affect readers in varied ways. The way that depictions of grief—even grief beyond the bounds of understandability—affects readers becomes a potent political tool to address the injustices of internment and prevent future wrongs. Thus, even if most Americans are not ready to acknowledge Japanese internment as worthy of grief or Japanese Americans as grieving, such displays of mourning can still function and affect in politically productive ways rather than further distancing the Japanese American subject.

Visual Culture and Inscrutability

As Elaine Kim has demonstrated, the Asian American subject in the early to mid-twentieth century popular discourse was often reduced to stereotypes like the submissive comic servant or the brutish fiend.⁷ Such cultural imaginings render these subjects flat—unrecognizable as fully realized human beings—or portray their motives and interiority as unknowable and unreadable. Legal rulings upheld these notions. *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, a 1922 Supreme Court case, rendered the difference between Asian and Caucasian into law.⁸ Asian Americans were generally seen as unassimilable, as fundamentally Othered. In the 1940s, the American public generally saw Japanese Americans, like other Asian Americans, as inscrutable, their race blocking interpretations of their feelings.⁹ As such, making Japanese American grieving accessible to non-Japanese Americans would have been difficult.

Okubo was clearly aware of the stereotypes that circulated—in fact, one drawing in *Citizen 13660* shows her reading a newspaper with her body surrounded by the inflammatory anti-Japanese headlines—and positioned her text accordingly.¹⁰ If there is no outlet through which Japanese Americans can process or even speak the injuries and losses brought upon them, grief is eliminated as a mode of interpreting and conceptualizing Japanese American experience in the 1940s. As such, this forbidden emotion becomes unreadable in the dominant modes of the time. This text interrogates such denials, working beyond the compulsory restraints of Japanese American self-representations by juxtaposing the supposed lack of interiority with external shows of emotion. The collapsing of categories throughout Okubo's text thus disrupts representational paradigms of Japanese American subjectivity, experience, and emotion, creating different affective modes that alter the terms of perception.

The juxtaposition of text and image highlights different systems of knowledge and knowing as the reader deals with both the seen and the spoken—and, implicitly, the unseen and unspoken. Okubo does not seem to have much of a “voice” in the writing—it reads as simple, impersonal descriptions. This kind of personal silence fits into a mode that scholars of Asian American literature like King-Kok Cheung and Patti Duncan have identified, one where speech is not always a liberatory force. Duncan in particular argues that internment texts by authors like Joy Kogawa and Mitsuye Yamada use “both speech and silence simultaneously” to deconstruct narratives about internment.¹¹ But this text's visual elements allow emotion to linger in the bodies and especially the faces of the internees. Caroline Chung Simpson argues that Japanese American bodies here demonstrate “hidden power of memory that once experienced never could be completely effaced even if it is rendered unrecognizable through subsequent acts of remembrance” and that the text “draws its power from its repeated foreclosure of representation.”¹² However, the multivalenced representations do not seem to block expression—as Vivian Fumiko Chin writes, we can recognize many emotions like sadness, anger, and displeasure through Okubo's self-representations—but rather the clear interpretation of such representations.¹³ The external trace of emotions in the illustrations, like facial expressions and especially tears, provides a striking contrast to the lack of emotional language. This emphasis on external features challenges representational paradigms, showing that exterior appearance can demonstrate complex emotion, even when that exact emotion is not entirely legible.

The emphasis on visual expression was also because it was Okubo's primary medium. Before the war, she worked on a Federal Arts Project mural with Diego Rivera, and her postwar work differed greatly from her internment camp drawings.¹⁴ *Citizen 13660* is the only text she published. However, some of the camp images appeared in several different iterations leading up to the publication of *Citizen 13660*. Two of them were exhibited as part of a San Francisco art show in 1943, and she had an exhibit in March 1945 in the Common Council for American Unity's offices that later in the year went on a West Coast tour

“with the blessing of the WRA [War Relocation Authority].”¹⁵ They also came out of the museum space, circulating more widely within print discourse. Her article, “Issei, Nisei, Kibei,” appeared with some of the drawings (sans captions) in *Fortune*’s April 1944 issue on Japan, and some of her images appeared in other publications as well.¹⁶ The circulation of these images in diverse media means that they make a greater cultural impact by reaching more people, and the creation of a graphic memoir repackages and reconceives their reception.

Contemporary critics often refer to *Citizen 13660* as a graphic memoir, but as I noted previously, this term did not exist in 1946. The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the term “graphic novel” at 1978, and the moniker was made popular with 1980s publications like *Watchmen*—comic books meant for adult readers.¹⁷ Western antecedents include comic books, newspaper comic strips, and picture books, and Kimberly L. Phillips discussed the influence of such forms, as well as Japanese manga, on Okubo.¹⁸ In the 1940s, readers would associate illustrated texts with children, though comic strips, especially, also had adult readers.¹⁹ The most similar illustrated narrative published in this time period was Japanese immigrant Taro Yashima’s *The New Sun*, a 1943 account of his time in a Japanese prison, which was warmly reviewed in the *New York Times*.²⁰ Robinson points out that *Citizen 13660* would have certainly reminded readers of *The New Sun*.²¹ However, Okubo’s work differs from Yashima’s in that her drawings are more realistic—the figures in *The New Sun* are abstract and faceless, and do not make the reader engage with verisimilitudinous bodily expression. Further, the content often heightens the intimate mimesis of her drawings, as she displays bodies in private situations, like nude women in bathrooms.²² As Greg Robinson argues, “it was of central importance to Okubo to humanize herself and other Nisei, in order to underline their acceptability as new neighbors to a largely Caucasian audience,”²³ trying to smooth the path to assimilation, even as it “delivers many varied, and sometimes contradictory, meanings.”²⁴ Okubo’s use of genre is crucial to her interpretation of internment.

The circulation of Japanese Americans in a visual medium is important for several reasons. First of all, Elena Creef notes that internment remained, in many ways, literally invisible from American collective memory “given the scarcity of photographic evidence that was allowed to circulate during and immediately after the war.”²⁵ This invisibility resonated ironically with the media coverage of Japanese Americans during the war that frequently focused on the visual: the main reason for discrimination against Japanese Americans was that they *looked* like the enemy.²⁶ Okubo’s drawings circulated almost in conjunction with “guides” on how to “read” and differentiate between different Asian American peoples, such as an infamous *Life* magazine article from December 22, 1941 on how to tell Japanese people from Chinese people. Using juxtaposed pictures to point out supposed facial differences between them—and an image of a reporter wearing a badge indicating his Chinese background, literally making his ethnicity readable—the article aimed to make sure that the proper people

were discriminated against. Other war propaganda displayed, as expected, overt exaggerations of race. War posters showed animalistic caricatures of Japanese soldiers and read “This is What the Enemy Looks Like.”²⁷ A 1942 *Fortune* magazine article purported to give insight into the Japanese people by perpetuating caricatures, stereotypes, and generalizations—including large illustrations of soldiers and geisha with overstated features.²⁸ Defined simply by outward appearance, these posters made it easy to draw connections between the enemy and anyone who looked like him. In blurring the lines between the Japanese and Japanese Americans, mainstream media assumed a racial uniformity, a sameness based solely on appearance.

Aesthetic Inscrutability

Citizen 13660 mostly focuses on the quotidian aspects of internment, creating a record of everyday Japanese American camp experience. For example, in two consecutive drawings Okubo comments on internee fashion and appearance. Internees were limited in what they could bring to camp, so they were able to order clothing from limited catalog choices. However, Okubo notes that “many substitutions” arrived instead of the ordered clothing.²⁹ The accompanying drawing shows Okubo wearing an oversized jacket that overwhelms her frame (Figure 1). Huge boots sit nearby. Huge boots sit nearby.

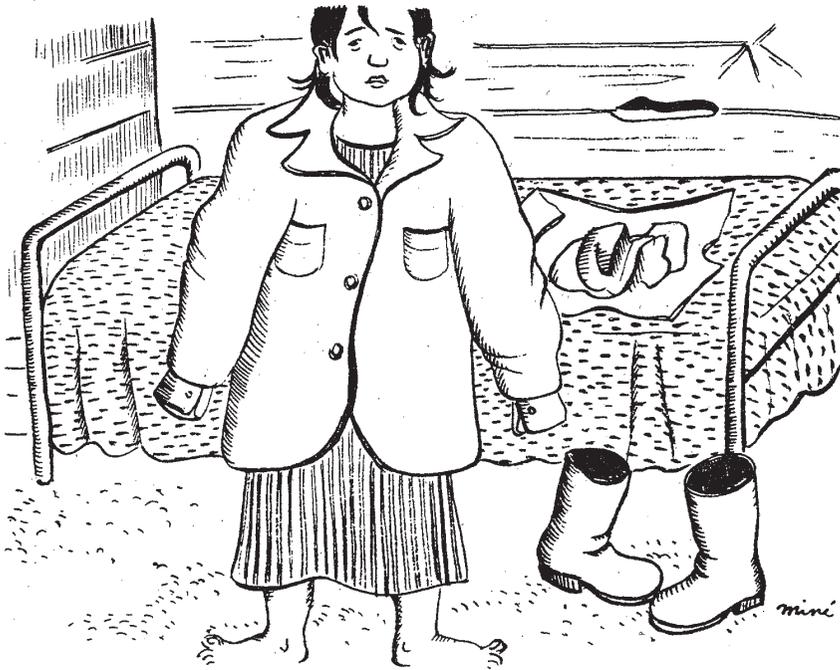


Figure 1: Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 152.

The image seemingly invites a comical reaction due to the absurdity of the huge jacket on a small woman, augmented by the huge boots waiting to fit her oddly disproportionate feet. However, we can also read this drawing as resisting light-heartedness. Her expression seems to convey dismay as the long-awaited clothing turns out to be a disappointment. By expressing her sadness, she shows the sorrows that make up so much of camp experience. The displeasure shown here opens up the range of emotional expressions available to Japanese Americans, who were mostly expected to accept their circumstances: it demonstrates the way that loss—of personal autonomy, of freedom, etc.—intrudes on everyday life. However, this reading starkly contrasts with the comic elements of the drawing. In this instance, comedy and tragedy collapse upon one another, inextricably tangled. The text offers no hints that would help the reader decipher the layered feelings inherent to the drawing or to make sense of the disturbing disruption of standard categories. Such interpretative impenetrability marks the aesthetic inscrutability found throughout *Citizen 13660*, an inscrutability frequently associated with grief.

In the next panel, Okubo states that “everyone was dressed alike, because of the catalog orders and the G.I. clothes,” and the image shows Okubo (far right) and two other women wearing the exact same shirt (Figure 2).³⁰ As Min Hyong Song points out, this image plays on ideas of racial uniformity, the notion that Japanese Americans are all the same, in that none of the women



Figure 2: Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 153.

here could be mistaken for one another.³¹ Okubo has relaxed hands on her hips, a seemingly casual reaction (or perhaps one of irritation). However, her face, along with the other women, remains unreadable. Are they silently sizing each other up? Is the middle woman trying to ignore the identical clothing? Are they dismayed at this fashion faux pas? The other people in the drawing give no hints, as the man on the far right has a seemingly neutral expression, and the other man faces away from the reader. The spatial arrangement is notably odd. None of the people face one another; instead they are looking in different directions. This disjointed gaze appears in many drawings, as the camp community's attention is often drawn in different directions. Okubo thus further fractures uniformity, leaving the reader to wonder about the unknown objects of attention with no interpretive direction. She constructs Japanese American subjectivity around an objectless gaze; that is, the reader sees only the external gesture, not the objects of desire or loss that inform our understanding of his or her interiority.³² The scope of loss (living space, friends, community, etc.) is too much to depict, even intangible (freedom, for example), and unspeakable—it is beyond the scope of representational capacities at this time.

The lack of clothing options (and subsequent uniformity) is a common subject in Japanese American discussions of internment, and comparing Okubo's depiction with another visual rendering in *Topaz* illustrates the unique way her drawings engage the losses of internment. A cartoon strip regularly featured in early editions of the *Topaz Times*, the internee-run camp newspaper, addresses the clothing issues on October 21, 1942.³³ Bennie Nobori's "Jankee" follows Jankee, an impish, high-spirited boy who gallivants around camp, and as the art editor of *Topaz Times* for some time—almost undoubtedly when this cartoon ran—Okubo would have been familiar with "Jankee." In this installment, Jankee receives his new clothes from the government. The first four panels show him excitedly receiving and putting on his outfit, a suit with striped pants, a cravat, and hat that resembles Uncle Sam's ensemble. In the final panel, Jankee ventures out into the camp, where he encounters three other men wearing the exact same outfit. Two are clearly different people, with distinctly different facial features, and the one has a long beard. However, Jankee and another boy in the middle are nearly indistinguishable. To poke fun at the similarity of their appearance, Jankee responds to the other boy's greeting of "Hi Jankee!" with a smile and a playful reply: "What's Doin' 'Jank'?" The cartoon has a good-humored tone, displaying a playful version of *shikata ga nai*, a Japanese saying that translates to "it cannot be helped," one that was used as a way of coping with the circumstances and griefs of internment. Jankee acknowledges his lost individuality with a smile and a proactive joke that connects him to the others. The boys share an outfit and now a moniker, linking them more closely than before.

Furthermore, this specific uniform signals inclusion in a particular community. Clad in Uncle Sam's apparel, the men resemble and even represent this emblem of American patriotism. Jankee's name—an amalgamation of Japanese

and Yankee—is particularly apt at this moment. Jankee and the others are incorporated into the American community through their clothing. If they cannot racially match American ideals, they can cover their racialized bodies with American garb. While the camps offered Americanization classes for the internees to help them assimilate into mainstream America, this early cartoon illustrates how the Americanization process in Topaz does not just operate internally, on the minds and hearts of the internees, but also must be expressed outwardly—a precursor to the performance of loyalty through oaths that would come later. That this cartoon was published in the main camp outlet for information prescribes an attitude toward uniformity: accept it, use it as a community builder, and ultimately become part of a uniform American community.³⁴

Okubo's version, as noted above, counters this (understandable) attempt to minimize loss and diminishment, down to the pattern on her shirt. The blouse she wears in Figure 3 is the one she dons through the entire text, and its pattern resembles both barbed wire and crosses. The barbed wire obviously evokes the enclosure of the camps, and on clothing, it hems in the individual body, closing up individuality.³⁵ The crosses, on the other hand, allude to a Christian tradition of sacrifice. The dual (and dueling) messages negate reading the garment as either a symbol of resistance (by representing imprisonment) or of acquiescence (internment was a sacrifice). Instead, the shirt represents the blurred meaning of internment, the hazy, constantly changing relation between Japanese Americans and dominant culture. Stella Oh argues that such inconsistency throughout Okubo's text illustrates the inconsistencies of U.S. legal policies and theories of citizenship.³⁶ With such indeterminate boundaries, emotion also becomes obscured, as we see with the women in the illustration who deal with their loss of individuality. If the means of loss cannot be properly defined—if it moves along a spectrum of the willing loss of sacrifice and a violent separation—then the meaning of grief changes continuously. Okubo employs such slippery signage to point out the way dominant culture itself renders grief inscrutable, instead of the raced body hindering readability.

Inscrutable Grief

Although *Citizen 13660* mostly focuses on the common conditions of camp, like housing conditions, meal lines, and the Utah desert weather, these snapshots of standard Topaz fare are occasionally interrupted by singular events that bring the community together. Two such events are camp-wide memorial services, a relative rarity as most funeral services at camp, like those outside, were not major public events. The fact that Okubo includes two memorials in *Citizen 13660* invites comparison between them. The men they honor have few similarities: they died under uncommon yet dissimilar circumstances, and the community reaction to their deaths is quite different—both as depicted by Okubo and as seen in other reports of these events. While Okubo does not

state the man's name, the first memorial honored Pfc. Isao Tsuno, a Japanese American soldier (I discovered via archival records of the *Topaz Times* that the only person who had a camp-wide memorial between September 1942 and April 1943 was Tsuno). The second memorial mourns James Hatsuki Wakasa, an Issei man shot by a M.P. at Topaz. By contrasting Okubo's representations of these memorials, we may further see the way that she structures Japanese American emotional expression around scenes of mourning.

In early November of 1942, Topaz held its "first mass gathering": "a memorial service to honor a Japanese American soldier who died while in service" in which "all faiths were represented, and former members of the American Legion also participated" (Figure 3).³⁷ Holding a memorial service as the first camp-wide gathering clearly signals the role that loss can play in community formation, and this commemoration modeled—in a none-too-subtle way—which losses should be mourned. Of course, all the internees in Topaz had various reasons to mourn due to their forcible separation from home and family members, but the Tsuno memorial only sanctions feelings of loss and grief aligned with nationalist interests. Other reasons for mourning are left unspoken.

And yet, the putative consolation that inclusion in an American community is intended to achieve collides with unmistakable elements of discrimination. Okubo states the soldier died "while in service," but she does not indicate

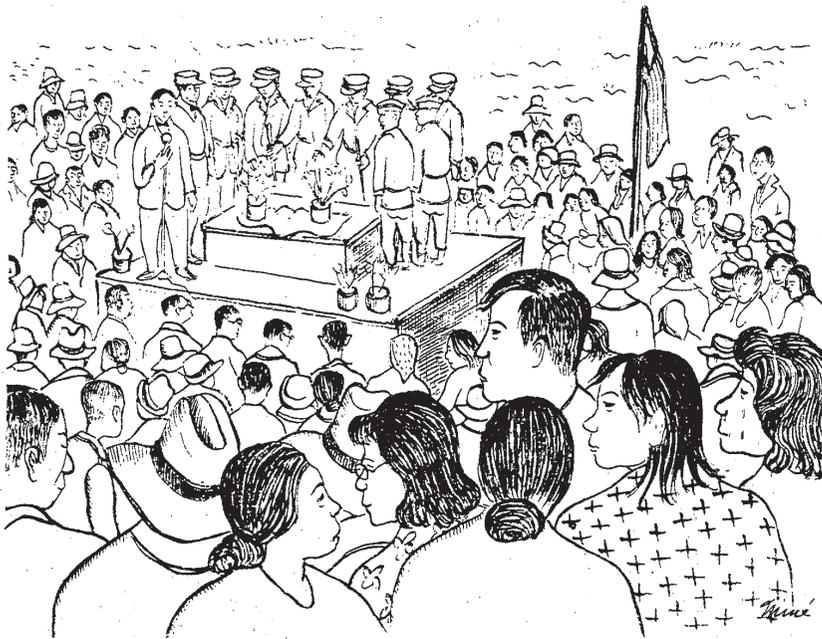


Figure 3: Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 168.

that it occurred in combat or overseas. Indeed, Pfc. Isao Tsuno, died at Fort Snelling in Minnesota.³⁸ In 1942, Japanese American soldiers were not cleared for combat duty. Consequently, heroism that would have indicated a clear inclusion in national community was unavailable to Japanese Americans at this time. Furthermore, Okubo notes that “all faiths” were represented in the memorial service—a note of inclusion and disparate elements of community coming together—but in the same sentences states that the American Legion was also present. This juxtaposition could only have been ironic, since during the war, the national American Legion was staunchly anti-Japanese American—as many Americans would have known.³⁹ Thus, this “mass gathering” shows the fissures in the American community.

While the language indicates the tension between the larger American community and the Japanese American community, the drawing, at least ostensibly, signals unity. The crowd gathers around a small stage, where men in uniform stand solemnly around what appears to be a coffin with flowers on it. But the people, especially near the back of the crowd, seem indifferent. One woman cries, but the rest seem relatively uninterested. This lack of rapt attention begs the question of why the memorial was held and if the community itself actually called for such a mass gathering for one death. Tsuno’s family lived in Topaz, so holding a memorial there makes sense; however, other deaths occurred within the camps and did not call for such large-scale memorialization.⁴⁰ Tsuno’s rare, at this time, status as a Japanese American soldier seems to have prompted the display of mourning. Given how this kind of event can function as part of the Americanization process, it seems that this memorial functions prescriptively to redirect feelings of grief away from dangerous lost objects—the losses caused by unjust and potentially unlawful action by the U.S. government.⁴¹ However, the flag in the drawing undermines displayed nationalism. Rather than flying high, over the land of the free and the brave, it droops, lackluster and sad, over the imprisoned Japanese Americans. This flag stands as an ironic symbol here—perhaps denoting the violation of citizens’ rights and of basic American principles right in the middle of this mournful celebration of America. The flag itself becomes an object of loss, but one that cannot be publicly identified as such.

The majority of the crowd glances around in different directions—some at the spectacle in front of them, some watching others reacting to it, some in an entirely different direction. While the memorial is meant to focus the community’s grief by giving it an appropriate object to mourn, the crowd mostly seems distracted, neither compelled nor distressed by this lost object, although one woman does cry. In Okubo’s representation of the memorial, we return to the objectless gaze. The people in the crowd look in many different directions, instead of concentrating on the object of loss in front of them. This moment of loss evokes the other losses of internment. However, left unable to identify with, or even to identify or speak their grief, the crowd withdraws into bereavement that remains inscrutable to readers.

Comparing this memorial to the one held for James Wakasa a few months later illustrates the varied function of inscrutability. On April 11, 1943, an armed sentry shot and killed James Hatsuki Wakasa, a bachelor Issei man. The guard claimed Wakasa was trying to crawl under the fence and that several warnings were shouted prior to the shooting. However, other sources state that he was merely walking close to the fence, not trying to crawl under it. According to historian Sandra C. Taylor, it was virtually impossible that Wakasa could have heard any warning due to the winds around Topaz and the distance between him and the guard.⁴² Wakasa's death led to protests and concerns about internee safety, but, as Taylor notes, they were relatively mild, especially compared to the tenses atmospheres of camps like Manzanar and Tule Lake.⁴³

In the outside press it was reported as an escape attempt. The local paper for town nearest Topaz, the *Millard County Chronicle*, reported that Wakasa was "attempting to crawl through the fence surrounding the residential area."⁴⁴ The Associated Press, repeating a statement from the Office of War Information, stated that Wakasa "was shot and killed by military police last night while attempting to flee the relocation center at Topaz, Utah."⁴⁵ When first reported, the *Topaz Times* actually places the headline story, "Resident Killed," underneath a statement from the administration, promising an investigation, but also partaking in some victim-blaming, "urg[ing] every resident to familiarize himself with the rules and regulations."⁴⁶ While the *Topaz Times* was run by internees, it was still subject to War Relocation Authority censorship. That this announcement supersedes the actual report of the killing demonstrates the restraints on how internees could circulate information—and emotion—in print.⁴⁷

Camp officials initially resisted having a public memorial for Wakasa, thinking that it might spur a riot, but the internees insisted. Wakasa was a bachelor, so his neighbors took over planning the memorial, and most of the camp pitched in. Internees fighting for the right to hold a memorial shows how important it was to the community that they publicly mourn this death. Furthermore, coverage of Wakasa's death and memorial was front-page news in the *Topaz Times*.⁴⁸ This memorial paid tribute to and mourned one of their own, and it gave internees an opportunity to publicly confront their own vulnerability. It also demonstrates the confinement of mourning—the reactions in Topaz media greatly differ from the outside press as the emotional reaction does not cross the boundaries of camp.

In *Citizen 13660*, Okubo's report is typically terse but tense. She briefly relates the events that happened: "An elderly resident was shot and killed within the center area inside the fence, by a guard in one of the watchtowers. Particulars and facts of the matter were never satisfactorily disclosed to residents."⁴⁹ Okubo counters the official narrative here, rereading the Wakasa situation for American audiences. She notably uses passive constructions for both sentences. In the first sentence, this formation makes Wakasa the subject of the sentence, rather than the object of an action performed by the guard. As such, it allows him to stand front and center in the story rather than being the ignored object of

injustice. It also illustrates the lack of action on Wakasa's part prior to his killing, his passivity mirrored in the syntax. Similarly, the second sentence utilizes the passive voice to illustrate the internees' lack of agency. In the camps, they cannot seek out or circulate information themselves; instead, they must wait to be told what happened—the narrative already formulated for them.

Competing narratives obscure mourning both inside and outside camp as the meaning of Wakasa's death is constantly in flux. He is a fugitive, dead as a direct result of his subversive actions; he is a victim, a symbol of oppression; he is both, neither, something in-between. Moreover, his death means more than the loss of an individual: it potentially signals a justification for internment (Japanese Americans cannot be trusted to stay within the bounds of proper behavior), a confirmation of the injustice of internment (an innocent man shot for being too close to an arbitrary boundary), or any other range of reactions. The varied readings of his death in the outside press, in the *Topaz Times*, and Okubo's own account create overlapping and yet divergent storylines.

The shifting signification of his death means that mourning Wakasa becomes a vexing process. While this drawing is one of the most overtly emotional ones in the text, Okubo also subtly shows the ways that mourning is confined, illegible to the outside world. The drawing of the Wakasa incident is a crucial counterpoint to the Tsuno memorial (Figure 4). The picture first distinguishes itself in terms of spatial context.⁵⁰ The earlier drawing did not



Figure 4: Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 180.

contain contextualizing places that give us a sense of where we are in the camp; rather, it seems that the memorial exists in an open and anonymous space, lending a sense of universality and depersonalization. In this illustration, barracks lie behind the stage where the coffin and speakers stand; cars and a basketball hoop interrupt the uniformity of the crowd; and roads and more barracks in the distance all offer spatial context for the memorial. This contextualization simultaneously illustrates the way that life continues after loss and how grief and loss inevitably intrude on everyday life. However, the barracks in the distance and the tight frame of the drawing signal how this loss—and all losses that occur in the camps—are different from those in the outside world. Internee grief is restricted by place, as they are unable to bury their dead with family or in their hometowns, and Okubo is acutely aware of how camp life intrudes on and restricts mourning rituals. Furthermore, she uses the everyday frames of camp life to illustrate how mourning for Wakasa's death is confined within the camp. Although his death permeates the public sphere, grief over his death remains bound by the fences that surround Topaz.

Okubo also plays with the spatial arrangement of the drawing with her sight lines, which give the reader a distinct, divergent entry point into the memorial. In the Tsuno memorial, the eye follows an almost diagonal line, giving the reader a sense of the crowd narrowing into the stage. In this drawing, we still start in the back of the crowd, but we have a more front-centered view of the people. As such, we are not immediately drawn into the stage, but rather first must regard the crowd, our eye drawn *across* the picture, absorbing the mass of bodies. In doing so, Okubo emphasizes the number of people at the memorial. Furthermore, our perspective is slightly lower in this drawing, rather than coming from the slightly above people perspective in the Tsuno memorial. As such, we get the sense that while we are in the back of the crowd, we are not on the outskirts, so the reader stands with the mourners, not behind them. By incorporating the readers spatially into the mourning public, Okubo integrates us both physically and affectively.

Whereas people looked around somewhat aimlessly in the previous illustration, this crowd seems more focused, connected to a singular lost object, a man whose death stemmed directly from the circumstances of internment. The three people at the forefront of this drawing express uncontrollable emotions as they sob inconsolably into their hands or handkerchief. Another looks down as a tear rolls down her cheek. Two of them, a man and a woman, share a handkerchief—their tears, visible expressions of grief, link them emotionally while the square of cloth connects them physically. The physical manifestation of grief—crying—counters the flatness of the figures, the external expressing deep emotion. Okubo looks on passively, not crying herself. However, she does not stand at the edge of the crowd, as in the Tsuno memorial picture; instead, she is more incorporated into the crowd, absorbed into the mourning community, looking back at us. Her gaze toward the reader invites us in: even if we do not share the grief knitting the community together, she implores us to acknowledge it, to

recognize their grief and the losses inflicted on their community. By presenting the mourning community so distinctly and by spatially inviting the reader into it, Okubo presents an opportunity to recognize the Japanese American internees as a mourning public, a mourning people, as both grievors and grievable.

Okubo spends more time with the Wakasa memorial than the Tsuno one, as she gives the Wakasa funeral a second full page (Figure 5). She depicts the camp women actively partaking in the work of mourning, as they fashion “enormous floral wreaths with paper flowers.”⁵¹ Flowers are traditional implements of mourning, signifying regrowth and rebirth.⁵² The absence of fresh flowers in the desert leads to innovative crafting to fill the gap.⁵³ The most notable aspect of this drawing is Okubo’s presence within it. Okubo places herself within her illustrations frequently, but most often, she observes the scenes.⁵⁴ In this scene, though, she holds a flower to add to the wreath; she becomes an active participant rather than passive voyeur. That she chooses this moment of mourning to be an agent of the scene signals her tacit inclusion in and approval of the communal grief.⁵⁵

The memoir ends with Okubo’s departure from the camp. The third to last image in the memoir features a photographer taking Okubo’s picture, and she states, “I was photographed.”⁵⁶ The passive construction deprives Okubo—the artist whose pictures filled the visual gaps of the camera-less internees—of her perspective of herself and her experience. The government-issued photograph,



Figure 5: Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 181.

another form of capturing, categorizing, and scrutinizing her, contains her within its narrow frame, as shown in the illustration. Although she controls her own art, she cannot control the dominant frames (literally enacted here) of representation of Japanese Americans. The power imbalance between the two means that her drawings lie next to the other, previously discussed, visual depictions of Japanese Americans. Her drawings cannot overcome those depictions.

The last line of the narrative follows a trope of internment literature—an ending that ostensibly looks forward with optimism⁵⁷—as she remarks, “My thoughts shifted from the past to the future” (Figure 6).⁵⁸ This movement from past to future, however, is belayed by the accompanying drawing. In it, it is hard to ascertain where Okubo’s gaze looks: she could be looking forward, but she also seems to glance over her shoulder, back toward the camp and the internees standing behind the fence. This ambiguity undermines the positive prose ending. It leaves a Janus-faced protagonist, trapped looking both forward and back at once, glimpsing her future in New York but still trapped, like Lot’s wife, mourning the past.⁵⁹

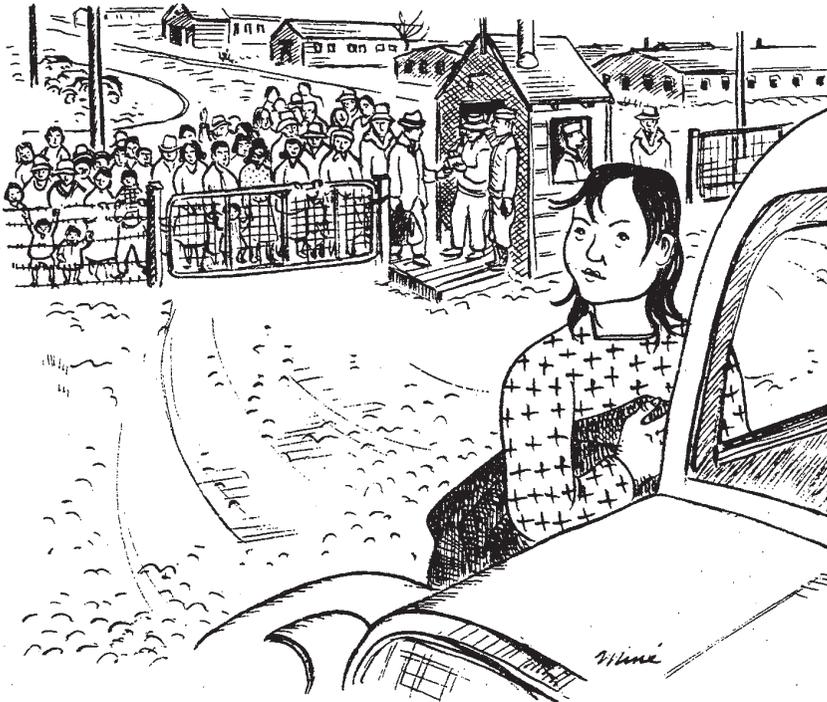


Figure 6: Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 209.

Reacting to Grief: Reception of *Citizen 13660*

Reviews of *Citizen 13660* reflect the ambiguity of the text.⁶⁰ The book was widely (and favorably) reviewed in such popular venues as the *New York Times*, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, the *Herald Tribune*, and the *Chicago Tribune*; additionally, former Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, covered the book in his syndicated column, “Man to Man,” on September 23, 1946.⁶¹ The *Chicago Defender*, a popular African American newspaper, also published a review.⁶² Scholarly outlets like the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, the *Social Service Review*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, and *Pacific Affairs* all published reviews in 1947.⁶³

Mainstream press reviews often praise the book for two qualities: its objectivity and its good-spirited humor.⁶⁴ Editor of *The Nation*, Carey McWilliams, appraises the book as “particularly notable for its wit, sharpness of observation, objectivity, and generally unsentimental attitude,” regarding it as a record of the facts of internment.⁶⁵ M. Margaret Anderson’s *New York Times* review does both simultaneously when she calls *Citizen 13660* “remarkably objective and vivid and even humorous,” and her statement epitomizes reactions to the book.⁶⁶ Ralph M. Williams’s review in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* writes that “the discomforts and the tragedies that befell people of her race failed to shake her good spirits.”⁶⁷ Such statements divest the book of loss, showing the ways that Japanese American grief remains largely illegible to the greater American public at this time. But by simultaneously praising the documentary quality of the drawings, the tragic circumstances of internment, and its comic elements, they illustrate the fundamental ambiguity of the text, the way it registers incongruously. The seemingly odd emphasis on humor perhaps comes from the generic expectations of a “picture book.”⁶⁸ It resembles a children’s book, inviting lighter interpretations, and comics, thus inscribing a generic expectation for humor.⁶⁹ Thus the genre itself hinders distinct interpretation.

Indeed, reviews of the book express varied emotional reactions. At least one reviewer criticized the perceived lack of sorrow. In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Constantine Panunzio calls the book “simple, direct and matter of fact” before speculating that “had the artist-author, without blinking at reality, depicted also the total sorrow of ‘the other half,’ her book would have been great art” (209). On the other hand, one review registers the text’s “personal” characteristics and emotions—that reviewer was herself interned.⁷⁰ In a 1947 review from the *American Journal of Sociology*, Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi writes

Because the book is entertaining, *Citizen 13660* undoubtedly will serve an important propaganda function to a public that perhaps would be more comfortable to forget the treatment of the Japanese-Americans during the war. For all but the most careful reader, the very facile nature of the book

detracts from the deep subjective meaning of the drawings. If the reader were to verbalize the significance of some of the illustrations, he might be surprised at the bitter irony. It seems unlikely that the author intended to be funny. . . . What is not evident to most readers is the disillusioning torment that evacuation meant to them [internees]. *Citizen 13660* is an unusual personal document, a valuable supplement to the important research that the evacuation has stimulated.⁷¹

The reviewer who perhaps best comprehends the losses of internment rendered in Okubo's work is one who intimately experienced them.⁷² Nishi's astute comment about "careful [reading]" demonstrates the importance of reading practices here. The text's genre—"the very facile nature of the book"—invites a particular type of reading practice, one that takes the drawings on face value, accepts their depictions without further interpretive work. The visual allows for skimming over complex and varied meaning, as Nishi argues that to "verbalize the significance of some of the illustrations" would alter the interpretation from good humor to "bitter irony"—or even allow for both at once.⁷³

Even if most reviewers did not comprehend the larger emotional range of Japanese American experience, the text's incongruity notably affected readers. In particular, reviewers like radio personality H.V. Kaltenborn, writer Pearl S. Buck, philanthropist Edwin R. Embree, and politician Harold Ickes all allude to shame as the predominant emotion felt in reaction to the book. Kaltenborn says that "the illustrations are delightful but the book leaves me with a sense of shame . . .," and Buck says that "the wry pictures and the scanty words make the reader laugh—and if he is an American too—sometimes blush."⁷⁴ The emotional reaction is oddly distanced as Buck only comments on the affect ("blush"), not actually naming the emotion implied (shame or embarrassment). Kaltenborn says "shame," but frames it as a trace ("leaves me with a *sense* of shame") rather than a state of being. Ickes barely addresses Okubo's book, mostly using it as a jumping off point for a damning indictment of internment, but he concludes his tour de force by stating that "this whole episode was one in which we can take no pride. To understand just what we did to many thousands of our fellow Americans we should read *Citizen 13660*."⁷⁵ Like other reviewers, Ickes does not offer an emotional reaction; he only prescribes one—stating elsewhere that internment was an act that "we [Americans] ought properly to be ashamed"—or negates one ("we can take *no* pride"). Emotional inscrutability here takes the form of indistinct emotional vocabulary; we can only allude to the vastly complex way that the text affects us.

Later, when Okubo testified before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians for redress hearings in the early 1980s, she offered her 1944 *Fortune* article and *Citizen 13660* as testimony. Forty years later the public reception of internment and Japanese American expression was quite different. Even Okubo's own discussion of internment changes. Robinson

points out that in the 1980s she alters her terminology from “evacuees” and “relocation centers” to “internment camp” and “internee” and that “in her 1983 introduction to the book Okubo asserts that ‘there were untold hardships, sadness, and misery’ in the camps; this contrasts with her original version of thirty-seven years earlier, in which, as previously noted, she described her experience more neutrally as a mixture of ‘joys and sorrows.’”⁷⁶ The fact that this text becomes testimony in the redress hearings and that Okubo’s own discussion of internment emotions changes over time illustrates inscrutability’s political potential. The ambiguity of the drawings means that readings of the text and their significance change over time: what is ungrievable in 1946 gradually becomes grievable in the 1970s and 1980s. Okubo’s memoir helps create a future in which redress is possible via its public, textual memorialization of Japanese American losses, even if those losses could not be recognized in their time.

Notes

1. The author would like to thank Seiko Buckingham for permission to use images from *Citizen 13660* in this article.
2. United States and Edward Spicer, *Impounded People: Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 60.
3. See the Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1996).
4. See Leslie T. Hatamiya’s thorough analysis of the various factors that went into the passing of H.R. 442. *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).
5. For more on the relationship between grief and grievance, see Anne Anlin Cheng, *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, Hidden Grief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
6. Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 161.
7. “Images of Asians in Anglo-American Literature” in *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1982), 3-22.
8. 260 U.S. 178 (1922).
9. Traise Yamamoto points to the particularly odd way that Westerners have long viewed Japanese Americans as both “the most promising and accomplished of the heathen,” but also frustratingly impossible to understand, inscrutable.” *Masking Selves, Making Subjects: Japanese American Women, Identity, and the Body* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 11, quoting John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 94.
10. Miné Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: Columbia UP, 1946; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983), 10. Citations refer to the University of Washington edition.
11. Patti Duncan, *Tell This Silence: Asian American Women Writers and the Politics of Speech* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004), 103; King-Kok Cheung, *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), 1993.
12. Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 27-28.
13. Vivian Fumiko Chin, “Gestures of Noncompliance: Resisting, Inventing, and Enduring in *Citizen 13660*,” in *Miné Okubo: Following Her Own Road*, ed. Greg Robinson and Elena Tajima Creff (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 70.
14. *Miné Okubo: An American Experience* (Oakland, CA: The Oakland Museum Special Exhibits and Education Department, 1972), 18.
15. Greg Robinson, *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 71, 77-78.
16. *Ibid.*, 75-78.
17. Will Eisner coined the term “graphic novel.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “graphic novel.” For more on the rise of the graphic novel, see Roger Sabin’s *Comics, Comix and Graphic Novels: A History of Comic Art* (London: Phaidon, 1996), 165.

18. Kimberley L. Phillips, "To Keep a Record of Life: Miné Okubo's Autographic *Manga* and Wartime History," in *Miné Okubo: Following Her Own Road*, ed. Greg Robinson and Elena Tajima Creff (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 99-110.
19. Sabin, *Comics*, 28, 37.
20. Christopher Lazare, "Japanese Liberal," review of *The New Sun*, by Taro Yashima, *New York Times* November 21, 1943: BR6.
21. Robinson, *After Camp*, 79.
22. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 72 and 74-77.
23. Robinson, *After Camp*, 84.
24. *Ibid.*, 79.
25. Elena Tajima Creff, *Imaging Japanese America: The Visual Construction of Citizenship, Nation, and the Body* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 17.
26. Heather Fryer discusses Okubo's reaction to government propaganda at length, though she focuses on propagandistic movies. "Miné Okubo's War: *Citizen 13660*'s Attack on Government Propaganda," in *Miné Okubo: Following Her Own Road*, ed. Greg Robinson and Elena Tajima Creff (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 82-98.
27. Various war posters can be seen in *Life*, December 21, 1942, 54-77.
28. "The Japanese," *Fortune*, February 1942, 52-53.
29. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 152.
30. *Ibid.*, 153.
31. Min Hyoung Song, "Looking Back: Diasporic Longing in *Citizen 13660* and *Persepolis*," in *Ethnic Life Writing and Histories: Genres, Performance, and Culture*, ed. Rocío G. Davis and Sāmi Ludwig (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 118-19.
32. I am influenced here by Kandice Chuh's notion of Asian American studies as a "subject-less discourse"; that is, how the Asian American subject is always shifting in "a state of becoming and undoing in the same moment" as his subjectivity is always constructed "situationally." *Imagine Otherwise: On Asian Americanist Critique* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 8-10.
33. Bennie Norobi, "Jankee," *Topaz Times*, October 21, 1942, 4.
34. It must be noted that the camp newspapers were subject to War Relocation Authority censorship, as Catherine A. Luther and Takeya Mizuno note in, respectively, "Reflections of Cultural Identities in Conflict: Japanese American Internment Camp Newspapers during World War II," *Journalism History* 29.2 (Summer 2003): 69-81 and "Journalism Under Military Guards and Searchlights: Newspaper Censorship at Japanese American Assembly Camps during World War II," *Journalism History* 29.3 (Fall 2003): 98-106.
35. Song writes that "the patterns might point to a particularly interesting duality of heterogeneous designs and uniform placement that captures the willed blindness of state knowledge to the complexity of the bodies it has consigned to imprisonment." "Looking Back," 120.
36. Stella Oh, "Paradoxes of Citizenship: Re-Viewing the Japanese American Internment in Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13660*," in *Miné Okubo: Following Her Own Road*, ed. Greg Robinson and Elena Tajima Creff (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 146.
37. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 168.
38. "Plan [sic] Tribute for Soldier," *Topaz Times*, November 4, 1942, 3.
39. The group's stance was widely known. Matthew M. Briones refers to the group as one of several "rabid anti-Asian" groups. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 52.
40. The family is mentioned in Iwao Kawakami's "Memorial Service," *Topaz Times*, November 6, 1942, 1.
41. Several Supreme Court cases upheld the constitutionality of various laws linked to the internment of enemy aliens. *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81 (1943); *Yasui v. United States*, 320 U.S. 115 (1943); and *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).
42. Sandra C. Taylor offers a synopsis of the event. *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 136-47.
43. *Ibid.*, 146.
44. "Sentry Shoots Japanese At Utah Center," April 15, 1943, 1. Also see Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert*, 139.
45. See "Japanese Interne [sic] Dies in Attempt to Escape," *The Atlanta Constitution*, April 13, 1943, 9, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Guards Kill Japanese Attempting to Escape," *The Hartford Courant*, April 13, 1943, 5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Japanese Is Slain By Military Police," *The [Baltimore] Sun*, April 13, 1943, 8, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
46. "Administration Statement," *Topaz Times*, April 12, 1943, 1.
47. For more on camp paper censorship, see Catherine A. Luther's "Reflections of Cultural Identities in Conflict: Japanese American Internment Camp Newspapers during World War II," *Journalism History* 29, no.2 (Summer 2003): 69-81 and Takeya Mizuno's "Journalism Under Military Guards and Searchlights: Newspaper Censorship at Japanese American Assembly Camps during World War II," *Journalism History* 29, no.3 (Fall 2003): 98-106.

48. Wakasa's death and funeral were on the front page of the *Topaz Times* on April 12, 1943, April 13, 1943, April 15, 1943, and April 20, 1943.
49. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 180.
50. For more on Okubo's use of space in *Citizen 13660*, see Xiaojing Zhou, "Spatial Construction of the 'Enemy Race': Miné Okubo's Visual Strategies in *Citizen 13660*," *MELUS* 32, no.3 (Fall 2007): 51-73, doi:10.2307/30029791.
51. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 181.
52. Peter Sacks, *The English Elegy: Studies in the Genre from Spenser to Yeats* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 20.
53. For more on crafting and loss, see Jane E. Dusselier's *Artifacts of Loss: Crafting Survival in Japanese American Concentration Camps* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008).
54. In *Imaging Japanese America*, Elena Tajima Creef notes that "by putting herself literally into the frame of every picture, Okubo not only aligns herself with the collective Japanese American community, but makes herself the subject of her own discourse and, in the process, inserts herself into the text, and into American history. As readers of *Citizen 13660*, Okubo's body becomes a conduit for our own symbolic, virtual journey into the world of the camps" (90).
55. Chin reads this scene as Okubo preferring "constructive acts . . . to outspoken criticism." "Gestures of Noncompliance," 34.
56. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 207.
57. See Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter* (New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 1953); John Okada's *No-No Boy* (Rutherford, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1957); and Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston's *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).
58. Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, 209.
59. Song influences my thinking here, as he states that in the end, both Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* and Okubo's *Citizen 13660* presents situations in which our "subjectivities are paralyzed, unsure of what powers beacon us and what our attachments to others mean. "Looking Back," 130.
60. I would like to thank Edwin Martini for his insights and comments about the reviews of this text.
61. "You might be interested to know that the book has been very favorably reviewed all over the country in such places as the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune Book Reviews* and the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Harold Ickes devoted his whole column to it on September 23." Letter from Fon W. Boardman, Jr. (Sales Promotion Manager) to Far East Photo Review, October 17, 1946, Box 175, folder "Okubo, Mine: Citizen 13660," Columbia University Press Records, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library; Ralph M. Williams, "Pictorial Record of Internees in Relocation Camps," review of *Citizen 13660*, by Miné Okubo, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1946, G12, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
62. Jack Conroy, "Off the Book Shelf," *The Chicago Defender*, October 5, 1946, 15, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
63. Constantine Panunzio, "Okubo, Miné. *Citizen 13660*," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 249 (Jan. 1947): 209; E.A., "Citizen 13660 by Miné Okubo," *Social Service Review* 21, no.2 (Jun 1947): 278-79; Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, "Citizen 13660 by Miné Okubo," *American Journal of Sociology* 52, no.5 (March 1947): 463-4; Alice M. Togo, "Citizen 13660 by Miné Okubo," *Pacific Affairs* 20, no.1 (March 1947): 122.
64. Fryer points out three aspects of the reviews: praise of Okubo's objectivity, interest in Okubo's ethnicity as part of her work, and the erasure of the role the federal government played in internment. "Miné Okubo's War," 92-94.
65. Quotes for Advance Comments on "Citizen 13660" by Mine Okubo (Published by Columbia University Press, September 20, 1946), Box 175, folder "Okubo, Mine: Citizen 13660," Columbia University Press Records, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. For more on McWilliams's politics and activism, see Colleen Lye's *America's Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 154.
66. M. Margaret Anderson, "Concentration Camp Borders, Strictly American Plan," review of *Citizen 13660*, by Miné Okubo, *New York Times*, September 22, 1946, BR4, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
67. Williams, "Pictorial Record," *Chicago Daily Tribune*.
68. Williams of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* refers to it as such. Other reviews often do not have a set term for it—they usually just describe it.
69. In an interview, Okubo herself reflected on the book's "humor," saying "After being uprooted, everything seemed ridiculous, insane, and stupid. . . . We had to sing 'God Bless America' many times with a flag. Guards all around with shot guns, you're not going to walk out. I mean . . . what could you do? So many crazy things happened in the camp. So the joke and humor [she] saw in the camp was not in a joyful sense, but ridiculous and insane." However, this comment was printed decades after the initial publication, so the clarification of tone does not affect readers of the initial

publication. *Beyond Words: Images from America's Concentration Camps*, ed. Deborah Gesensway and Mindy Roseman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 71.

70. Her obituary notes that she was interned. Greg Robinson and Barbara Katz Rothman, "Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, Scholar of Asian American Studies, Dies at 91," *The Rafu Shimpo*, November 28, 2012, <http://www.rafu.com/2012/11/setsuko-matsunaga-nishi-scholar-of-asian-american-studies-dies-at-91/>

71. Nishi, "Citizen 13660 by Miné Okubo," 464.

72. In her review, Alice M. Togo writes that "since the brief text does not attempt to argue the ethics of the forced evacuation and confinement of American citizens, the book may appear to be no more than a rather impersonal chronicle of events. But her sketches suggest that Miss Okubo was not unaware of the social processes operating in the camps and of their effects on individuals. She draws no conclusions for her reader, but any thoughtful person examining her drawings of the disorganized classrooms, the crowded living quarters which offer no privacy, and the institutionalized mess halls can form his own judgment." "Citizen 13660 by Miné Okubo," 122.

73. "The Japanese American press, which had devoted extensive coverage to Okubo's show and other achievements, was less unanimously positive about her book . . . two radical New York-based English-language journals, the *Nisei Weekender* and the *Japanese American Committee for Democracy Newsletter*, berated Okubo for soft-pedaling the hardships of evacuation and its impact on the inmates. Mary Ikeda, a former inmate, commented in the latter, 'Despite the comprehensive drawings and text material, however, we feel that too much was left unsaid.'" Robinson, *After Camp*, 82.

74. Quotes for Advance Comments on "Citizen 13660" by Mine Okubo (Published by Columbia University Press, September 20, 1946), Box 175, folder "Okubo, Mine: Citizen 13660," Columbia University Press Records, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

75. Harold L. Ickes, Man to Man, *Altoona Mirror*, September 23, 1946.

76. *After Camp*, 83. I would also like to thank Greg Robinson for specifically pointing me to this change.