Japanese America:
CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNMENT

Proceedings
of Conferences held
January - March 1980
in the
State of Washington

Edited by Karen Seriguchi and Frank Abe

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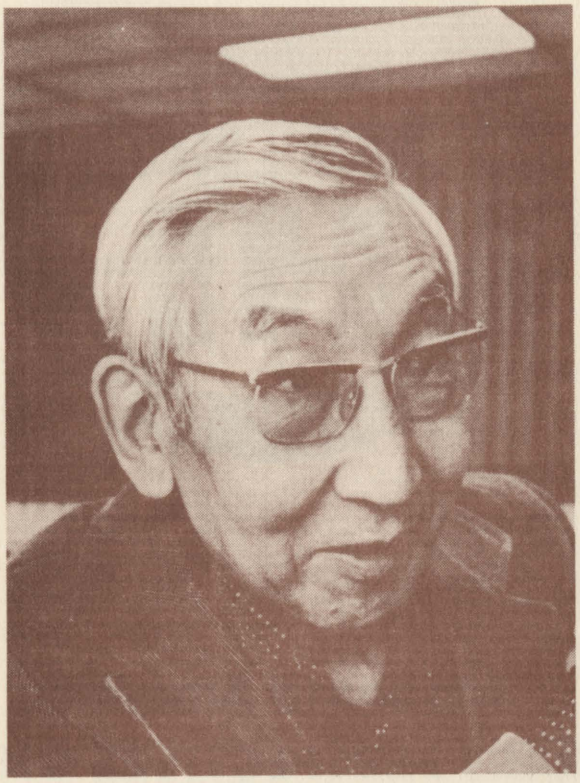

To the memory of
Dr. Minoru Masuda

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In 1981-82, a federal commission will investigate what "appropriate remedies" are due to the 120,313 American citizens and permanent residents of Japanese ancestry interned in World War II. When he created the commission on July 31, 1980, President Jimmy Carter said the panel would "expose clearly what happened in a period of war in our nation."

What Happened in a Period of War

A teacher at the University of Washington named Floyd Schmoe testified for the American Friends Service Committee to another congressional commission in 1942. Popularly known as the Tolan Committee, after its chair, John H. Tolan of California, the House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration held hearings in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles to determine whether Japanese Americans "should be excluded from the West Coast." Floyd Schmoe told them:

> "That is the European picture today, pushing people about. We don't think that America wants to treat anyone that way, aliens or citizens . . . . There might be great danger, serious damage being done not only to them but to the country as a whole. . . . This is going to affect an entire generation of people, people who are American people, people who are going to stay here."

Earl Millikin, mayor of Seattle, did not agree:

> "The sentiment of the people in Seattle is overwhelmingly in favor of evacuation. . . . They regret the train of circumstances that lead up to this decision today; but they know that we can't take the chance of leaving them here."

Actually, the question had already been decided when the Tolan Committee held its hearings. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. EO 9066 excluded all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast and forced them into concentration camps located in the most isolated sections of the country. Three generations of citizens and permanent residents were forced out of their homes, classrooms, and businesses; deprived of their civil rights; stigmatized as "enemy aliens"; and imprisoned behind barbed wire, under guard, for an average term of three and one-half years. No person of Japanese ancestry living in the U.S. was ever charged with espionage or sabotage.

In Washington State, thousands were interned in the temporary camp at the Western Washington Fairgrounds before being moved again to Minidoka, Idaho, a "permanent" concentration camp. Others were sent to similar camps in California.

A Day of Remembrance

Many Seattle Nikkei had lived by a promise never again to set foot in the fairgrounds, race tracks, and exhibition halls that were once temporary detention camps. But on Thanksgiving weekend of 1978, more than two thousand Nikkei and their friends joined a four-mile car caravan for a Day of Remembrance at the Western Washington Fairgrounds. Nisei who had promised never to go back and who had never talked about camp to their Sansei children, started talking. And the children said they began to understand, then, what their parents had once felt at their age.

"Camp Harmony," once home to 7,200 Seattleites, was the scene of a flag-raising by Nisei veterans of WWII, a community potluck dinner, and exhibits of camp artworks, handicrafts, and photos. Charles Royer, mayor of Seattle, swept away the words of his predecessor, saying, "It's time to hold this country's feet to the fires of the past. I'll be with you in your fight." Washington State Supreme Court Justice James Dolliver read parts of "An American Promise," President Gerald Ford's recission of EO 9066. And, again, for the American Friends Service Committee, Floyd Schmoe was awarded a plaque "in deepest appreciation for their kindness, generosity, and commitment to human rights and dignity for the Japanese Americans during their exile and imprisonment in 1942-46."

Out of the chemistry of that day the internment conferences were born.

Contemporary Perspectives

Japanese Americans today are seeking redress from the U.S. government for violations of civil rights, wrongful imprisonment, loss of income, and psychological, social, and cultural damages suffered during the internment.

Redress is now a matter for public policy debate. Some congressional representatives have proposed specific legal remedies, including monetary compensation to former internees. Such proposals raise questions about Japanese America and the internment that have not been raised before. Until now, the whole episode--the whole culture of Japanese America--has been isolated, cast into specialized studies, individual memoirs, and government documents.

The conferences collectively entitled, "Japanese America: Contemporary Perspectives on the Internment," are humanistic considerations of the Nikkei culture and its works. The following proceedings cover material presented in those conferences, held in Washington State in early 1980: Seattle (January 19), Spokane (March 1), and Tacoma (March 22). These proceedings recount our efforts to understand how the internment happened, and how it continues to live in the psyches of individuals, in our cultural myths, and in our law.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Each of the three conferences from which these proceedings are drawn followed the same basic structure: Panelists first drew a portrait of Japanese American society in Seattle, Spokane, or Tacoma before the war. "Nisei: The Pride and the Shame," a CBS documentary narrated by Walter Cronkite, and a panel on camp conditions followed. These provided a basis for the afternoon's panels on Nikkei literature as it reflects the internment, the psychological impacts of camp, and redress.

We used the same structure in sculpting this book from the 300 pages of raw conference transcripts. To represent as many panelists as possible in this "composite" conference, yet keep the text a manageable length, we were forced to edit all the presentations--in most cases drastically--and cut about half the panelists' contributions altogether. Thus, we thank, above all, those who so generously shared their experience and knowledge, but whose contributions could not be included here:

Seattle participants: Charles Z. Smith (moderator)
Joanne Fujita
Lonny Kaneko
Ron Mamiya
Robert Sims
Sam Solberg
Kimi Tambara

Spokane participants: Bob Briley (moderator)
Teruko Daniel
Louis Kurahara
Iku Matsumoto
Sam Nakagawa
Henry York-Steiner
Harry Yoshida

Tacoma participants: Joe Kosai (moderator)
Slade Gorton
Aki Hayashi
Jon Nakagawara
George Tanbara
Miyo Uchiyama

We wish also to thank Warren Witte, Gretchen Smith, Nancy Welton, and Gary Ikeda of the American Friends Service Committee staff for their unfailing and cheerful support.

BEFORE THE WAR

Each of the humanistic disciplines looks on Japanese America a little differently. Each seeks different kinds of information and draws different conclusions. We begin the proceedings by looking at Washington's Nikkei communities as they grew and prospered in the twenties and thirties. As we read the following accounts, let us consider such questions as: How did the immigrants settle and organize their communities? What did they think of themselves? What was the world like for them before December 7, 1941?

Dennis Yasuhara

As past president of the Spokane Japanese American Citizens League, Denny Yasuhara spearheaded the drive to establish an Asian American Studies department at Washington State University, Pullman.

Prior to beginning our discussion, we need to place the internment in historical context. In 1870, the Chinese began to be imported to assume the menial tasks that other Americans avoided. They were regarded as "coolies," and sometimes less than human. Killing a Chinese in those days was not considered a crime, and their testimony carried no weight in court. Thus, muggings, robberies, and wholesale abuse were commonplace.

It was within this social climate that the great influx of Japanese immigrants came, following the termination of Chinese immigration in 1882. The Japanese not only inherited the jobs and status of the Chinese, but the hostility of the public as well. The report of the Washington State Bureau of Labor in 1915 reads:

> "It is almost invariably the rule that the Japanese are filling the places vacated by the Chinamen, and this intensifies the problem rather than offering a solution, for the people in general have a greater antipathy toward Japs and it is causing much irritation in communities in this state."

Rising public hostility culminated in legislative action by both countries. Chinese and Japanese were ineligible for citizenship. The Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 halted all immigration. Almost all Western states enacted laws prohibiting Asians from owning land, legislation that was devasting to the settlement and progress of Japanese in this country.

Life in Spokane

Much of the discrimination and intensity of feeling that permeated the Coast was not as evident in Spokane, in part because of our small numbers and because we avoided areas where we might arouse hostility. The Japanese-owned businesses were small, single-family

operations, and generally we lived in the back of them because housing was restricted. We did not compete for the same clientele, because of the nature of the businesses and the size of them. That some prejudice did exist is illustrated by the fact that better restaurants and hotels would not serve us. Movie houses would seat us in the back rows of balconies. Some companies refused to sell insurance to us. It was impossible to buy or rent homes in the better areas of Spokane. Japanese were buried in segregated cemeteries, and some funeral homes would not accept them. Our older Nisei college graduates had to go East or to foreign countries for employment even when jobs were available at home. Professions were closed, except for those that could be practiced among the Japanese. This, then, was the social atmosphere when war erupted in 1941.

S. Frank Miyamoto

Professor Miyamoto's "Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle" was published in 1939.

For the State of Washington in 1940, the population numbered about 15,000 of Japanese background, whereas in California, the numbers were of the order of 90,000, and in Los Angeles County alone, there were close to 35,000. The discrimination against the Japanese --particularly before World War II--was also predominantly of California origin. There were prejudiced people here, too, but the movements that generated the anti-Japanese sentiments invariably came up from California.

The immigrants to this country, and particularly to the Seattle area, were people who sought economic advantages of the kind they could not find in Japan. Japan, which was a highly stratified and structured country, did not permit the upward mobility that these people wanted. So they came to this country seeking the kind of opportunity by which they might establish themselves, go back to Japan, and live the kind of life they would wish to live.

Family and Community Life

That pattern affected the Chinese and Japanese similarly, but the Japanese had a greater possibility of establishing families; that is, they could bring women in, and family life began to be a feature of the Japanese communities in a sense that was not true of the early Chinese residencies.

Very rapidly, the Japanese communities began to develop a stabilized family life that led to an entirely different orientation on the part of the parental generation. I would say that, by 1920-1925, substantial numbers of people were thinking no longer of going back to Japan. The tie they had with the Nisei, their children, was an important consideration. Back in about 1915, there was a proposition to establish a Japanese language school in the City of Seattle. A large discussion took place within the community as to whether such a language school was necessary. That indicates that, already, there was a wavering of viewpoint as to whether America or Japan was the place to live.

Seattle Community Life

Now, then, where did the people settle when they came? Smith Cove was the point of entry, but from Smith Cove they could drive down to the Skid Road area, where it was easy to enter without disturbing the larger white community. From Skid Road, the Japanese community moved up the street. Shops developed in that area, as did two newspapers. The Chamber of Commerce was a composite of the Japanese Hotel Association, the grocers industry, the cleaners and dyeworks, the restaurant business, and so on.

Why did the Japanese go into the hotel business, the grocery business, farming, and so on? Because other possibilities of economic competitiveness were restricted. These were activities in which family members could participate--the father, mother, and children all could have a part in maintaining this kind of an enterprise.

Besides the family, there were many network ties of family relations, friends, and the so-called kenjin (prefectural associations). The kenjin were members of the Hiroshima ken, Yamaguchi ken, and so on, who were tied together.

The Japanese community of Seattle was highly organized. At the top were the Japanese Association and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce; down father were all these ken and other associations. The churches were numerous, both Buddhist and Christian, and were extremely important. Then there were various organizations such as the judo club, the poetry clubs, and so on. But these organizations were at two levels: the Issei organizations and the Nisei organizations, which were parallel, but which never related to each other directly.

Fear and Discrimination

How does all this tie into what happened in the evacuation? The evacuation is an extremely complicated business, but one factor that contributed importantly was the failure of the larger community to have any real understanding of what was true of the Japanese community and its residents. The reason for that was, in turn, the segregation of the Japanese community from the larger society.

Monica Sone's book (*Nisei Daughter*) indicates that her first major experience with discrimination took place when her family went house-hunting outside the Japanese community. I can vouch for that. When you stepped outside the Japanese American community, you would encounter, in a very real and concrete sense, prejudice and discrimination. This kind of thing was to be encountered in employment as well.

Tom Takemura

Mr. Takemura has lectured in Human Relations and History classes in most of the high schools and colleges in Pierce County.

The farmers from the Puyallup Valley rode into Tacoma to sell their produce. Trucks were used by all families, and they took the neighbors as well as your family. Tacoma had a wholesale house, and the vegetables were delivered in the morning around 4 or 5 o'clock. At the farmers market, the farmers were great gamblers. There would be a big exchange of dollars many times in the day. This was a little extra function.

My father purchased his land of 15 acres in the Valley near Fife, and he paid around $10,500 for it. These lands were not prime. If you looked at it, you wouldn't think you could raise anything on it. The price of the food or produce those days was very low. Three cents for a bunch of radish. For 69¢ you could have bought two crates of spinach! My father made enough money to pay off the farm in seven years, so you can see how we pinched and scraped.

Susumu Sato

Mr. Sato teaches senryu at a local senryu club and serves on the boards of the Olympia JACL and the Buddhist church.

I'm going to talk about the Kibei. A Kibei is a person who was born in this country and educated in Japan and who returned to this country. Kibei is made up of two Japanese characters--ki is "return," bei is "America." "Return America." I was born in this country, so I am an American citizen.

I was sent to Japan with my sister and mother in 1924. Why were we sent? At that time the country was heading into a depression. That and discrimination were the two reasons the Issei had no paying skills and so they had real hardship in this country. So they had to send part of the family to Japan to survive. At this time an Issei made a poem, Japanese senryu. It exemplifies to me the struggles of Issei life.

The sweat of a day
Disappears
Into the food of a day -- *Seisei*

I returned to this country in 1936. I was 17 and tried to help the family. Family was poor. I go to U.S. school to study English. Kibei is different from Nisei because idea is different, outlook is different. So it was hard for us to get along with the Nisei. Nisei don't understand us. We don't understand the Nisei. Sometimes in a family, half the kids went to Japan, half stayed in this country. Even brothers and sisters don't get along.

I was going to school in Seattle, but my brother was very sick, so just a few years of education in English school, I had to start work on oyster farm. Brother was so sick he had to stay in hospital for two years. After that I read a poem in this book.

In this world
Tied by parents
And by money -- *Unknown*

This was the life of the ordinary man during the Edo period 250 years ago in Japan. It was still the same for me in the late thirties.

Participants in the next panel of the conference testified to their personal experiences just before and during camp. These stories triggered obvious emotional responses in the listeners. As Spokane panelist Henry York-Steiner said, "Those in the audience have their own memories of an event, so that the tale becomes collective and shared in a multiplicity of ways. Oral history becomes folklore--in essence, the created history of a people--when themes become dominant in the stories themselves, when patterns become more important than details."

Following are accounts of events shared by a people. The first is Pearl Harbor.

Fred Shiozaki

A veteran of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, Fred Shiozaki grew up in Hilliard, a small railroad town in Eastern Washington.

When the war started, I was as scared as I've ever been in my life. We realized that we were now something completely different. I was probably more aware of what I looked like than I ever had been before or have been since. I recall on December 8, 1941, staying home from school and wondering what was going to happen next. My father, whose business was not thriving--we were just coming out of the depression--suddenly took a nosedive. One incident stays with me. An old friend, politically prominent in the Spokane area, had been doing business with my dad for over twenty years. My dad used to pick up his laundry because he was such an old friend. He got there on December 8th, and his friend, his old friend said, "Hey Charlie, I can't send my laundry to you any more. What would people think?" This was the situation for several months. Of course the follow-up of the story is as business improved and people needed the services, the gentleman came around and asked him to do his shirts. My dad told him where to stick his shirts.

But we found we were unable to insure our business. We could not insure our automobiles. I can remember the family being called down to the FBI office and questioned about our loyalty. We were required to turn in our radios and cameras and guns.

I was one of the editors of the yearbook at my high school, and I recall taking pictures around the building for the yearbook, and asked what was I doing taking pictures around the high school.

Marcelline Terao

Marcelline Terao's family lived near the strategic Sand Point Naval Air Station. War had been declared.

A close friend related to me that the wife of a high naval officer reported that a flickering light could be seen in the window of our house precisely at 6 PM every evening, and it must be a signal, because shortly afterwards, it would be extinguished. And another story was just as absurd. . . An individual who lived on a hill overlooking our farm saw a narrow strip of yellow vegetation every spring. They thought this would be a landmark or an arrow pointing to the naval air station close by. We never dreamed that meditation before the family shrine with a lit candle was anything but a Buddhist offering thanks. My father offered incense and meditating before meals. The yellow strip was the turnip which had wintered over.

Two hours after the declaration of war by the President of the United States, my father was picked up by the FBI. My father was not a leader of the community. He was a Buddhist, a very simple man, a family man, and a farmer.

My diabetic father was moved to the Seattle immigration station. From there he went to Missoula, Montana, and shortly after, he went to Louisiana, which was so stuffy and sultry that in his letters he indicated he was unable to sleep. Then followed New Mexico, an enemy alien camp. We wrote several letters to General DeWitt, the military commander, stating that my father was a devout Buddhist and would not harm anyone. We were not to see him for two and one-half years.

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt expelled all Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

Ed Yamamoto

Spokane, Washington, lies east of the Cascade Mountains and outside the military's so-called "Civilian Exclusion Areas." Ed Yamamoto was one of many Nikkei who were not incarcerated.

Spokane was designated as Zone II of Military Area I, and was under orders to prepare to evacuate homes on 24 hours' notice at any time after Zone I, the immediate Pacific Coast, had been evacuated. This condition existed for almost eighteen months, up to about the middle of 1943. During this time many false rumors reached us that we were about to be evacuated. So a number of people who had voluntarily evacuated from the Coast areas and settled in Spokane pulled up stakes again and moved to the Chicago area. Many of us who remained, stripped our possessions down to the bare minimum. One thing that really hit home, hit deep, was the fact that I was classified 4-C, an enemy alien.

James Watanabe

Dr. Watanabe did not hear anything about evacuation until January 1942. At first, he did not believe he would be subject to any orders himself.

On March 23, 1942, the Japanese Americans from Bainbridge Island were given six days to dispose of their worldly goods and then be transported to a concentration camp. GI's with fixed bayonets rounded them up and escorted them to trains in Seattle. The Army took over the Western Washington fairgrounds in Puyallup and made living accommodations for 8,000 people.

In the meantime they slapped a curfew on us from 8 PM to 6 AM. In addition, you could not travel more than ten miles from home. On May 12, we were given a special commencement exercise at Fife High School. On May 13, we were notified that we were to report to the Puyallup assembly center, and we were given our number, 17703. My brother's friend drove us in his truck to Puyallup, where we were directed to a gravelled parking lot about two blocks square. It was ringed by a high barbed-wire fence, with guard towers manned by GI's with machine guns. There were hugh searchlights. Soldiers with shotguns were patrolling the perimeter of the camp. We were assigned a room in a barracks made of 1-by-12 green lumber and having about eight rooms. The partitions only went up the base of the roof, leaving a triangular open space running the entire length of the barracks. The rooms were about 16 by 20 feet. All eight of our family, from my 68-year-old father to my niece of about two years of age, were housed in a single room. We were given camp cots and ticking, which we filled with straw for mattresses, and we strung partitions of sheets and blankets. Bathrooms, showers, messhalls were located at the other end of camp.

I got a job as a laborer digging ditches and hauling garbage, and for this I was paid $8 per month for a 40-hour week. Others worked as barbers, cooks, dishwashers, and started classes in handicrafts, music appreciation, etiquette, and so on. A few friends collected books and started a small lending library. Periodically we would have community singing, talent shows, dances, and one or two movies. On Sunday we would have church services conducted by Caucasian ministers from the outside. The guards were all Caucasians, of course. Some were pretty good. Others bragged about how big a hole a shotgun would make in a person, or bragged about what swill we were eating compared to what they were eating.

Emi Somekawa

Pregnant women were not exempted from the Executive Order. Emi Somekawa, like most others, was caught by surprise.

My husband and I were married before the war, and like all young couples, were looking forward to many things, but now our small savings seemed like nothing. Many questions went through our minds. What will happen to our home when we leave? Will we ever

see it again? How can we ensure a living for our children, as we had planned? All these questions, and no one to answer them.

We lived in Portland, Oregon, and were taken to the livestock exhibition center there. Under armed guard, deprived of privacy and dignity.

In the Portland Assembly Center were 3600 people under one roof and the horses' stalls were made into living quarters. The exhibition areas had plywood boards that served as the four walls that housed family units. We were allowed to take what we could carry, so all of us took as much as we could in our duffel bags, suitcases, and footlockers.

We had a child nine months old, and I was pregnant with my second. My immediate concern was for this child, and we wanted to make sure that she had formula and could be fed on time and had a comfortable place to sleep. Then, of course, there was laundry to be done. We had to walk several blocks to our laundry room, and all the laundry had to be done on a washboard. We were told our meals would be prepared for us, but the food was not refrigerated or prepared properly. Most of the people in the Assembly Center encountered ptomaine poisoning at one time or another. The latrines were inadequate, so for those who were vomiting or had diarrhea, it became quite a problem. The ones who took care of babies or elderly invalids probably had the most difficult time. My own father-in-law was bedridden after suffering a stroke.

American citizens and permanent residents remained confined in the detention centers, fifteen of them, for about four months. By late summer of 1942, the ten "permanent" concentration camps were ready. The eight members of Dr. Watanabe's family were put on a train and shipped with other Nikkei to Minidoka, in southwest Idaho.

James Watanabe

This train ride was one of the low points in my life. Near Vancouver, Washington, the train went through a switching maneuver. Every stop and start was made in a jarring manner and threw us around like rag dolls. I thought to myself, they hate us so much that they would do a thing like this. Periodically, a guard would come and tell us to pull down the blinds because we were coming to a defense plant.

The next day we finally reached our destination, which was in the middle of sagebrush and rattlesnake country, near a town called Eden. There were 44 blocks and ancillary buildings such as warehouses, hospitals, administration buildings. Each block consisted of 12 tar-papered barracks containing six rooms. There were messhalls, restrooms, showers, laundry room, and recreation halls.

When the wind blew, clouds of dust permeated everything, including your room, clothes, and food. When it rained, large mud puddles

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

Presidio of San Francisco, California
April 24, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All that portion of the City of Seattle, State of Washington, lying generally south of an east-west line beginning at the point at which Jackson Street meets Elliott Bay; thence easterly along Jackson Street to Fifth Avenue; thence southerly on Fifth Avenue to Dearborn Street; thence easterly on Dearborn Street to Twenty-third Avenue; thence northerly on Twenty-third Avenue to Yesler Way; thence easterly on Yesler Way to Lake Washington.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 18, this Headquarters, dated April 24, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Friday, May 1, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Friday, April 24, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northwestern Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

1319 Rainier Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Saturday, April 25, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Sunday, April 26, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:

(a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
(b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
(c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
(d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
(e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station.

The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.

4. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage at the sole risk of the owner of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

5. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Saturday, April 25, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Sunday, April 26, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

SEE CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER NO. 18.

were everywhere. Some of us collected discarded lumber to make a sidewalk so that we could get to the bathrooms without getting muddy. Winter was very severe there, with cold such as we had never experienced before. The tar-papered huts and pot-bellied stoves were all we had. The government gave us some World War I vintage clothes, and these did help some.

Wafford Conrad

For two years before it closed, Mr. Conrad was information officer at the Central Utah Relocation Project, or Topaz internment camp.

A youngster in one of the internment camps is said to have told his parents, "I don't like it here. When are we going back to America?" It could have happened at the Central Utah Relocation Center, constructed by Army engineers in the summer of 1942 to house 10,000 persons of Japanese ancestry. It was located in severe desert, where only clumps of greasewood struggled up from the white alkaline soil.

The project lands covered 9,000 acres. A portion of these lands was turned into irrigated farms to grow vegetables and livestock feed. The site, named Topaz after a nearby mountain dotted with topaz crystals, was 16 miles from the nearest town of Delta, population 1500. Topaz covered a mile-square area and was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guard towers. It was divided into areas for internees, administrative personnel, and military police. The internee area consisted of 42 blocks, each with 12 barracks clustered around a central dining hall, a recreation hall, and a latrine/laundry building.

The administrative housing and buildings were separated from the internees by a wide strip of land. An Issei internee was hired to patrol as night watchman.

Besides the choking dust and gum-like mud after rains, there were many other problems in those early days. Internees often had to occupy barracks before the roofs had been waterproofed or inside sheetrocks and ceilings were installed. It often was necessary to temporarily assign two couples, large families, or a group of bachelors to one room. Open ditches for watermains constituted hazards. There were shortages of mattresses, bedding, stoves, coal, and school supplies. Residents made tables and chairs out of boxes.

A democratic form of self-government was set up. Block residents elected representatives to serve as a community council empowered to pass legislation which did not conflict with War Relocation Authority policy. The accomplishments included drafting their constitution, appointing a judicial commission, and naming the streets. A block manager organization was evolved to look after the physical needs of the residents.

A cooperative was organized to meet consumer needs. Its services included a canteen, dry goods store, fish market, bank, radio and repair shop, barber shops, photo studio, and a movie theater. A ministerial association was created to develop a unified religious program. A project newspaper, the Topaz Times, was created to keep the people informed of events within the center, including such things as church services, weddings, funerals, and block meetings. There was very little information contained in the newspaper about the war or any other outside activities, except for the exploits of the Japanese American soldiers.

The project reports division also published a mimeographed paper called the "Relocation News." It contained news of job opportunities in other areas of the country. One of the principal objectives of the administration was to get the internees to relocate away from the center and, almost from the beginning, there was a movement out.

A number of problems arose. In March of 1943, there was a series of disagreements between internee doctors and the appointed medical staff, which culminated in a threatened walkout of all internee workers in the Topaz hospital. Another crisis developed in April from the fatal shooting of an aged Issei resident by a military police sentry who stated that the victim was going through the boundary fence and did not obey challenges to halt. The community protested through work stoppages that lasted a week, until the announcement of steps taken by the administration and military authorities to ensure that an event of this kind would not recur.

The lifting of the Western Defense Command's mass exclusion order and the WRA's decision to close all relocation centers by the end of 1945 were greeted with surprise, relief, and some apprehension. Labor shortages developed as internees moved out. There was an increase in medical social cases because of worry over center closings. The center closed on schedule, however, with the gate closing behind the last busload of evacuees on October 31, 1945.

Though Washington State has never had the largest Japanese American population, it has produced most of the Japanese American literature, from Kyo Koike's haiku club at the turn of the century, to the English-language works of Monica Sone, John Okada, James Sakamoto, and Momoko Iko. The vision of Japanese America has emerged through this literature.

Some of the questions you may want to keep in mind as you read this section are: What do their works reveal about Japanese America? Is there a unified vision? What effects have social pressures had on Japanese American literature?

Frank Chin

Mr. Chin's plays were the first Asian American works to be mounted in New York and presented on national television. He is an instructor in Asian American studies.

One of the earliest statements of a unified vision of Japanese America comes from Kyo Koike, an Issei doctor working in Seattle. He founded an active haiku society, but his main contribution was photography. At that time, the turn of the century, photography was a fairly new art, and Koike felt that he could make it a specifically Japanese American art. And then as photography would develop, this unified vision of Japanese America would be a fusion of Japanese sensitivity as expressed through Western technology. He wrote:

> When water is still, it may become stale. When photographic art reaches a cul-de-sac, it becomes too conventional. For the advance of photography, we must make earnest endeavors to find something new all the time. In such a case, Japanese idea is worthy and effective in animating pictorial photography. As the Oriental idea is somewhat new to foreigners, to build a new structure based on it, that is our Japanese mission.

I think we find something similar in the work of Chiye Mori, the first editor of the Manzanar Free Press. At that time she was in her late thirties, divorced, with a child. She chain-smoked, wore glasses, had a salty tongue. Under her editorship, she projected a vision of Japanese American dignity, even arrogance, in the face of the camps.

Remember that the Manzanar Free Press, like all camp papers, was censored. Chiye Mori used the paper as a responsible instrument,

trying to keep up morale, and trying to maintain Japanese American integrity, an integrity she hoped would exist between generations. In "The Editor's Cubbyhole," she writes:

Out of the Mouths of Babes

The younger generation continues to amaze us. Small fry in our neighborhood no longer play cops and robbers, house, or even tag. Children's games keep step with the modern tempo. Just as children outside now play war, our children here play nightchecker and plasterboard. Said one little small fry, busily counting imaginary beds and blankets, "We're taking inventory." Next, these two little enterprising youngsters, aged four and five, began playing plasterboard. Huffing and puffing they picked up scrap pieces of plasterboard and went through the elaborate motions of holding it up and nailing it on. Finally they came to a dead stop. "We can't finish it," they told us. "No more lumber. No more nails." Then they mumbled something about the quartermaster. That is when we slunk off in shame.

But on second thought, it's no laughing matter. These little children in their most impressionable years will bear the marks of this physical and emotional upheaval long after it has become an unpleasant memory for us older Nisei. The parents and teachers have a sacred duty in keeping the children happy and preparing them for the new world that they must battle when they go outside again.

Here is another classic editorial:

Cryptic Conversation

"Over there, over there. The Yanks are comin'. The Yanks are comin'.

We were trudging down to work. Having exhausted all fertile conversation, he started humming. After going through his entire repertoire of "God Bless America," "The Caissons Go Rolling Along," etc., he started "You're a Sap, Mr. Jap."

"Do you think we really are?" we asked.

"No, they're not referring to us. Oh, I get it," grinning sheepishly. "Maybe I am a sap, but those songs get in your blood."

We started to make mental footnotes. The rabble rousers are wrong, we thought. Cultural influences are stronger than blood ties. "But," he continued, "when they started pushing me around, it sure burned me up."

A typical American reaction, we noted. If we remember correctly, this country was founded by a group of people that resented being pushed around.

"Well, if you don't like it here, you can go to Japan after the war," we ventured.

"Nah," his answer was emphatic. "I've been there, five years ago, when my grandfather died. They were plenty nice to me as long as I was spending money, but I know they were talking about me behind my back. I couldn't get their lingo anyway. If I go there now, they'd probably call me a dirty Yank, just like they call me a dirty Jap here--some life!" An expressive shrug of the shoulders.

"What do you plan to do, then?" we inquired.

"Well, I'm not so sure, but I think I'll learn some trade here and try to relocate somewhere. At least it is better than being cooped up here. I suppose there is still a little opportunity left for us."

"What if the draft board catches up with you after you leave here?"

"I'd hate to leave my family, but I wouldn't really mind otherwise. At least it shows that they still have some faith in us. It's being treated like a criminal that makes me mad."

"But," we countered, "we really can't say conclusively that the evacuation is uncalled for. Perhaps the Army did have some good reason which they aren't revealing until the war is over."

"They'll have to prove it to me," he muttered.

Typical American cynicism, we thought. They'll have to prove it. We wonder what America will do with this youth, and thousands of other boys and girls like him now in relocation centers. They are bitter, confused, and pathetically anxious to be accepted. It is a staggering responsibility that America has taken upon itself when she evacuated these citizens together with the alien Japanese.

Lawson Inada

Lawson Inada is professor of English at Southern Oregon State College and was recently named Distinguished Teacher of the Year by the Modern Language Association.

The works I will talk about are about the war years. These are creative works; they come from ourselves.

On the one hand, we have Toshio Mori, who had a collection of stories ready to go to press in 1942, but the war came along and it was not printed until 1949. Toshio Mori's book, *Yokohama, California,*

essentially represents prewar Japanese America. All you have to do is read a few words of any of those stories and you'll realize what Japanese America was like at the time. It was a very vital community, it was a very warm community, it was a very funny community also. Not without difficulty--a lot of gossip and backbiting--but it was a community that had a sense of unity. This is me, this is my community, this is the book, and the book is reaching the rest of the world. So it's a community that is not simply self-contained, but in charge of its own destiny, and has its own identity.

Toshio Mori mentions Caucasians, of course, Caucasians appear, but it's no big deal. So if a Caucasian comes into my flower store or comes by the nursery, fine. You assume this is the world and there are other folks around. You read this book and you get that wonderful sense of how we used to see things. Some of you, if you were around, that's the way you saw things. You saw things according to community.

One of the characters in the story "Li'l Yokohama" is a person named Ray Tatayama, and Ray is going off, he's done quite well in high school, and he's interested in writing, he had a good English teacher. She encouraged him to go off and become a writer. Of course, the world is open to us, isn't it? We can do what we want to, and Ray knows, as his teacher told him, if you study hard, Ray, and you work your way up, there's a place in literature for you. We go down to the train station and we say good-bye to Ray Tatayama, who is going on a train all the way to Columbia University. A good school of journalism.

Now, that's worth keeping in mind, because if Toshio's book is here, let's say, 1942, postwar Japanese America is represented in the major novel of its time, *No-No Boy*, the one that takes place in Seattle. Now there's a connection, because John Okada left the West Coast and went to Columbia University to study and become a writer. There are other connections, too. Toshio Mori's book was published in Idaho and eventually sold, oh, several hundred copies. No one ever heard of it. It was the book that dropped off the table, so to speak. *No-No Boy*, published right here about people right here, did the very same thing. Nobody in Seattle bought it. *No-No Boy* is obviously an after-the-war work and is the result of going through the situations we've been talking about.

The Great Camp Novel

I would like to deal with <u>this</u> book: the one in the middle, the one that these two might be said to lean on, on the bookshelf. This is the Great Camp Novel. The Great <u>Camp</u> Novel, you see, because Okada's book only touches on the camps. The character Ichiro remembers somebody in the camps, the camps are mentioned, but this is essentially postwar Seattle.

The Great Camp Novel was written by a Nisei who was already a mature writer, who already had a vision and, therefore, when you read the Great Camp Novel, you see all the undercurrents. So it starts here, in Toshio's time.

The Great Camp Novel pulls no punches. It's a tough, tough novel. It's a funny novel, too. There was one scene where the wind comes along and blows all the barbed wire down. And no one leaves the camp! I mean, where are you going to go? Shiyoganai.*

The food and everything has gone into it. Some of it is written in Japanese, some of it is written straight. But most of it captures the quality. . . the way you can always tell a Nisei over the telephone. It's got that sound to it, and it's written in that beautiful mixture. It's our own.

The Great Camp Novel had to be written. There was just so much to say, there was so much feeling. And at the same time it was a very positive work because it shows people who were not victims, the way that *No-No Boy* is a powerful, beautiful work, but not pretty. It has a lot of ugliness in it. The Great Camp Novel has a combination of these elements and it, too, is a beautiful work but it is not pretty. It shows how people acted when they were put together in a situation, all the pettiness that happened. The Great Camp Novel was written in blood, written with mud.

The publishing history of the Great Camp Novel was that it started to appear first in these camp magazines. . . . and then it got censored. But the Great Camp Novel continued in serial form. It was passed around by word of mouth, even. It was handwritten and people passed it around, and you could tell they were reading it because they made references to it, and would laugh about it. Even some guards got hold of it, and they thought it was terrific, too, because they were in it. And so, the Great Camp Novel really became the Great American Novel, because everybody was included.

One of the characters, for instance, escapes camp, he wants to go back to the West Coast. Thus starts this incredible journey of the character who escapes, assumes various identities, works his way, hops freights, gets help from people he's heard about in various places. He comes back to the Coast and he infiltrates his old community, where others take him in this underground railroad. He has a brother who escapes in another way. He joins up and he goes 442. So that is part of the Great Camp Novel, too. It includes going to the South, because some of our people were in the South. It includes the Indians. We were not out there by ourselves. All of America became intertwined in the Great Camp Novel.

Well, after the war, people heard about it. The Pacific Citizen, Hokubei Mainichi, all these newspapers started to print up little bits of it in serial form. People wanted the Great Camp Novel. Finally, the New York publishers could take it no longer, and they said, "All right! What do you want? We got to have it!" And they bought the Great Camp Novel.

The Great Camp Novel, overnight, became a bestseller. Well, first it sold out completely. The Japanese American community said,

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* roughly, "What's the use?" or "It can't be helped."

This is what we were waiting for! Asian American community? Sold out. You couldn't buy a copy around here. The so-called ethnic community--they bought it up. Then everybody else wanted it, because they saw that this was everyone's, this was it.

Then, of course, the big thing happened. Hollywood wanted a piece of it. Hollywood got the Great Camp Novel, made this great movie starring all the people that were in the camps. The book went on to become adopted by the National Education Association, and it's in all the schools. You read it as a kid. It won the Pulitzer Prize. It's the book that I give to people when they say, "Mr. Inada, you were in the camps, can you. . . . " "Hey, here's the book, kid. This is it." But then the kid says, "Oh, I already read that."

And then the Great Camp Novel spurred other novels to be created, and we had avenues, we had access, we had all of this communication.

. . . The Great Camp Novel does not exist. It's out there. Of course. It's right here in the audience. But I cannot get my hands on the Great Camp Novel, and maybe this is part of what we're in search of when we have sessions like this. This is the incalculable part. All the dollars and cents, losses. . . I don't know where the Great Camp Novel comes in.

Since I began on a positive note, I would like to think that we are not simply resigning ourselves. We are still searching for the camps and the camps are very much alive. Perhaps the next time we meet, we can talk about the <u>real</u> Great Camp Novel.

THE QUIET AMERICAN:
Long-term Psychological Effects of the Internment

Minoru Masuda

The late Dr. Minoru Masuda was professor of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at the University of Washington.

What we have to do, is try to establish some kind of thread through what we are going to say. And that means making an artificial cleavage in terms of the experience of the evacuees. We are looking at three generations.

Issei: The Pride and the Shame

When Japan dropped the bombs on Pearl Harbor, the FBI swooped down on the community that very evening. For weeks afterward they took away the Issei leaders, suddenly leaving the community bereft of leadership and bereft of its organizations. They took away people like Buddhist priests, Japanese language teachers, heads of kenjinkai (prefectural associations), heads of organizations, everybody who held any degree of leadership. There was a complete suppression of Nikkei culture. And many Issei, in sudden fear--and justifiably so--burned valuable papers, documents, photographs, letters, objects of art, anything that might cause them to be suspect.

Of the more than 120,000 Nikkei who were evacuated, one-third were Issei, more than half of whom were over 50 years of age. The Issei men, 55 to 60, and Issei women, 10 years younger. More than half of the Issei had come to this country before 1910--that means most had been here more than thirty years. Thirty years in which they had made a decision to stay, to raise their families here. They had laid down their roots, despite the fact that this country did not allow them citizenship.

You can imagine the anger and bitterness created by the evacuation. We can see it in the words of an Issei being interviewed at Tule Lake:

> If we hadn't been evacuated, I wouldn't mind their serving in the Army (he is talking now about his two sons). I'd be glad to see them go, but it makes you mad when you've been discriminated against so much. Ever since I came to America there wasn't a day when I wasn't made to feel small because I was Japanese. I've lost all hope of a future in America. I can't make money here any more. I've lost everything. My wife feels worse about the whole thing.

We are talking about a terrific economic disaster that befell the Issei. Thirty or forty years of hard labor, sacrifice, building small businesses and farms--all went down the drain. That kind of loss simply meant starting all over again.

From a Santa Clara Issei farmer right after the war:

> Before war, I had twenty acres. Good land, two good houses, one big. 1942 in camp, everybody say sell, sell, sell. Lawyer write, he say sell. I sell, $650 an acre. Now the same land $1500 an acre. I lose, I cannot help, all gone. Now I live in hostel. Work like when I first come to this country. No use look back, go crazy think about all I lost. Have to start all over again like when come from Japan, but faster this time.

It was a time of great desperation and discouragement for the Issei, now in their declining years. To go back to square one and start all over again. Most of them really never did, but yielded the family headship to the young Nisei.

The Nisei, too, have lost. They lost tremendously because their Issei parents' economic base vanished. They lost opportunities economically, they lost great educational opportunities. Think about the lands that have been lost, and think about the value of that land now. Think about Bainbridge Island, Bellevue, Duwamish, White River Valley.

But the trauma was more than financial. I'm talking about the psychological trauma that came raining down upon the Issei. When we were going to be sent into camp, the WCCA set up regulations and forms for processing people. The Issei, unable to understand the regulations and the whole process, became wholly dependent upon their Nisei children. Once they were in camp, the Issei further had to give way to their Nisei children's leadership. They were banned from local self-government and they were forbidden use of their language. So the Issei were shunted to the periphery of the camp structure; they lost their community stature and authority. And in a culture where productivity is the benchmark of a man's worth, the Issei were suddenly without jobs. They were disadvantaged by age and by language.

Disintegration of the Family

Now, to the Japanese, the family is the all-important unit. In camp, you're crowded into tarpaper barracks, into one small room amongst many. Privacy no longer exists. The Issei father is unable now to assert his authority as head of the family, and experiences the loss of family discipline as the young now begin to go their own way. There is no such thing as family togetherness at dinner when everybody eats in a communal mess hall and the children come and go whenever they want. The family home in the barracks becomes housing, not a home. So we see that the Issei in camp have lost not only

the economic base of their authority, but also the social base of the family. The unity and solidarity of the family has always been the prime Issei orientation and one of the main reasons the Issei chose to stay here. To the Issei, unity in the family meant Issei control. Now, with their uncertain future, their whole security was bound up in their Nisei children.

What about the Nisei? The Nisei were becoming increasingly independent, and their actions were less controllable. We begin to see a whole series of Issei-Nisei conflicts, because the Nisei perceived that it was the Issei "Japanese-ness" that got them into this terrible fix.

The Loyalty Oath

Right in the midst of all this growing disunity and fragmentation, the Army and the WRA bring on a new registration program (*see Glossary*) calculated to speed up relocation and the draft. A more inept program could not have been devised. Then the internees looked at those questions, there was an immediate polarization of the people: If you answered the questions one way you were loyal; if you answered the questions another way, then you were disloyal. There was no in-between, no shades of gray.

So here we have the family, a family that has sons in it as well as Issei. Now, what does a disloyal answer mean? A disloyal answer, so far as the Issei were concerned, would lead to segregation (in the Tule Lake camp), and it meant their sons would not be taken in the draft. It meant that their children would not leave the family to relocate, and the family would be ensured camp security for the duration.

To the Nisei, to answer disloyally meant segregation into another camp, which publicizes, which stigmatizes, which jeopardizes your future in your own country, and also prevents you from relocating outside to further your career.

The arguments that went on, within camp, within the family, about how to answer these two questions tore families asunder. Most of them answered on the loyalty side. However, there were major crises. Some families went with dependent and often protesting children to Tule Lake to be called disloyal. Some families broke up in camp and went separate ways within camp or went outside camp. Some families who repatriated found themselves, especially the Nisei, in an alien land.

For the Issei, their children's accusations and the reality of the camp's suppression of language, culture, and religion was a double blow. The message from all sides was that it was bad to be Japanese. The Issei is now reduced to a dependent state: he has been culturally dishonored and he has been shorn of all his material assets. His family is in a state of disorder. The Issei knows illness and death, depression and suicide.

I want to close this segment with a personal note about my father. Before the war he was a strong, tough, hard-working, indefatigable man. Like a rock he was, always respected. When we, the family, were reunited after the war in Seattle, he was no longer the same. He was a shadow of his former self, and he was no longer the head of the household. Within a year, he came down with tuberculosis, and a year later he died. I think that the uprooting, the incarceration, loss of his self-worth as a man, the sweeping away of all the hard work for his family, just as surely killed him as did the tuberculosis.

The Issei are almost all gone now, and the brunt of the catastrophe of the evacuation and incarceration fell on their shoulders. They are not here to tell you that story, but it is recorded in archives, and their gravestones stand as memorials to their travail, and their suffering, and their pain.

Monica Sone

Author of Nisei Daughter, *Monica Sone practices clinical psychology in Canton, Ohio.*

I was one of the first to leave camp, being female, of school age, and no great threat to society. As I took a train to the Midwest, I was loaded with guilt, self-hate, and fear.

My guilt came from the feeling that I was abandoning my parents in camp. My other guilt came from. . . an old ongoing guilt of having a Japanese face. At that time, looking like a Japanese meant being a despicable subhuman.

My self-hate came from my having "cooperated" with the evacuation. Many times I had wished that I had been able to stand up to my government's illegal order. Since I did not act according to my conscience, I felt weak and hated that weakness.

My fear came from the past. I experienced all that hate which had poured out from the public and the government officials as a death wish upon us--that message had sunk deeply inside me. As I sat on that train which clanked across the continent, I felt like a mauled creature looking for a safe environment. If the West Coast hadn't wanted me, why would it be different elsewhere?

Years of Adjustment

The churches were the most active in reaching out to us. I was invited many times to talk about my camp experiences in meetings. This was satisfying to some degree because I was informing people who had never heard about "Oriental Americans," much less about their incarceration. Yet the talks did not resolve my personal feelings. I was ventilating and this was of therapeutic value, but it was not really productive in the long run.

As I look back now at the long years of adjustment in the Midwest and East, I see them as ones of passive accommodation to our past rejection. I'd blocked out that pain. This was easy to do, because my husband and I became very preoccupied in making a life for ourselves and our four children. Our environment was friendly and we began to feel good about ourselves. Yet underneath it all I was still laboring under unresolved feelings of resentment about my past imprisonment.

Redress and Peace of Mind

This became very evident to me in 1978. I had been keeping in touch with the activities of the Japanese Americans through reading the Pacific Citizen. When I learned the Japanese American Citizens League had finally endorsed a proposal to petition our government for redress, I felt something breaking up inside me. There was relief, exhilaration, and finally, I was so deeply moved that tears flooded. I was surprised at the depth of my own feelings, which had been hidden for so long.

Soon afterward, I read an astounding editorial in the Wall Street Journal entitled "Guilt Mongering." It accused the Japanese Americans of copying other ethnic minority groups snapping at compensation under the guise of human rights. Thirty-six years later this conservative newspaper was rationalizing the mass violation of our civil rights. The lesson had not been learned. All my pent-up anger spilled over. This anger has served as an impetus and given me a desire to participate in whatever way I can to help win redress.

My start began by attending the Day of Remembrance in Puyallup in 1978. It was a vitalizing and unforgettable experience. Two thousand of us, joined by our friends in the community, were speaking up and making a promise to ourselves that we would seek redress through a democratic process.

A healing process has started. I feel an inner strength and a self-esteem more from my gut now than merely up in my head. I think it is time for our government to start restoring its own psychological health by confronting its past misdeed and rectifying it. We invite you and our fellow Americans to join us in helping that process along. We want you to understand all the implications of our incarceration so that we can help restrain our government from repeating this past travesty. And together, we might reaffirm a mutual conviction that human and civil rights must be for all.

Henry Miyatake

Henry Miyatake, a Boeing engineer, has worked for redress for the past nine years. He is the author of the "Seattle plan" for monetary compensation to individuals affected by EO 9066.

I am not a professional psychologist, and the views expressed are my personal ones. As I look back at the psychological effects of the camp experience, it is small wonder that Nikkei have such a difficult time coping with such subjects as redress, discussing openly the subject of evacuation, and even taking an active part in attempting to improve our society.

As a starting freshman in high school, I had the attributes of a "good" Nisei: studious, conforming to all the rules and norms, respecting my parents, teachers, and elders. I suffered from an inferiority complex, shied away from controversy, was a conformist in a closed society, and was brought up with the objective of pursuing education through college, with strong feelings of responsibility toward family and friends. The "enryo" syndrome was very pronounced in my behavior.

From my viewpoint, the age bracket that suffered the most in terms of permanent psychological damage were the children of junior and senior high school age during the incarceration period. This was the most impressionable period of my life.

In those three years, I became less interested in school and more involved with attempting to rationalize why we should be interned like prisoners of war. The education process became a big turn-off. For most of my classmates the camp schools were the termination of their formal school training. Some of us were lucky enough to continue college-level training after an absence for financial-resource generation. It took eight years before I was able to continue my education.

Fifteen of my friends were members of a scrub football team in Minidoka. We were ragtag, scroungy characters whose only distinction was that we never won a football game. Our only claim to fame was our tricky offense--long on brains, short on talent. Eight of these friends have passed away. The ages of their death ranged from 15 to 46. Two died of gunshot wounds, one self-inflicted. Two died of other medical reasons, and the last four from leukemia.

Studies performed by clinical psychologists indicate a correlation in people contracting leukemia in adult life who suffered psychological trauma at an early age. The untold stories of suicides, long-term mental problems, families breaking apart, and other catastrophies will never be recorded in this generation. For some of us Nikkei, it has taken over thirty years to discuss openly the trauma and their effects. Many others will take their inner feelings to their graves.

Ben Tong

Dr. Tong is visiting scholar at University of California, Berkeley (Institute for the Study of Social Change); lecturer in Asian American Studies and Counseling at San Francisco State University, and core faculty member at the Wright Institute, Berkeley (Graduate School of Psychology).

One of my mentors in clinical psychology once emphasized that, "The hardest thing in life is to see it as it really is." I think that especially applies to the Asian American experience, whether we're looking at Chinatowns, Pilipino farm experiences, or the concentration camps. To look at an experience for what it really was can be very painful, and yet I don't think there can be any other way to liberate oneself from the kind of problems that grew out of such experiences.

The Need for a Language

Now, one thing that has made it very hard is the reality that there hasn't as yet emerged a language for looking at the camps. We have heard "incest"; other people have used the word "rape"; camp was like this, camp was like that. There is still, after all these years, a struggle to find the right kind of language that will shed the most light on the experience. That's one thing that those who went through the Japanese American concentration camps do not seem to have in common with the Jews who went through Auschwitz and Dachau and other Nazi camps.

Following the Nazi camps, Jews wrote thousands of articles and books. They coined terms like "the authoritarian personality." Anybody who resembles a Nazi can actually be smoked out by taking a test called an "F scale." If you score high on the F scale, you're high on facism; you're an authoritarian personality. If during the camps you identified with the Nazis, then it was appropriate to refer to you as someone who had engaged in a process known as "identification with the aggressor." All of these concepts, then, emerged as a result of the Jewish experience in Europe of the 1940s.

Not only that, Jewish intellectuals have universalized this language. They have insisted that you can use, for instance, the concept of authoritarian personality to describe not just Nazis, but anyone else who might have fascist tendencies; that "identification with the aggressor" can be applied cross-culturally to other experiences. I don't think that has as yet emerged for the Nikkei, although we see, in conferences like this, and in creative writing and scientific writing, certain kinds of labor pains out of which will come a language that will make sense of, and help cope with, the experiences of the camps.

It is interesting that in recent years we have had a number of books on chronic stress disorders. A prevalent one these days is a collection of readings by a behavioral scientist, a very excellent one, Rudolf Moos of Stanford. It's called *Human Adaptation: Coping with Life Crises*. There is a fairly good-sized section here on concentration camps. But while there are four or five whole articles

on the Nazi camps, there is only one short paragraph on the Japanese American camps. The concluding sentence of this short paragraph reads like this:

> Aside from the severe economic setbacks suffered by many families and the premature end of the education of some Nisei, resulting in permanent occupational handicaps, most people recovered well after their release.

I don't think that's true. I think some problems are just appearing now. . . that are analogous to the delayed action of Agent Orange, a chemical defoliant used in the Vietnam War, that is just now beginning to surface as a long-term killer in the body of the veteran who absorbed it many years before.

The Darker Side of the Camp Experience

Let's pull out some of this stuff. At least two of the cases that I'm going to mention represent material that one of my former Nisei coworkers at a Bay Area mental health center is very hesitant about publishing. There are a lot of people who come across these things, and for all kinds of reasons are hesitant or fearful about sharing them. I'll let you figure out for yourselves what <u>that</u> might be all about.

Contempt for One's Own

This is a woman, a Sansei woman, whom I saw in therapy for about a year and a half. My diagnostic impression of her was that she was immature, extremely attractive, a "chronic dependent personality with features of pathological narcissism." Which means, among other things, that she was looking for people to take care of her--particularly white men and black men.

Her family history included a very dominating, suffocating mother, and what she herself referred to as a weak father. She said, "I've found other Sansei males to be just like my father." And I said, "What do you mean?" "They're dull, they're cowardly, they're uninteresting, they're slow, and you don't get a kiss until that 159th time out!" I pursued the point: "Would you tell me more about your father, particularly what you cannot stand?" I remember this was very dramatic, as she was not given to talking in a loud voice. She jumped out of her chair, hollering, "Goddamn tuna fish sandwiches!" "What do you mean?" I asked. She calmed down a bit and then said, "Every year for twenty years he's been going to work in a place where he is the only Asian. Everybody else is white." He went to work every day with a lunch pail. He would ask her mother to pack him tuna fish sandwiches with chopped celery and mayonnaise, which he loathed. The wife pleaded with him for twenty years. "Dear, take some sushi, musubi." But he wouldn't take his favorite Japanese foods. The daughter explained, "Even today he still acts like he's in camp. For twenty years I had to put up with him saying we still gotta get along." That's pretty heavy stuff.

Another case--one of the few cases handled by a white psychoanalyst, Mark Gehrie. I would like to present a few passages that were taken from many years of psychoanalysis with this Nisei who is now, I would guess, in his mid-50s. This man, Mr. B., we'll call him, was not in the camps.

> Evacuation and Pearl Harbor was a traumatic kind of world-shaking event. It's like, oh, the one thing I always sympathize with and identify with. . . Anne Frank type of stories. And the life that we lead during most of our childhood was like Anne Frank. You've got to be quiet, the enemy is outside. But we'll carry on our own feud inside, you know, between ourselves, relatives, you know. Within the family you could just kill each other or just raise hell. But outside. . . we can't go outside. If we do go outside, we have to put on our mask, our facade, you know. And that's the type of devastating kind of upbringing, like the Anne Frank type of situation. It really gets to me, where one is sort of running away.

Now, this was during the time of the camps when he was in therapy, at the age of 26. One interpretation that might be cast on this particular passage is that this is an individual from a group that was humiliated and terrorized, who didn't go into camp, but nonetheless suffered much of the same anxieties of people who were. The world felt unsafe. It was like a minefield. You had to be still. Anything could set white people off, and you never knew what that might be.

The second paragraph is even more revealing:

> The only kind of discrimination was in what my parents thought . . . who instilled in us that this is a hostile environment. Those were pretty bitter days because of the Manchurian crisis. The papers full of those terrible cartoons of buck-tooth Japs. (He blames his parents for painting such a hostile world, but at the same time he is aware it isn't just what he's heard from his parents.) And yet I've never been referred to or made fun of . . . and looking back we made ourselves miserable, sort of. Of course with my parents it was more real because they never really associated on a social level. They never had any white friends. And when a group of Japanese would get together they would talk about the war, about discrimination. My parents. . . they think of this hostile world outside. (Dr. Tong's observation in parentheses.)

I think that the rage that he felt, particularly rage that was directed toward whites, was a very natural human response. At the same time, it was something that felt <u>unmanageable</u>. There were a lot of people with the same natural, human response. They were <u>angry</u> at whites. But they didn't know <u>which</u> whites to be angry at

or how to express their anger and what might happen if they did. So the anger was shifted over and others less threatening were blamed. In this instance, Mr. B. blamed his parents even though he didn't believe his own lying. It was as though he were saying, "My parents are the fools. I've never been mistreated by whites. If the world is hostile, it's because my parents said so." This is kind of an intellectual containment, a way of taking all the overwhelming, unmanageable feelings and just binding them. But it didn't really work.

> Again, I saw two worlds. My own world where I had my friends, my Caucasian friends, and my mother's world, her church friends, her all-Japanese friends. And looking back, I had a choice then--to be Japanese, to be part of the Japanese community, or to take up this more comfortable American, meaning white culture. And anyways, so way back, I see there was a choice. I kind of made a deliberate choice of not pursuing the Japanese part of it.

Another interpretive or clinical concept is this: When Asian Americans, out of contempt for themselves, submerge themselves in the white world, they hide their feelings by saying it is a natural metamorphosis. "To grow up is to be this way, to let go of certain things." "When I was a child, I was a Japanese. Now that I'm a man, I let go of those things." It's really kind of bizarre.

Last I would like to mention one case that no one could do anything about. What it did was point to a lot of the issues.

Spare the Kids

This was a 21-year-old female who was found one night running along a major highway, a four-lane highway, in a negligee. She had just swallowed a huge quantity of lye and she was hollering at the top of her lungs, "Mother, mother, hide! We've got to hide! They just bombed Pearl Harbor!" There were case conferences all over the place. We were completely befuddled. We've only begun to piece together something of what happened.

After we calmed her down a little bit (she was delusional as well), she said that all her life, her parents, whenever they wanted to score points, whenever they wanted to needle her, punish her, they would say, "You think you're having a hard time in your life? You think you have suffered? We've suffered. And you don't know what it was like." And by implication they were saying, "And we're not going to tell you. You're supposed to know." We made an attempt to talk with the parents, and out of this experience with them and with other parents, a number of people like myself came away with certain impressions. These are tentative impressions as to why it is so many Nisei, for so long, have not informed their children of their own personal history.

There are certain psychological purposes to this enforced secrecy. One is that so the person himself will not re-experience the trauma and humiliation and very often the uncontrollable rage

surrounding that experience. This is not a good thing. Anyone who works with anybody who's been terrorized--who's been held captive or hostage, anyone who's gone through a catastrophic traumatizing experience--knows that one of the best therapeutic things to do is to encourage that person to talk about it over and over again. Over and over until the individual can find a language, a cognitive handle with which to deal with the situation. To look at it and not be overwhelmed by it.

Instead, a lot of Nisei, I believe, said, "We dare not even talk about it because it would reawaken all thse feelings." Another reason for not telling is "to spare the kids." "Spare the kids" meant this: "Our kids have to survive in this world where those who locked us up won the war. In order for us and the kids not to go nuts, we must encourage the kids to be what white people expect us to be." And so the kids then were told, "go to school, clean up your accent."

In fact, there are some Sansei who even go so far as to put silicone in their breasts, have eye operations, and clean up their "accents." What they did not count on when they spared the kids and encouraged them to be what whites expected, was that the kids then started to view their parents as an embarrassment. The kids become very patronizing. Then the parents berate them for the very thing they wanted them to do. They say, "What are you? Upstart? You're not one of us any more?" The kids are then caught in a terrible bind. Damned if they do, and damned if they don't.

Redress

One last point: I have very strong feelings about redress even though I'm not a Japanese American. I think that <u>there are some psychological problems that do not lend themselves to psychotherapeutic solutions</u>. When we look at the late sixties, tens of thousands of blacks stopped straightening their hair, stopped using skin creams and bleaches to make their skin whiter, and started talking about black being beautiful, started taking pride in being black. All of these things happened not because they were in encounter groups or had psychotherapy. Other things happened that had nothing to do with psychotherapy. I think redress itself will have that kind of effect. Not psychotherapy alone or maybe not even psychotherapy at all.

The self-contempt we have found, the hatred of one's race, the self-deceptive displacement of rage onto non-threatening objects, the wish to "pass." Mental health problems for which we have very few mental health treatment solutions. Over 70 percent of Japanese American females who married in the last couple of years have "married out." Mostly to whites. I do not oppose interracial marriage. Neither do I support it. It's an individual thing between men and women. But the statistics certainly represent something. You combine that with the siliconizing of breasts and the cutting of eyes and other kinds of phenomena, then we <u>know</u> that we have some serious problems. I don't think they can be resolved by just dropping into therapy. Certain things, like redress, have to take place.

The issue of tangible compensation for the violations of civil rights and unjust imprisonment first reached public attention in 1978. On August 11 of that year, the Wall Street Journal wrote:

> During its convention in Utah (July 1978), an organization called the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), which claims to speak for the 600,000 Japanese-Americans, endorsed a proposal that the U.S. government provide "redress" to the 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry who were removed from the West Coast during World War II. JACL is demanding $25,000 per head, or $3 billion total in damages. . . . Why has the relocation issue come up now? Obviously, JACL has been inspired by the example of other self-appointed ethnic spokesmen snapping at compensation for ancient wrongs under the guise of "human rights" . . . .
>
> Small wonder that Senator S. I. Hayakawa labelled this proposal "absurd and ridiculous." But the fact that it is being made says something unflattering, not about the Japanese-Americans, but about a broader society in which collective guilt for past sins has become a commodity to be traded, mongered, and exploited.

In Day of Remembrance events since then, Japanese Americans shared with the media their personal experiences in the camps. Many of those interviewed expressed their desire for some form of redress by the government. Readers of those stories wrote to news editors across the country. Those who wrote, revealed that even today, they could not distinguish between Japanese Americans and the foreign Japanese enemy.

> "I feel that reparation should be made to the Japanese-Americans interned, but by the Japanese government. Japan started the war, we didn't. We chose the best means available at that time to protect ourselves--or so we thought."
>
> "Who is paying us for the damage the Japanese did at Pearl Harbor?"
>
> "Someone ought to ask for reparations from Japan for those 36,000 Bataan marchers and other know victims of brutal and inhuman atrocities."
>
> "Let's say an equal number of Americans in Japan and the events were reversed. Would they get any better treatment? I think not."

Other readers say that decision must be analyzed in their contemporary context:

"There was speculation and attendant fear than an attack on the West Coast of the United States was in the offing. West Coast war production was essential to the U.S. defense effort. It was thought by our government that the sympathies of some of those of Japanese ancestry (U.S. citizen and noncitizen alike) might lie with Japan rather than the U.S., and that those of such persuasion might assist with an attack on the West Coast or with sabotage of essential war industry."

"The U.S. in 1942 was in a struggle for survival. We had no time to make individual determinations of the loyalty of those of Japanese ancestry. Due process was a luxury not available because of time constraints. Our leaders of the time took action they thought necessary and in the best interests of the defense and survival of the United States."

A nation and a people remain prisoners to popular myths about the incarceration.

For an explanation of the government's prewar finding of the innocence of Japanese Americans as a group, the reader is directed to Michi Weglyn's *Years of Infamy* (William Morrow, 1976). Weglyn shows the President had authorized the Munson Report, which cleared Nikkei of suspicion, and also reveals the government's plan to hold Nikkei hostage for American POWs held overseas.

For the government's argument for the "military necessity" of incarceration, see "Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast" (1943) by Gen. J. L. DeWitt. The Army's official historian, Stetson Conn, has described this report as a "mendacious document," and concludes in a separate document that contemporary evidence offered "little support for the argument that military necessity required a mass evacuation."

For a historial response to the popular notion that military necessity demanded the incarceration, the reader is directed to the works of Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, USA* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) and *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans* (J. B. Lippincott Co., 1975). Daniels shows through government documents that the decision to incarcerate American citizens was political rather than military.

In this section, panelists first discuss the constitutional issues raised by the expulsion and internment and then the issue of redress itself.

Constitutional rights denied to persons of Japanese ancestry during the expulsion and internment included: freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from unreasonable search and seizure, right to be informed of charges, right to speedy and public trial by jury, right to be confronted by unfavorable witnesses, right to legal counsel, right to life and to liberty, right to property, right to reasonable bail, right against involuntary servitude, right to equal protection under the law.

Frank Conklin

Prof. Conklin received his doctorate of law from Yale University. He is professor of constitutional law at Gonzaga University and handles appellate work for the public defender's office.

In college, in high school, and in grade school, we were all exposed at one time or another to a rather sanitized version of a topic which in my day was called Civics, and today might be called American History or Constitutional Law. The disparity between the reality of American history and what is frequently taught in these assorted versions is quite great.

When we talk about constitutional law, we are really talking about constitutional history. Despite the fact that in civics we learned that we have three branches of government with equal powers, that really is not true. Our form of government is essentially a parliamentary type, modified somewhat from the British. This has all sorts of implications as to why things can happen.

Let us begin with the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional or to tell the President that he can or cannot do things. In Korematsu, it told the President that he could intern citizens without trial or without their ever having committed any crime.

Our founding fathers described the Court as the least dangerous branch of government because it had neither the purse nor the sword. What that means is simply that the U.S. Supreme Court is essentially a mirror. It reflects the consensus and value judgments of the American people. Nowhere in the Constitution does it say anything about abortion or birth control or equal rights for women. Yet each of these concerns has been woven into the so-called due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. For years, doctors were prosecuted for performing abortions. Now the state can no longer do that. Why? Because the moral value judgment throughout the country has changed and the Court has reflected that change.

Thus, when you say that the Court has said a particular thing is constitutional, you are simply saying that the consensus of the American people lies in a particular direction. When the Court goes too far too fast, it is quickly brought into check. Historically, the most notable example happened right after the Civil War, when the Congress enacted a whole series of laws that were flagrantly unconstitutional. And the Radical Republicians, as they were called, who dominated the Congress, also passed a law prohibiting the Court from hearing the cases. That is within the power of Congress to do.

We then turn to the Executive, the President. He has the power of the sword. He is the one who can order troops into battle. He bears the immediate responsibility for whatever happens. To say that the military leaders on the West Coast were anti-Japanese is to look to the wrong people. The man who caused the internment was Franklin D. Roosevelt. He, and he alone. At the same time, however, Congress has the ultimate trump card because Congress can remove the President from office if things deteriorate far enough.

On the other side of the coin, you must remember that the President can order people put in concentration camps; he can order the troops to do all sorts of things; and he can even prevent the Court from interfering through his power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. If the President does suspend that authority, as Abraham Lincoln did during the Civil War, the courts are unable to hear any cases involving people who are interned. But the ultimate power lies with the Congress, because unless Congress provides the funds, there are no barbed wire fences, no buildings, no camps, no movement. So, no matter how you approach the problem, you must come to the realization that the ultimate authority in this country lies with the Congress, if Congress chooses to exercise it. It has done so historically.

Where does all this lead us so far as civil rights are concerned? The critical issue is that the elected representatives of the people, the Congress and the President, reflect the concerns of the people who elect them. And it is quite candidly in this area of, for want of a better term, public relations, that the battle must be won. You cannot rely on logic or anything else to safeguard human rights. The same logic that approved the Korematsu decision would just as readily have approved the ovens and the camps at Auschwitz. So the limitation on the excesses of government must be found in the consent of the people, the consent of the governed--quite literally, in convincing them that they must unite, that the threat to the civil rights of any individual is a threat to the civil rights of all.

The whole purpose of the Constitution is to tell the government what it cannot do. The government has the power to do whatever it would want. We write constitutions to limit that power, to say they cannot interfere with the press, with speech, with religion, with any other basic rights. But the reality can only be achieved by the day-to-day effort to restrain government power. This is quite honestly the only guarantee that it will not happen again.

THE TEST CASES

The presentations by Washington State Supreme Court Justice James Dolliver (Seattle conference) and Washington State Court of Appeals Justice Vernon Pearson (Tacoma) have been edited and collapsed into one dialogue on the three challenges brought to the U.S. Supreme Court of the exclusion order and internment.

JD: De Tocqueville remarked that ultimately in the United States all political issues become legal issues and that somehow they worked their way up into the courts. I want to talk about what the issues were at the time of Hirabayashi, Korematsu, and Endo. What was it that the Court was talking about?

In the case of Hirabayashi the concern was simply the question of the curfew. From 8 PM until 6 AM all persons of Japanese ancestry had to be off the streets.

VP: The Court had Mr. Hirabayashi on two counts, one having to do with the violation of a curfew order, and the second for failure to report pursuant to an order which excluded him from the area in which he lived and required him indirectly to report to a relocation center. It required him because there was another order that prohibited him from leaving the area without the provisions of the military.

Now, the Supreme Court, with the two issues before it, applied a rule which they eventually rejected in 1969: that is, if a man has been convicted on two counts and the two counts run concurrently, and if we can affirm one of those counts, we do not have to discuss the other. So with that artful bit of logic, they dodged the question of the violation of his rights with reference to the exclusion order and zeroed in on the curfew violation, affirming that with some unusual rhetoric about a minor inconvenience that we all have to expect in times of war.

JD: The Court started off by saying that the Executive Order had been ratified by the action of Congress, and that from the Executive and Congress there was sufficient authority to impose the curfew.

VP: From a strict constitutional standpoint, the Court did not decide much; but the underlying implication was that, in time of war, the Constitution does give the Congress and the President authority to violate people's rights in the process of prosecuting the war.

JD: All questions of racism were simply avoided. I do not think the word was even brought up. And, even more crucial, the

United States government was never put to the proof. They simply assumed the good faith of the authorizing authority. That is where Hirabayashi stopped. One gets the flavor from it that the war powers of the United States government, the Executive and the Congress had great weight in the eyes of the Justices. One gets the idea that it was merely a curfew, and a simple curfew was not enough to really put the government to the test.

VP: The Korematsu case, the one from California, was decided in 1944, when the real scare was over. By that time the Americans had regained the initiative in the Pacific. The defendant was again faced with conflicting orders. On the one hand, it was a violation of the law if he remained in his home and, on the other hand, he could not leave the area without the provision of the military. The Supreme Court did another artful dodge in that case and did not consider the fact that if he obeyed both orders he was going right into a detention camp. They dealt only with the question of whether the military had a right to exclude someone from a sensitive military zone during wartime. What would you think the answer to that would be?

The third case that reached them was kind of a Pyrrhic victory for the American citizen involved. Miss Endo had already been in a camp and had established her loyalty. The only problem was, they would not let her go because she could not satisfy three conditions they put on her for release. One, she had to prove she had a place to go; two, that she had a job; and three, that she would not be harmed if she went there. Well, try proving the negative. Her detention continued. Justice Douglas finally decided they could not impose those kinds of conditions on her release. Again, they ducked the underlying issue in the case, and that is, was her detention lawful in the first place? So we really did not, throughout the war or thereafter, have a definitive answer to the constitutional issue that was presented by these American citizens.

COMMENTS

VP: I wanted to see what the aftermath of these cases was--if they had been cited, and what they had been cited for. This is interesting because it is indicative, perhaps, of what precedential value they have. My conclusion from reading is that the cases are so easily distinguishable that you could restrict them to a total wartime situation. Therefore, unless we got involved in another war they would not have a great deal of precedence, but they have been cited, and they have been used. In one case the Court reviewed the validity of a Virginia statute that prohibited certain types of interracial marriages. They struck it down, but they cited Mr. Hirabayashi's case in this fashion:

> "Over the years this Court has consistently repudiated distinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry as being odious to a free people who institutions are bound to the doctrine of equality."

Another interesting use of the Hirabayashi case appeared in the 1950s, when the American Communications Association was requiring all union leaders to sign non-Communist affidavits. In that case certain union officials were challenging this requirement, and in upholding the requirement, the Court cited the Hirabayashi case:

> "Even distinctions based solely on ancestry which we declared 'as being odious to a free people' have been upheld under the unusual circumstances of wartime. If accidents of birth and ancestry under some circumstances justify inference concerning future conduct, it can hardly be doubted that voluntary affiliations and beliefs justify a similar inference."

So they did give it some precedential value, not in a racial context, but in a loyalty context.

Another unfortunate use of it came in Fifth Circuit decision wherein several black people were challenging Jackson, Mississippi's, city action in closing a swimming pool because they were under court order to integrate it. In upholding that action, the Fifth Circuit Court used Gordon Hirabayashi's case as an indication that "racial factors have been endorsed in cases of national defense." Interestingly enough, this was denied in that case by the U.S. Supreme Court.

JD: I think it is a fair comment that the kind of analysis that was used or, rather, not used by the U.S. Supreme Court in those days would not happen again. Classifying people in a suspect classification simply cannot be done without the United States proving a compelling interest. This is not to suggest that there may not be times when governments will not do this sort of thing, but would the courts stand for it? I think not.

I think the constitutional issues would be faced head-on by the Court. I think the United States would be forced to show the burden of proof. The war powers are still there, but that does not mean that the government does not have the burden of proof to show that there is an imminent danger if certain actions are not taken. In reading these three cases, one is both repelled and fascinated, and I suppose, exhilarated in the sense that in the last thirty years the doctrines of the Courts have so radically changed that one can hope this will never happen again.

Gordon Hirabayashi

Gordon Hirabayashi is now professor of sociology at the University of Alberta.

I had been ignoring the curfew regulations after about a week of cooperation, partly because I lived at the student "Y," where I was the only person of Japanese ancestry. For about a week everybody else operated as my volunteer timeclock, and at about five minutes to eight, which was the curfew deadline, if I did not move from the library or coffeeshop, or wherever I was, they would alert me, "Hey, you better get going." And I used to go. About a week later, I stopped and wondered, "Why am I rushing home?" Afterwards, months, years after, I thought about that incident, and wondered to myself, if I had been living at the Japanese students club and everybody came home--we would come home and bitch maybe, but we'd all come home--would I have noticed how I stuck out like a sore thumb?

Either I would have to change my conception of what it meant for me to be an American or I would have to live a different way. I did not want to do either. So, on that occasion I turned around and went back, to the surprise of my dorm mates, and after that I just continued to igrnore it. It bothered me, but I did not inform any official; I just lived like other people. When the exclusion deadline passed, I saw the last bus off and then spent one night in the dorm and then with the Quaker lawyer went over to the FBI office and said I did not wish to be around as a fugitive. I thought I would just give myself up. And it was following that interrogation that they said, "Well, here you are refusing to voluntarily sign the register for evacuation (as they called it). What about the curfew, did you comply with that?" I said, "Well, for about a week, but the rest of the time I lived like you people." So they tacked that on as count two. The exclusion order was count one. In our court strategy it was always that way. The main argument was on the exclusion order, and the count two was tacked on because the same principles were involved. But less crucial implications existed in the curfew.

In the statement of fact in District Court, all that was done was to establish my ancestry, which I was willing to do, but they subpoenaed my parents from Tule Lake. They established the fact that they were Japanese, and when asked if they had a son in the courtroom, they pointed to me. So I became a person of Japanese ancestry.

Then the question was raised, Had I moved out when the exclusion order came up? Since I was still there, it was fairly obvious. It took the jury just time enough to get in the room, sit down, and

get organized, because they came back pretty fast with a guilty verdict. Then we appealed.

In the sentencing, before the appeal, an interesting fact came up which I think neither the judge nor the prosecutor nor our attorneys--none of whom had Supreme Court experience--realized. It was a fluke. I had been waiting in the King County federal tank for five months when my case finally came up. In consideration of that, the judge gave me a sentence of 30 days for violating the Exclusion Order and 30 days for curfew violation, to be served consecutively.

Meanwhile, I had some jailhouse advice. I had become mayor of my tank by that time, and other veterans had shared their knowledge with me. They said, "You've been five months in here. If you want some fresh air, get on a road camp or something. Try to get at least 90 days. They won't bother to go through all the papers to transfer you out for 60 days." So when the judge said, "Does the prisoner have anything he wishes to say?" I asked my attorney if the judge could add 30 more days. And the attorney said, "Your honor, my client has a peculiar request. . . He would like a little longer sentence: 90 days." The judge, a very accommodating man, said, "Oh, I can take care of that. Why don't we simplify it and say 90 days for exclusion violation and 90 days for curfew violation, to be served concurrently." It sounded good to all of us, so that was done.

It was this case that went up to the Supreme Court. When it go to the Court, they said, "We have two cases here, and their sentences are concurrent. If we take one of them and find him guilty, he is automatically serving the other one. We won't need to rule on it." And they chose to rule on the curfew part. That is how the curfew aspect came to be associated with my case. In this sense, I still have not had a decision directly on the Exclusion Order except inferentially through the Korematsu case.

One other aspect. . . . One of the justices, Associate Justice Frank Murphy, was apparently intending to dissent even in my case. He dissented a year later in the Korematsu case; he was one of the three in the six-to-three decision. In mine it was eight to nothing, with three concurring statements.

Justice Murphy died in about 1960, and his books and personal papers were donated to his alma mater, the University of Michigan Law School. A professor of history at the university went into those papers and wrote an article entitled, "Mr. Justice Murphy and the Hirabayashi Case." This was published in the April 1964 issue of the Pacific Historical Review. In this paper he points out that Justice Murphy had circulated preliminary opinions among his colleagues indicating his dissent, but that President Roosevelt, while he knew that the case was in hand, had said to Frankfurter, the senior man on the Court, that it would be a great thing for the war effort if we had a unanimous decision. So they went to work, especially on Murphy, as he was the strongest potential dissent.

Finally, he caved in. He changed from saying, "This is racial prejudice and it goes over the brink of constitutinality," to, "This goes to the very brink of constitutionality." Other papers indicated how much this disturbed Justice Murphy. He had sleepness nights and just could not wait until the Korematsu case to set it straight. I mention this because this article brought some kind of reality to me about the Supreme Court and how they are a human group like anybody else.

Does history repeat itself? I had occasion to visit Tehran, Iran, the last two weeks of Decmeber 1979. I was part of a two-man team, the Canada Quaker delegation to Tehran, to look behind the headlines. We went there with no specific plan, but to see what we could. Two or three things I could mention. We found that the presentation in the U.S. could almost be characterized as an obsession with the hostage issue. Of course, this is an important issue, and we are all concerned about it. But in terms of the crisis, that is not a fundamental part and we are not being given the whole picture.

Without knowing what motivated this group to take this kind of drastic action, we are disabled in terms of a reasonable appraisal of how to cope with the situation and to participate in ideas for action.

When the American media were expelled, I really was not surprised. They are supposed to cover an important issue in a strange land--an Asian country with Asian ways. Not only Asian ways, Islamic Asian ways. These people impressed me as technicians who knew what kinds of scenes were desirable on the media, but who did not spend much time trying to find out the logic or the foundations or the value systems of these people. The scary part is that diplomats and government officials see these scenes and are influenced because these become some of the most accessible bits of information. Frequently these are gross distortions. They do not prepare us to understand the issues and intelligently face them.

I raise this because frequently we hear the comment that the internment was exceptional, it was hardly believable, and that it could not happen again. In Canada, where I am now, this little clip appeared from a longer story. It is entitled "Hostages Wanted."

> Outspoken California Senator S. I. Hayakawa, of Japanese descent, has a solution for the hostage crisis in Iran. "We interned 110,000 Japanese during World War II and we managed that all right. After what's happened, we have every reason to declare a state of belligerency and round up all noncitizen Iranians and puu them in relocation centers."

I do not think Hayakawa is an isolated case. If he were, I would not worry so much.

In closing, I would like to say that this thing became the Hirabayashi case because a group of people in Seattle were concerned about civil rights. I was in prison, and a former state senator, a Quaker lawyer, a couple of businessmen, a couple of professors, and a couple of ministers came. They said, "We heard a rumor that you were going to object to this, you are not going along with it." I said, "That's right." They asked, "Are you going to make a test case? I replied, "Well, I hadn't thought about it. I just take a stand as a citizen. I doubt whether there'd be a test case because I don't have the experience and I don't have the money." One of them, the state senator, said, "We're very upset about what's going on, and we find it very difficult to get a foothold anywhere to start a counterattack. If you will permit us, we'd like to take your case up to the Supreme Court."

They organized a strategy, raised money, attended any public forums which they could use as a platform to present this violation, hired the lawyers, and took the thing to the Supreme Court. They are not mentioned usually. We tend to say the whites did it. Well, the whites played other parts, too, and I'd like to give recognition to that.

Mike Lowry

Mike Lowry represents Washington's Seventh District in the U.S. House of Representatives. On November 28, 1979, Mr. Lowry introduced H.R. 5977, a bill that provided for direct financial redress to those who were interned during World War II.

The legislation that I've had the honor to introduce is simply a compensation by the American government--a very small compensation --to the individuals or heirs of individuals who were denied due process through acts of this government in 1942. It's that simple. It doesn't take long to express that.

Now, anybody can pass resolutions. There are many of us who have been around the legislative process a long time. Most resolutions we pass we hardly notice. Our feeling in introducing this bill was that while it is overwhelmingly the principle that's important in this most serious legislation, that that principle can only have the needed impact if there is a monetary redress.

What happened in 1942 was not a vigilante group overreacting to an extremely tense situation. It was not the Ku Klux Klan running around in the South. It was the government of the United States--through Presidential edict, congressional legislation, and action by the Court of the United States--totally violating the principles of our Constitution.

The Constitution guarantees the right of due process of individuals. And that is why redress is important. This nation has been set apart from almost all previous government because we understood that individuals must be protected against the government, that our Constitution and our Bill of Rights were to protect individuals against misuse and overuse of power by the government.

The bill simply appropriates $15,000 plus $15 per day for days interned to the individuals or heirs of individuals who were interned in the 1942 action. The average period of time was three and one-half years. When you multiply by three and one-half years, you come up with figures between $15,000 and $25,000--minor compensation to these individuals who had their families broken up, who had their culture seriously impaired and to me, most importantly of all, who without one day in court were deprived of their personal property and liberty. When we pass this legislation--it's going to take a long time--it will mean that we are going to stand for the principles that began this nation.

A CASE AGAINST REDRESS

When seeking speakers for the redress panel, conference planners found that there was no formally organized opposition to the idea of redress. The lone public spokesperson against redress, California senator S. I. Hayakawa, declined requests to speak for the available honorarium. Conference planners finally assigned the role of "devil's advocate" to writer Frank Chin, even though this position is diametrically opposed to his own.

Frank Chin

The constitutional case for redress, and the facts of Japanese American history, answer all the arguments against redress we have heard from the public. Most of these arguments are based on ignorance or prejudice: that Japanese Americans were loyal to Japan, that their biology dictated their political affiliation, that the camps were justified to protect them, that they were not concentration camps. I believe the Constitution answers all of these.

The case for redress emphasizes that Japanese Americans were forced into cncentration camps--against their will, without due process of law, without proper consultation, without charges, anything. The one case against redress that decent liberal Americans have expressed here and there, including the Wall Street Journal, and in part by S. I. Hayakawa, is this: The history of Japanese America is one of sojourners, immigrants coming to this country with no intention of settling. They came to make money off of American property, American industry, and American wealth and to take this wealth back with them to Japan. This loyalty to Japan among the Issei naturally resulted in discriminatory laws to protect American wealth and property. It is understandable that these laws existed.

The Nisei themselves acknowledge the fact that the Issei brought discriminatory laws upon themsevles. In their March 8-10 (1942) emergency meeting in San Francisco, the JACL passed a specific resolution to agree to cooperate with the United States government in the evacuation. It is "a resolution on the evacuation of Nisei as a measure based on military necessity and not as a reflection of their loyalty." In that resolution their main concern was not the justice or injustice of the camps, but the protection of their citizenship. They did not want to go into camps with their loyalty questioned. They did not want to go into camps associated with the Issei.

> The 200 leaders of America's 80,000 citizens of Japanese ancestry resolve that the National Council of Japanese American Citizens League, convened in San Francisco, California, on the 10th of March 1942, request the proper authorities to make public the fact that said American-born citizens of Japanese lineage are being evacuated not because of

suspected or potential disloyalty but entirely for reasons of military necessity.

The infamous questions 27 and 28 on the registration forms in the camps--that had to be answered without benefit of legal counsel--were strangely fore-echoed in a JACL-written and -administered loyalty oath. You had to present proof of American birth when you signed this loyalty oath. This was before the evacuation:

> I, the undersigned, do solemnly swear, that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic. That I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same. That I do hereby forswear and repudiate any other allegiance which I knowingly or unknowingly may have held heretofore. And that I take these obligations freely without any mental reservation whatsoever or purpose of evasion, so help me God.

That one sentence, "that I do hereby forswear and repudiate any other allegiance which I knowingly or unknowingly may have held heretofore" sounds very much like Question 28, which caused so much difficulty. The effect of the JACL loyalty oath was immediate on Japanese America in further alienating the Issei from the Nisei.

The Japanese American Citizens League, the official representative of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor, welcomed the camps as an opportunity to prove their loyalty by sacrificing their freedom for a brief period of time. A media campaign was waged by the JACL, led by James Y. Sakamoto of Seattle, a leader of the JACL nationally and locally. He said time and time again in the press that he welcomed the opportunity to prove Japanese American loyalty. But the JACL went further. They acted in substantive manner. It is not true they were denied due process.

In February 1942, Roger Baldwin, executive secretary of the ACLU, offered legal aid to Japanese Americans. He ordered all of his offices on the West Coast to aid the internees, because the expulsion raised constitutional issues. In an editorial in the Japanese American Courier, James Sakamoto rejected this aid:

> The Americans of Japanese ancestry on the Pacific Coast are fully informed of their rights under the law and are capable of presenting them to those in authority. They have full confidence in the courts.

This was quoted in the Seattle Times in early March 1942. The consequence: There was no legal aid for the Nikkei in camps. Not only that, they passed a resolution. This comes from the Seattle Times:

> *Japanese Group Pledges Total Evacuation Aid*
>
> *League Praises Treatment Given Persons Removed to Interior. . . Meeting Observes Curfew Rule*

> Full and willing cooperation with the government in all evacuation steps was pledged last night by 100 members of the Japanese American Citizens League of Seattle in a session which may be their last prior to removal to the interior. Appreciation of the "extraordinary" measures taken to safeguard safety and economic welfare of evacuated persons also was expressed in a resolution which was introduced by James Y. Sakamoto, editor of the Japanese American Courier and adopted unanimously. The session was held at 517 Main Street. Clarence Arai, attorney, presided. Discussions were ended early to enable all members to be in their homes not later than 8 o'clock, curfew time set by the military authorities.

The resolution, authored by the Japanese American Citizens League:

> Whereas, the military authorities of the United States have decreed that all persons of Japanese descent must be removed from certain zones designated as military areas, and. . .
>
> Whereas, the government of the United States has taken extraordinary measures under the circumstances, to safeguard the comfort, safety, and economic welfare of the persons due to be evacuated, and,
>
> Whereas, it is the first duty of loyal Americans to obey the orders of the government,
>
> Therefore Be It Resolved, that the Japanese American Citizens League of Seattle go on record as endorsing cheerful and willing cooperation of the community with the government agencies in carrying out the evacuation proceeding and that individual members of the League set an example of good Americanism by doing everything possible to facilitate the evacuation, the execution of a measure deemed necessary to the victory effort of our nation.

If there is any doubt that this was the official position of the national Japanese American Citizens League, Min Yasui of Portland, whose case was the companion to Gordon Hirabayashi's, appealed to the national JACL for support of his challenge in the Supreme Court. The JACL refused, briefly stating the JACL's stand on the matter of evacuation:

> We opposed evacuation until it was decreed that there was military necessity for it and that the Army would take the necessary steps. Professing as we did that we were good Americans, there was no alternative for us but to prove our loyalty by cooperating with the evacuation. . . . Now at this time to change our policy of cooperation to that of one of hindering the purpose of the Army in defense of the West Coast, would not be in line with the stand that we have taken to date, and also the provisions we have for the future. As Dillon Myer said to us in a closed session, "Do not irritate the Army."

The Japanese Americans saw the camps as an opportunity to prove their loyalty once and for all. They proved their loyalty. The fruit of that proof they enjoy today. Among the fruits: the highest per capita income of any group in the nation, including whites; the highest per capita education of any group in the nation; and, as a sign of their acceptance, the Japanese Americans enjoy the highest outmarriage rate of any group.

So the constitutional case for redress doesn't stand up because the Japanese Americans were not compelled, were not forced. They volunteered.

Rebuttal to a Case Against Redress

Minoru Masuda

I would like to respond to what Frank Chin has said, because he has completely distorted and misinterpreted facts. First of all, he said the Issei had no right to any kind of consideration because they came to reap the riches of America, take it away, and go back to Japan. Now granted, when the Issei first came here, they had the idea of mining streets of gold, as did many other immigrants. But we are talking about the people who chose to remain. It's the people who remain who are the real Americans, who are bound to this country. We're not talking about sojourners.

The second point has to do with the castigation of the JACL as the acknowledged leader of the Japanese American community in 1942. I told you previously how the FBI had come and taken away all the Issei leaders. Now the only organization around was the JACL. How convenient. How nice to have superpatriots who are now going to take the oath of allegiance and say we'll go voluntarily, happily into camp. I say, the JACL did not represent the Nikkei of this country in making those assertions. We did not go voluntarily; we did not go happily. We did not take oaths of allegiance. There were some who did. Most of us did not. We went because we were forced at gunpoint. The government, in its beautiful wisdom, seized upon the JACL leadership and exploited them to the hilt in terms of gaining more cooperation and getting the rest of the people in camp. We were not organized. The government was. The JACL cooperated in the movement. And if you look at the history of all the camps you will find that there are people who voluntarily cooperated. The JACL leaders were assaulted, castigated, called "dogs," and many times had to be removed for their own safety. Now, if they represented us in camp, why were they called "dogs"?

Frank Chin has done a beautiful job of taking the words of S. I. Hayakawa and talked about how wonderful camp was, how it opened up great vistas for Nikkei, gave us our education, and gave us the highest per capita income in the nation. Why do we have the highest per capita income in the nation? It is because we have worked our heads off to try to recover what we lost during the war.

Then he talks about the fear of white backlash. All right, how long has there been fear of white backlash? I'll tell you. For decades and decades and decades. I will say this to you, if you don't stand up for your rights, if you don't say that you are right in what you are doing, then you deserve white backlash. There's white racism out there, and it's about time we confronted it and said, We're going to say what we want to say and do what we want to do.

An Exchange of Letters between Mrs. Jimmie Sakamoto and Frank Chin

Frank Chin's presentation against redress generated much discussion, particularly in Seattle, where the Japanese American Citizens League was founded. Following is an edited exchange of letters between Mr. Chin and Mrs. Jimmie Sakamoto, subsequent to the Seattle conference.

PACIFIC CITIZEN
April 18, 1980

Editor:

I am writing this to explain my memories of 1942, which are very different from the presentation by Frank Chin.

I do not know what happened in California, but here in the Northwest, the leaders of the JACL did their best to protect and serve the Japanese people. Contrary to Chin's statement, Sakamoto was trusted and depended upon by the Issei leaders who were detained at the Immigration Office from December 7, 1941. These people asked Jimmie to come to see them at the Immigration Office so that they could give him all the money they had to help take care of the Japanese Community and people. Jimmie Sakamoto told the young people to be good to the Issei because the Issei had no other place to turn.

Jimmie resisted evacuation. In February of 1942, Jimmie received a phone call from a Washington State Congressman in Washington, D.C., who called to tell him there was a movement to evacuate the Japanese from the Pacific Coast and asked him his opinion about the matter. Jimmie replied, "Hell, no, we are going to stay right here and fight the war with the rest of the Americans."

When the evacuation was ordered and termed a "Military Necessity," there was not much else to do but to cooperate to prove that the Japanese were loyal to America.

It was a scary time and cooperation with the evacuation must be judged within its historical context.

There were incidents of violence across the United States against Japanese Americans. A Japanese man was killed in Sacramento and another stabbed in Seattle.

Most Japanese working for white employers were fired. In Seattle, Mr. Samuel Fleming, Assistant Superintendant of the Seattle Public Schools, asked 26 Japanese school secretaries to resign. All Japanese commercial firms and banks were closed, ending many more jobs in the community. The lack of employment caused further uncertainty in the Japanese community.

Some of us had no money and no place to go. Chin revealed that even the Idaho Japanese did not want their coast relatives to come.

There was a lack of leadership in the community with many Issei leaders imprisoned and the fact that the average age of the Nisei was only 18 years old.

Long before the war began, Consul Sato called Jimmie to his office and asked him to see that the Nisei stayed loyal to America.

When the Army took over, resistance meant even more serious trouble and possibly bloodshed.

I do not know why JACL rejected legal aid from the ACLU unless it was to avoid any distrubance that would harm the war effort.

JACL and James Sakamoto need not ask for any "moral immunity" as they did not commit any crime, moral or otherwise. They did the best they knew to protect and preserve Japanese America at that time.

Sacrifice and loss were great in 1942 but because of it, we are enjoying a good life, economically, socially, politically, and culturally today. Instead of slandering the leaders of that time, we should appreciate and be grateful for the part played by them.

/s/ Misao Sakamoto

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Dear Misao Sakamoto:

I'm sure your husband, Jimmie, and Clarence Arai did what they thought was best for Japanese America. There is no questioning their good intentions. However, there are real questions about their leadership.

True, times were confusing. After the established leadership of Japanese America had been stripped form the community, I'm sure every Japanese American lived in an atmosphere of uncertainty, bitterness, and fear. It was a time that demanded strong, knowledgeable, reasoned leadership.

Your husband and Arai took responsbility for Japanese America. Whether they did this on their own, or were acting as officers of the JACL and following national JACL policy when they (1) encouraged 26 Nikkei women to resign their jobs with the public schools, (2) rejected the offer of legal aid from the national ACLU, (3) created and administered the loyalty oath in Seattle, and (4) passed the resolution declaring the Nikkei were entering camp "willingly and cheerfully" as their "contribution" to winning the war, are the questions you should be exploring, if you feel revelation of these acts and facts damage your husband's reputation.

If the Nikkei leadership isn't responsible for its actions in 1942, then neither is the government for putting the Nikkei into camps.

If the JACL is let off the hook for being naive, young, confused in wild times, then the government is off the hook for the same reasons of "wartime hysteria."

What I revealed was no relevation at all. I just read the Seattle Times and P-I.

I assure you, I have not attacked Sakamoto's character of acted out of any personal motive. I was asked to mount the strongest case against redress I could. Even if the charge that I slanted the information is true, that's no reason to restrict the discussion of redress and enforce anonymity for Sakamoto and Arai. To the contrary, that is a reason to enlarge and expand the discussion, demand precise facts and verifiable names, and encourage a comprehensive examination of the camps from all angles, disciplines, points of view.

Jimmie's best defense is your willingness and the willingness of his friends to tell it all, when the time comes. He was a journalist and an idealist, and would on principle object to any form of censorship, or suppression of information. There's no doubt that Jimmie Sakamoto was selfless and took his responsibility seriously.

His achievements with the Courier and the organization of the national JACL, I believe were parts of his vision of Japanese America, and all his achievements and vision must be recognized in Japanese American history as significant.

The resuscitation of the monsters of 1942 is emotionally costly to all who lived through those years. If those years were not painful, even terrifying, and the source of nightmares that still wait in the sleep in Nikkei all over America, redress wouldn't be necessary. If Japanese America is to win redress, it must tell all. It is cruel to ask Japanese America to relive the worst moments of their lives for the congressional record. But the point of redress is that Japanese America has never stopped living with the camps.

There are those who say it is not for us to judge the actions of those who aren't here to defend themselves, that history will be the final judge. The congressional decision on redress will be a judgment of history. This will quite likely be the last time the government calls for evidence to support the case for redress in the lifetime of the Issei and Nisei and Sansei who were adults in camp. This is the last chance Japanese America will have to speak for itself.

/s/ Frank Chin

The Nikkei generations

Issei--lit., "first generation." Immigrants from Japan first came to the United States in significant numbers after 1890. Encountering intense anti-Japanese agitation throughout the West Coast, the Issei were forbidden entrance to the U.S. altogether from 1924 to 1952.

The 1930 Census shows 138,834 persons of Japanese ancestry in the U.S., including the Nisei, or native-born. This equalled 2 percent of California's population, or one-tenth of 1 percent of the U.S. population as a whole.

Nisei--lit., "second generation." American citizens by birth. A "typical" Japanese American family at the time of the expulsion comprised an Issei father 50 to 64 years old, an Issei mother 40 to 54 years old, and Nisei children in their late teens.

Sansei--lit., "third generation." Children of the Nisei.

Kibei--A Nisei born in the U.S. but sent to Japan for part or all of his education. Most Kibei are at greater ease speaking Japanese than English.

Nikkei--Any citizen or permanent resident of Japanese ancestry.

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assembly center--euphemism for the 15 temporary detention centers usually race tracks, exhibition centers, or fairgrounds--that housed the internees while the "relocation centers" were being built.

442nd Regimental Combat Team--an all-Nisei regiment activated February 1, 1943. It is the most highly decorated (18,143 individual decorations) military unit of its size in history, and it suffered the most casualties (314 percent of the unit's original strength). Thousands of other Nisei fought with military intelligence in the Pacific. About 33,000 Nisei served in WWII, half from the mainland, half from Hawaii.

Munson Report--Curtis B. Munson, Special Representative of the State Department, investigated the West Coast Nikkei communities in late 1941 and concluded that there was "no Japanese problem." His secret report corroborated independent and exhaustive surveillance reports by the FBI and Army and Naval Intelligence, and contradicted the "military necessity" of the internment.

registration--generally considered the WRA proceeding most devastating to Japanese America. Administered in early 1943--a year after the uprooting and imprisonment--registration was conducted in conjunction with an Army recruitment drive. To prove their loyalty to the

(registration, cont.)

U.S., all Nikkei older than 17 were expected to answer "yes" to Questions 27 and 28 of the Application for Leave Clearance.

> No. 27. Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty wherever ordered?
>
> No. 28. Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, to any other foreign government, power, or organization?

Both questions enraged the internees. Question 28, the "key" question, in effect, asked Issei to forswear allegiance to the only country that allowed them citizenship, to become stateless, and to fight for a country that had put them into camps. Yet the Issei feared that giving different answers from their Nisei children would mean an enforced separation from their families.

Hundreds of Nisei who had volunteered at the beginning of the war had been rejected as "enemy aliens." Now, draft-age Nisei, the only resource to Issei parents stripped of possessions and livelihoods, were being asked to fight for their country.

Nisei were torn between loyalty to parents and loyalty to country; fear for the future of the family and fear of the consequences of a "no-no" answer (which were rumored to include jail, deportation, and charges of treason).

Families, friends, and neighbors argued and cried over the answers to Questions 27 and 28. The resulting convulsion throughout Japanese America was greatest in Tule Lake, a harshly administered camp. Eventually, all those who answered no-no were sent to Tule Lake, the new "segregation center," while Tuleans who answered yes-yes went to other camps. Tule Lake became a battleground between internees and administration and among internee factions.

relocate -- (1) euphemism meaning "to be imprisoned in a concentration camp. (2) to obtain security clearance, find a sponsor and job, and settle outside the military zone (West Coast). Internees were allowed to relocate beginning in the fall of 1942. The WRA set up nine relocation offices in the East and Midwest to help former internees get on their feet. Internees found more jobs and easier acceptance in the larger cities--St. Louis, Detroit, Chicago, and others--but, of course, could not return to farming or fishing.

WRA--War Relocation Authority.

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