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## Closing the Gap: The Japanese American Leadership Delegation Program and Increasing Involvement of Japanese Americans in US–Japan Relations

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### INTRODUCTION

Understanding the relationships that ethnic groups have with their country of ancestry is important for knowing the characteristics of the groups. Compared with other ethnic groups in the United States, Japanese Americans have not been seen to have close relationships with Japan. For example, from 1999 to 2007, Israel and Jewish communities in the United States invited 150,000 young people to Israel under the ten-day program called “Taglit-Birthright Israel.”<sup>1</sup> The Taiwanese government has also hosted American-born Chinese students in Taiwan under the program Overseas Chinese Youth Language Training and Study Tour. This four-to-six-week program, which began in 1966, invited three hundred students in the 1970s and nearly one thousand students in the 1990s.<sup>2</sup>

In the past two decades, however, third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans have become increasingly involved in US–Japan relations. In this article I examine a program called the Japanese American Leadership Delegation (hereafter JALD) as a case study of that trend. The JALD program, which invites ten to fifteen Japanese American leaders to Japan for about a week, was started by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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(hereafter MOFA) in September 2000.

By tracing the development of the JALD program, in this article I attempt to chronicle the growing interest of Japanese Americans in US–Japan relations. Specifically, I address the following research questions: How was the JALD program created? Where does the delegation go and whom does it visit in Japan? What are the goals of the program? Which individuals are selected as delegates? What has the program achieved?<sup>3</sup>

Japanese Americans have been thoroughly studied in Japan in the disciplines of history and literature. However, what Japanese Americans are like today, what ethnic activities they engage in, and what their relationship is with Japan have not been well studied. As the Japanese American population becomes diverse, both in terms of number of generations added and ethnicity and race (i.e., increase of multiethnic and multiracial Japanese Americans), it is difficult to present an overall picture. Yet it is possible to focus on one group of Japanese Americans as a case study that reveals one aspect of Japanese American society. My study of the JALD program aims to contribute to that purpose.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first English-language academic article on the JALD program.<sup>4</sup> As a point of comparison with the situation today, I begin with an overview of the ways in which Japanese Americans connected to Japan before World War II (section 1). Next, I cover the period after World War II, when Japanese Americans engaged in some activities with Japan but mostly stayed away from US–Japan relations (section 2). However, in the 1990s, interests of Japanese Americans toward Japan increased, leading to the creation of the JALD program. I discuss how the JALD program started and describe a typical JALD program itinerary (section 3). Next, I examine the program's goals, selection criteria, and the kinds of individuals who are selected to be in the delegation (section 4). The achievements of the program, as described by the delegates in writings and in interviews I conducted, are evaluated (section 5). In the last section, I discuss the establishment of the U.S.–Japan Council (hereafter USJC) in 2009 and some other developments involving Japan and Japanese Americans in the 2010s (section 6).

This article is based on MOFA's press releases and public records, the reports of the JALD symposia by the Center for Global Partnership (hereafter CGP) of the Japan Foundation,<sup>5</sup> USJC's JALD reports,<sup>6</sup> my interviews with individuals involved in the founding and the operation of the program, and knowledge I gained through attendance at CGP symposia and JALD reunions.

## I. JAPANESE AMERICANS AND JAPAN IN THE PRE–WORLD WAR II PERIOD

In general, Japanese Americans maintained closer contact with Japan in the pre–World War II period than they do today. It was common for Japanese immigrants not to settle permanently in the United States; instead, they returned to Japan, or they traveled back and forth between the two countries. Among those who eventually settled in the United States (the *issei*, first-generation Japanese), there were many who encouraged their children (the *nisei*, second-generation Japanese) to go to Japan to learn Japanese language, tradition, and culture. However, the *issei* did not send *nisei* to Japan for education alone. With the passage of the Alien Land Law of 1913 in California, which forbade “aliens ineligible for citizenship” (a euphemism for Japanese) from purchasing land, the passage of the Immigrant Act of 1924, which officially banned Japanese immigration to the United States, and the Japanese military advance into Manchuria in 1931, anti-Japanese sentiment grew on the West Coast. *Issei* at that time expected the *nisei* to act as “bridges” (*kakehashi*) between the United States and Japan.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the *nisei* were expected to absorb Japanese culture and tradition, and at the same time encourage US society to understand and respect Japanese American society and Japan.

There were at least two ways that the *nisei* went to Japan in the pre–World War II era—the first being as exchange students. In Tokyo, several schools had programs specifically designed to educate the *nisei*. Some of the programs, such as one at Waseda Kokusai Gakuin, were intended to instill Japanese nationalism and respect for the Japanese emperor. However, other programs, such as that at Keisen Jyogakuin Ryūgakusei Tokubetsu-ka, respected the background of the *nisei* as Japanese Americans and taught them to become individuals who could help facilitate US–Japan relations.<sup>8</sup>

The second way that the *nisei* went to Japan involved shorter visits. Called “study tours” (*kengakudan*), students who were selected to join this kind of program visited Japan for several months, met notable Japanese individuals, and experienced traditional Japanese culture. One of the earliest study groups was organized by the *Nichibei Shimbum* (Japan-US Newspaper) in San Francisco. As detailed by the late Japanese American historian Yuji Ichioka, study tours were organized in 1925 and 1926 by Abiko Kyūtarō, who was *Nichibei Shimbum*’s publisher and a leader in Japanese American society.<sup>9</sup>

*Kengakudan* deserve special mention here, as they have interesting

similarities with, and differences from, the post–World War II JALD program, which was initiated some seventy-five years later. One of the strongest similarities is the idea of sending a group of Japanese Americans to Japan for a short period of time to let them learn about Japan through a variety of events.<sup>10</sup> Just as the JALD participants meet dignitaries in Japan (as discussed later), the *kengakudan* participants also met important individuals. The 1925 group met Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijūrō, members of both houses of the Diet, and the American ambassador to Japan, and the group made trips to regional cities such as Kyoto.<sup>11</sup> The similarities between the two programs, however, go beyond their itineraries. The core principles of the two programs have some overlap. In a newspaper article to send off the first *kengakudan*, the *Nichibei Shimbun* made the following comment:

“Japanese American citizens have the important and lofty mission of contributing to Japanese-American [sic] amity by deepening American understanding of Japan and the Japanese.”<sup>12</sup>

One can see how the expectations for Japanese Americans have evolved over more than eighty years by looking at the section of the U.S.–Japan Council homepage entitled “Why Japanese Americans?”:

“Japanese Americans have a distinct connection to Japan, emanating from a shared heritage, upbringing and history. Recognizing this special tie, the U.S.–Japan Council encourages Japanese Americans to engage in local, regional and national activities that contribute to U.S.–Japan relations.”<sup>13</sup>

One difference is that while *kengakudan* aimed to educate Americans about Japan, the USJC encourages Japanese Americans to be actively involved in U.S.–Japan relations.

Another difference, of course, is that the JALD participants are middle-aged to senior Japanese Americans, whereas those who took part in *kengakudan* were high school or college students.<sup>14</sup> Because travel in Japan through *kengakudan* spanned several months (compared with the one-week JALD program), some nisei who could not speak Japanese came back to the United States knowing Japanese. One of the 1925 *kengakudan* participants contributed the following remarks to the *Nichibei Shimbun*: “I made my first Japanese speech yesterday at a gathering of Japanese people in this

district (Burley, Idaho). Talked to them for practically one hour and a half concerning our whole trip to Japan. They were certainly glad to have the information, even if it was delivered in broken Japanese. Many were surprised at my radical improvement in being able to speak so fluently.”<sup>15</sup> Following *Nichibei Shimbun*’s two *kengakudan* trips, several other Japanese-language newspapers in the United States organized similar study groups to Japan. According to Ichioka, “[p]refectural associations, religious organizations, educational bodies, and other cultural groups also organized their own *kengakudan* and sent them to Japan.”<sup>16</sup>

## II. JAPANESE AMERICANS AND JAPAN DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II

Despite the efforts of these and other Japanese Americans, “bridges” were broken by the Japanese military’s sudden attacks on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 (local time; December 8, Tokyo time). The subsequent stories of Japanese Americans are familiar ones: 120,000 people of Japanese descent on the West Coast were sent to “internment camps,” and although a large-scale removal of Japanese people did not take place in Hawai‘i, community leaders there were arrested and sent to detention centers and camps on the mainland. All Japanese and Japanese Americans struggled with what the war meant to them, as they were ordered to answer loyalty questions, and many nisei men were either drafted into or volunteered for the US military. As the United States began to bomb Japanese cities in 1945, many issei became concerned about their homeland. In particular, when reports of the atomic bomb drop on Hiroshima reached the Japanese in the United States, many issei were worried because a substantial number of them had emigrated from Hiroshima Prefecture and had immediate family there.

When World War II ended, interned Japanese people either had to move to new places in the central and eastern parts of the United States or return to the West Coast to begin a new life. Nevertheless, the news that postwar Japan was plagued by poverty and a lack of resources prompted Japanese Americans to take action. Many Japanese Americans donated resources through an agency called LARA (Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia). LARA operated from November 1946 through May 1952, led by religious groups such as the Church World Service, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Catholic War Relief Services.<sup>17</sup> LARA sent resources to Japan worth 40 billion yen, including “food, clothing, medicine, shoes, soap . . . 2,036 goats,<sup>18</sup> and 45 milk cows.”<sup>19</sup> Twenty percent of the LARA

resources were donated by people of Japanese ancestry in North and South America. The records indicate that as many as thirty-six Japanese organizations in the Americas contributed to LARA.<sup>20</sup>

However, after this short period following World War II, Japanese Americans tended to distance themselves from Japan. Many nisei regarded their internment experience with shame (*haji*) and did not talk about it with their sansei (third-generation Japanese) children. According to Irene Hirano Inouye, “in general, among Japanese Americans, those who had higher status and were in leadership positions tended to avoid engagement in US–Japan relations.”<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, during the process of redress for internment, the Japanese American community needed to “[show] distance from Japan and loyalty to the United States” to obtain “U.S. government apology and compensation.”<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, “[i]t was acknowledged by both sides that in the past there had been some discrimination on the part of the Japanese toward Japanese-Americans.”<sup>23</sup> One episode that exemplifies such discrimination involved Daniel Inouye, who became a member of the US House of Representatives in 1959, the year when Hawai‘i gained statehood. Inouye visited Japan that year and met with Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke. Inouye suggested that it would be a good idea to have a Japanese American as a US Ambassador to Japan. Kishi told Inouye that Japanese immigrants had left Japan because they failed economically in Japan: he said that the Japanese government would not welcome such persons as ambassadors.<sup>24</sup>

### III. ESTABLISHMENT AND ITINERARY OF JALD

The changing environment for Japanese Americans led to the start of the JALD program. From the 1980s to the early 1990s, as the US economy was struggling, US–Japan trade frictions were intense, and Americans frequently resorted to “Japan bashing,” which affected not only Japanese companies in the United States but also Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans. One famous incident involved Vincent Chin, who was killed by two white men in Detroit in 1982. One of the men had been laid off by a US automobile company, and they reportedly mistook Chin (a Chinese American) for a Japanese national, blaming him for layoffs by US automobile companies. After a quarrel in a bar, they beat Chin with a baseball bat, and he died four days later.<sup>25</sup> In the early 1990s, the Japanese American Citizens League received “letters with racial hatred,” and they even had “Molotov cocktails thrown into their offices.”<sup>26</sup>

However, as the US economy improved in the latter half of the 1990s, the necessity for Japanese Americans to be afraid of Japan bashing decreased. Moreover, the sansei and the yonsei (fourth-generation Japanese) began to have different attitudes toward Japan than their nisei parents and grandparents. Some of them were more keenly aware of the benefits of connecting Japanese Americans to Japan: those in San Francisco built a relationship with its sister city, Osaka, and those in Los Angeles contacted corporations in Japan to raise funds for a new pavilion for the Japanese American National Museum (hereafter JANM), which opened in 1999.<sup>27</sup>

The proposal for the first JALD program was made by Japanese Americans in San Francisco, including Kaz Maniwa and Paul Osaki. According to Maniwa, the San Francisco Japanese American leaders conceived of the program when Japan bashing was still intense, in the early 1990s. They thought that more dialogue between the two countries was necessary, and they wanted people in Japan to understand how Japanese Americans were affected. Although the Japanese Consul General in San Francisco at that time did present the idea to MOFA, after this first suggestion, the proposed program did not develop further.<sup>28</sup>

It was not until fall 1999 when Tanaka Hitoshi was the consul general in San Francisco that the program materialized. Although Tanaka acknowledged older Japanese communities, mostly of nisei, he wanted to encourage a younger community of Japanese Americans who looked at Japan from American perspectives.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, there were no conflicts between Tanaka and the group headed by Maniwa about the concept of the program.<sup>30</sup> The questions Maniwa's group were asked were about more practical issues, such as how they would select delegates, who they wanted to meet in Japan, and what they were going to tell the people they met. As Tanaka returned to Japan in December 1999, the program was approved during the term of the next Consul General. MOFA provided half of the funding, and the delegates covered expenses for the other half.<sup>31</sup> The first JALD group visited Japan from September 25 to October 6 in 2000. Reflecting the nature of the program's inception, the twelve-member delegation consisted of eight people from Northern California and four from Southern California.<sup>32</sup>

Because it was initially intended to be a one-time program, no delegation was sent in calendar year 2001.<sup>33</sup> However, when a new Consul General, Kohno Masaharu, arrived in Los Angeles, Irene Hirano,<sup>34</sup> then president of the JANM, asked him to send another leadership delegation to Japan. Consul General Kohno persuaded MOFA to secure funding, and the second delegation visited Japan in March 2002.<sup>35</sup> At that time, it was still unclear

whether it could be made into an annual program with continuous funding every year. Recognizing the significance of the program as proven through the 2000 and 2002 visits, MOFA made it an annual program, and the CGP also decided to become a joint sponsor in 2003 and beyond.<sup>36</sup> Since 2003, the CGP and the JANM have cosponsored a public symposium in regional cities during JALD's itinerary. As Irene Hirano Inouye left the JANM and established USJC in April 2009, since 2010, the symposium has been cosponsored by the CGP and USJC.

A typical JALD itinerary is as follows: The delegation stays in Japan for seven to eight days and visits Tokyo and one or two regional cities (including Kyoto in the previous years). In Tokyo, the delegates meet with senior MOFA officials and political appointees, (former) Speaker of the House of Representatives Kōno Yōhei, his son and current member of the House, Kōno Tarō, members of Nippon Keidanren (the Japan Business Federation), Keizai Dōyūkai (Japan Association of Corporate Executives), and Forum 21 (a group of young business leaders), high-level officials at the US Embassy, and Her Imperial Highness Princess Takamado. The delegation also meets with a group of Japanese Americans in Tokyo. (this meeting was organized by the business leader Glen S. Fukushima until 2012.)<sup>37</sup> The delegation gains appreciation of Japanese traditional culture when they have a chance to visit old temples and watch *kyōgen* (traditional comic theater) in Kyoto and elsewhere.

The CGP has held its symposium in a number of major cities, including Tokyo (2003), Kyoto (2004), Kobe (2005), and Nagoya (2006). From 2007, the CGP began meeting in those prefecture capitals that have sent many Japanese immigrants to the United States; namely, Hiroshima (2007), Fukuoka (2008), and Okinawa (2009).<sup>38</sup> In 2010, in celebration of the tenth year anniversary of the JALD program, the symposium was held in Tokyo. The 2011 symposium was held in Osaka. In 2012 (Sendai) and 2013 (Fukushima), the symposia were held in the Tohoku region as part of relief activities that USJC was conducting for the areas hit by the March 11, 2011, great earthquake. The 2014 symposium was held in Fukuoka, and in 2015 it was held in Hiroshima as the delegation met with the governors of the respective prefectures. To have enough time for all of the activities, Kyoto is no longer on the delegation's itinerary.<sup>39</sup>

#### IV. GOALS AND PARTICIPANTS OF JALD

At this time, USJC sets the goals of the JALD program as follows:



1. Improve understanding and strengthen long term relations between Japanese Americans and Japan.
2. Develop and implement ongoing strategies to expand the role of Japanese Americans in advancing U.S.–Japan relations.
3. Develop a network of Japanese American leaders that will continue to advance long term U.S.–Japan relations, at the regional, national and international levels.<sup>40</sup>

MOFA’s press release describes the goals of JALD similarly, emphasizing that the purpose of the program is “for Japanese American leaders . . . to increase understanding of Japan and offer opportunities to build networks with our country. After returning from Japan, the delegates are, in cooperation with Japanese Americans and leaders in Japan, expected to promote concrete activities to strengthen long-term Japan-US relations.”<sup>41</sup>

Currently, ten members are selected for the JALD program each year based on their occupation, geographic location, gender, and seniority. Applicants submit their applications to USJC and the Consulate-General of the jurisdictions in which they live (the Japanese Embassy in the case of Washington, DC). Although the various Consuls General may apply differing recruitment and review methods, the basic procedure is to nominate candidates from applicants in their jurisdiction and recommend them to MOFA. Meanwhile, USJC’s screening committee, which consists of past JALD members, makes a list of recommended candidates and alternates from among the recommendations from all the Consulates-General. Then, using the recommendations from the Consulates-General and the USJC screening committee, MOFA finalizes the delegation.<sup>42</sup>

Geographical balance is highly valued in selecting the delegates;<sup>43</sup> currently, no Consul General sends more than one delegate from his or her region. Until 2011, when the number of delegates was twelve or thirteen per year (fifteen in 2006), the jurisdictions with the largest numbers of Japanese Americans—San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Honolulu—sent two delegates each. Even with two slots, it was difficult for these Consuls General to select delegates, as there were many applications in these regions.<sup>44</sup> The geographical development of the JALD program is shown in the Table 1 below. Although the 2000 and 2002 delegations were exclusively from California, the 2003 delegation included members from Hawai‘i and Seattle. The program became nationwide around 2004/2005.<sup>45</sup>

The level of knowledge of delegates about Japan and their career experiences have changed over the past fifteen years. The political and

**Table 1.** Number of Participants in the JALD Program by Jurisdictions of Consulates-General and Year

Consulate-General's Office	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Hagatna (Guam)																0
Saipan																0
Anchorage																0
Honolulu			2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	22
San Francisco	8	4	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	37
Los Angeles	4	6	4	2	2	2	2	2	2 <sup>b</sup>	2	2		1	1	1	33
Portland*				1	1		1	1	1 <sup>c</sup>	1	1	1	1	1		10
Seattle			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1		1	1	1	13
Denver					1	1	1	1 <sup>d</sup>				1	1	1	1	8
Houston				1		1	1	1	1		1					5
Atlanta							1								1 <sup>f</sup>	2
Nashville**																0
Miami						1						1				2
Chicago					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
Detroit															1	1
Boston						1		1	1		1	1		1		6
New York					1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
Washington, DC (Japanese Embassy)				1	1	1 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>a</sup>	1		2	1	2 <sup>e</sup>	2 <sup>e</sup>	1	1	14
Total	12	10	10	12	12	15	13	13	13	13	13	10	10	10	10	176

\* Changed from the Consulate-General's Office to the Consular Office in January 2013 for budgetary reasons.

\*\*Moved from New Orleans in January 2008, as many Japanese companies began to operate in Tennessee.

a: Participant from Maryland. b: One participant was from Arizona. c: Participant from Vancouver, Washington.

d: Participant from New Mexico. e: One participant was from Virginia. f: Participant from North Carolina.

Other than these participants, all delegates were from the city or its vicinity where the Consulate-General's Office is located.

Source: Tabulated by the author from USJC, "Japanese American Leadership Delegation Archive" at <http://www.usjapancouncil.org/jald>.

economic leaders in Japan who met the first few delegations told Glen Fukushima that they were surprised at how little the delegates knew about Japan and US–Japan relations. Prior to 2010, a primary criterion was to select delegates who had never visited Japan and had little experience with US–Japan relations. In response, Fukushima proposed to Irene Hirano that an orientation meeting be held for delegates before they left for Japan that covered lectures on US–Japan relations and current issues in Japan.<sup>46</sup> This idea was adopted, and the orientations have been held for the past ten delegations or so in Los Angeles about one month before the delegates leave for Japan.<sup>47</sup> USJC requires selected delegates to participate in the orientation or they will be disqualified from joining the delegation.<sup>48</sup>

With regard to career experience, the first few delegations had many participants from the NGO sector,<sup>49</sup> and many of them had not been to Japan.<sup>50</sup> In 2010, with the tenth anniversary of JALD, the criteria were modified to include more senior Japanese American leaders who had experience in US–Japan relations. This has resulted in delegations since 2010 that have more individuals in senior-level business and other occupations, and those who have previously been to Japan have also been selected. This shift is reflected in the delegation-selection criteria: for example, the criteria for the March 2016 delegation included the following: “Successful and senior leadership in one’s profession; High level of interest or experience in U.S.–Japan relations; Commitment to strengthening U.S.–Japan relations in the future; Interest in expanding the role of Japanese Americans in U.S.–Japan relations.”<sup>51</sup> In addition, USJC states that “[i]n principle, delegates should be 40 to 55 years of age to enable longer-term opportunities to build U.S.–Japan relations in their respective professional and community activities.”<sup>52</sup> Many of the successfully elected delegates have experience working for Japanese American communities, such as serving as officers for Japanese American Chambers of Commerce, the Japan America Society, the Japanese American Citizens League, the JANM, and professional Asian American associations. Some of the delegates in the past few years were already USJC members when they were selected; indeed, all ten delegates in 2015 became USJC members before or after the trip.<sup>53</sup>

The composition of the recent delegations is as follows. Of the ten delegates in 2012, “two had worked in Japan; two had studied there; and two had never even visited Japan before. Three spoke Japanese fluently, and another two passably.”<sup>54</sup> In 2015, “[u]nlike all previous JALD groups that included Japanese Americans who had not been to Japan, our group was the

first comprised of Shin-Issei [new, post–World War II, first-generation Japanese], Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei, all of whom had previously experienced Japan, some many times and for extended periods.”<sup>55</sup>

From 2000 to 2015, 176 delegates participated in the JALD program. Notable delegates included attorney Dale Minami (2003), who was a member of the legal team that overturned the Supreme Court case *Korematsu v. United States*, which upheld the exclusion order on people of Japanese descent during World War II; the late Kip Tokuda, a former member of the Washington State House of Representatives (2003); playwright Philip Kan Gotanda (2006); Sharon Tomiko Santos, a member of the Washington State House of Representatives (2006); Stuart Ishimaru, a commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2010); Moni Miyashita, then vice-president of IBM (2010); and Kenneth Oye, professor at MIT (2011).

## V. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE JALD PROGRAM

In 2006, Iino Masako interviewed the 2000–2005 JALD delegates and reported that the program was very effective. According to Iino, the program achieved the following:

- (1) Delegates’ interest in their roots and identities were deepened.
- (2) Delegates’ views of Japan and the Japanese people were improved or expanded.
- (3) Delegates have increasingly participated in activities in Japanese American communities and US–Japan relations.
- (4) Delegates’ networks were strengthened.<sup>56</sup>

By reviewing the “personal reflection” section of the CGP and the USJC’s JALD reports, and by conducting interviews, I was able to confirm that the JALD program did indeed produce these outcomes. Admittedly, the CGP and JALD reports prepared by the delegates are official reports of the program, and thus they are less likely to have negative opinions about the program. Nevertheless, reading the “personal reflection” section gives a sense of the excitement and appreciation the delegates felt about having participated in the program.

(1) With respect to enhancing one’s identity as Japanese American, Stan Koyanagi (JALD 2008) reported: “[w]hile strolling through the grounds of Nanzenji temple in Kyoto, I felt a deep sense of inner peace and calm. And during the trip, I had recurring feelings that, by connecting back to Japan

through the Delegation program, I was honoring the spirit of my grandparents who had the tremendous courage and pioneering spirit to emigrate from Japan to the United States in the early part of the 20th century.”<sup>57</sup> Keiko Matsudo Orrall (JALD 2014) wrote: “[f]or the first time in my life, I was with others who looked like me. My experience brought me to a place where I realized that as a ‘hafu’—not completely Japanese and not completely Caucasian—I can contribute in a unique way to strengthening U.S.–Japan relations while appreciating my Japanese heritage.”<sup>58</sup>

(2) On increasing and improving one’s knowledge about Japan and the Japanese people, Lori S. C. Yokoyama (JALD 2008) stated: “[o]ur exposure to the Japanese culture, business, political climate and social mores allowed me to develop a deeper respect for what it means to be Japanese and how it is so distinct from what I have experienced growing up.”<sup>59</sup> Asked what the greatest achievement of the JALD program was, one interviewee said that it was the creation of a new group of people in the United States who think deeply about Japan.<sup>60</sup>

(3) On increasing participation in Japanese American communities and US–Japan relations, Hirano Inouye cited the following examples in the 2010 CGP symposium: Robert Ichikawa (JALD 2006) “took a team of 11- and 12-year-old baseball players (including his son) to Okayama and Hiroshima to play in goodwill baseball games”; Bryan Takeda (JALD 2000) “started a program taking a group of teenage students from Pasadena, California to Mt. Fuji International Summer Camp”; Paul Niwa (JALD 2008) “brought his journalism postgraduate fellows to Japan”; and Donna Cole (JALD 2006) “has become an active member in supporting the Japan Festival and helping to raise money for the Japanese Garden Renovation in Hermann Park” in Houston.<sup>61</sup>

(4) The strengthened network of Japanese Americans was cited as one of the greatest achievements by several interviewees.<sup>62</sup> Lynn Hashimoto (JALD 2015) remarked: “[s]ince our return to the U.S., we have continued to stay in close touch and I am certain that we will remain united for life—both as friends and as collaborative supporters of U.S.–Japan relations.”<sup>63</sup> In the words of Tracey Doi (JALD 2010), “[a]nother huge benefit of the JALD has been the formation of a lasting network of Japanese American friends across the United States with a shared interest in U.S.–Japan relations and support of our Japanese American community.”<sup>64</sup>

As a result of JALD alumni networking, a reunion conference of JALD participants from 2000 to 2007 was held in Honolulu in August 2007. Forty past participants gathered at their own expense for a reunion conference, not

“to do sightseeing or have a social party” but to discuss “the promotion of US–Japan relations and the future of Japanese American communities in America.”<sup>65</sup> A similar reunion was held in San Francisco in July 2009, where more than eighty alumni participated at their own expense. Since 2010, USJC has held its own annual conference, which has partially played the role of JALD reunions.

Participants in the JALD program often call the program a “once in a lifetime experience/opportunity.” Why has the program been able to attain these achievements, even though the delegation trips themselves are very brief?

The first reason can be traced to the leadership skills of Irene Hirano Inouye. Her network of Japanese political and economic leaders, as well as her contacts with Japanese American leaders, which was fostered through her work as president of the JANM for twenty years (including fund-raising for the museum’s new pavilion), have helped the JALD program operate effectively. In the past five years or so, Hirano Inouye has scheduled face-to-face meetings with Japanese prime ministers outside of the JALD framework.<sup>66</sup> She is also good at making sure the delegates prepare for each meeting during their stay in Japan.<sup>67</sup>

The second reason the JALD program has been so successful is that the Japanese government strives to give the delegates a good impression of Japan.<sup>68</sup> The delegation meets senior-level people in government, business, and politics as well as Princess Takamado. Of course, an ordinary group of Japanese Americans visiting Japan would not have the opportunity to meet such people—so the program has a somewhat artificial aspect, as the people the delegates meet do not reflect the everyday world.<sup>69</sup> Some of the delegates understand this point. One participant (Derek Okubo, JALD 2014) said: “[t]his trip was like no other I have taken before or will again in the future. How often do you get to visit with the Prime Minister, a member of the Imperial Family, members of Parliament, prefecture elected officials and corporate leadership of globally influential companies ... all in one trip?”<sup>70</sup>

The Japanese government treats the JALD program so seriously that it has allowed the delegates to meet the prime minister since 2008. This courtesy call was made possible after Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo’s trip to the United States in November 2007, when he proposed a three-part initiative to President George W. Bush to strengthen US–Japan relations (through intellectual exchange, grassroots exchange, and Japanese-language education) and President Bush supported the initiative.<sup>71</sup> Because the initiative included relationships with Japanese Americans, MOFA asked the

Prime Minister's Office about the possibility of a courtesy call. As the Prime Minister's Office came to better appreciate the value of the JALD program, and as the understanding of the Prime Minister's Office increased, the idea materialized.<sup>72</sup> The 2008 delegation became the first group to meet Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo on March 5, 2008. Since then, the 2009 delegation met with Prime Minister Asō Tarō (March 3), the 2010 delegation met with Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio (March 3), the 2012 delegation met with Prime Minister Noda Yoshihiko (March 7), and the 2013, 2014, and 2015 delegations met with Prime Minister Abe Shinzō (March 15, March 12, and March 11, respectively).<sup>73</sup>

By giving the delegations such rare opportunities, one might wonder if the Japanese government wants Japanese Americans to act as its agents or go-betweens when conflicts arise between the two countries. Such high expectations were not mentioned by the interviewees.<sup>74</sup> One MOFA official reported that delegates were expected to work with Consuls General voluntarily and to disseminate accurate information about Japan.<sup>75</sup> Another MOFA official also noted that the extent to which delegates engaged in US–Japan relations depended on the individual but that it would be nice if they let people know that there were no grounds for the unfounded rumors about what happened after the great earthquake on March 11, 2011.<sup>76</sup>

## VI. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 2010s

In 2009, the U.S.–Japan Council was established to build a network of Japanese Americans, engage them in U.S.–Japan relations, and strengthen the relationship between the two countries. According to Fukushima, “Although the primary focus of this group is Japanese Americans, a neutral name, ‘U.S.–Japan Council,’ was proposed by Fukushima as the name of the new organization and endorsed by Senator Inouye.”<sup>77</sup> Irene Hirano Inouye has been the president of the Council since its inception. Thomas Iino (in Los Angeles) was the chair of the board of Directors until December 2014. As of October 2015, the USJC headquarters are in Washington, DC, with ten staffers, and there is a Senior Vice President (Kaz Maniwa, JALD 2000) in San Francisco, a staffer in Los Angeles, and an office in Tokyo.<sup>78</sup>

One set of USJC's major activities is the TOMODACHI Initiative, which “is a public–private partnership between the U.S.–Japan Council and the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo. Born out of support for Japan's recovery from the great earthquake on March 11, 2011, the TOMODACHI Initiative is intended to produce the next generation of Japanese and American leaders

through educational and cultural exchanges as well as leadership programs.<sup>79</sup> Several of the programs sent high school students from the Tohoku region to the United States, and in 2014, as many as fifty exchange programs were held in twenty-five locations in the United States and Japan.<sup>80</sup> Many of the programs are funded by a variety of corporations, and they include the corporations' names in the programs.<sup>81</sup>

There is a reason why the USJC undertook the TOMODACHI Initiative, whose purpose is not limited to the promotion of Japanese American issues alone. According to one USJC staff member:

When the 3.11 disasters struck, many USJC Members wanted to help Japan, and many in the community looked to USJC as a platform to support Tohoku, so USJC created the Earthquake Relief Fund and many of the USJC Members actively educated their communities about Tohoku's situation. Many USJC members visited Tohoku on their own or with other groups. USJC focused its giving under the fund on Japanese NPOs working in Tohoku.

When Ambassador John Roos realized that following the military's Operation Tomodachi, there would be a need for the private sector to support a second phase of support to Tohoku, he came up with the idea of what became the TOMODACHI Initiative. He had great support from many quarters, and one key piece of advice from the State Department was to make the TOMODACHI Initiative a public-private partnership, and to choose a private sector partner wisely. The Ambassador recognized that the USJC agenda and activities were all focused on supporting U.S.-Japan relations in innovative and non-traditional areas (NPO, education, exchanges, women's leadership, entrepreneurship, technology) that aligned with the needs in the wake of the 3.11 disaster, so he asked USJC to partner with him on TOMODACHI.<sup>82</sup>

Among the various TOMODACHI Initiative programs, a unique program is the TOMODACHI Inouye Scholars Program. The purpose of this program is to let the participating college students "learn about the legacy of the late Senator Daniel K. Inouye . . . Specifically, students learn about Senator Inouye's contributions to his state, his country, his heritage and to the U.S.-Japan relationship."<sup>83</sup> The program is "designed to allow U.S. college students [to] visit Japan, and Japanese college students to visit the United States. . . . The point of [this] program was to honor the Senator's legacy,



and each of the [participating] schools approached his legacy differently.”<sup>84</sup> The Inouye Scholars Program is unique in that it is funded as part of the “Kakehashi” Project (exchange programs with North America) operated by MOFA.

Some Japanese politicians argued that, in addition to receiving Japanese American leaders during their trips to Japan, high-level Japanese politicians should stop by Japanese American communities when they visit the United States. One notable member of the Diet who has voiced this belief is Kōno Tarō. Kōno has hosted a dinner for every JALD delegation since 2000,<sup>85</sup> and he has attended many of the Japanese American–related symposia and meetings. Kōno has repeatedly argued on his official blog that when Japanese prime minister or foreign minister visits the United States, they should visit Japanese American communities.<sup>86</sup>

Kōno’s wish materialized when Prime Minister Abe Shinzō visited Los Angeles on his way back from a speech he gave to a joint session of the US Congress on April 29, 2015 (during which he mentioned that “[w]e all miss Senator Daniel Inouye, who symbolized the honor and achievements of Japanese-Americans).”<sup>87</sup> Abe placed a wreath at the Go for Broke monument, which honors Japanese Americans who served in the US military during World War II, and then visited the nearby JANM on May 1. The next morning, he met with students of the Kakehashi Tomodachi Project (local time respectively).<sup>88</sup>

## CONCLUSION

According to Kristen Dozono (JALD 2008), “[t]he JALD generated a new bond and network among Japanese American leaders that was previously non-existent and very much in need.”<sup>89</sup> The actions taken by JALD members after the great earthquake of March 11, 2011, are very illustrative of this networking. The earthquake occurred on the final day of the 2011 delegation’s official trip. Irene Hirano Inouye encouraged delegates to report to their local media back in the United States on their firsthand experiences and the need for relief, and the delegates did indeed speak to many television, radio, and newspaper journalists.<sup>90</sup> On returning to Los Angeles, Hirano Inouye appeared on the KTLA morning news anchored by Frank Buckley (JALD 2006) and asked for contributions through USJC’s Earthquake Relief Fund. The fund collected US\$ 1.5 million within one month and US\$ 2.6 million by July 31, 2012.<sup>91</sup>

Although in this article I have traced the development of a network of

Japanese Americans involved in US–Japan relations, I do not argue that all Japanese Americans are moving in that direction. In fact, in 2004, there was a heated debate in the *Nichi Bei Times* in San Francisco (which ceased publication in 2009) about whether Japanese Americans should engage in US–Japan relations. In response to Irene Hirano’s interview entitled “Unique Position: Japanese Americans Can Build Bridges between Japan and the U.S. at the Grass-Roots Level,”<sup>92</sup> nisei film producer Chizu Omori contributed an article entitled “JAs Needn’t Serve as ‘Bridge’ Between U.S., Japan,” in which she said that “anything that smacks of making *Nikkei* [those of Japanese descent] Americans feel obligations to be a bridge group between Japan and the U.S. raises my hackles,” and “[w]e are first and foremost, Americans, and we are no longer Japanese.”<sup>93</sup> The *Nichi Bei Times* solicited opinions from six Japanese Americans and six individuals from Japanese-speaking communities about whether Japanese Americans should serve as a bridge between the two countries,<sup>94</sup> and it received a wide range of responses.<sup>95</sup> The *Nichi Bei Times* won a grand prize award from the Overseas Japanese Press Association for this project.<sup>96</sup>

Among those who disagreed with Omori in the *Nichi Bei Times* were past and future JALD delegates (Paul Osaki, 2000, and Emily Moto Murase, 2013), which suggests that JALD participants were not necessarily representative of average Japanese Americans.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, membership of USJC has been on the rise, growing from 97 in 2009 to 178 in 2011 and 403 in 2014.<sup>98</sup>

Future scholarly research should examine whether and if so how JALD participants have changed their roles in their Japanese American communities, what contributions multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans can make to their communities, and whether people in Japan acknowledge the activities that Japanese Americans engage in to strengthen US–Japan relations.<sup>99</sup>

#### NOTES

This is a revised and updated version of my article “Japanese American Leadership Delegation Program: The Emergence of a New Network of Japanese Americans Involved in US–Japan Relations” (in Japanese), *Imin Kenkyu Nenpō* [Annual review of migration studies] 18 (March 2012):139–50. I thank the editorial board of the journal for allowing me to use substantial portions of the article. I am also grateful to interviewees for giving me permission to reuse interview data. The views expressed by interviewees

are their personal opinions and do not necessarily reflect the official positions of organizations they belong(ed) to. Any remaining errors are mine.

In this article, Japanese names (including Japanese immigrants before World War II) are listed with last names first, whereas Japanese American names have given names first.

<sup>1</sup> Teresa Watanabe, “Reconnecting with Israel: A Program Puts Young Jewish Americans in Touch with Their Ancestral Land, Forging Deeper Ties and Seeking to Build Future Support,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 2007, 1. I thank Glen S. Fukushima for bringing this article to my attention.

<sup>2</sup> Ellen D. Wu, “Chinese American Transnationalism Aboard the ‘Love Boat’: The Overseas Chinese Youth Language Training and Study Tour to the Republic of China.” *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 19 (2005): 51–64.

<sup>3</sup> Another purpose of this article is to chronicle the history of the JALD program by using various public records and interviews, which, unless somebody assembles them, cannot be pieced it together.

<sup>4</sup> The only exception is Jane Yamashiro, who briefly mentions the JALD program in the contexts of ethnic return migration and diaspora. Jane H. Yamashiro, “Ethnic Return Migration Policies and Asian American Labor in Japan and Korea,” *aapi nexus* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 21–39 (see 37); and “Working towards Conceptual Consistency in Discussing ‘Diaspora’ and ‘Diaspora Strategies’: Ethnicity and Affinity in the Case of Japan,” *Geoforum* 59 (2015): 178–86 (see 183 and 185).

<sup>5</sup> The CGP reports 2003–2009, as well as the abbreviated reports of the CGP 2013 and 2014 symposia, can be found at <https://www.jpfc.org/jpfc/info/publication/index.html>.

<sup>6</sup> The USJC’s JALD 2010–2015 reports can be found at <http://www.usjapancouncil.org/jald>.

<sup>7</sup> Azuma Eiichirō, “1930 nendai no Tokyo ni okeru Nikkei Amerika zin nisei ryūgaku jigyō to nihon syokuminchi syugi” [The second-generation Japanese American study abroad project in Tokyo in the 1930s and Japanese colonialism], *Amerika Nikkei Nisei to Ekkyō Kyōiku* [Transnational education for Japanese American nisei], ed. Yoshida Ryō (Tokyo: Fuji Syuppan, 2012), 21–56 (see 23).

<sup>8</sup> Azuma, “1930 nendai no Tokyo ni okeru Nikkei Amerika zin nisei,” 37–42, 45–49.

<sup>9</sup> Yuji Ichioka, “*Kengakudan*: The Origin of Nisei Study Tours of Japan,” in *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese American History*, eds. Gordon H. Chang and Eiichiro Azuma (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 53–74.

<sup>10</sup> There were eleven participants in the 1925 *kengakudan*, and in 1926 there were ten. Ichioka, “*Kengakudan*,” 59, 68. For the numbers of JALD delegates, see Table 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ichioka, “*Kengakudan*,” 63.

<sup>12</sup> Cited in Ichioka, “*Kengakudan*,” 60.

<sup>13</sup> USJC, “Why Japanese Americans?,” <http://www.usjapanCouncil.org/about> (accessed September 21, 2015).

<sup>14</sup> Ichioka, “*Kengakudan*,” 59, 68.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Ichioka, “*Kengakudan*,” 64.

<sup>16</sup> Ichioka, “*Kengakudan*,” 72.

<sup>17</sup> Iino Masako, *Mou hitotsu no Nichibei Kankeishi: Funso to Kyochō no nakano Nikkei America Jin* [Another US-Japanese History: Japanese Americans in Conflicts and Cooperation] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 2000), 143–68.

<sup>18</sup> In his address to the joint session of the US Congress on April 29, 2015, Prime Minister Abe Shinzō mentioned the goats as follows: “Seventy years ago, Japan had been reduced to ashes. Then came each and every month from the citizens of the United States gifts to Japan like milk for our children and warm sweaters, and even goats. Yes, from America, 2,036 goats came to Japan.” The full transcript of Abe’s speech (both in English and Japanese translation) was published in *Asahi Shimbun* on April 30, 2015. The number of goats exactly matches the number Iino reports.

<sup>19</sup> Iino, *Mou hitotsu no Nichibei Kankeishi*, 143.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 152–55.

<sup>21</sup> Irene Hirano Inouye, “Nikkei Amerika jin no Nihon kan: 4 sei ya 5 sei ga kakeru nitibeikan no shinkyō” [View of Japan by Japanese Americans: The new bridges fourth and fifth generations make between Japan and the United States], *Nikkei Business Online*, May 24, 2010, <http://business.nikkeibp.co.jp/article/world/20100521/214549/?rt=3Dnocnt> (accessed October 4, 2015).

<sup>22</sup> Glen S. Fukushima, “Don’t Be a Bridge, Be a Player!,” 5 (remarks at the CGP symposium in San Francisco, California, July 24, 2006). Cited with permission.

<sup>23</sup> Numata Sadaaki (as Japanese Ambassador to Canada), “Forging Cooperation with Nikkei People” (speech at the COPANI [Convention of Pan-American Nikkei] XIII lunch, July 7, 2005, Vancouver, Canada). Cited with permission.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Fukushima, “Don’t Be a Bridge, Be a Player!,” 5–6. Before his death, Inouye made this story public in talks at several symposia that I attended.

<sup>25</sup> Andrew L. Aoki and Okiyoshi Takeda, *Asian American Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2009), 30.

<sup>26</sup> Masako Iino, “‘Nihon tataki’ to Nikkei oyobi Azia kei Amerika jin” [“Japan bashing” and Japanese and Asian Americans], in *Nichibei Kankei ni Okeru Ethnicity no Yōso* [Ethnicity in the History of the U.S.-Japan Relationship], ed., Sōgō Kenkyū Kaihatsu Kikō (Tokyo: Sōgō Kenkyū Kaihatsu Kikō, 1995), 87–97 (see 89 and 87, respectively).

<sup>27</sup> Irene Hirano Inouye, phone interview with the author, June 9, 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Kaz Maniwa, phone interview with the author, August 24, 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Tanaka Hitoshi, interview with the author, Tokyo, August 22, 2011.

<sup>30</sup> Maniwa, interview with the author; Tanaka, interview with the author.

<sup>31</sup> Maniwa, interview with the author.

<sup>32</sup> USJC, “2000 Japanese American Leadership Delegation,” [http://www.usjapan.council.org/2000\\_jald](http://www.usjapan.council.org/2000_jald) (accessed October 4, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> However, because the Japanese fiscal year runs from April 1 through March 31, the 2002 delegation was funded by MOFA’s budget for fiscal year 2001. Because the subsequent delegations visited Japan in March, there was no yearly discontinuity of delegations when counted by fiscal years. MOFA official A, interview with the author, Tokyo, May 18, 2011.

<sup>34</sup> Irene Hirano married Senator Daniel Inouye in May 2008 and changed her name to Irene Hirano Inouye.

<sup>35</sup> Hirano Inouye, interview with the author; former MOFA official, phone interview with the author, January 19, 2012.

<sup>36</sup> Hirano Inouye, interview with the author; former MOFA official, interview with the author.

<sup>37</sup> Glen S. Fukushima, interview with the author, Tokyo, June 10, 2011. Later in 2012, Fukushima returned to the United States and became a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress in Washington, DC. The meeting with Japanese Americans in Tokyo is now organized by a business executive Paul Yonamine.

<sup>38</sup> The itineraries of the delegations 2004–2009 can be found in the CGP reports.

<sup>39</sup> The itineraries of the delegations 2010–2015 can be found in the USJC’s JALD reports.

<sup>40</sup> USJC, “2016 Japanese American Leadership Delegation to Japan: 16th Delegation,” 1, [https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/usjc/pages/35/attachments/original/1440092062/2016\\_JALD\\_FACT\\_SHEET.pdf?1440092062](https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/usjc/pages/35/attachments/original/1440092062/2016_JALD_FACT_SHEET.pdf?1440092062) (accessed August 26, 2015).

<sup>41</sup> MOFA, “*Hōdō Happyō: Zaibei nikkeijin shidōsya no rainichi*” [Press release: The visit to Japan by Japanese American leaders], March 5, 2015, [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/release/press4\\_001868.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/release/press4_001868.html) (accessed October 5, 2015).

<sup>42</sup> MOFA official B, phone interview with the author, May 24, 2011; Hirano Inouye, interview with the author.

<sup>43</sup> MOFA official B, interview with the author; Hirano Inouye, interview with the author.

<sup>44</sup> MOFA official C, interview with the author, Tokyo, June 6, 2011.

<sup>45</sup> Given the purpose of JALD to foster US-Japan relations, it became desirable to have delegates selected from the Detroit and Nashville areas, where many Japanese automobile company employees and their families live. From the Detroit area, Toshiki Masaki of Ford Motors was chosen in 2015 for the first time. USJC, “2015 Japanese American Leadership Delegation,” [http://www.usjapan.council.org/2015\\_jald](http://www.usjapan.council.org/2015_jald) (accessed October 5, 2015). No JALD member has been elected from the Nashville Consulate-General

jurisdiction, probably because of the small number of Japanese Americans there.

<sup>46</sup> Fukushima, interview with the author.

<sup>47</sup> It has become customary to take a group photo of the delegation on the stairs of the JANM and use it on the USJC website and in USJC e-newsletters. See the 2010–2015 archives of USJC, “Japanese American Leadership Delegation,” <http://www.usjapan.council.org/jald>.

<sup>48</sup> USJC, “2016 Japanese American Leadership Delegation to Japan: 16th Delegation,” 2.

<sup>49</sup> Fukushima, interview with the author.

<sup>50</sup> Former MOFA official, interview with the author.

<sup>51</sup> USJC, “2016 Japanese American Leadership Delegation to Japan: 16th Delegation,” 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> 2015 USJC’s JALD report, 31.

<sup>54</sup> 2012 USJC’s JALD report, 48.

<sup>55</sup> 2015 USJC’s JALD report, 23.

<sup>56</sup> Iino Masako, “Nikkei jin kōryū jigyō no igi” [The significance of the Japanese American fellowship program], CGP, *COLUMNS* 8 (January–February 2008), 3.

<sup>57</sup> 2008 CGP report, 92.

<sup>58</sup> 2014 USJC’s JALD report, 51.

<sup>59</sup> 2008 CGP report, 100.

<sup>60</sup> MOFA official C, interview with the author.

<sup>61</sup> Irene Hirano Inouye, “Japanese American Leadership Delegation 2000–2010” (PowerPoint presentation at the CGP symposium “Leadership: Values in Career, Community and Culture,” Tokyo, March 3, 2010). Cited with permission.

<sup>62</sup> MOFA official A, interview with the author; MOFA official B, interview with the author; former MOFA official, interview with the author.

<sup>63</sup> 2015 USJC’s JALD report, 17.

<sup>64</sup> 2010 USJC’s JALD report, 35.

<sup>65</sup> Kaifu Yūko, “Nikkei America jin hōnichi syōhei program (JALD) dōsōkai kaigi” [Japanese American Leadership Delegation program reunion conference], CGP, *COLUMNS* 8 (January–February 2008), 2.

<sup>66</sup> Hirano Inouye met Prime Minister Noda Yoshihiko on October 22, 2011, and Prime Minister Abe Shinzō on May 30, 2014. *Asahi Shimbun*, “Shushō dōsei” [Daily schedule of the prime minister], the following dates of the meetings.

<sup>67</sup> MOFA official A, interview with the author.

<sup>68</sup> The cost of the 2015 delegation (fiscal year 2014) was 4 million yen. Most of the cost, 3.4 million yen, was paid to the USJC for selection, orientation, and travel. MOFA, “*Gyōsei Review, Sesaku I-2, Hokubei Chiiki Gaiko*” [Administration Review, Policy I-2, Diplomacy in North America area], [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/ms/fa/page22\\_001496.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/ms/fa/page22_001496.html) (accessed August 27, 2015).

<sup>69</sup> Fukushima, interview with the author. In Fukushima's view, it would be nicer if the delegation met a more diverse group of people—whether in schools or factories—as opposed to meeting people in conference rooms.

<sup>70</sup> 2014 USJC's JALD report, 48.

<sup>71</sup> MOFA, "*Heisei 20 nendo gaimushō seisaku hyokashō*" [Evaluations of MOFA policies in fiscal year 2008], 47, [http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/annai/shocho/hyouka/pdfs/h20\\_jj.pdf](http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/annai/shocho/hyouka/pdfs/h20_jj.pdf) (accessed October 11, 2015).

<sup>72</sup> MOFA official B, interview with the author.

<sup>73</sup> *Asahi Shimbun*, "Shushō dōsei," various years. Prime Minister Hatoyama was so enthusiastic about meeting with the delegation that he took the unusual step of going out to the entrance of his office building to see them off. *Asahi Shimbun*, "Shushō dōsei," March 4, 2010; 2010 USJC's JALD report, 8. The 2011 delegation had an appointment with Prime Minister Kan Naoto on the evening of March 11, but it was cancelled because of the great earthquake that hit eastern Japan in the afternoon on that day.

<sup>74</sup> This is compared with Japan after its military advance into Manchuria in 1931, when nisei were expected to serve the national interests of Japan as its agents working to improve American opinion about Japan. Azuma Eiichirō, "Nisei no nihon ryūgaku no hikari to kage: Nikkei Amerika jin no ekkyō kyōiku no rinen to mujyun" [The bright and dark sides of nisei study in Japan: The ideals and contradictions of transnational education of Japanese Americans], in *Amerika Nihon jin Imin no Ekkyō Kyōiku Shi* [A History of Transnational Education of the Japanese Immigrants in the U.S.], ed., Yoshida Ryō (Tokyo: Nihon Tosyo Center, 2005), 221–49 (see 227).

<sup>75</sup> MOFA official B, interview with the author.

<sup>76</sup> MOFA official C, interview with the author.

<sup>77</sup> E-mail communication with Fukushima, Dec. 11, 2015. Cited with permission.

<sup>78</sup> USJC, "USJC Management and Staff," [http://www.usjapanCouncil.org/usjc\\_management\\_and\\_staff](http://www.usjapanCouncil.org/usjc_management_and_staff) (accessed October 1, 2015).

<sup>79</sup> USJC, "TOMODACHI Initiative," [http://www.usjapanCouncil.org/tomodachi\\_initiative](http://www.usjapanCouncil.org/tomodachi_initiative) (accessed September 29, 2015).

<sup>80</sup> USJC, "TOMODACHI Initiative 2014 Annual Report," 3, [http://usjapanCouncil.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/TOMODACHI-Initiative-2014-Annual-Report\\_E.pdf](http://usjapanCouncil.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/TOMODACHI-Initiative-2014-Annual-Report_E.pdf) (accessed September 29, 2015).

<sup>81</sup> In 2014, donations for the TOMODACHI Initiative to USJC (US) from corporations were US\$ 269 million, accounting for more than 99% of the total of US\$270 million. Donations to USJC (Japan) from corporations were 489 million yen, accounting for more than 99% of the total of 490 million yen in donations. "US–Japan Council, "TOMODACHI Initiative 2014 Annual Report," 20.

<sup>82</sup> USJC staff member, e-mail interview with the author, October 19, 2015.

<sup>83</sup> US–Japan Council, "TOMODACHI Inouye Scholars Program," <http://www.usjapan>

council.org/tomodachi\_inouye\_scholars\_program (accessed September 29, 2015).

<sup>84</sup> USJC staff member, interview with the author.

<sup>85</sup> 2013 USJC's JALD report, 24.

<sup>86</sup> Kōno Tarō, "Gomame no hagishiri" [Futile resistance], August 27, 2007, [http://www.taro.org/2007/08/post\\_268.php](http://www.taro.org/2007/08/post_268.php) (accessed October 1, 2015); December 4, 2008, [http://www.taro.org/2008/12/post\\_479.php](http://www.taro.org/2008/12/post_479.php) (accessed October 1, 2015); February 7, 2011, [http://www.taro.org/2011/02/post\\_919.php](http://www.taro.org/2011/02/post_919.php) (accessed October 1, 2015).

<sup>87</sup> MOFA, "Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to a Joint Meeting of the U.S. Congress," [http://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page4e\\_000241.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page4e_000241.html) (accessed October 1, 2015).

<sup>88</sup> MOFA, "Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's Visit to the United States of America," [http://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page3e\\_000341.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page3e_000341.html) (accessed October 1, 2015); *Asahi Shimbun*, "Shushō dōsei," May 3 and 4, 2015.

<sup>89</sup> 2008 CGP report, 88.

<sup>90</sup> The list of media contacts made by the delegates can be found in Appendix B of the 2011 USJC's JALD report, 89–92.

<sup>91</sup> USJC, "US-Japan Council Earthquake Relief Fund, Summary Report," 2, [https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.x.cloudfront.net/usjc/pages/77/attachments/original/1403562659/EQRF\\_Report\\_WEB.pdf?1403562659](https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.x.cloudfront.net/usjc/pages/77/attachments/original/1403562659/EQRF_Report_WEB.pdf?1403562659) (accessed September 30, 2012). This report has a list of organizations and projects that received relief funds.

<sup>92</sup> *Nichi Bei Times*, May 18, 2004.

<sup>93</sup> *Nichi Bei Times*, June 3, 2004.

<sup>94</sup> Fukushima argues that although many Japanese Americans want to be "bridges" between the two countries, they are not thinking deeply about what they mean when they use that word. In Fukushima's view, "[a] bridge is a vehicle or infrastructure that is built to allow others to walk over or benefit from. On the contrary, Japanese Americans should strive to be players, actors, and decision makers in the relationship," Fukushima, "Don't Be a Bridge, Be a Player!," 8–9; Fukushima, interview with the author.

<sup>95</sup> *Nichi Bei Times*, July 2, 2004.

<sup>96</sup> *Nichi Bei Times*, July 30, 2005. I thank Moritō Keiko of the Japan Foundation for bringing the above four *Nichi Bei Times* articles to my attention.

<sup>97</sup> Hirano Inouye, interview with the author.

<sup>98</sup> USJC, "2014 Annual Report-English," 30,

[http://www.usjapanCouncil.org/annual\\_reports](http://www.usjapanCouncil.org/annual_reports) (accessed October 11, 2015).

<sup>99</sup> One aspect of the JALD program that may need to be improved is increasing its familiarity within Japan. The CGP symposia in regional cities are often reported in local newspapers, but the delegation is not well known at the national level. Numata Sadaaki, Executive Director of CGP, interview with the author, Tokyo, March 25, 2010.