From Perry to the Present: A Survey Course Exploring "Japan and America"

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Abstract

About 50 students, mostly in their second or third year of university, enrolled in the "Japan and America"(日本とアメリカ) course during the Spring 2003 semester. This paper provides an overview of the 15-week course, which employed a primarily historical approach in surveying Japan-U.S. relations during the past 150 years. The main content modules were as follows: From Nakahama Manjiro to Commodore Perry; Niijima Jo and Meiji Japan learn from the West; Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the U.S.; Worsening Japan-U.S. relations and total war; Japanese American internment and redress; and Japanese Americans in U.S. society today. A wide variety of supplemental materials and multimedia resources were used on a near-weekly basis and are described. Student feedback, examples of which are provided, will be considered in making course improvements for next year.

Introduction

On July 8, 1853, U.S. Navy Commodore Matthew G. Perry steamed into present-day Tokyo Bay with four warships, their thick black smoke signaling the start of the dynamic, 150-year-old Japan-U.S. relationship. Perry's visit helped end Japan's two centuries of national isolation, hastening the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the emergence of the new Meiji government in 1868. Japan-U.S. relations since that initial contact have unfolded in three broad stages. Stage 1, symbolized by the Iwakura Mission of 1872 and Japan's national pursuit of Western-style modernity, represented a honeymoon period of mutual benefit and good will. Racism, cultural misunderstanding and conflicting geopolitical objectives during Stage 2, however, led to increasing Tokyo-Washington friction in the early decades of the 1900s, and eventually to total war between the two nations from 1941-45. Stage 3, exhibiting a high degree of Japan-U.S. cooperation and integration on many levels, continues to mature and evolve today. Bridging the Pacific Ocean throughout all three stages, the bicultural experience of Japanese Americans was utilized as an effective prism for making the "Japan and America" course accessible and interesting to students.

Table 1 : Main content modules for the "Japan and America" course

- From Nakahama Manjiro to Commodore Perry
- Niijima Jo and Meiji Japan learn from the West
- Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the U.S.
- Worsening Japan-U.S. relations and total war
- Japanese American internment and redress
- Japanese Americans in U.S. society today

Table 1 shows the course's main content modules. The goal was to bring selected historical events to life by focusing on people, as individuals or in groups,

within their non-static cultural contexts. On the first day of class, students were asked how much they already knew about the people, places and events described in the weekly syllabus. Most students were unfamiliar with the majority of learning content presented, and many lacked a solid grasp even of Japanese history, so adjustments on the part of the instructor soon became necessary. For example, "today's lecture roadmap" was described on the whiteboard at the beginning of each class, enabling students to anticipate and better process the new incoming information. Students were also required to submit written questions and comments about course content as the semester progressed ; this was useful for pinpointing knowledge gaps. Out-of-class reading assignments were mainly in English, but both English and Japanese were used in the classroom, in order to maximize student comprehension and keep the course moving forward at a reasonable pace. I related the background of my personal interest in Japan-U.S. relations and made clear my probable American cultural biases. Students were urged to exercise independent critical thinking in deciding whether or not to agree with the instructor's interpretation of Japan-U.S. history.

Learning Resources

The main textbook used for this course was *The Japanese American Family Album* (Hoobler 1995), which featured numerous photos, oral histories and a writing style geared toward young adults. In addition, original written materials were produced by the instructor through a time-consuming process of redaction and rewriting, necessary for adjusting the level of difficulty to the students' English ability. Authors consulted for this purpose included Boyle (1993), Duus (1998), Hane (1992), Jansen (2000), Loucky (1994), Reischauer (1990), and Schirokauer (1993). The *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia* (Microsoft Corp. 2000) proved to be another useful source of supplemental information, as did materials published

by the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL 1994). Multimedia resources obtained from the Internet were also utilized. These included audio about Perry (VOA Millennium Moments 1999), audio-video about Niijima Jo (Doshisha University 2001), audio about prewar U.S.-Japan relations (VOA Special English 2002), and CNN audio-video about the World War II military role of Japanese Americans (Learning Resources 2001). Shorter wartime audio clips featured President Franklin D. Roosevelt, General Tojo Hideki, Tokyo Rose, and a Japanese military song. The three videotapes shown during class were *Days of Waiting* (1990), *A Family Gathering* (1988), and *Picture Bride* (1995). Photographs were displayed on an overhead screen in the classroom on several occasions. During the final regular class session, a guest lecturer introduced students to the local, ongoing Chinese forced labor redress movement related to WWII. Learning materials are described in greater detail within the context of their respective modules.

Module 1 : From Nakahama Manjiro to Commodore Perry

The colorful life of Nakahama Manjiro (1826-1898), also known as John Manjiro or John Mung, was introduced by means of a six-page handout redacted from multiple sources. Manjiro's experience illustrated the political and social conditions existing in Japan and the U.S. prior to Perry's visit, providing background knowledge necessary for understanding subsequent developments. In 1841, briefly recounted, Manjiro was 15 years old when his small fishing boat, lacking an ocean-going keel as per the Tokugawa Shogunate's rigid "closed country" regulations, was blown out to sea, stranding him and four companions on an uninhabited Pacific island. They were eventually rescued by an American whaling ship. The devoutly Christian Captain Whitfield took the likeable Manjiro back to Connecticut and raised him as his own son, making Manjiro the first Japanese to live in the United States.

Manjiro learned various trades and later roamed the South Pacific as a harpooner on an American whaler, once being democratically elected as the ship's second officer. He went to California during the Gold Rush of 1849, becoming the first Japanese to travel by train and steamboat, and generally prospering in the relative freedom and openness of American society. But spurred on by his desire to be reunited with his mother in Shikoku and assisted by Americans in Hawaii, Manjiro successfully returned to the still-closed Japan in 1851, a daring feat considering that the draconian penalty for even accidentally leaving the country was death. Manjiro was spared that fate but detained for many months, reporting invaluable information about how the ambitious Americans had recently won the Mexican War of 1846-48 and were expanding westward to California and Hawaii. There were also less serious descriptions of unusual American habits like kissing in public and reading books while seated on the toilet.

However, the most conservative and anti-foreigner shogunate officials did not trust Manjiro, believing that because his life had once been saved by the "barbarians," Manjiro would try to help America by revealing Japan's political divisions and military weakness. So upon Perry's sudden arrival in 1853, Manjiro, the best English speaker in all of Japan and a sailor with wide knowledge of foreign lands, was kept carefully out of sight during key negotiations, which in the event were conducted in Dutch. Instead, Manjiro was put in charge of explaining Perry's mysterious gifts such as a magnet, a compass, a barometer, an electric air pump, and a miniature railway and telegraph. Later on, Manjiro made a systematic survey of Japan's coastal waters and planned courses for Japan's new naval training schools, while assisting with shipbuilding projects and translating important books about maritime matters. Japan and the United States established official relations in 1858, based on a commercial treaty that allowed foreigners to live and conduct trade in certain ports.

Two years later, the Japanese government sent a goodwill mission to America,

the first foreign embassy to go abroad in more than 200 years. The official interpreter for the 1860 Oyama Mission was Nakahama Manjiro, the first human bridge between Japan and the U.S. In San Francisco, Manjiro helped a young, unknown educator named Fukuzawa Yukichi buy many Western books. The story of Manjiro's adventurous life, rich in such human interest details, thus served as an initial springboard for the rest of the course. The following were among the Manjiro-related discussion questions : How did most Americans treat Manjiro, and what does this show about U.S. society during this period? How did both Americans and Japanese engage in racial stereotyping and cultural misunderstanding? Are Japan and America in the early 21st century in any ways similar to Japan and America in the 1850s? If you were a movie director, which actors and actress would you choose to play the roles of Manjiro, Captain Whitfield, and Manjiro's mother?

Commodore Perry (1794-1858) returned to Japan for his second port call in February 1854, this time with an even more intimidating armada of seven warships. The treaty the United States concluded with Japan in March 1854, the first in a string of "unequal treaties" forced upon Japan by Western powers, was relatively modest in its demands. Japan promised to end its mistreatment of shipwrecked American sailors and to sell coal to American steamships, while opening the Shimoda and Hakodate ports to trade with American merchants. Perry's arrival in Japan was therefore less of an outright military invasion than merely the precipitating event in the long decline of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which in recent years had witnessed increasingly frequent encroachments into Japanese territory by foreign navies and traders. Shogunate officials were justifiably alarmed at the ongoing colonization of China, and most of the rest of Asia, by European nations like Britain and France. There was a real possibility that Japan - technologically backward, militarily weak and politically divided - could become a Western colony as well.

This course module, then, emphasized the dramatic process of change within Japan before and after the Meiji Restoration, tracing the transition from the anti-foreigner policy of "revere the emperor, expel the barbarians" (*sonnou joui*, 尊王攘夷) to the pro-Western policy of "rich country, strong army" (*fukoku kyouhei*, 富国強兵). Propelling the impressive drive for modernization was "Japanese spirit, Western technology" (*wakon yousai*, 和魂洋才), a mindset still discernible in Japan today. Voice of America's "Millennium Moments" (a series billed as "a look at a person, event or idea that shaped our world during the past thousand years") archives a two-minute audio segment called "Perry Opens Japan" online (VOA Millennium Moments 1999). This was downloaded and adapted for classroom use. Students were also shown three images of Perry for purposes of discussion. The first was an actual daguerreotype, while the other two were depictions of Perry by contemporary Japanese artists. One image rendered him in Japanese dress as a samurai-type persona. The other, purporting to be a "true portrait," was a caricature depicting the clean-shaven naval officer as a hairy demonic figure.

Module 2 : Niijima Jo and Meiji Japan learn from the West

A website affiliated with Doshisha University provided a superb multimedia resource for learning about Niijima Jo (1843-1890), or Niijima Shimeta, founder of the prestigious Doshisha group of Christian schools in Kyoto (Doshisha University 2001). The extensive streaming video files and web pages recounting Niijima's inspirational life were in Japanese and could be freely downloaded in advance, making it unnecessary to connect to the Internet during class. In 1864, convinced that Japan was in need of "moral reformation" and determined to study the still-banned Christianity, the 21-year-old samurai risked capital punishment by fleeing aboard American ships from Hakodate to Shanghai and then Boston. There, like Manjiro whom he much admired, Niijima was essentially adopted by a Chris-

tian family and became the first Japanese to earn an American college degree. In 1872, he served as a translator in America and Europe for the Iwakura Mission, which included sitting cabinet ministers and was the most important embassy dispatched by Tokyo for overseas research. Niijima founded the first Doshisha school in 1875, based on Christianity and Western educational philosophies.

Within this briefer module, students were also introduced to Tsuda Ume (1864-1929), a samurai daughter sent to America with the Iwakura Mission at the tender age of six - and left there to be raised by a Christian family in Washington, D.C. When Tsuda returned to Japan after completing college in the United States, she harshly criticized the inferior social status of Japanese women and the education system that relegated them to the role of "good wives and wise mothers" (*ryousai kenbo*, 良妻賢母). She became a pioneering Japanese feminist, establishing the well-respected Christian school known today as Tsuda College and never marrying (see Yamashiro 1998). The relationship of educational institutions such as Tsuda and Doshisha to the 119-year-old Fukuoka Jo Gakuin was highlighted. Students were already aware of their Methodist university's "mission school" heritage, but not necessarily of its deeper historical significance. Christian evangelization, with its emphasis on service through endeavors like education, played a major role in the Japan-U.S. relationship during this formative stage.

Module 3 : Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the U.S.

Systematic emigration from Japan began in 1885, when the Meiji government allowed about 1,000 men to depart aboard the sailing ship "City of Tokio" for the nominally independent kingdom of Hawaii, to work as contract laborers on American-owned sugar plantations. Hoobler's text (1995) does a fine job of describing the fluid process of immigration and Japanese American community-building, first in Hawaii and later on the West Coast, employing unit titles such

as : The Old Country, Going to America, Going to Work, Putting Down Roots, and Part of America. Reasons for large-scale Japanese emigration included the dismantling of the Tokugawa class-based feudal system, which produced new small landowners but also inflexible land taxation, pushing many subsistence-level farmers deep into debt. Overpopulation, compounded by drought and other natural disasters, led to widespread poverty and even starvation in places like western Japan. This prompted economic refugees to travel abroad in a variation of the "work away from home" (*dekasegi*, 出稼ぎ) tradition. Many students were unaware of this gritty historical reality ; it was noted that Japan's affluent society of the past few decades represents the historical exception. Other negative reasons why Japanese males left Japan were to escape the newly instituted military draft and because only first-born sons could inherit property. Lamented a shipboard haiku written by one departing emigrant : "With tears in my eyes, I turn back to my homeland, taking one last look" (Hoobler 1995 ; 23). A student in the class translated the haiku as, "*Namida shite, waga furusato wo, furikaeru*"(涙して，我がふるさとを，振りかえる).

Positive reasons for going to America included greater educational opportunities, as well as sheer curiosity and adventure. Frank Tomori recounted in the 1960s how, as a young man in Okayama in the early 1900s, he saw a Western movie called *Rodeo* and "became completely obsessed with 'American fever' as a result of watching cowboys dealing with tens of thousands of horses in the vast Western plains. Enormous continent! Rich land! One could see a thousand miles at a glance! Respect for freedom and equality! That must be my permanent home, I decided" (ibid ; 21). After failing to enter Tokyo University, George Shima (born Ushijima Kinji in Kurume in 1864) made his way to San Francisco in 1889, working as a servant while learning to speak English. Shima went on to become an agricultural pioneer in California's Sacramento Delta and the first Japanese American millionaire, earning the nickname "Potato King" in the process. Gener-

ally speaking, while the majority of earlier immigrants to Hawaii remained trapped in grueling sugar plantation work, later immigrants to the U.S. mainland enjoyed somewhat greater job diversity and upward mobility, partly because they were leaving a steadily developing Japan under less desperate circumstances. Yet among the West Coast immigrants too, successful "Japantown" entrepreneurs were far outnumbered by blanket-toting agricultural workers who migrated northward with the harvests : picking tomatoes and lettuce in southern California, grapes and asparagus in the Central Valley, and apples in Oregon and Washington. Some mainland immigrants continued on to jobs in Alaska's salmon canneries ; many others labored on railroads and in mines.

The class's exclusively female students were engrossed by the experiences of female Japanese immigrants, including the "picture brides." Because the overwhelmingly male composition of early Japanese immigration produced a severe gender imbalance, tens of thousands of Japanese females (and a smaller number of Korean females) began entering the U.S. around the year 1900, to marry men they often knew only through photographs. *Picture Bride*, a 1995 Hollywood feature film starring Kudoh Youki, told the story of a 16-year-old girl from Kagoshima who went to Hawaii after her parents died of tuberculosis. Kudoh's character was shocked to discover upon arrival that her husband-to-be was in his mid-40s and scarcely resembled the years-old photo he had sent her. But they eventually carved out a stable existence in the Hawaiian sugar cane fields, establishing a new identity as Japanese Americans. In real life, as Hoobler's oral histories vividly described, both good and bad outcomes resulted from these immigrant arranged marriages. On the plus side, a still-pleased 97-year-old Issei recalled meeting his bride at the immigration office in Honolulu decades earlier : "Oh, she was the prettiest of all the girls there ; she was even prettier than her picture" (Hoobler 1995 ; 39). On the minus side, as a Hiroshima picture bride born in 1897 recounted : "I landed in Seattle at the age of 22, in April 1920. My husband was

13 years older than I. I had heard that he was a dentist, but I found out that he was a truck driver. ... But I had no money for a ticket to return. So I was caught by fate and consigned to live in America permanently" (ibid ; 39).

"From sojourners to settlers" was an immigration-related course theme referring to the gradual process by which Japanese who had intended to work in America temporarily ended up staying forever. Table 2 provides a few student responses to a final exam question about this theme. In order to verify their comprehension of the substantial amount of material being presented, students were required to submit written questions and comments at the semester's midway point. One student perceptively compared the past phenomenon of picture brides with the current practice of Internet dating, in which total strangers exchange photographs before meeting. Another student posed the excellent question, "Were there Japanese Europeans?" The short answer is no ; there was no large-scale immigration of Japanese into Europe in the late 1880s and early 1990s. Major European nations, with their class-based societies and colonialism-driven economies, were sources of massive emigration - not destinations for immigration. No other country during this period could match the United States in terms of opportunities offered to new arrivals from around the world, and the same largely holds true today. Aware of both the hardships and ability-based opportunities awaiting her in America, one Issei emigrant asserted, "There wouldn't be much to start with, but by my own strength, I could make a go of it" (ibid ; 19).

Module 4 : Worsening Japan-U.S. relations and total war

Hardships came soon enough, especially for those who settled in the supposedly "golden state" of California. The early years of the 20th century saw a rapid increase in immigration from Japan, which heightened economic competition and sparked a virulently racist reaction. Hoobler provided a sampling of 1905

newspaper headlines from the *San Francisco Chronicle* : "The Japanese invasion, the problem of the hour" ; "Japanese a menace to American women" ; and "Crime and poverty go hand in hand with Asiatic labor" (ibid ; 71). San Francisco labor leaders formed the Asiatic Exclusion League that same year. In 1908, under the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between Washington and Tokyo, Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to America-bound laborers and California officials were persuaded to end school segregation. The federal Alien Land Acts of 1913 and 1920 made it illegal for Asian, and especially Japanese, immigrants to own land. By 1924, Congress had comprehensively banned all immigration from Japan, a move that exacerbated deteriorating relations between the two countries.

Yet, at the same time, relatively successful and stable communities, the so-called "Little Tokyos," gradually emerged in several West Coast cities, where civic groups worked to retain Japanese cultural traditions ranging from O-bon to ikebana. Most barbers in Seattle, Hoobler reports, were originally from Yamaguchi Prefecture and many restaurateurs hailed from Ehime. Originally an organization for Nisei, a small number of whom were beginning to enter professional fields, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) was founded in 1930 to promote the societal integration and general betterment of the ethnic community. Japanese Americans in the late pre-war period, then, were starting to see some payoff from the earlier decades of self-sacrifice in their adopted country, despite the continuing injustice of systematic discrimination. A Nisei born in California in 1920 recalled that de facto school segregation during her childhood produced a character trait that might have been applicable to the community at large. "For instance, the Mexican and Japanese children were usually seated at the back of the classroom. If the new textbooks ran out as they were being passed out, we got the older ones. We were always last in the cafeteria food line," she said. "You learned to be a bit more patient" (Hoobler 1995 ; 88).

A 15-minute Voice of America Special English broadcast, "The Making of a

Nation : U.S.-Japan Relations before World War Two," described the American oil embargo that ultimately followed Japan's growing military occupation of China and Southeast Asia (VOA Special English 2002). Both the text and audio of President Roosevelt's well-known declaration of war against Japan were easily located online and downloaded : "Yesterday, December 7th, 1941 - a date which will live in infamy - the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan. ... No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory ... so help us God." Another Pearl Harbor-related audio clip featured a news announcer badly mispronouncing the word, "Oahu," confirming how little most Americans of the day knew about pre-statehood Hawaii or the Pacific. Students also appeared interested to hear the English voice of Tokyo Rose, an ethnic Japanese female persona (several women in reality) whose propaganda broadcasts were aimed at undermining American soldiers' morale. Making some effort to give equal time to the Imperial Japanese side, I also presented audio excerpts from a wartime speech by General Tojo, invoking Japan's divine mission and vowing inevitable victory in a rhetorical style not unlike FDR's. That class session's multimedia offerings were rounded out by a Japanese military marching song (軍歌), likely the first such period tune most students had ever encountered. One student presumably in her mid-60s, however, later reported recalling the song from her childhood (see Table 2, section C).

Module 5 : Japanese American internment and redress

The next episode of the VOA series just mentioned, "The Making of a Nation : War in the Pacific," was available but not used, as it is unlikely the segment's description of WWII battlefield events would have produced any discernible affective response. This course adjustment freed up more time to focus on

the human face of World War II, as viewed from the Japanese American perspective of internment and redress, or 日系アメリカ人の強制収容所問題における賠償運動. (The Japanese American redress movement was the topic of my graduate thesis, and I have also given public lectures on the topic in Japanese, so a plethora of resource materials was available for this module. See Underwood 1999, 1996, and 1995.) The forcible evacuation of some 113,000 ethnic Japanese from the West Coast in the spring of 1942, and their mass detention in ten military-run internment camps for up to 3.5 years, was introduced using numerous black-and-white photographs, many of them focusing on the experience of Japanese Americans from my hometown of Sacramento, California.

Days of Waiting, a 28-minute film directed by Steven Okazaki, won the 1990 Academy Award for "Best Documentary, Short Subject." The video recounted the moving life story of Estelle Ishigo, a white American woman who voluntarily entered Wyoming's desolate Heart Mountain Internment Camp with her Japanese American husband. Through her paintings and photography, Ishigo vividly chronicled their difficult camp life from 1942-45, which cost the couple virtually all of their possessions and contributed to the premature death of Ishigo's husband in the 1950s. She lived a lonely widow's existence until some camp alumni located her in a run-down Los Angeles apartment in the early 1980s, an amputee suffering from gangrene, and moved her into a more comfortable nursing home. Students, some of whom aim to become teachers themselves, were also exposed to the JACL Curriculum and Resource Guide, widely used by American public schools to teach about the Japanese American internment (JACL 1994). The teacher's guide includes lesson plans and hands-on activities for understanding racial prejudice and discrimination, pre-existing conditions that led to the wartime injustice of internment. It illustrated how American educators proactively teach about this major black mark on U.S. history.

A Family Gathering was a second documentary video that dealt more directly

with the redress movement of the 1980s. Thirty minutes long and nominated for an Academy Award in 1989, it told the life story of Masuo Yasui, a first-generation Japanese American who arrived in Hood River, Oregon, in 1910. The large Yasui family became successful in farming and business, managing to achieve the American Dream - until Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and the U.S. entered the war. Most family members were interned from 1942-43, but Masuo Yasui was incarcerated separately in federal prison from 1941-46, based on unfounded suspicions of pro-Tokyo sympathies. For nearly 40 years, the Yasui family did not discuss their tragic wartime experiences, but the film by director Lise Yasui (Masuo's granddaughter) is representative of the Japanese American community's reclaiming of its collective past, a prerequisite to righting the historical wrong by means of congressional legislation. Since neither *Days of Waiting* nor *A Family Gathering* had Japanese subtitles, it was necessary for me to produce "video viewing guides" summarizing the respective story lines and emphasizing key parts.

The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 granted a national apology and monetary compensation of $20,000 to each former internee, while also establishing a national education fund. Students were given copies of the national apology letter (with a partial Japanese translation) and a photo showing the U.S. attorney general presenting the reparations check to a 100-year-old former internee. It was mentioned that the American government mounted a vigorous worldwide search for former internees, who were entitled to full redress even if interned for only one day. Because redress was the final outcome of a complex political movement that unfolded over two decades, students were given a Japanese-language article (Underwood 1999) detailing the process in order to make it more understandable. It was stressed, for example, that redress was enacted by the U.S. Congress, the deliberative body expressing the will of the American people.

In Japan, by contrast, today's WWII responsibility and compensation move-

ments remain confined largely to the nation's pro-government courts, which parse legal issues while enabling the general public to sidestep underlying questions of moral responsibility. The purpose of this module was not to directly compare American and Japanese handling of their respective wartime legacies, but a statement made by President Ronald Reagan during the Civil Liberties Act signing ceremony did point out the singularity of the American democratic experiment: "America stands unique in the world, the only country not founded on race, but on a way - an ideal." 「アメリカは人種によらず，理想の追求という理念の基に作り上げられた世界で唯一の国家である。」(ibid). The author suggested in the same article that the Japanese American redress precedent serves as a standard for the 21st century with respect to the possibilities and obligations of democratic self-government. 「さらに，日系アメリカ人賠償運動は民主主義の可能性と義務を示す前例となり，21 世紀の新たな民主主義的な考え方の基準となった。」(ibid).

Module 6 : Japanese Americans in U.S. society today

In June 2001, a year that saw the 60th anniversary of America's entry into World War II as well as the release of a Hollywood movie called *Pearl Harbor*, CNN broadcast a short news story entitled "Japanese American Secret Mission," which was downloaded from the Internet and used in class (Learning Resources 2001). The video segment told of two Japanese American brothers, now in their 70s, who voluntarily left a wartime internment camp to join the U.S. Military Intelligence Service, a top-secret unit that played a key role in the Pacific theater but received its presidential unit citation only in 2000. The segment was accompanied by a variety of comprehension-checking activities offered by the CNN-affiliated Learning Resources website, and effectively segued into a discussion of Japanese American society today. Various events and activities, ranging from for-

mer internees taking part in their high school graduation ceremonies six decades later to new memorials and history exhibits at former internment camp sites, continue to ensure that America's wartime home-front mistakes are not forgotten. Meanwhile, due to their unique experience of internment and redress, Japanese Americans have come to fulfill something of a "civil rights watchdog" role.

Japanese Americans such as Congressman Mike Honda of California, for example, have been prominently involved in ongoing redress movements that seek compensation from Japan for myriad WWII-related injustices. The JACL and the ethnic Japanese community also loudly called for protecting the civil rights of Arab Americans and Muslim Americans during the Gulf War in 1991, after the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001, and during the Iraq War in 2003. In March 2003, Japanese American community leaders (including a state Supreme Court justice from Hawaii) took part in a symposium in Tokyo that compared the post-September 11 political climate in the U.S. to that following Pearl Harbor (Ryall 2003). Family members of Japanese people kidnapped by North Korea visited the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles the following month in order to raise international awareness of their plight, underscoring the broad relevance Japanese Americans are seen to possess for addressing human rights abuses (Kyodo News 2003).

At this point toward the end of the "Japan and America" course, an attempt was made to connect the unsurpassed openness and multiculturalism of American society to the nation's willingness to atone for the Japanese American internment. A few examples of America's high degree of minority empowerment were provided : the current U.S. consul general in Fukuoka is a Korean American ; numerous minorities occupy top positions in the current presidential administration ; and foreign sports stars such as Matsui Hideki, Suzuki Ichiro and Ming Yao are allowed to realize their full athletic potential. It is impossible to directly compare the U.S. and Japan in terms of multiculturalism and ethnic diversity, as the former is a

nation of immigrants and the latter is not. It was noted that in Japan, though, discrimination against non-Japanese is both systematic and widespread ; hundreds of thousands of ethnic Koreans are electorally disenfranchised, while in 2002 an American baseball player was prevented from breaking Japan's home run record, to give but two examples. The following relationship was suggested but not force-fed to students : America is a tolerant, equal-opportunity society precisely because of its tradition of "self-criticism and self-correction" (rendered in Japanese as 自己批判と自己修正), as exemplified by Japanese American redress. Although the U.S. is obviously far from perfect, the nation's trademark quest for self-improvement makes progress ever possible. It was posited that the prerequisite for the emergence of a more democratic Japan with a more responsive and effective government will be the actions of individual Japanese citizens who are more willing to shoulder civic responsibility.

The Chinese forced labor redress movement（中国人の強制連行強制労働問題における賠償運動), in which Chinese victims are today seeking compensation from the Japanese government and corporations for their brutal wartime exploitation, was considered during the final regular class. At first glance, this topic (listed in advance on the course syllabus as "WWII issues in the 21st century" but not included on the final exam) may seem beyond the scope of a class about Japan and the United States. As mentioned above, though, many Japanese Americans support the numerous redress efforts, now peaking, which target Japan for its wartime conduct. One such movement involves American and Allied POWs who were forced to perform slave labor throughout Japan during the war ; American POWs even helped build the runways at what is today Fukuoka Airport. However, it was decided to highlight Chinese forced laborers' struggle for justice because it is the most visible local redress effort and it also happens to be the author's current field of research.

Iwasa Hideki, 61, retired in 2002 from a career of teaching social studies at a

public high school in nearby Umi-machi. He now gives public lectures on modern Chinese history at the Japan-China Cultural Center (福岡日中文化センター) in Yakuin and has become a forced labor redress activist. Iwasa's efforts in Japan and China were described in a news segment produced by a Fukuoka television station, which he videotaped and played for students during his classroom presentation. Iwasa recalled his surprise and dismay upon learning in the early 1990s that Chinese forced labor was used extensively at Mitsubishi Mining Co.'s Katsuta coal mine in Umi-machi. Between 1942 and 1945, the Japanese military brought nearly 40,000 Chinese men to Japan, where they toiled at 135 different sites nationwide for 35 corporations. Twenty of these Japanese companies are still operating today. The average mortality rate for Chinese slave laborers was 17.5 percent, according to Japanese government figures, but at the Katsuta mine fully 25 percent of Chinese workers died due to the unusually harsh conditions.

In a groundbreaking April 2002 ruling, now under appeal, the Fukuoka District Court ordered Mitsui Mining Co. to pay compensation to 15 Chinese men forced to work at the company's Miike and Tagawa coal mines. Dozens of similar lawsuits are now pending in Japanese courts, while redress proponents are simultaneously calling on the central government to resolve the issue once and for all through compensation legislation. Just as Iwasa's straightforward presentation focused on historical facts and made no attempt to recruit students into supporting Chinese forced labor redress, the purpose of this module was to provide students with information and encourage them to reach their own conclusions. Iwasa did mention an upcoming peace movement event in downtown Fukuoka that was concerned mainly with opposing the Iraq War and secondarily with WWII-related matters. At least one student later attended the July 2003 event.

Conclusion

This course imparted a substantial body of diverse information about relations between Japan and America since the mid-1800s. Highlighting Japanese immigration to the U.S. and the "cultural bridge" role of Japanese Americans proved to be an effective strategy for integrating content modules. The variety of multimedia materials employed also helped bring to life the people behind the historical events. Flexibility and sensitivity to levels of student interest and comprehension were indispensable. For example, students' written comments at the midpoint of the semester made clear that the course would have to proceed at a somewhat slower pace. So the controversial topic of the war-ending atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (for which it is conceivable the U.S. might someday apologize) was dropped from the overly ambitious syllabus, along with an entire module about the postwar American occupation of Japan. A related course adjustment was to supply students with additional Japanese-language resources, such as a timeline to help them envision the unfolding of key events in relation to each other. It was necessary to continuously balance the students' stated desire to be taught mostly in English with their limited ability to grasp vital concepts using their second language.

Compounding the language challenge was the students' general deficiency in background knowledge not only of American history (which was anticipated), but also of Japanese history in the decades both before and after the Meiji Restoration. This lack of a pre-existing knowledge base made it difficult for many students to fully internalize the contextual significance of historical and political developments. In the future, I plan on pre-teaching basic aspects of American history and political thought to help students appreciate the nation's founding philosophy of protecting individual liberty from government tyranny. Such awareness is important for realizing the seriousness of the Japanese American internment and the signifi-

cance of redress - especially since compared to Japan's wartime transgressions and postwar stance, the internment might otherwise appear relatively mild and redress a rather excessive response.

Moreover, students tended to perceive past Japan-U.S. relations through the filter of present-day America's unpopular foreign policies. They were surprised to learn that America had never been a major colonial power in the European (or even short-lived Japanese) fashion, despite de facto U.S. rule in the Caribbean, Hawaii and Philippines. To underscore the distinction, one final exam question asked, "Which country was not a major colonial power in Asia in the decades before World War II?" The best answer to the question was America, as the incorrect distracters provided were the more committed colonizer nations of England, France, Holland, and Japan. Many students were similarly surprised to hear that the United States, rightly or wrongly criticized for having imperialistic tendencies today, was the last great nation to enter both world wars, and that the decisive American contribution to the last half of the 20th century was not unilateral hegemony, but rather the defense and diffusion of the liberal democratic system of self-governance now taken for granted in Japan and many other places. In short, it will be helpful to clarify at the outset of next year's class that the 21st-century United States represents the American historical exception, and to point out that projecting contemporary interpretations onto 19th- and 20th-century contexts results in distortion.

Students were allowed to bring a single page of notes to the final examination, due to the hefty amount of unfamiliar information presented during the semester. The test was comprehensive in nature, consisting of date matching, multiple choice, and short answer questions. In the "Your Ideas" section, students were asked about the meaning of "from sojourners to settlers" (a concept central to Japanese American community building) and "self-criticism and self-correction" (basic democratic attitudes underpinning Japanese American redress). Students were

also asked about how the course affected their understanding of "Japan and America." Table 2 below shows representative student responses to these three open-ended questions. The course deepened understanding of Japan-U.S. relations, and of the multifaceted connections between Japanese and American people, by more firmly grounding students' individual world views in the historical reality. It is hoped this will make students' future interactions with the United States and Americans more meaningful and constructive.

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Table 2 : Student responses to open-ended final exam questions

A. What does the immigration-related concept "from sojourners to settlers" mean to you?

◆ アメリカでお金をためて日本に帰国する予定だったが，日本に帰るお金もたまらなかったり，またアメリカでチャンスが多かったりして，アメリカが気にいった人も多かった。日本で暮らしてない日本人の気持ちを少し分かりました。昔の日本人は強かったですね。

◆ アメリカは日本と比べて，身分の差別がなく，冒険する心があり夢を持っていれば，それに向って努力をすれば達成出来るというアメリカンドリーム。

◆ 移民とは自分の国を離れて，新しい文化と習慣に慣れるようにする人のことです。日本人の移民はいい生活を憧れたのに実際は大変な生活をしていました。母国に住んでいる人よりもっと努力しなければならない。でも両国の文化を互いに受けいれることに貢献したと思います。アメリカの人は日本の文化も知り始めることができました。

B. As it relates to America's dealing with its past, what does the concept "self-criticism and self-correction" mean to you?

◆ アメリカは日本人を強制収容したという事実に対して自己批判し，一人当り2万ドルの非課税補償金の支払いと謝罪文の発行という形で自己修正した。これをくりかえすことによって，アメリカは自己形成と自己確立が可能であるということ。

◆ アメリカにとって都合の良い話にしないといけないから self-criticism で善悪を認めたとしても self-correction で正当化する過去を現代のアメリカにもそのまま通そうとする概念と思える。

◆ アメリカがこれまで行ってきた事に対してアメリカ国民として反省の思いを込めて自分に厳しくするということ。

◆ Self-criticism and self-correction をすることで，アメリカの人は自分を高めているように思う。日本は save face.

◆ アメリカは国家全体で賠償活動をしていた。それに対し，日本は自分の罪を認めず，正しい教育がなされていない。過去の罪を教育現場に持ち込み，過去の日本と他国の関わりをもっと知らなくてはならないと思う。

C. How has this class affected your understanding of "Japan and America?"

◆ 現在はなに不自由なく生活できている。しかし今は生きること，生命に対してあまり価値をみいだせてないと思いました。Japanese American の人々は厳しいながらも懸命に生き命の大切さを十分に知っている気がしました。私たちは豊かになったけれど，大切なことに目を向けていないように思いました。日

本人だからといって日本だけにいるのではなく，自分のチャンスを増やすためにこれからもっと海外に目を向けることも大切だと思いました。

◆ 昔の日本人が移民としてアメリカに渡り戦争という悲しい事柄を通して本当のアメリカ人として資格を得て生きている事や，そういう人の子孫がアメリカ社会で活躍し，今日の日本との関係を築いているのだと思いました。移民という側面からアメリカという国を見られて良かったです。

◆ 日本人が，戦前に移民としてハワイやサンフランシスコなどに行ったことを知らなかった。「Picture Bride」のように写真で見ただけで結婚し，一人でハワイに行くなど私には出来ない。昔の人の方が自由はなかったかもしれないが，根性と精神力はすごいなあと思った。

◆ 私の中で「Picture Bride」がとても印象に残っています。日本人の移民者が他国で人種偏見と差別を受けたのがよく分かる映画でとてもショックを受けました。私は，勉強不足でアメリカのどこが悪いのか，日本のどこが悪いのか全く分かっていませんでした。しかし，この授業のおかげで，様々な国の反省すべき点を理解することが出来ました。

◆ 私は今まで，日本側の立場からの歴史しか知らなかった。この授業を通してアメリカ側の立場やアメリカから見て日本とはどういう国なのかというのが理解できた。

◆ 今までは，歴史を勉強しても日本は日本，アメリカはアメリカ，といったようにそれぞれの国ごとにしかとらえていなかったので，これからは他国との関連についてももっと知りたいと思うようになりました。日本の歴史を辿るだけでは，日米関係は見えてこないということが分かりました。過去の日米関係があって，今日の日米関係が成立していると思います。

◆ 一番最後の授業の日，宇美商業の先生が講師としてこられて，宇美町に連れてこられた中国の方の話をしてくださいましたが，そんなことも知らなくて驚きました。私は宇美町に住んでいるのですごく身近に感じました。

◆ 最後，中国強制連行の講義は身近に感じた。私の近くにも「貝島炭坑」という有名な場所がある。この場所でも，連行されてきた人がいたのだと思うと驚きだ。

◆ 私が生まれるずっと前に日本とアメリカの間で様々な問題が起き，多くの人々が傷ついていた事を考えると胸が痛みます。これからはもう2度と両国の間で戦争などせず，お互いの文化を取り入れて，お互いの良さを高めあっていってほしいと思います。でも歴史上で日本がしてきた事が決して消えるわけではないので，過去の過ちはこれからも時間をかけて償って行くべきだと思います。

◆ グローバル時代になり気軽に中国，韓国，東南アジアへ多くの日本人は訪れています。反面，戦後58年を迎えた今もなお「従軍慰安婦」「強制連行，強制労働」の問題を抱えている日本の姿は大変奇異に他国の人に写っていると思

われます。岩佐先生のお話を聞き，大変身近な所で悲しい出来事が起こっていたことを知りました。授業の時に流された幼き頃に聞いた軍歌，きっとこの歌を聞いたことがあるのは自分だけかなと思ったりしました。戦争を知らない世代に移ろうとする時期，私どもはもっと正面からその事実を認識する必要性を感じました。今なお，戦争補償の問題を引きずっていること，これは事あるごとに「反日感情」をふきださせることでしょう。アジアの中の国民として日本人が心の底から交流できる日が一日も早く訪れることを日本人の一人として祈念します。ご案内いただいたアクロスでの催事に是非参加したいと思っています。

◆　日本がこれまでしてきたこと，またアメリカが日本に対してしてきたこと，ありのままの両国を学ぶことが出来たと思います。国籍関係なしに互いのことを思いやることが普通にできる世界になることを望みます。