renounce their Japanese citizenship. By December 1941, few had done so, according to the ONI.\textsuperscript{39}

Japan's Department of Education supplied Japanese-language schools with textbooks reminding ethnic Japanese youngsters of their citizenship ties to Japan. "The objective of Japanese education, no matter in what country it may be, is to teach the people never to be ashamed of their Japanese citizenship," said one junior high school textbook. "We must never forget—not even for a moment—that we are Japanese."\textsuperscript{40} A 1941 ONI memo reports that Japan placed considerable pressure on Nisei dual citizens to serve in the Japanese military. According to the memo, Kazuichi Hashimoto of Terminal Island, California, took a group of forty young ethnic Japanese (presumably Nisei dual citizens) to Japan, supposedly to teach them fencing. "However," the memo states, "it is suspected that these young people were taken to Japan for military duty."\textsuperscript{41}

Though critics of the West Coast evacuation and relocation say dual citizenship was of no consequence, the presence of Nisei in Japan's military suggests otherwise. Estimates of how many Nisei ended up joining the Imperial Army and Navy forces range from 1,648 (the official figure given by the Japanese government) to as high as 7,000—not including those who assisted the Japanese military in other capacities.\textsuperscript{42} Perhaps the most notorious was Tomoya Kawakita, a translator for the Japanese Army who tortured scores of American POWs held in a Japanese prison camp. After the war, Kawakita returned to the United States, where he enrolled at the University of Southern California. He was identified by a POW at a Sears department store in Boyle Heights, California.\textsuperscript{43} Kawakita was convicted of treason after the war. Later, President Eisenhower commuted Kawakita's sentence to life in prison, and in 1963 President John F. Kennedy freed him on the condition that he spend the rest of his life in Japan.
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Kawakita’s dual citizenship was the central issue in his legal case. He stated that he had registered as a Japanese citizen while in Japan, and that this act—coupled with his obvious loyalty to Japan during the war—effectively ended his United States citizenship. Thus, he argued, he could not be found guilty of engaging in treason against the U.S. But at the end of the war, Kawakita swore allegiance to the United States, claiming he had been a United States citizen all along. By a 4–3 margin (two justices recused themselves), the Supreme Court rejected this ploy of fair-weather citizenship and ruled against Kawakita. Justice William O. Douglas, writing for the majority, stated, “An American citizen owes allegiance to the United States wherever he may reside.” At the same time, Douglas acknowledged the obvious fact that “one who has a dual nationality will be subject to claims from both nations, claims which at times may be competing or conflicting.”\(^{44}\) Kawakita was an extreme example, but he was hardly alone in demonstrating the dangers of dual loyalty overseas—and on American soil.
CHAPTER 3: SYMPATHIZERS AND SUBVERSIVES

4 Page Smith, Democracy on Trial, 78-9.
5 Federal Bureau of Investigation Files 51287 and 51288. The reference letters are contained in the Los Angeles Field Division’s File #100-8075.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 ONI, “Japanese Intelligence and Propaganda in the United States During 1941,” Dec. 4, 1941. See Appendix C.
9 Page Smith, Democracy on Trial, 79.
10 ONI, “Japanese Intelligence and Propaganda in the United States During 1941.”
11 Ibid.
12 Stephan, Hawaii under the Rising Sun, 30.
13 Ibid., 34.
14 Ibid., 52.
15 Ibid., 33.
17 Smith, Democracy on Trial, 80.
19 Stephan, Hawaii Under the Rising Sun, 26-7.
20 Ibid., 34.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., 27.
23 Ibid., 31.
25 Burlingame, Advance Force-Pearl Harbor, 19.
29 Ibid., 14.
30 Smith, Democracy on Trial, 77.
31 Ibid.
34 Smith, Democracy on Trial, 78.
35 Swaine Thomas and Nishimoto, The Spoilage, 3.
36 See Kenneth Ringle’s Jan. 26, 1942, memo in Appendix C.

37 Stephan, Hawaii Under the Rising Sun, 171.
38 Ibid., 172.
43 David Rosenzweig, “POW Camp Atrocities Led to Treason Trial; Tomoya Kawakita Claimed Dual Citizenship, Abusing Captured GIs in Japan in World War II, Then Moving to the U.S.” Los Angeles Times, Sept. 20, 2002, Metro section, 2.