Memories and the Nation-State: Japanese-American Discourses on Hiroshima

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The nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended and ruined lives. This experience led to traumatic memories. Hiroshima currently symbolizes a metaphor and catalyst for public anxieties over nuclear war in American popular culture.[1)] Information about Hiroshima was censored in occupied Japan under "the Special Press Code" which banned photos, manuscripts, and books written by Japanese people about the subject for almost seven years—these items were confiscated and sent to Washington D.C.—and the materials were only released by the United States Library of Congress decades afterwards.[2)] President Harry Truman and U.S. politicians justified the use of atomic bombs to prevent U.S. soldiers from being killed upon invading the main islands of Japan.[3)] This official stance persists in censorship of Federal programs in the United States. The Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum planned a federally funded exhibit in the early called *The Last Act.* As Lawrence S. Wittner mentions, this proposed exhibit was criticized by veterans' groups and newspapers such as *The Wall Street Journal* and cancelled in response to Congressional pressure.[4)] The revised exhibit in 1995 consisted of the Enola Gay airplane that dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima.[5)] Unlike the originally planned exhibit, it did not include any mention of Japanese victims and subsequent nuclear proliferation.[6)] Instead, it framed Hiroshima to fit the mainstream perspective that the nuclear bombings prevented further American and Japanese casualties as mentioned by Bryan Hubbard and Marouf A. Hasian[7)] and Wittner.[8)]

In light of these attempts to federally constrain remembrance of the use of nuclear weapons on Japan this article explores how discourses of Hiroshima remembrance operate in spaces not wholly controlled by considerations of the United States' national politics. Of special attention will be a collection of survivor testimony poems, *Outcry from the Inferno: Atomic Bomb Tanka Anthology* edited by Jiro Nakano and published by a small federally and state (sub-national) funded-printing press, Bamboo Ridge Press, in Hawai'i.[9)] The publication and circulation of this anthology is connected with the Japanese Diaspora communities and, while not necessarily wholly representative, shows attempts by Japanese-Americans to learn about and express their memory of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki outside of national-level politics. This process will be analyzed in comparison to mini-discourses in poetry from Japanese-Americans who were not survivors of the attack such as Mitsuye Yamada's *Desert Run*, Mirikitani's "Shadow in Stone," and the use of Hiroshima as a background to U.S. Japanese-American experience in Naomi Hirahara's mys-

tery novel *Summer of the Big Bachi*.[10] (Hirahara's parents were Hiroshima survivors.) The thesis of the article is that there is both a persistent presence of a political process of submerging remembrance of the human suffering caused by the use of nuclear force in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States government and media as well as a simultaneous process of gradual revelation of memory of the bombings through a discourse of Japanese-American arts.

The discourse we analyze in this article will be more precisely defined as "mini-discourse." This mini-discourse is a smaller discourse that in practice operates in opposition to the type of discursive practices that Jim George terms as "the dominant discursive practice"[11] of "realist" international relations discourse that "makes real that which *it* prescribes as meaningful"[12] such as the "power politics"[13] of the nation-state.[14] These mini-discourses also serve as a means for oppressed people to counter what Michel Foucault describes as ways of talking that traditionally justified the ever increasing violence of the prison system and surveillance.[15] We also refer to it as a "mini-discourse" because it is based on a relatively small, yet qualitatively important number of texts, in contrast to what K. M. Fierke explains as a tendency in textual analyses to assume a greater validity in larger discourses/and or content analyses that proposes that the repetition of words is more significant than their meaning.[16] The term "mini-discourse" is distinct in extent and intentions from discourses from the discourses mentioned by Foucault,[17] George,[18] and Fierke[19] that are prevalent throughout societies and support the policies of the nation-state. Nonetheless, this is not as small as what Roland Barthes refers to as "semiology" where the unit of analysis is a limited number of symbols in a given text.[20] Although the target of analysis in this article is mini-discourse, we use the methodology of discursive analysis that Fierke mentions to find a "relational aspects" of texts and "construct a map of a particular world" which in this case is the world of Hiroshima remembrance in Japan, Hawai'i, and the mainland United States. This world relates in an oppositional way to the world of militarized security and war.[21]

Literature Review

According to Douglas A. Van Belle, the more democratic a government appears to be the more it will be respected as a news source, especially if this government is engaged in conflict with another government that does not appear democratic (especially one that restricts the media).[22] Van Belle's concept is a starting point for understanding how the U.S. government has gained an advantage in representing a nationalistic view of the use of nuclear weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hubbard and Hasian[23] and Wittner[24] provide a detailed account of the policy-making process that effectively curtailed an intellectually challenging, thought provoking representation of memory at the 1995 federally funded Smithsonian *The Last Act* exhibit. The use of national memory with the 1995 Smithsonian exhibit segues with Liam Kennedy's articulation of how the United States Department of State used internationally displayed exhibits of the September 11th attacks, made in the modernist photography style, to create international support for U.S. foreign policy.[25] As Elizabeth Strom and Angela Cook explain, the arts also enter a policy-making context when conservative forces try to stop publicly funded arts that are deemed "immor-

al."[26] The National Endowment for the Arts' funding (which partially funded the publication of *Outcry from the Inferno*) may be immune to the use of budget cuts to block controversial messages since, according to Susan Christopherson, budget cuts are usually based on the American public's anxieties about federal budgets rather than content.[27] Within the context of the U.S. government's policy manipulation of the arts, the types of discourses that may become possible on federal and privately funded topics, especially over controversial political issues, becomes interesting because these discourses reveal the levels of power bureaucrats are able to exercise over free speech and political discourse.

The issues that we have defined as controversial also fall into broader theoretical discussions of trauma and memory as well as some of the general contours of how the nation-state operates. In particular, Jenny Edkins highlights how the nation-state provides a fictitious appearance of security and protection which causes serious psychological damage when shown to be false (by war, terrorism, and natural disasters for example).[28] The process of learning that the protection of the nation-state is not guaranteed gets communicated in different ways. Jill Bennett articulates how the shock of trauma can be communicated in ways that can simulate the bodily pain of trauma to non-effected audiences such as graphic television footage of wars.[29] In this manner, controversial issues can either be repressed or communicated in persuasive ways, as has been the case with memories of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, as Ernest Renan, the nineteenth century proponent of nationalism, clarified in 1882, the nation-state can also gain power by appropriating the pain caused by its own failures.[30] Moreover, Etienne Balibar mentions that the nation-state also becomes powerful by appropriating campaigns fought by people not involved with the nation-state to create narratives of power.[31] These theories of trauma and nationalism help highlight the high political stakes of memory and representation and why these processes become political.

Media, ideas, and information also relate to how policy makers operate. Douglas A. Van Belle, Jean-Sébastien Rioux, and David M. Potter highlight the way that large scale media coverage can be proven to motivate bureaucratic agencies to act.[32] Their assertion that the media, and hence information, is a political process segues with Gillian Youngs' use of Susan Strange's conceptual addition of "knowledge" to traditional I.R. ideas of "security" and "production" as factors of state knowledge to understand U.S. hegemony.[33] Accordingly, Youngs theorizes how the spread of technologies of communication have not always surpassed preexisting conditions of unequal access to power and global communications.[34] To these insights we add Foucault's insight that discourse is an unseen yet pervasive set of phrasings and words that not only shape how we discuss events but how we can think of events and subsequently create social and political structures.[35] Fierke provides the example of security discourses—where anyone who wishes to be taken seriously in the news needs to adapt a security framework that largely promotes military solutions to international crises.[36] The mini-discourses analyzed in this article are made of literature and in some cases of cinema. To add something to this field we aim to highlight how alternative political actors exist. To do so is largely inspired by Gilles Deleuze's observation that cinematic directors can also be philosophers, and in turn political

actors (only in our case, the variable of directors is broadened to include poets and novelists).[37]

Methodology

Gilian Rose explains that discourse analysis uncovers interlocking aspects of different texts.[38] Following Rose's example, we have inductively read the texts and let the categories that we have chosen arise from the texts as much as possible. The categories that arose were then analyzed in terms of agenda setting which assumes that the media sets a political agenda through what it chooses to disseminate to the public.[39] These agendas were highlighted to show their repeated or singular presence. Critics of discourse analysis have noted the thinness of discourses in terms of explaining specific cases.[40] To counter the sometimes excessively broad nature of discourse analysis we decided to provide more in depth semiotic analyses of the individual texts mentioned in the introduction which also sought to show symbolic (semiotic) elements that can form discourses by asking how individual images, both word images and visual images, can impact interpretation. The overall findings of both discursive and semiotic elements will be summarized to help show what the policy community could gain from these texts in terms of formulating better policy.

To link discursive frameworks to political practice, this article explores discursive practice as a way of understanding the viewpoints of the use of nuclear force in Hiroshima and Nagasaki expressed by Japanese-Americans in poems, film, fiction, and literature work to help influence political change. Along the line of the speech act theories in John Austin and John R. Searle discursive practice approach holds the view that discourse is a social action and not merely a representation.[41] Just as any other types of social meaning, plural and contradictory identities are established, negotiated, maintained, and challenged in discourse. The term discursive practice is used not only for face-to face interaction and naturally occurring text but also for all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities.

Given the mobility of viewpoints and the fact that meaning may be different than as expressed on surface value, this article looks specifically for differences in point of views between characters and authors as well as points where what is expressed may be a euphemism that conceals harsher truths.

Discourses

There are four sets of smaller discursive practices (mini-discourses) that we have recurrently identified from the readings. The first is a discourse of "destruction of bodies." The second is "secrets/repressed memory." The third is "nationalism and violence." The fourth is "linking Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the suffering of Asians and Asian Americans." This progression of mini-discourses shows a process in the texts of dismantling some of the potentially nationalistic discourses and creating a mini-discourse that can transcend barriers of identity and nationality to challenge militarism. (Militarism is held up by dominant discourses[42]).

1. Destruction of Bodies

Many films from the 1950s and early 1960s, such as Sidney Lumet's *Fail-Safe*,

Stanley Kramer's *On the Beach*, and Stanley Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, focused on the horrors of nuclear war, but without graphic depictions of the destruction of bodies and entire cities.[43] The horror of nuclear war shown in these movies is more psychological. Other remembrances include physical destruction as a way of partially traumatizing the viewer. The mini-discourses that can be gleamed from many of these movies are about creating a sense of shock that can be shared via through empathy. According to Jill Bennett, "empathy … is grounded not in affinity (*feeling for* another insofar as we can imagine *being* that other) but *feeling for* another that entails an encounter with something irreducible and often inaccessible."[44] "Empathetic vision" uses affect—such as violent, shocking images—to create connections among people that otherwise would not feel a common purpose.[45] This is relevant to our discussion because the human toll of nuclear warfare has not been experienced and thus has not been readily understandable by the majority of the world. Jonathan Schell clarifies that testimonies from survivors of the *pikadon* (this term commonly refers to the atomic bombs dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japanese) are the only source that can help us understand what a nuclear war would be like from a human perspective.[46] Thus, testimony from survivors serves is an important basis for thinking about and empathizing the human toll of nuclear war, though film and literature add to the affect of the testimonies.

Graphic violence plays an important role in the Japanese-American director, Steven Okazaki's, documentary *White Light, Black Rain* about the use of nuclear force on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[47] In particular, Okazaki picks survivors who articulate that their mission in life, after surviving the *pikadon*, is to let the world know that nuclear weapons should not and cannot be used. Hence, the film spends considerable time on disturbing footage of survivors of nuclear bombs. Hiroshima survivors show their scars which even now remain. One man lifts his shirt to reveal that his ribcage can be seen. He says that his bones turned so brittle that if he coughs very hard they will break.

Since Okazaki's film is an HBO documentary and thus targeted to a mostly U.S. audience, the use of graphic violence may be more acceptable. Also, these details might be less necessary in Japan where there is more general knowledge about the subject of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This graphic violence is necessary to provide the general audience a simulation of violence and trauma that resulted from the use of the *pikadon* on the civilians of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The audience in the United States may have heard about the bombings. Nonetheless, they may not understand how destructive these weapons actually are.

The graphic depictions of bodily destruction and mutilation following the bombings in Okazaki's film are similar to many of the poems in *Outcry from the Inferno*. Whereas Okazaki's film shows survivors with burns covering their whole body and survivors who discuss having to jump in a river full of corpses to keep themselves alive while the city was burned, tanka poems in *Outcry from the Inferno* also provide similarly graphic detail. For example, Seikan Inoue mentions that:

Half scorched pieces

of brains and throats
lie next to each other
on the bottom of floor
of a burnt air raid shelter.[48)]

Sadako Ishii reminds the reader that:

One that lies down
is not a corpse—
he is still breathing,
wriggling—
here lies a living being.[49)]

Bodies in *Outcry from the Inferno* and *White Light, Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* are mutilated beyond belief and serve as a reminder for the horrible destruction of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Some of the survivors mentioned in Okazaki's film are similar to a character, Haruo Mukai, in *Summer of the Big Bachi* who covers a large keloid scar—a scar caused by radiation burns—with long hair draped over one half of his face.[50)] Since the character is an older man this haircut would have made him stand out. Therefore, the hairstyle takes on a dramatic role.

While discursive elements of bodily pain reveal suffering and anguish, there is a further meaning to these discursive elements: they are designed as communications that can create meaning. Joanna Zylinska provides a useful framework to understand how violent actions can be politically appropriated: when violence is committed it can either serve as a way for nation-states to usurp more power, and hence create more violence, or people can create lessons and meaning that attempts to prevent future recurrences of violence.[51)] This article will continue to articulate how the highlighted discursive formations do the latter with the pain that resulted from Hiroshima.

2. Secrets/Repressed Memory

In the texts examined, land, landscapes, and natural environments often described as having voice or as an agent of instigator of the remembrance. For example, in *Outcry from the Inferno* the actual physical environment is sometimes an agent of memory and forgetting. Tsugio Kagawa's tanka recounts:

This morning upon awakening
I heard loud cicadas.
My thoughts return
to that summer
when it was *Ashura*.[52)]

The Japanese word "Ashura" means "a hell or inferno."[53)] The cicadas are a noisy, seasonal insect only observed in the summer that was present when the *pikadon* was

dropped on Hiroshima. Since cicadas are a cyclical presence in the landscape that reawakens Kagawa's personal trauma of the *pikadon*, Kagawa's tanka poem relies on personification aspects of the landscape. Other poems also render landscapes and buildings as places where souls and feelings inhabit. For example, Kiyo Hakushima says:

> Once again
> summer has come.
> Beneath the grass,
> lay hidden ten-thousand
> angered souls.[54)]

This is one example of how the persistence of a functioning ecosystem in Hiroshima conceals the extreme violence that occurred when the *pikadon* was dropped. Similarly, Nobuko Ishikawa's tanka recounts that:

> The exterior
> of the Hiroshima Dome
> is painted snow white.
> Is it an effort to whitewash
> Hiroshima's pain?[55)]

In Ishikawa's tanka the buildings of Hiroshima that have survived the *pikadon* are personified, because they act as agents of communications to survivors in Ishikawa's poem. In these cases what might appear like a healing process to outsiders is a sign of disrespect to survivors of Hiroshima.

Janice Mirikitani, a Japanese-American poet, expresses stronger emotions using the voice of the Hiroshima landscape which is less euphemistic than other Japanese poems. Discursively, Mirikitani's poem "Shadow in Stone" adds voice to the landscape in Hiroshima in a way similar to the tanka poems from *Outcry from the Inferno*.[56)] For example rivers serve as sites that speak volumes of events that occurred along their banks of rivers in Hiroshima when the *pikadon* was dropped in ways that are similar as "photographs" that "remind us of a Holocaust." Thereby, the landscape can act in a way similar to human communications (the photographs and the process of displaying them being deliberate acts of communications whereas the landscape is a reminder for Mirikitani of what happened).

These land-based discourses in *Outcry from the Inferno* interlock with land based discourses of remembrance in *Summer of the Big Bachi.* For example, the entire mystery that drives the plot in *Summer of the Big Bachi* is centered on an ancestral claim to a contested piece of real estate in Hiroshima.[57)] Even though land is not human people may be linked to it through residence, ancestral heritage, ownership, and spiritual practices. These linkages to land can drive memories of Hiroshima that are not actively discussed (the horrors of Hiroshima are not a central theme of discussion for the protagonist, Mas Arai, and his friends until land debates arise). *Desert Run* also uses symbolism of land to help simulate suffering experienced during

the internment camps by writing about desert wildlife as symbols that enable an analysis of lost Japanese-American souls.

No-No Boy and *Summer of the Big Bachi* provide readers with an encounter with the difficulties of not being able to keep secrets about the war. However, these difficulties are posed in different ways. In *No-No Boy* the protagonist is not able to hide the fact that he went to jail for resisting to enlist in the U.S. Army. In *Summer of the Big Bachi*, due to his desire to get his gardening truck back and to help an old friend from Hiroshima, Mas can no longer conceal that one of his enemies, Ricky Kimura, committed identity theft. Kimura assumed the identity and U.S. citizenship of one of his still living friends, Joji, immediately after the bombing of Hiroshima by stealing Joji Haneda's work boots, thus gaining access to his U.S. citizenship papers (and accidently dismembering Joji's foot).[58] As a result of no longer being able to silence the past, Mas becomes entangled in a dangerous trans-Pacific web of criminality concerning property in Hiroshima.

Within some of the novels mentioned there is a revealing process. For example, Steven Okazaki's *White Light, Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* reveals suppressed voices within Japanese society. For example, Okazaki's film initially begins with scenes of modern day Hiroshima. Japanese youth are interviewed. These interviews show their lack of knowledge about the bombing of Hiroshima. The film then compares these views with American newsreels from World War II that discuss how the United States viewed Japanese citizens. The film proceeds to interview Japanese survivors of Hiroshima. At first the survivors use words to discuss their experiences. At a latter point in the film there are more graphic depictions of their experiences, largely through drawings that are often not rendered in a realistic, naturalistic manner. Then the characters, as well as film reels from the late 1940s and early 1950s show, the destruction and pain caused by the *pikadon* in more detail. This process of revealing is also present in *Summer of the Big Bachi* where what happened in Hiroshima is only learned incrementally. The protagonist, Mas, only eventually tells what happened and even at some points can only tell what happened by revising what happened in the past. This structure is similar to the Peter Davis' 1974 documentary about the Vietnam War, *Hearts and Minds*, where interviewees are only able to discuss painful issues well into the film and the camera only shows them to have become handicapped during the war towards the end (with the camera rolling back to show that previous interview footage had not shown that they were in wheelchairs).[59] It is possible to wait until points where interviewees/characters are more able to openly express themselves before depicting interviewees and characters. Therefore, these examples show deliberate strategies of depicting people and representing them to specific cultures.

In the texts examined in this article, the Japanese-American community is portrayed as blaming people within the Japanese-American community rather than expressing anger toward the white-power structure in the United States. By textually articulating this cover-up, John Okada challenges the white-power structure in *No-No Boy*. In *No-No Boy* the protagonist becomes subject to violence from Japanese-American World War II veterans who find out that he is a no-no boy. Thereby, secrets become a currency that provides status and protection within the Japanese-

American communities in these two texts.

The term no-no boy refers both to an opposition to war and an alienation from Japanese American society after World War II. As per the opposition to war, Floyd Cheung and Bill E. Peterson define a no-no boy as a Japanese American that was held in an internment camp—a concentration camp that Japanese Americans were sent to because U.S. society and government did not trust their loyalty to the United States—and answered "no" to being willing to serve in the U.S. army and "no" to "allegiance" to the United States and giving up all allegiance to the Emperor of Japan[60] The consequence for refusing to serve in the U.S. army was incarceration in prison. The term no-no boy is used to refer to Japanese American men who were interned and refused to be drafted into the U.S. army but it also refers to the traumatic situation of imprisonment[61] and, as Jeanne Sokolowski mentions, not being able to live up to the masculine roles and expectations of the Japanese community.[62] Moreover, as Joseph Entin mentions, Japanese-Americans mostly served in World War II but were deeply divided over the experience.[63]

Okada explores these personal trauma and community-wide divisions. For example, Ichiro, the protagonist in *No-No Boy*, upon returning to his hometown, Seattle, reluctantly encounters an old friend named Eto Minato. Upon Ichiro saying that he did not fight in World War II, Eto replies "been in the camp all this time?"[64] Upon realizing that Ichiro actively resisted becoming an American soldier, Eto says: "Rotten bastard, shit on you" and, after spitting on Ichiro, "I'll piss on you next time."[65] Ichiro in fact had been to an internment camp which partially influenced his decision to go to prison rather than to join the U.S. army. His parents, who planned to return to Japan to live after retiring, also influenced his decision. Ichiro initially feels "relieved" because "Eto's anger served as a release to his own naked tensions"[66] Nonetheless, Ichiro is also reminded of the U.S. military's judgment of him:

> The legs of his accuser were in front of him. God in a pair of green fatigues, U.S. army style. They were the legs of the jury that had passed sentence upon him. Beseech me, they seemed to say, throw your arms about me and bury your head between my knees and seek pardon for your great sin.[67]

Okada's portrayal of Ichiro's reaction to Eto's humiliating action articulates a viewpoint where the Japanese-American community attempted to keep repressed memories of resistance to World War II. Moreover, the fact that Ichiro so quickly merges Eto a Japanese-American (someone who is ethno-racially oppressed) with a presumably white jury (who are ethno-racially privileged) textually portrays more antagonistic Japanese-Americans as displacing their anger towards whites upon each other.

While Ichiro's interaction with Eto demonstrates an act of repressing politics in the Japanese-American community, Okada as an author is careful not to essentialize Japanese-Americans. This avoidance of essentializing Japanese-Americans is demonstrated by how he does not stereotype the entire community or assume that the entire community is incapable of change. For example, Ichiro runs into Kenji, an old friend:

> "Ichiro, is it not?" It was said softly, much more softly than he had known the shy, unassuming Kenji to speak. "Yes, and you're Ken." "Same one. At least, what's left of me," said Kenji shifting the cane from his right to his left hand and shaking with Ichiro. So Kenji had gone too. Or had he? He hoped that it was an automobile accident or something else that had brought on the injury which necessitated the cane and the remark.[68)]

In contrast to Eto, Kenji does not reject Ichiro for being a no-no boy. Instead, the two become friends. The acceptance of Ichiro by a dying veteran presents a textual understanding that Japanese-Americans suffered as a result of serving in the American armed force during World War II may also reject American-style patriotism and support people who are against war in their communities. (John Okada was a soldier in the United States Army during World War II.)

The repressed memory of loss and resistance within postwar Japanese-American communities discursively links to tanka poems in *Outcry from the Inferno*. For example, Masanori Ichioka recalls:

> Another anti-nuclear petition?
> A mother who lost her two sons
> in the war
> refuses to sign
> again.[69)]

This tanka presents the idea that, while there was resistance to militarism in Japan, the resistance was not unanimous. Japanese military casualties helped militarism to persist. Moreover, the relative peace in the postwar era, bolstered by nuclear security is portrayed as aiding a feeling of not being vulnerable to nuclear war. Hiroshi Iwamoto argues that:

> The deployment of
> "Tomahawk" missiles can begin
> a nuclear crisis.
> Refusing the leaflet
> will not let you escape untouched.[70)]

Iwamoto's tanka thus provides an awareness of how Japanese society, like the Japanese-American communities in the United States is divided over whether or not U.S. foreign policy should be opposed.

Ichioka and Iwamoto's work is reminiscent of reasons for nationalism and critiques of the nation-state as an institution, especially Anthony D. Smith's theorization that the Western idea of a nation-state is about feeling protected from change, both in terms of "immortality" and levels of stability.[71)] However, in both Ichioka and Iwamoto's tanka, the nation-state is not fulfilling the protective/"immortality" function of the nation-state. Iwamoto's tanka portrays the failure of the nation state to provide security, as seen through Japan's inability to protect its citizens from the

pikadon, as being answered by continual violence of the nation state through creating more nuclear weaponry. The descriptions of Japanese citizens' apathy toward and refusal to act against nuclear proliferation helps analyze how people may remain attached to the promises of stability and immortality offered by nationalism, even when the violence of war shows these offers to be false.[72] Nonetheless, the poems may read differently in a Japanese context than they do in an American context. In the U.S. context they appear to describe the type of denial that motivated U.S. citizens to support their government during the Cold War, even as free speech and democratic values were eroded and their children died by the thousands in the Vietnam War. The process of continuing, unflinching patriotism is reminiscent of Renan's early conception of the modern nation-state that is not simply government, but a link to "ancestors"[73] and is most cohesive when articulated on "grief" rather than "triumph."[74] An example of this in Japan is the mother in Ichioka's tanka who will not sign an anti-nuclear petition while grieving for her two sons who died during World War II. This looks like an attachment to the war effort formed by grief from the nation states' inability to protect life. Thus, this attachment is viewed by her as able to avert another nuclear crisis. But form a Japanese perspective, she simply might be avoiding discussion about anything related to World War II because it is too painful or shameful to discuss. Another perspective not explored in the poem is that she has come to accept the security discourse in East Asia, either by choice or force. However, the mini-discourses explored in this article destabilize discourses that promote the nation state as a provider of immortality and security by showing how these ideas of the nation-state are far from universal.

In Okazaki's documentary, *White Light, Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, survivors of the Hiroshima blast do not discuss their experiences because their experiences were too painful to mention, whereas, Japanese society at large has alienated these survivors since the bombings. For example, one survivor interviewed says that she cannot say the name of her sister, who died as a result of the bombings, because to mention her sister's name is too painful. A Korean survivor of the attacks says that she cannot put into words what happened. These may be explained as traumatic prevention of memory which partially prevents discussion by survivors.[75] Thus, Okazaki, as a Japanese-American director, helps survivors of the *pikadon* speak for what is difficult. This may explain the persistent inclusion of drawings in *White Light, Black Rain.*

In part, the people in Okazaki's documentary can be explained by Jenny Edkin's analysis of trauma survivors.[76] Accordingly, Hiroshima survivors in Okazaki's documentary have had the notions of a stable, protective nation-state ripped away from them. The survivors continue to be fearful of the past. While trauma is likely to be a partial cause of the suppression of memory there may be more causes.

Okazaki mentions that the suppression of memory was not simply a matter of Japanese culture but also encouraged by U.S. policy. At the outset, Okazaki mentions that the U.S. government suppressed discussion of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for twenty-five years. Moreover, Okazaki mentions how some of the children who survived the bombings were treated as shunned from society and had to steal food to survive. These examples are part of a process of forgetting which, rath-

er than being only a cultural process, is also a deliberate macro-political action.

Secrets also become an element of power that is a currency of protest in some of the poems in *Outcry from the Inferno*. For example, in one of these poems, Japanese citizens are encouraged to walk out on the streets and show their keloids (scars from the bombings). Similarly, as the editor mentions, the act of writing tanka poetry challenges the silence imposed by the United States on Japan following the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[77] The revelation of secrets challenges a survival strategy of keeping quiet. Moreover, *Outcry from the Inferno* was published at the same time that the Smithsonian exhibit was being censored to suppress the idea that the bombings of Hiroshima could be considered unethical. The keeping of, or the revelation of secrets becomes a political currency in the texts mentioned in this section.

3. Nationalism and Violence

Many of the Japanese and Japanese-American texts expressed divisions over the relationship between the military and society in the twentieth century. These divisions remain pronounced in present-day Japan and the United States. For example, to the dismay of nations that were occupied by Japan during World War II, such as the People's Republic of China and South Korea, in 2001 Junichiro Koizumi, while serving as Prime Minister of Japan, visited the Yakusuni shrine in Tokyo which is a Shinto shrine for dead Japanese soldiers including some that committed war crimes.[78] Similarly, before the 1996 commemorative exhibit of Hiroshima, the United States Congress largely censored data that would show the suffering of the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the dangers of nuclear war. The texts reviewed act in a different manner than politicians and policy circles that have created mainstream discourses. These authors have aimed to promote a different anti-militaristic discourse in opposition to the militarism of both nation-states.

Outcry from the Inferno questions the persistent patriotism of Japanese citizens, before, during, and after World War II. For example, the tanka examines the grieving yet patriotic mothers of dead veterans. Similarly, the tanka seems to criticize Japanese citizens who would not feel comfortable protesting war and militarism after World War II (as mentioned earlier in this article). To this extent, *Outcry from the Inferno* questions how well Japanese citizens understood the suffering of World War II and contemporaneous dangers posed by the possibility of war and potential use of nuclear weapons. Other poems depict Japan as moving toward an anti-nationalistic conception of power that demonstrates a positive change influenced by the horrors of World War II. The divisiveness of Japanese society over militarism textually portrayed in *Outcry from the Inferno* is discursively interlocked with portrayals of Japanese-American's views of militarism in Japanese-American fictions concerning Hiroshima.

Within the Japanese-American novels analyzed nationalism led to different amounts of violence. This violence, moreover, can be registered in a way that can be simulated for the reader's experience. These amounts of violence are symbolically referenced in two novels using automobiles as symbols. *Summer of the Big Bachi* expressed a division amongst Japanese-Americans about service in the armed forces

during the war. Some Japanese-American characters, such as Tug Boat, remained excessively patriotic. This is occurred in a passage that described how the interior of his car was decorated with U.S. World War II medals that merge into civilian symbols: "… a swirling American flag, the words 442ND REGIMENTAL COMBAT UNIT—GO FOR BROKE; a church and a cross outlined by an orange sun, SUNRISE BAPTIST CHURCH—CENTENNIAL; and the rings of the 1984 Olympics."[79] Mas, remains friends with Tug Boat despite having significantly different experiences of World War II. Automobiles provide a different mode of attachment to the nation-state in *No-No-Boy*. *No-No Boy* concludes with the violent death of the protagonist's friend, Freddie, who is also a no-no boy. In a previous chapter, Bull, a patriotic Japanese-American who chases Freddie to his violent death, had convinced Ichiro's brother, who had just enlisted in the U.S. army, to shun Ichiro. Freddie's body is snapped in half as he speeds away in a borrowed car from a bar-fight with Bull. Upon hearing of Freddie's death, Bull's remarks, "I hope he goes to hell."[80] Bull then proceeds to start crying. These examples thus show a range of reactions to war experiences by Japanese-Americans, ranging from active participants who tolerate dissent, to people who suffered American attacks in World War II yet tolerate active participation, to active participants who do not tolerate dissent, to active resisters who come to resent people in the Japanese-American community that fought in World War II. The graphic nature of the violence turns the issue of "levels" of violence from a social-science issue of rating and clarifying to an issue that follows Bennett's idea of simulated pain that can be imagined in a sensory way.[81] The simulated pain occurs with Freddie's body being cut in half as he tries to escape a car crash and Ichiro being alienated from his family. The experiences in both *Summer of the Big Bachi* and *No-No Boy*, nonetheless, become gradually more shocking over time.

The mini-discourse of a divided Japanese-American community also resonates[82] with war experiences of other American communities. These mini-discourses of divided societies can be situated in anti-war media from the 1960s and beyond, especially in reaction to the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War. For example, Oliver Stone's *Born on the Fourth of July* discusses a patriotic American youth who joins the Marine Corps and returns from the Vietnam War paralyzed from the chest down and acts out his frustration during most of the movie, until he is able to come to terms with what happened during the war and direct his anger politically.[83] Other movies that questioned the Vietnam War include George Lucas' *American Graffiti*, which portrayed a final night of friendship among four youths who went different directions largely due to their parents' socio-economic status.[84] One was killed during combat in the Vietnam War. While not necessarily discussing Japanese-Americans, these movies went beyond the notion of an American people that would unanimously support and fight in wars.

4. Linking Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the Suffering of Asians and Asian Americans

The texts analyzed fight against powerful forces in Japanese and American society that seek to ignore various aspects of World War II. *Outcry from the Inferno* largely stayed centered on Hiroshima.[85] This focus is understandable because *Outcry*

from the Inferno is a collection of poems chosen on the basis of their depiction of the horrors of the use of nuclear force. However, many of the other texts and anthologies broaden Japanese and Japanese-American memory of World War II to include violence other than the use of nuclear force in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The discursive moves of remembrance run counter to the Japanese government's refusal to recognize the suffering of people living in areas that it colonized during World War II (Korea, China, the Philippines, Burma, and other Pacific island nations). The discursive moves of remembrance also run counter to the overall refusal of the U.S. government to remember the bombings of Hiroshima and the overall amnesia over Japanese-American internment camps. In this sense, the texts analyzed act politically to challenge entrenched power structures.

One emergent, yet still repressed discursive move is remembrance by Japanese citizens and Japanese-American communities of Asian victims (other than Japanese civilians) during World War II. Seitai I encourages such remembrance:

> Where is the agony
> of the Hiroshima massacre?
> The doves are flying away,
> leaving the charred
> Koreans alone.[86)]

While the Koreans referred to are not placed in any particular geographic space or in the context of an event, I's tanka shows an example (albeit isolated) of the Hiroshima memory being used to acknowledge the Koreans as human beings who have suffered in World War II. Similarly, in *Summer of the Big Bachi* the disputed property ends up being related to abuses toward Koreans.

> I don't know why we didn't check sooner. But our land used to be next to this shantytown full of Koreans who had been forced to work in Hiroshima. Practically kidnapped and brought over … People using it as a landfill, and some attorneys for the former laborers want to conduct an investigation. There's something down there. Evidence. Something worth a lot more than even ten million dollars.[87)]

Thus, Hirahara places Hiroshima remembrance as not just being the domain of Japanese citizens or Japanese-Americans who happened to be there. Korean (and potentially Chinese) laborers are also considered. The discursive link between I's tanka in *Outcry from the Inferno* and Hirahara's murder mystery suggests a move to de-nationalize Hiroshima memory and make a more international claim against war that holds both the United States and Japan accountable for the brutality of World War II.

Also included is the perspective of Mas, a Japanese-American living in Hiroshima when the bomb was dropped. He not only discusses the horrors of seeing his friends die brutal deaths, but also the oppression that Japanese-Americans and other minorities faced following the end of World War II. For example, he mentions that he was

a "truck farmer." Mas provides a non-standard definition of a truck farmer that is probably a humorous, ironic play on words. According to Mas, a truck farmer is a migrant laborer that migrated to any farm where seasonal crops were ready to be harvested and lived in shacks. Within this context of poverty, much of the violence in the book is caused by a friend's jealousy. This jealousy results from being a Japanese-American who helped Japanese businesses get established in Los Angeles, yet never gained comparable financial benefits. Other characters in *Summer of the Big Bachi* recount experiences of internment camps, both from their own points of views and relatives' points of view. All four experiences suggest discursive elements of oppression of Japanese-Americans within the United States, which flow from a book that is largely about the bombings of Hiroshima.

In *No-No-Boy* while many Japanese-Americans are not reflexive about the way World War II has affected their lives, the protagonist and his friend consider some of the ways that oppression is not simply limited to Japanese-Americans. Kenji, the wounded war veteran, sadly thinks about how Jewish people, African Americans, and Japanese-Americans at the time felt discriminated against by American society and then discriminated by potentially more tenured, whiter diaspora groups as seen in the example, a Japanese-Jewish couple not being allowed to eat at an Italian restaurant (assuming the restaurant is owned by Italian Americans) or how these groups discriminate within their own generalized identity groups (a Chinese-American women at a dance with a Caucasian who feels that she has thus become better than other Asian-Americans and thereby does not talk to them).[88] The mention of similar patterns of discrimination against different ethnic and racial groups in this dialogue is contextualized within Japanese-American experience. Therefore, it is an example of Okada using the omnipresent racism against Japanese-Americans to highlight broader patterns of racism in American society.

The mini-discourse of Japanese-American suffering links novels like *Summer of the Big Bachi* and *No-No Boy* to texts about the internment of Japanese-Americans. For example, *Desert Run* uses poetic gesture to communicate the brutality of internment. The mention of internment in *Desert Run* links *Desert Run* to Scott Hicks' 1999 cinematic rendition of *Snow Falling on Cedars* (based on David Guterson's 1994 novel of the same name[89]) which chronicles a Japanese-American family's life, as affected by relocation to an internment camp.[90] *Snow Falling on Cedars* uses an interracial love relationship between a white teenage boy and a Japanese-American teenage girl who are separated by internment to broaden the discursive appeal beyond Asian American circles.

Linda Hattendorf's *The Cats of Mirikitani* follows an elderly homeless, Japanese-American artist, Jimmy Mirikitani through the streets of New York City, prior to the 9/11 attacks.[91] While Hattendorf is not Japanese-American, there is a process of revealing, especially on the part of Mirikitani, who we eventually learn was subject to the trauma of internment. Hattendorf and Mirikitani's process of revealing is germane to this article's discussion of revealing because the memories revealed are not just about Mirikitani's own experience as a Japanese-American, but the process of revealing broadens the issue of the attacks on Hiroshima to link the devastation caused by the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the internment camps, to the

9/11 attacks, to the dislocation of families, to homelessness, and to war in general. Thus, Hiroshima remembrance is transformative, rather than simply about keeping suffering alive.

Japanese citizens and Japanese-Americans may feel motivated to seek political alliances with other identity groups because they themselves are placed in the contradictory role of victim and victimizer. As Edkins states, the role of being a victimizer also generates trauma especially when people consider how they were forced to do something that they would have previously considered to violate their moral code.[92] Edkins' assertion partially relates to a poem in *Desert Run* even though the protagonist in the poem was not necessarily a perpetrator.[93] One of the poems in *Desert Run*, Mitsuye Yamada's, "Guilty on both counts," portrays the confusion of the role of victimizer and victim.

Yamada's poem is about a Japanese-American woman who returns to her hometown, in Kyushu, Japan, to visit her cousin after 40 years. Yamada describes pastoral country life with koi and maina birds. The mood of the poem abruptly changes when a friendly neighbor, who is portrayed as bringing vegetables for the cousin, leaves the place when she learns that the protagonist is visiting from America. To describe the way the protagonist feels, the verse says:

> The gift bearer's eyes
> smash through our ceremonies
> She is gone.[94]

The protagonist's cousin asks for forgiveness from the protagonist in response to the neighbor's rudeness. The protagonist's cousin explains that the neighbor's immediate family members were all seriously harmed by the atomic bomb. Now instead of identity at an individual level (a visitor who does not conform to the cultural norm of Japan), the protagonist's identity as an American is focused as contrasting to the identity of the victim of Hiroshima.

> "Yurushite yatte?"
> Will you forgive her?
> This is August
> She is from Hiroshima
> "Tondemo nai koto dakedo…"
> This is outrageous but
> you see…
> her whole family…[95]

The poem thus provides a surprising linkage between the roles of victimizer and victim. For example the conversation continues: "In America too / many people blame me [the protagonist as a Japanese American], you [her cousin as a Japanese citizen]… for Pearl Harbor." The protagonist thus focuses on the other identity of herself as a Japanese citizen, a victimizer of World War II. The inclusion of the Japanese citizen addressee (the Japanese cousin) as victimizer is difficult for her to

understand; she replies: "They think I…? / I would do such a thing?". Thus, the Japanese cousin comes to realize the opposing roles of the "Japanese." Here again, note the role of the Japanese-American woman who "reveals" the other perspective to the addressee and to the reader. The poem continues:

> "I tap my own nose facing her
> Hai, watashimo.
> Yes, and me."[96)]

By repeating the same gesture, the protagonist claims that she would be as shocked as her Japanese citizen cousin over being referred to as victimizer.

These examples show an attempt to discursively transcend ideas of ethnic divisions that cannot be divided and nationality that aims to keep people divided. Groups of identity, while still relevant, are not completely definitive of identity politics. Japanese citizens and Japanese-Americans would like to reach out to Koreans, who were harmed in World War II. Likewise, the confines of nation-states and national loyalties are not sufficient to articulate a politics of survival. People work transnationally, rather than within the nation-state. While these transnational political processes may be largely imagined, they show how authors and directors (following Deleuze's notion of the director as philosopher) can create situations where we think beyond the pre-established norms of what is, to dream of what could be.[97)]

Findings

This article has identified a mini-discourse, which parallels processes of silencing remembrance of Hiroshima. This mini-discourse has been created by non-traditional political actors such as writers and filmmakers, thus supporting Deleuze's assertion that artists can be philosophers and political actors.[98)] This discourse is a process of revealing what happened when Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed, rather than providing complete accounts of these events at first.

Some of the discursive formations interact with theories of trauma and nationality. In particular, we see examples of devastation of bodies, in *No-No-Boy* and *Outcry from the Inferno*, which may potentially cause the reader to feel a simulation of pain. This pain of course is not the pain of the actual victim portrayed. However, following Bennett's assertion, this pain may be enough to form political linkages between the reader/viewer and the victim, causing them to feel a common ground that may lead to political action on the part of the reader/viewer.[99)] Nonetheless, in most of the novels and films considered in this article, the pain was only portrayed gradually over time.

Another finding from this mini-discourse is that Japanese citizens and Japanese-Americans are not uniformly callous to the suffering of other Asians and Asian Americans. The interest of Japanese people and Japanese-Americans contradicts many characterizations of Japanese citizens following various Japanese prime minister's visits to shrines of dead World War II soldiers. In all of the books and films mentioned, there were authors and/or characters that consciously tried to broaden the scope of remembrance to include other Asian and Asian American populations.

Part of the reasons for this broadening of remembrance may have been personal to the authors, but also we believe that this broadening of the scope of remembrance is part of the dual identity that some Japanese citizens and Japanese-Americans possibly see themselves in: as victims and aggressors. Beyond this, however, these discursive moves are more likely to be a utopian theorization through the arts of what could be, rather than the status quo of Japanese remembrance of the war. We have yielded information that can challenge essentialist characterizations of Japanese people and Japanese-Americans. As with other ideas mentioned, this revealing was mostly a gradual process in most of the texts analyzed. The one example that contradicts this would be the tanka in *Outcry from the Inferno*; however, these tanka were not created by Japanese-American authors and even though many poems were quickly graphic (usually being only four lines long), these poems were revealed slowly, usually not being published to an international audience until decades after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The fact that literature and the arts are able to promote an agenda that opposes the official state-sanctioned remembrances of Hiroshima, suggests that policy makers who censor public memory (such as the 1995 Smithsonian exhibit about the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki) ultimately are wasting energy and resources that could be directed to better policy agendum. Ensuring that Hawai'i was the only sight of mid-1990s Hiroshima remembrance through the publication of *Outcry from the Inferno* on the small federally funded Bamboo Ridge Press was a bare minimum for remembrance (on the part of the U.S. government, not Bamboo Ridge Press). Before Barrack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign Hawai'i was considered a backwaters of U.S. national politics. Therefore, remembrance of Hiroshima had been quarantined to a small set of islands on the far periphery of the United States that by and large do not exercise significant amounts of political power in national arenas. Moreover, Hawai'i is largely economically dependent on the U.S. military. Accordingly, anger over the way the U.S. military behaved in Japan is unlikely to change political practices and decrease militarism in Hawai'i. Even so, non-state actors that are able to utilize the appropriation of discourse are able to challenge this nation-state-sanctioned quarantine of Hiroshima-memory.

Notes

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2) Jiro Nakano, "Introduction," in Jiro Nakano ed. & trans., *Outcry from the Inferno: Atomic Bomb Tanka Anthology* [Special Issue, *Bamboo Ridge*, *The Hawaii Writers Quarterly*, issues 67 and 68, 1995], xix.
3) Ibid., xvii.
4) Lawrence S. Wittner, "The Enola Gay Exhibit, the Hiroshima Bombing, and American Nationalism," *Social Alternatives* 24:1 (2005), 38–42.
5) Ibid.
6) Ibid.
7) Bryan Hubbard and Marouf A. Hasian, "The Generic Roots of the Enola Gay Controversy," *Political Communication* 15:4 (1998), 497–513.

8) Wittner, "The Enola Gay Exhibit, the Hiroshima Bombing, and American Nationalism," 38–42.
9) Nakano ed. & trans., *Outcry from the Inferno.*
10) Mitsuye Yamada, *Desert Run: Poems and Stories* (Latham, NY: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1988); Janice Mirikitani, "Shadow in Stone," in Asian Woman United of California ed., *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); Naomi Hirahara, *Summer of the Big Bachi* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2004).
11) Jim George, *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 29.
12) Ibid, 30.
13) Ibid, 26.
14) Ibid.
15) Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
16) Karin M. Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 84–85.
17) Foucault, *Discipline and Punish.*
18) George, *Discourses of Global Politics.*
19) Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security.*
20) Roland Barthes, "The Third Meaning: Research Notes on Some Eisenstein Stills," in Stephen Heath ed. & trans., *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fotana, 1977), 52–68 (Original work published in 1970).
21) Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security*, 82–83.
22) Douglas A. Van Belle, *Press Freedom and Global Politics* (London: Praeger, 2000), 5.
23) Hubbard and Hasian, "The Generic Roots of the Enola Gay Controversy."
24) Wittner, "The Enola Gay Exhibit, the Hiroshima Bombing, and American Nationalism."
25) Liam Kennedy, "Remembering September 11: Photography as Cultural Diplomacy," *International Affairs* 79:2 (2003), 315–326.
26) Elizabeth Strom and Angela Cook, "Old Pictures in New Frames: Issue Definition and Federal Arts Policy," *Review of Policy Research* 21:4 (2004), 505–522.
27) Susan Christopherson, "The Divergent Worlds of New Media: How Policy Shapes Work in the Creative Economy," *Review of Policy Research* 21:4 (2004), 543–558.
28) Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
29) Jill Bennett, *Empathetic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).
30) Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in Geoff Eley & Ronald Grigor Suny eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 42–55 (Originally published in 1882).
31) Etienne Balibar, "The Nation form History and Ideology," in Eley & Suny eds., *Becoming National*, 132–149.
32) Douglas A. Van Belle, Jean-Sébastien Rioux, and David M. Potter, *Media, Bureaucracies, and Foreign Aid: A Comparative Analysis of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, and Japan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
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36) Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security.*
37) Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).
38) Gilian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: Sage Publications, 2001).
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Acts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

42) See Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security.*

43) The films cited here are: Sidney Lumet, dir., *Fail Safe* (United States: Motion Picture, 1964); Stanley Kramer, dir., *On the Beach* (United States: Motion Picture, 1959); and Stanley Kubric, dir., *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (United States: Motion Picture, 1964).

44) Bennett, *Empathetic Vision*, 11.

45) Ibid., 21.

46) Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth: The Abolition* (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 36.

47) Steven Okazaki, dir., *White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (United States: Motion picture Home Box Office Inc, 2007).

48) Nakano ed. & trans., *Outcry from the Inferno*, 25 (Seikan Inoue).

49) Ibid., 20 (Sadako Ishii).

50) For a description see Hirahara, *Summer of the Big Bachi*, 13.

51) Joanna Zylinska, "Mediating Murder: Ethics, Trauma and the Price of Death," *Journal for Cultural Research* 8:3 (2004), 227–245.

52) Nakano ed. & trans., *Outcry from the Inferno*, 30 (Tsugio Kagawa).

53) Ibid., 30.

54) Ibid., 7 (Kiyo Hakushima).

55) Ibid., 19 (Nobuko Ishikawa).

56) Mirikitani, "Shadow in Stone," 76–79.

57) The subject of ancestry and theories of nationalism will be discussed later.

58) Hirahara, *Summer of the Big Bachi*, 190–191.

59) Peter Davis dir., *Hearts and Minds* (United States: Motion Picture, 1974).

60) Floyd Cheung and Bill E. Peterson, "Psychology and Asian American Literature: Application of the Life-story Model of Identity to *No-No Boy*," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6:2 (Fall 2006), 196.

61) See Daniel Y. Kim, "Once More, with Feeling: Cold War Masculinity and the Sentiment of Patriotism in John Okada's *No-No Boy*," *Criticism* 47:1 (2005), 65–83.

62) Jeanne Sokolowski, "Internment and Post-war Japanese American Literature: Toward a Theory of Divine Citizenship," *MELUS: Multi-ethnic Literature of the U.S.* 34:1 (2009), 85.

63) Joseph Entin, "A Terribly Incomplete Thing: No-No Boy and the Uugly Feelings of Noir," *MELUS: Multi-ethnic Literature of the U.S.* 35:3 (2010), 86.

64) John Okada, *No-No Boy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 2 (Originally published in 1957).

65) Ibid., 4.

66) Ibid., 4.

67) Ibid., 4.

68) Ibid., 58.

69) Nakano ed. & trans., *Outcry from the Inferno*, 22 (Masanori Ichioka).

70) Ibid., 27 (Hiroshi Iwamoto).

71) Anthony D. Smith, "The Origins of Nations," in Eley & Suny eds., *Becoming National*, 106–130.

72) This follows Deleuze's (1989) idea of characters that serve to stimulate thought, rather than to represent actual people.

73) Though *Summer of the Big Bachi* discursively challenges Renan's conception of the nation-state as a container for ancestors and souls: the honor of ancestors, both Japanese and Korean is challenged through writing about transnational linkages (for example, Mas is a Japanese-American who helps create closure for the problem of stolen land near Korean labor camps in Hiroshima).

74) Renan, "What is a Nation?" 53.

75) See Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics.*

76) Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics.*

77) Nakano, "Introduction."

78) Reported in the BBC News, "Koizumi's 'Deep Remorse' for the War," *BBC News*, 2001, on the

web at http://www.bbc.co.uk.

79) Hirahara, *Summer of the Big Bachi*, 107–108.
80) Okada, *No-No Boy*, 250.
81) Bennett, *Empathetic Vision.*
82) The term "resonate" is used rather than "are like" to reiterate the large cultural, political, and socio-economic differences that separate Japanese-American communities from other communities, mentioned in this paragraph.
83) Oliver Stone dir., *Born on the Fourth of July* (United States: Motion Picture, 1989).
84) George Lucas dir., *American Graffiti* (United States: Motion Picture, 1973).
85) Though some examples, mentioned elsewhere in this article look beyond Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
86) Nakano ed. & trans., *Outcry from the Inferno*, 16 (Seitai I).
87) Hirahara, *Summer of the Big Bachi*, 322–323.
88) Okada, *No-No Boy*, 134–136.
89) David Guterson, *Snow Falling on Cedars* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1994).
90) Scott Hicks dir., *Snow Falling on Cedars* (United States: Motion Picture, 1999).
91) Linda Hattendorf dir., *The Cats of Mirikitani* (United States: Motion Picture Lucid Dreaming, Inc, 2006).
92) Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics.*
93) Ibid.
94) Yamada, *Desert Run: Poems and Stories*, 22.
95) Ibid.
96) Ibid., 23.
97) Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time Image.*
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99) Bennett, *Empathetic Vision.*