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Betrayal & Survival

draft 2

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✓ Ralph Iida, age 24

When I asked Mr. Iida, age 23, how he felt when he arrived at Tule Lake, he immediately began to speak about the morning of November 5:

9 | ✓ I didn't know until I woke up in the morning and tried to go to work. The closer you got to the administration, the army came out with armed cars and machine guns and they just waited . . . Afterwards, I understand that they tried to say, "Going back to the barracks." Before I understand that, this tear gas throwing out, you know. And I didn't get hit, but in front of me was girl. I didn't know who this girl was, just in front of her the tear gas exploded. Really shook me up, you know. . . that was the biggest shock in Tule Lake, I think.

19
Robert Oda, age 20

I asked Robert Oda about "the uprising" and the Daihyo Sha Kai. He responded:

Well, the so-called riot was, . . . people seemed to associate the demonstration that took place about three days prior to that, you know, as part of the riot, but that was entirely two separate things. Because that demonstration was actually a peaceful demonstration. Dillon Myer. . . to let them know what the conditions of the camp were at that time. The food was very poor and it was right after segregation. A lot of new people came from other camps. They were very dissatisfied with the situation there; and they could not get jobs, or if they did have, they had very menial work, you know, when they left with them. I think there was in fact a lot of resentment against the former Tuleans.

I asked: How did you feel personally? When it happened. . .

Robert Oda: You mean at the demonstration itself?

Rosalie Wax: Yes, when you were a young ^{man,} you must have been. . .

Robert Oda: Well, the demonstration itself. . . I wasn't. . . the one thing that happened prior to that, which led to the demonstration was that the farm workers were killed. . . might have led to the demonstration as one of the grievances. And also the hospital care was very poor and all that sort of thing kind of accumulated I guess, and then that demonstration was held, but that was a very, you know, peaceful demonstration actually. But about three days later, what happened was that there was a constant rumor

Thomas Sawada, age 22, was an Old Tulean who had refused to answer ^{He} the military questionnaire, made quite a different statement: V.

3 > Well, you see the thing is this. When the evacuation was completed, the people from the other camps stormed the administration building. I worked in the finance department so we got chased out. . . The thing is they formed this rugged committee. . Kunitani and that bunch.

I guess they had more offered to them in the other camp than they did with ours. And they said the facilities are bad and all that. Well, they formed a committee from the leaders that came from the other camps and they wanted to demand something. You know, I really admired Dillon Myer for keeping everybody calm because there were a lot of people out there.

I don't know what sort of negotiation they went through, but I know they were demanding changes for better facilities be provided. But the army tanks were rolling at that time and thousands of people surrounded the administration. Then finally Dillon Myer calmed it down and it all came out and we went home. Things like that did happen. . . and then when the farm incident turned up with the tanks coming in that night - I mean everything fell apart. #

But you know, another thing, some of the committee were trying to make money with this incident. We were in the payroll, see, so we know this transaction, trying to collect 5¢ off of every paycheck.

1. Mr. Sawada probably meant to say "segregation".

After about two weeks, they started picking up so many other people that we were moved into a larger, a regular barrack. That was much better. There was a shower; the soldiers would stay outside of the barbed wire fence. So we were left alone inside at least.

Mr. Takeshita, age ¹⁸19, did not tell me when or how he was confined in the stockade. He said:

* I remembered one of the times when I was scared the most during the whole of the concentration camp experience was. . . took place in the stockade. I was not fearful of the situation as much as a young kid who had a Thompson machine gun aimed at me during one of these midnight raids. He was so scared of the Japanese that he was shivering. And I was afraid that he would pull the trigger, because he was so scared.

Hoping to learn how and when he was confined, I asked Mr. Takeshita, "Do you remember the date that you were taken and put in the stockade?" He replied:

During the winter, because I remember standing at attention in my bare feet in the snow for about four hours and we were surrounded by MPs.

Rosalie Wax: "Did they take any other members of your family?"

Mr. ^{Takeshita} Yamashita: My brother and I.

Rosalie Wax: "And you had no idea why?"

Mr. ^{Takeshita} Yamashita: No

9 Thomas Sawada, age ²⁹21, told me early in the interview that he had not supported the Daihyo Sha Kai. Later he told me that in December of 1943, when the men interned in the stockade had gone on a hunger strike, he had heard that the interned leaders were taking vitamin pills. "How do you like that? The innocent ones are starving like mad and this is not right." He decided to get picked up and "see what's going to be like."

So after 7:00 I crossed the fire break and I went into the ward I area. And here come the GP's. He said, 'What are you doing here? You know you are past the curfew hour.' And I said, 'So what, are you going to take me in?' He said, 'Where do you live?' I said, 'Right there.' He said, 'Better go home, don't let me catch you again.'

Mr. Sawada laughed loudly and continued:

I deliberately did that to see what was going on in that _____ ? _____ stockade.

~~Shirias~~
George Kikuchi, age 12, wrote:

Unlike Stockton and Rohwer camps, there was hostility and suspicion. There were fights and arguments and accusations among the people. Finally it all culminated in a riot of a sort at the administration building where they were protesting the food and the living conditions, which was becoming intolerable. Then the army took over the patrol, and for a while we had curfew and restrictions.

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Isamu Kurusu, age 30, said only:

The November riot. .that was awful. I don't like to see that kind of thing happen.

RESPONDENTS' STATEMENTS ON PERIOD OF MARTIAL LAW - 1981-2

In 1981-2 most of my respondents did not wish to talk about the period of martial law. If I mentioned it, they might say, "Oh, that was the worst time. . .," But they did not care to say more.

I was, however, able to interview Mrs. Kunitani, ^{age 19} whose husband was among those leaders who, for two weeks, successfully hid from the army. When I asked her whether there was anyone in Tule Lake whom she very much respected, she responded, "Mrs. Abe". (Mr. Abe ^{was} ~~had~~ also ~~been~~ in hiding.) "A very close friend. We more or less stick together because they both were hiding." "That was the toughest period," she added in a tone which made me hesitate to ask her to elaborate.

But at the end of the interview I asked her whether she still thought of Tule Lake. She replied, "No. . .I don't think about it, but you do have recurrences in your sleep." I asked, "Could you tell me about that?" She responded, "Well, it's usually a nightmare," and laughed nervously. "Like my husband being dragged away." She groaned in agony, and then said, "But that's cowardly."

In contrast, two young men who had been confined in the stockade wanted very much to talk about their experiences. Mr. Oda, age ¹⁹ ~~21~~, said:

I think one of the most difficult experience was that I was thrown into the stockade right after the so-called riot. . .It so happened that in our neighborhood there were a couple of young fellows who were quite clever with radios, and I don't know how he did it, but he assembled kind of a miniature broadcasting system. . .He thought he was doing a great favor by playing the Japanese records for the people in the camp. . .I think my mother lent them to him. . .People in Tule Lake started to pick up this Japanese music. They thought someone was

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~~The small town of Tule Lake was located a few miles from the Segregation Center.~~

V
18 . Accommodation - How People Spent Their Time

The period from January to mid-May^{J 1944} was relatively uneventful at Tule Lake. There were no strikes, riots or demonstrations and no reports of violence. Indeed, in 1982 no respondent commented on any event that took place during this period.

9 I will take this opportunity to present my respondents'

statements about how they passed the time, how they helped themselves or were helped by other people, and whether anything that happened at Tule Lake helped them to become a wiser or a better person.

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1. See pp. 20-32.

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BOYS AND MEN  
HOW PEOPLE SPENT THEIR TIME

1981-2

When my respondents told me about what they did during their confinement at Tule Lake, all of the men, regardless of age, spoke of some activity or accomplishment in which they, today, take considerable satisfaction. Thus, George Okamoto, age ~~13~~<sup>11</sup>, remarks<sup>ed</sup> that today he is able to "act as the official interpreter" when delegates from Japan attend the meetings of his professional association. He is able to do this because his older brother "kind of forced" him to attend the Japanese school at Tule Lake. Arthur Kikuchi, age ~~18~~<sup>15</sup>, kept up his studies, and engaged in "physical culture". Today he is a physician. Joseph Takeshita, age ~~20~~<sup>18</sup>, was captain of the fire department at Tule Lake and John Sawada, age ~~22~~<sup>20</sup>, was in charge of the kitchens. "I had 74 kitchens to take care of and I was busy." Isamu Kurusu, age ~~31~~<sup>30</sup>, Peter Morimoto, age ~~37~~<sup>35</sup>, and Taro Tokunage, age 42, served as block managers.

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Mr. Okamoto, age ~~18~~<sup>11</sup>, <sup>said:</sup> ~~told me that his oldest brother, who was a "No-No," had "kind of forced" him and his brothers and sisters to go to the Japanese school.~~

We didn't really want to go to that school, especially when the English speaking high school started. We wanted to go to English school. . . But now, in terms of looking back, I feel that having participated in a family that went "No-No" - having been able to learn Japanese at that time -- and since then I've gone to Army Language School during the Korean War - I've continued to use my Japanese, and every year, I use it for my professional association. When delegates come from Japan, I act as the official interpreter and people hear me speak and they think that I'm from Japan.

When I asked Arthur Kikuchi, age <sup>15</sup>~~18~~, "Thinking back to your life in Tule Lake, what incidents come especially to your mind?" he responded:

The fact of the bleakness of the future; not knowing what did lie ahead. A number of classmates gave up their studies, I noticed. I kept mine going and the reason for that was an outside influence more than a camp influence. At that point in time my hobby was physical culture, so I was in competitive weight lifting which meant I would subscribe to magazines, from which I came under the influence of Dr. Robert Hoffman, whose editorial and instruction just reached the 17 and 18 year old real well. Come what may - prepare yourself. That kind of thing.

When I asked him whether he had had any friends, he responded:

Yes. I deliberately kept in touch with people who were striving to move ahead in spite of the dark clouds. The fellow I buddied around with most is a physician today.

<sup>u.c.</sup> Joseph Takeshita, age <sup>18</sup>~~20~~, told me that he had been captain of the Tule Lake Fire Department. I asked him, "Did you belong to any group or have any friends? What did you do for recreation when you weren't working. . . spend most of your time with your family?"

He responded:

No, I wouldn't say we were that close as a family unit. I had my friends. . other than my job as a fireman. . . then I had another group of friends from Hawaii; the internees from Hawaii; and I enjoyed meeting and talking with them. There was another group that I met with whom I played music, a guitar; so between my Hawaiian friends and my music group and I was also taking special lessons in Japanese from a person whom I respected who was from Hawaii, who had taught Japanese. So between these four activities I think I was somewhat occupied. I was also doing weight lifting. . . I was fortunate that my social activities were somewhat fulfilling in their own way.

9 Robert Oda, an Old Tulean, age <sup>19</sup>~~21~~, told me that he had said  
 V t "No-No" to the military questionnaire but had no intention of  
 going to Japan. When I asked him whether there was anything he  
 liked in his first months at Tule Lake, he responded:

Yes, I think so. I met a lot of people that I  
 enjoyed meeting with. I was young and I was  
 interested in meeting a lot of new girls. I  
 enjoyed sports and all that type of thing. . .  
 We kind of went into that particular area as  
 a group, so actually most of my friends were  
 with us. That really helped. . . I did go to  
 Japanese language school for a while; this was  
 the one that was actually approved by the admini-  
 stration. . . I think one of the big things was  
 the boredom. There really is no place to go.  
 Once in a while there was entertainment. But the  
 fact that you are cooped in a very small area really  
 tends to get to you. . . And the frustration --  
 in the sense that you can't really plan for the  
 future and what is going to happen to us. It  
 was very depressing, physically as well as mentally  
 and psychologically.

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John Sawada, age <sup>20</sup>~~22~~, told me that he was one of the first group  
 to go back to work, after the strike

because I was in charge of the kitchen - there  
 were 74 kitchens in the camp and I was in charge  
 of the supply and they needed this and that, so  
 I went back. I had two helpers and we supplied  
 soaps and whatever. On these things, nobody  
 harrassed us or anything for going back. Though  
 our neighbors was kind of nosey, you know. . I  
 used to go in and out of the administration  
 building quite a bit. Two - three times a day.  
 And I used to pass Mr. Jacoby's office and I  
 said, 'Hello, Mr. Jacoby.' Very friendly fellow,  
 nice fellow. And then I'd go into Mr. Peck's  
 office and get things done, and get requisitions.  
 I got along with all these people. I did what I  
 had to do.

I asked, "You weren't bothered?" . . . Nobody called you a dog for  
 doing that?" Mr. Sawada responded:

No. I had 74 kitchens to take care and I was  
 busy. . . I went to each kitchen at least twice  
 a week, and on the side I used to take care of  
 the trouble they had, that is: the utensils, the  
 dishes, this and that. I got along with all the  
 kitchens. . I kept even keel with every one of them  
 and they had no problems.

When I asked Thomas Sawada, age <sup>27</sup>~~24~~, "Was there anything that you or other people did at Tule Lake that makes you feel really good today when you think about it?" he responded:

For myself, I was trying to forget the bad part of the thing because there is always a brighter side of the story. What I did was I strongly stayed with the (Buddhist) church movement and did whatever I can: I was a Sunday school teacher and sometimes the reverends got out on strike and say they are not going to show up. So here I took the reverends' part, and things like this. Socially, I think I accomplished a lot of things that I would have never done before. . .

Later in the interview I asked Mr. Sawada whether there was anything that happened at Tule Lake that helped him to become a wiser or a better person. He responded:

I would say getting along with people. I got rid of my shyness. I would speak freely. I will speak freely now, even in front of an audience. It doesn't bother me anymore.

Isamu Kurusu, age <sup>30</sup>~~31~~, told me:

No relatives, just wife and I. So we just kept quiet and I was block manager, and we're not supposed to participate anything. Stay neutral. So I just kept quiet myself. . .  
When I was block manager, I had it pretty tough. Because, you know, how people were. I was afraid to talk because he might tell somebody else. I was afraid. I just keep quiet for a while. Actually, not too many people could be trusted. Even people at work, they don't trust me either. So that's no good. . .  
One thing I learned a lot of, I had more experience in dealing with all sort of people. One man, he was a block manager, he left to go to another camp. When the director appointed me to be block manager I told him, (the older block manager) I don't want it. He said to me, 'Isamu Kurusu, you didn't learn this thing in any university or college. . this is good human engineering. Although you are young, why don't you take this job.' So I never forget. He was an old man, but he told me that the world is human engineering. That was a good experience. I learned about the people, how to deal with them, how to speak, what to say and what not to say, to stay alive, you know.

Hirishi Morimoto, <sup>34</sup>~~32~~ years old, was born in Japan and came to the United States as an exchange student. He was an Old Tulean. The first thing he told me about his life at Tule Lake was:

I was block manager, then next I took treasurer of Co-op. Then I was Community Activities supervisor. That's three jobs I did.

When I asked him, "Did you have any person or persons whom you you really thought were your good friends?" he replied:

I have some in administration buildings. . .I had a good friend. Even director (Mr. Best) was very good. He recommended .good recommendation letter to anybody. I still have that letter, you know, in my memory. . .I was living in doctor's block. All those doctors are good friends.

Later, he told me:

I think Sacramento Area people, they know I was teaching head of school, <sup>2</sup> so they listened to me. . .So I thought I should lead them in my best way, you know, even old people or young people. . . .I do not regret anything while I was at Tule Lake. I just felt maybe it was waste 3½ years in Tule Lake. But I have a lot of experience.

Taro Tokunaga, <sup>42</sup>~~41~~ years old, was born in Hawaii. At the time of the evacuation, he was "running a little fruit stand in Sacramento". When I asked him, "Was there anything that happened that made you feel good?" he replied:

When I was block manager, one fellow brought me that book called "Buddha". I read over three times. And all of a sudden in the third time I read, I got the answer. In Japanese we call "satori". It means something like enlightenment. So I had that feeling of that enlightenment coming in while I was in office, and everything started to look bright looking. And at that time my mind was very clear. And everything that I hear or what I do is kind of more happy. Nothing to worry me. When I went to open my office at eight o'clock, my office was all clean. And the people come in after breakfast - young people come in; then young people goes out and girls come in; and girls goes out, old ladies comes in; old ladies goes out; old men come in. And all day long I couldn't close my

1. Before the evacuation Mr. Morimoto was teaching in the Japanese Language School in Sacramento.

office till ten at night. Always people come around. .gather and talk and we had a very happy in my office. . .If you have that state. . people respect you and you don't get no fear; no anger; and just talk a common language and people gather around you. I don't know why.

How Girls and Women Spent Their Time

Taeko Okamura, age <sup>5</sup>7, wrote:

Life in Tule Lake Segregation Camp for children was not very pleasant. There was very little to do for entertainment. Toys were scarce. We often played hopscotch using the coal pieces from the pile in front of the bathroom area. . .Our mothers gave us outdated Wards and Sears catalogues so we could cut out the models to use as paper dolls. We also spent a great deal of time looking for tiny white shells which our mothers bleached and made into necklaces and pins.

Naoko Nishimoto was 10 years old when her family was sent from the Walerga Assembly Center to Tule Lake. She told me:

In Tule Lake we went to Japanese school in the morning and English school in the afternoon. Being a ten year old, I didn't know all these emotional and worries and financial status and things like that. . .But the nicest part I think to me was I had a lot of friends to play with because living out in the country, you couldn't. (Her parents had been farmers.)

Of course, the kind of living was different, you know. You had community bathroom and the showers and stuff like that, which I had never experienced. . . But other than that I can't really. . . going to school and studying kept my mind busy, so you kind of got used to the routine, . . . didn't think too much of it.

I remember playing a lot. . girl's games. . we'd go to the bathroom because it was cement and play jacks in there. And we had a basketball court, each block had one. . . So we played basketball, volleyball. . . the usual stuff. . I remember playing pin-pong.

(9) I asked: "What did you get the most kick out of doing?" Mrs. Nishimoto replied:

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There really wasn't much you could do, you were so confined. We enjoyed hiking though. We used to hike the mountains there. That was kind of nice because you couldn't do anything else. And they showed movies later on. That was kind of nice because when I was little we didn't get a chance to see too many movies being out in the country. And, of course, there were the canteens where we used to buy ice cream, which I thought was nice because we couldn't get ice cream too often being out in the country. We only got to buy it when we went to town.

11  
Sally Takahashi, age 43, said:

During my stay in Tule Lake I did gain something by going to Japanese school. . . We used to run in the morning and then have classes and, of course, I kept us with my math.

I asked whether she had gone first to the WRA school and then to the Japanese school. She replied:

No, no. I dropped. . my dad had me going strictly to Japanese school. So I had one year of concentrated history. And like everybody knows, you must have history of a country to understand it. I had one year of Japanese history and then, of course, I had the language and I had the math and I think I had a science course and I remember the science teacher very dearly.

June Iwohara, age <sup>16</sup>~~17~~, found life in camp very traumatic. When I asked her whether she had any friends, she responded:

I had quite a few girlfriends and we used to go dancing. They did have dances for us and I guess we led as normal a life as we can in camp. And if I had to go to a camp, I guess I was glad I had to go while I lived in America, and not in Germany or Russia. I guess they tried their best to help us lead as normal a life as you can in a controlled environment like this.

When I asked Mrs. Kunitani, age <sup>19</sup>~~21~~, "Are there any other experiences you'd like to tell me about?" she responded:

I pursued some courses that I never would if I weren't in camp. I took flower arrangement, and there were so many crafts, Japanese crafts in America. And there were those that would carve wood and make tigers just out of a block of wood.

Lillian Noma, age <sup>20</sup>~~22~~, opened the interview by apologizing:

I remember that for reasons other than my own I could not be as frank with you as I wanted to in camp, because of parental pressure, you know, not to say too much. (At Tule Lake) I worked in the circulating library. .and they wanted to close it. . . .my only source of heat was an electric heater. Even when it snowed -- dedicated me -- like a fool I went there. And I got deathly sick and for that reason I haven't been able to have any children. I hadn't gone out socially very much - close knit family with a very. .I mean under strict discipline, especially mother. And we learned. .outside of following family orders. .I didn't have much social life and for that reason what my parents said was law. .I hadn't really broadened my horizon and I had just worked briefly before the war.

Mary Iida, age <sup>21</sup>~~23~~, told me she had been a block manager at the Assembly Center -- the Stockton County Fairgrounds. When she was sent to Rohwer Relocation Center, she worked in the block manager's office. At Rohwer she married Mr. Iida and, when he became a "No-No", accompanied him to Tule Lake, leaving her "loyal" family at Rohwer.

When I asked her whether she remembered the military registration, she replied:

Oh, vaguely. By that time I was married. So my husband. .he was a "No-No", so I thought what could I do. So I just went along. .I don't think I ever said "No-No". I don't know.

I then asked her: "In Tule Lake, is there anything that especially comes to your mind that happened there?" She responded:

Well, in Tule Lake I was very inactive. I didn't do anything. I was just a plain housewife, because I had my son. Our son was born there. And so, the sewing machine came around once in . . . whatever, and when the sewing machine came, boy, you were busy sewing in between your cutting up and everything. I never got bored. I didn't have time to be bored. But I didn't do anything for the public or anything.

I asked: "Did you have any friends?" She replied:

When I got there I didn't, no. . .I made friends. And the children weren't that many and then my son was just an infant. And then there were so many older, like my parent's age, you know, who had nothing to do. So then they would look after my son while I went to the laundry. We had to use those scrub boards. So while we did that, there was always someone to look after the child. Some of the friends I made there are still very good friends of ours. As far as amusement went, well, that we didn't have too much there. . .So we just stayed sort of close to home.

When I asked Noriko Tsuruda <sup>page 22,</sup> whether she had any friends in Tule Lake with whom she could talk, she responded:

I was more or less family oriented. . .And I wasn't too much socialized. . .Like my family was real old fashioned and they were very protective, especially in camp. All the boy. .men. . young men you meet are all total strangers. You don't know where they came from. . .I didn't go out to date very much, many I had two or three boyfriends, nothing serious, you know. And even then, they used to come to my house.

I worked during the day in the canteen, behind the counter, and then when I came home I used to go to Japanese school. And so there was your day. It was gone. So that was the life in Tule Lake. (laughs)

Mrs. Kurusu, age <sup>27</sup>~~28~~, was reluctant to tell me anything about her life at Tule Lake. Subsequently, her husband told me that they had no friends at Tule Lake and they did not today know anyone who had been there. I asked her: "Even at Tule Lake wasn't there anything at all that was sort of a pleasure? Did you go to any of the classes?" She replied:

No. . . Ah, yes, I did. . . sewing.

I asked: "Did that make you feel good?" She responded:

Well, I was learning something.

Kayo Kataoka, age 37, was born in San Francisco. She told me that she and her husband/were in the "group that wanted to go to Japan on the Gripsholm"<sup>4</sup> Her ~~xxxxx~~ husband, however "didn't apply for my return," and so she was left alone in the United States. She was evacuated to the Rohwer Center and then ~~xxxxx~~ sent to Tule Lake, where she knew noone.

4. ~~xxxxx~~ In the spring of 1942 the Japanese government submitted a list of 539 aliens it would accept. Fifty-four of those named accepted the offer and sailed for Japan on June 16, 1942, on the S. S. ~~Gripsholm~~ Gripsholm. ~~xxxxx~~ ten Broek, p. 175, ~~an~~

~~She~~ When I asked about her life at Tule Lake, she told me:

I got into studying the Bible, from Genesis to Revelations, because I ~~xxxx~~ didn't have anything to do. . I wanted the Lord to let me know. . reveal what He ~~xxxxx~~ means. . that was a great thing I had accomplished, and I think ~~ix~~ that was the greatest harvest of my lifetime. It was a difficult life, but ~~to~~ God gave me this wisdom.

<sup>respondents</sup>  
Only one Japanese American spoke critically of "people who co-operated with the administration and spied on us."

Though, in 1981-82, I was very interested in what Japanese Americans might wish to tell me about this tragic period of camp life, I did not include specific questions about the Okamoto shooting or the Noma murder in my questionnaire. Instead, I planned to wait until an appropriate moment in the interview and then asked questions like "Do you remember when Mr. Okamoto was shot by a sentry?" or "Do you remember when Mr. Noma was murdered?"

*earlier*  
Much to my surprise, some of my respondents ignored my initial questions about life before the evacuation, or life in the Assembly Centers and preceeded to tell me <sup>in detail</sup> how they or someone they knew had come to be called an inu.

When I asked Mr. Tokunaga, a Hawaiian born Japanese, age 42 and an Old Tulean, "Of the various things that you experienced in Tule Lake,

1. See pp. 33-61 for statements made in 1944.

which made you the most angry?" he responded:

I was the representative of Ward 2.... the other center people came in and made me and another fellow from representative went over to meeting ... and I didn't like the meeting. They had 24-25 resolutions and the first resolution they had, you know, they wanted to kick the old former Tuleans out immediately, because all of Tule Lake is all inu! And second one, they want to kill all the dog and eat immediately, because they are unhealthy ... I started talking, you know: "You folks came from the other center: whatever we live in Tule Lake is nice and quiet people, and if you want <sup>to</sup> ~~(?)~~ and kick right out, then you folks is a damn fool. You don't know nothing. And killing dog and cat. Those who have pets at home; they is just like their kid. So you want to kill dog and eat is against my will." I started to argue like everything. Finally, I got so damn mad, I got out of my chair and ~~stand up~~ and I said "This is a ridiculous meeting .. So I stand up and had a chair and I throw it at the table and I walked out ... And they also threaten to kill me too ... They send a message to me ... ~~some (though?) people,~~ and he said, "I'm going to kill you .. We going to kill you." I said, "Well, if you want to kill me, go ahead. I won't run away or nothing. I live in block 29, barrack 15, you know." But they didn't come and get me.

Mr. Tokanaga added that he also told people:

"I would like to see you folks be quiet and be just like real Japanese. And if you want to go back to Japan, be like a Japanese

until all the American people (say) "Oh, those Japanese people ... wonderful people, we hate to see them go." .. I talk about quite often.

*was because of the Camp, \*\*\*\*\**

Peter Morimoto, age 35 was born in Japan, finished college there, and then came to the United States. He told me that he had attended college in Colorado and at New York University and that he had taught at the Sakura Gakuen in Sacramento, California, in 1939 and 1942. He was planning to return to Japan "and then the war starts and (laughs) it was impossible to return to Japan."

Mr. Morimoto was sent to Tule Lake while it was a Relocation Center and answered "Yes-No" to the Military Questionnaire.

When I asked him, "Which experiences in Tule Lake do you recall most strongly?" he responded:

✓ "Well, I have a very pro-Japanese Issei criticize (me) and I had a littl<sup>e</sup> hard time. Because I told those Nisei, you know, young people, "If you have the chance, go to school or get out from camp and go to school." ... And all the Issei said, "You are a leader in this camp ...You shouldn't say such things," accusing me, "Are you Japanese?" (laughs) They even come in the evenings to my place. I had a hard time. But I had to tell the truth for the young pepole, you know. (I told the Issei) "It's old people like you, it's all right" but young people, 19, 20, young people, they have a chance for a big future."

I asked Mr. Morimoto: "Weren't you afraid that they were going to beat you up?"

He replied: "No, no. They were all my friends, you know. Well, if you have a chance I recommend to get out of camp, you know.

The Issei people got mad at me ... (laughs)

After telling me that he disapproved of the Military Questionnaire and that he had answered Yes-No, he said:

I tell you something new ... Do you know some incident where Co-op, was General Manager, ... somebody assassinate ... kill?

I said: But before he was killed there were a lot of people beaten up; because they were supposed to be inu and then ... Mr. Noma ...

Mr. Morimoto: Mr. Noma was General Manager of Co-op. At that time I was treasurer of Co-op ... I was treasurer, you know, handle the money and everything. Next victim was Morimoto (laughs). They said they had long list of about 10 people.

R. Wax: Oh yes. They were supposed to be Number 1 Inu.

Mr. Morimoto: Yes, Number One; Number Two was Morimoto. So government ask me, "Why don't you come inside of the government building?" So they took all family; took us there for 4 or 5 days. But I couldn't stay there, you know ... I returned to my block. Oh, <sup>y</sup>everybody prayed for me. (laughs)...

R. Wax: What did you do then?

Mr. Morimoto: Radical group we call Manzanar group ... Those group took over Co-op ... So I resigned. Then I took Community Activities supervisor.

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Ben Kodama, age 24, is a Hawaiian born Japanese, who has difficulty in expressing himself in English. He is also an Old Tulean. When I asked him about the Military Questionnaire, he told me, "I thought Japan

*chusei*

going to win .. but I'm in the United States ... so I thought I might as well chusei<sup>1</sup> in the United States."

I asked: "And so did you say, "Yes-Yes?"

Mr. Kodama: "Yes, I did.

1. Chusei involves an unquestioning and absolute obligation or duty to the Emperor, the law, and the nation which can never be fully repaid and for which there is no time limit.

I asked whether he remembered the murder of Mr. Noma. He replied:

I thought, "Gee, that's a terrible thing, you know?" But they call, "inu, inu," you know ... I got a call from the people, 'you better come around.'

R. Wax: Was that from the Hoshi Dan people?

*kibi*

Mr. Kodama: Yes, right ... They had a meeting quite often, those people ... mostly kibi, you know. The <sup>y</sup>educated in Japan and want to make something ... and they all get together in meeting.

These loyal to the United States, they call ... (inu) ... they call me ... and then they going to make a violence or something. It was an awful thing.

R. Wax: How did you feel when they called you inu?

Mr. Kodama: Oh, that was really something, you know ... I'm not for those kinds of things, you know.

R. Wax: I guess you must have had friends in your block. So you weren't scared that they would beat you.

Mr. Kodama: That's true. Yes. But the good thing, I was teaching weight-lifting. Then I know all the people ...

R. Wax: (Laughs) Yes. They would hesitate to beat you up.

Mr. Kodama: That's why.

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Kaye Kataoka, was 37 and became a devout Christian at Tule Lake; she was the only woman respondent who spoke openly about having been called an inu.

R. Wax: Do you remember that awful time when a lot of people were being called, dogs or inu?

Ks. Kataoka: Yes, and I was one of them, ... (laughs) you know, I was living all by myself and they call me inu. That's what you mean?

R. Wax: Why did they do that?

K. Kataoka: Because many Caucasians, like missionary workers, came into my home. And, of course, they wanted to lead me in the Bible passages.

R. Wax: How did you cope with that business of them calling you inu; what did you do?

K. Kataoka: God gave me strength to pull through.

She then explained that her next door neighbor was a "trouble maker" and "I didn't want to become involved that kind of people ... they wanted to get close to me, but I just stayed away and that's why they call me inu." (laughs)

R. Wax: Did they actually want you to join the group?

K. Kataoka: Well, they didn't ask me. I just didn't want to get close to them, and so they call me "Bow-wow" when I passed by their door. They were all Buddhist people. I was the only Christian in the block ... I went to Church on Sunday morning. So they didn't like that either.

One of my most outspoken respondents at Tule Lake was Bob Tsuruda, age 29. Bob relocated in September of 1944. A few months later a mutual friend told me that he had left Tule Lake because he had been threatened. ✓

In November 1981 I was able to talk to his sister Noriko, age 22. The first thing<sup>g</sup> Noriko wished to tell me was that at Tule Lake her brother

✓ had been threatened and had been called an inu.

✓ Noriko Tsuruda: But you know what happened? .. it didn't dawn on me until a lot later ... you know how the atmosphere in Tule Lake was ... And when you used to come to our barracks ... they, especially the young bachelors, thought he (her brother) was like a spy ... when he was giving you this information, he was giving you, thinking that he had ill feeling toward the Americans. Right? And he was telling you how he felt about this evacuating ... But then they took it the other way.

R. Wax: You mean these bachelors accused him of being a spy?

N. Tsuruda: Right. Not exactly a spy, but like a ...

R. Wax: An inu?

✓ R. Tsuruda: ... going <sup>a</sup> against the Japanese. Now this is the way I added it up later when I was thinking about it. He never told me, but I think he was getting threatening letters through the mail. His life was being threatened. So this is why he moved to Utah. And another .. there was a Mr... I just don't remember ... recall this man's name ... but he used to work at the warehouse ...

I think Bob used to work someplace where they were distributing food to the messhall ... And he used to go to various messhalls with this head man ... He was a Caucasian ...

R. Wax: Mr. Truman:

N. Tsuruda: You mentioned the name. Anyway, he used to go with him to the different messhalls to show him exactly how bad the situation was ... and how the Japanese people liked to have some Japanese food once in a while ... And so he arranged it so that we used to get some Japanese food from the outside. Now Bob arranged it to be that way. But the people, the Japanese people ... they were always looking at it from the wrong angle ... they would never praise you for being good.... They all said, "Oh, he's doing that because he's a dog." In other words he was kissing ... he was brown-nosing ... You know what that expressing means? Like he was kissing his whatchamacall .. and they always took it the bad way ... I'm sure that he was getting threatened, his life was threatened and therefore he relocated.

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In 1981 and 1982 some respondents still did not <sup>wish</sup> care to discuss the inu phenomenon.

When I mentioned the rumors about inu Mr. <sup>To Oda</sup> ~~Osaki~~, age 19, he abruptly changed the subject. And Mr. Kurusu, <sup>age 30,</sup> a conscientious but very cautious respondent, said only, "I just watch myself. I don't want people to call me inu."

In contrast, Joseph Kikuchi, age 9, told me that Mr. Noma and his father had been close friends.

You see, he was from the same prefecture as my father. That man was well educated and I think my father took a lot of his advice ... I remember, Mr. Noma used to visit us a lot of time.

Joseph Kikuchi suggested that I ask his brother Arthur, age 15, if he remembered what Mr. Noma had said in the block meeting. But when I talked to Arthur, he said:

Yes. My brother Joseph mentioned the Noma incident, and I don't remember one bit of it.

✓ R. Wax: you don't?

A. Kikuchi: I don't remember a thing ... And my brother Joseph said,

✓ "You must have just wiped it from your mind." And I said,

"That may well be."

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Another male respondent, John Sawada, age 20, said that he had known Mr. Okamoto, the young man who was shot by the sentry. He told me that after Mr. Okamoto's death, his family were called informers or inu because they did not "press any kind of charge".

It was a sad thing, and the people said, "They (Okamoto's family) are with the administration" ... They felt real bad. And on top of that, to be called informers ... I thought that was terrible.

I would like to see you folks be quiet and be just like real Japanese. Mr. Tokunaga also told me that "some people" had threatened to kill him.

Robert Oda, who was in his early twenties, told me:

I remember...that supposed study group turned into more and more radical; or I think the leadership became more radical - more political. And they started exercising in the morning. That used to irritate me, because it was so early in the morning and woke me up. But some of my friends in that group never hurt me or anything like that.. I wasn't about to be dragged into it..Maybe they felt that they were trapped into it themselves and couldn't get out now that they were in. The people I knew did not pressure me..I think the leadership probably did.

When I asked Dr. Takeshita, who was also in his middle twenties, what he thought of the Hokoku, he said:

I did not participate in any of their organizations. I thought they were a bunch of crazy bastards.

He laughed, and continued:

I could understand their situation. In order to survive in San Quentin, both psychologically and physically, you must join a group. You belong to someone. And I think that one reason that those, as I said, those crazy young bastards, had a psychological survival, a psychological raison d'etre for being in Tule Lake. They would have to become pro-Japanese. I, for one, didn't need it and my brother didn't need it.

Later in the interview, I asked Dr. Takeshita whether he or his friends had been threatened or pressured by the Resegregationists. He did not speak for a what seemed a long time. Then he said:

I don't..I'm thinking outloud right now..the reason may have been that I was one of the elite group that had been in the stockade. And once you were in the stockade you were the highest of the highest..and therefore, nobody dared touch you. They said, "You better join us," and we could go back and say, "Where the hell were you? In the stockade, you weren't there!"..That may have been the reason there was no pressure put on me.

Mr. Iida, who was in his late twenties, was the only respondent who had joined the Hōkoku who, today, was willing to talk about his experiences and feelings. When I asked him about the Hōkoku, he said, straightforwardly, "Well, I joined them..I don't deny that. I joined them." He then told me that he had renounced his citizenship and had been interned in Santa Fe.

R. Wax: You did renounce your citizenship?

R. Iida: Yes

R. Wax: How did you come to do that?

R. Iida: Well, it was almost like fad, I mean, everyone was doing it, so I did that too.

R. Wax: You were sent to Santa Fe?

R. Iida: That's right.

R. Wax: Is there something else you would like to tell me?

R. Iida: Well, during wartime, I mean, like I say was hectic and that everything went crazy, you know. If you recall back, we did or we didn't, you know?

After talking at length about other matters, Mr. Iida suddenly began to tell me more about his experiences with the Hōkoku.

.. among them there was logical ones, and dumb ones, smart ones. Even though I belonged to the group, I didn't like the way they were doing and ..I wrote an article, that things going too much that I don't like. Both countries fighting, bloody fighting, and then they (the Resegregationists) cussing each other. "If you want to go back to Japan, if you don't want to go back to Japan..you don't have to argue about it. If you want to go back, keep quiet," I said..and with that article I made a lot of enemies among the group.

A month later I talked to Mr. Iida again, and he told me that he thought that some of the Resegregationists had been behaving like Communists:

I didn't like making noise. You don't have to make noise!  
..When I was in Japan, those Communist people did the same thing..They did the same way in Japan when Communists did protest, demonstration...And I just felt that among that group there was some Communist people.<sup>1(2)</sup>

When I was at Tule Lake I was assured by several respondents that the "little children enjoyed the morning exercises." A statement made in 1981 by a woman who was nine years old in 1945 supports this view:

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1. At the time I was working at Tule Lake, being called a Communist was a greater insult than being called an inu (informer).

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My sister and I were enrolled in a Japanese school in preparation for our eventual expatriation to Japan. Our teachers were generally pro-Japan and taught us not only how to read and write in Japanese but also to be proud as Japanese. Their goals were to teach us to be good Japanese so that we would not be embarrassed when we got to Japan.

We were often asked to wear red or white headbands and do marching exercises. We were awakened early every morning to the sound of a bugle. We had to hurriedly get dressed and gather at one end of the block where a leader led us in traditional Japanese calisthenics. As the sun rose, we bowed our heads to the east. This was to show our respect to the Emperor. We were also led in the cleaned-up of our block area before breakfast.

Thomas Sawada, who did not renounce, gave a relatively impersonal account of the situation.

Well, my feelings were, I'm not doing anything more for the government if I don't have to do it. And if there is any forced issue, I want to fight it. So I kept my citizenship and I wasn't going to do anything about it.

I asked: "How did you feel about this renunciation of citizenship business." He responded:

That was a poor thing. That incident should never have been brought up. I feel sorry for some of them who were forced to go back to Japan and pay a lot of money to get their citizenship back. That's the reason why my feelings were worse against some of the Japanese people, because that Hoshi-dan group brought it up pretty strongly and some innocent Nisei renounced it and..I'm glad this government was lenient though. They gave them a chance and said, "Are you sure you want to renounce?"

They got a chance to change their mind about it. My angry thoughts about that incident are -- there were a lot of Isseis who strongly advised their kids to renounce. They were pro-Japan and they would try to get all the Niseis to renounce and go back to Japan..I say, "If I'm going to fight it, I'm going to fight it as a citizen and not as a renounced alien."

When I asked Noriko Tsuruda, a young woman who did not renounce, whether, in her opinion, the camp experience had strengthened or weakened family ties, she responded:

Well, I don't know why it should create hard feeling except maybe at the time when one was pro-American and the other was anti or whichever. And at that point it might have created a hardship..

My folks believed the way we felt. I was born an American citizen. Why should I renounce it? And I never did renounce my citizenship, like some did. I was under no pressure to renounce it either, because no member of my family felt that we should renounce. Except Bill (her brother) was pressured from his wife's side and that's why he renounced it. <sup>(3)</sup> But when it came to going back to Japan, that's when he put his foot down.

When I was at work, when it's slack, we'd all stand in front of the big stove, and they'll talk about this and that. There were some (who said) "Oh, we really have to renounce!" We'd just walk away and pretend we were doing something else.

Two of my oldest respondents made spontaneous and interesting statements about the renunciation. <sup>I asked</sup> Mr. Tokunaga, a feisty 45 year old Hawaiian-born Japanese, "Is there any important question I haven't asked? That you would like to tell me about?" He responded:

Well, about the question about renouncing the American citizen...I believe most of the young people renounced American citizen, and I was very sad about it. I said: "You don't renounce American citizen. Keep it." But most of them don't listen to me.

21. Bill and his wife remained in the United States. All of his wife's family went to Japan. When I spoke with Bill in 1981, he did not tell me that he had renounced his citizenship.

I asked: "Were they listening to somebody else?" He responded: Yes, those radical guys..usually a better speaker..told them to renounce their citizen. You know, the block manager in my next block, I thought he would renounce American citizen. But he didn't. He forced other people to renounce and then he keep it. I thought that was pretty damn dirty trick.

Mr. Morimoto, an Issei, was in his mid-thirties when he was confined in Tule Lake. Because of his association with the Co-op, he came to be called a "Number One Inu." When he recommended that I talk to Mr. Iida, he also told me that Mr. Iida and his wife were among those who returned to Japan.

And they returned here about 15-17 years ago. American government said. "Well, you denounce American citizenship, but that's all right. We give back to you American citizenship. So nice, you know..So everybody returned to this country....

Sometime parents, father and the mother influence denounce citizenship. Then very radical..Maybe young men think he all right, but father and mother strongly against this country..I think American government know that..that's why they thought, "Well, it's OK, we give you citizenship again." (laughs)

20, AFTER LEAVING TULE LAKE

The accounts that my respondents gave me of their experiences and feelings after leaving Tule Lake are so various that I think it would be best to present them as longitudinal entities. I will begin with the statements of those respondents who were taken to Japan by their parents. One of the most impressive of these is the written statement by Thomas Kikuchi, who was fifteen years old when his parents repatriated.

THOMAS KIKUCHI (pseudonym)

I would say the four or five years after leaving Tule Lake were the hardest time of my life. Having survived that, I knew I could survive anything.

When we arrived in Japan in 1946, the country was in utter chaos. There were people coming back from China, Manchuria, the Phillipines, Taiwan, Korea, and wherever else they might have been. It seemed as though half of Japan was bombed out. People were sleeping in train stations, in makeshift cardboard houses; people looking for scraps of food, begging for food. I remember once passing out on the street, and when I woke up I was in a hospital. They told me I was suffering from malnutrition. I hadn't eaten in weeks. Eventually I was hired as an interpreter for the U.S. military occupation forces. As an American citizen, I was allowed to live in a foreign national dormitory and to eat my meals there.

Fortunately, one of my brothers was on occupation duty, and he lent me the money to return to the United States.

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I was 17 years old when I returned here. I had \$20 in my pocket. I worked in a restaurant washing dishes from 6:00 a.m. until 8:00 p.m., 6- $\frac{1}{2}$  days a week. My pay was \$160 per month. After a year and a half, I decided there was no future in that, so I enrolled in high school. I worked in a private home for room and board while attending school. Now that I think of it, they had a bargain. For \$25 a month, they had me do all the things they would have had to pay a full time servant ten times as much.

For a long time I was even ashamed to tell people I had been interned in camps during the war. It was almost like I had committed a crime and was incarcerated for it. Now that it is in the open, I feel that a tremendous load has been lifted off my shoulders. I am gradually getting to the point of talking about it without getting too emotional.

#### EFFECTS OF THE CAMPS

When we were herded into the camps, for all intents and purposes that was the end of our family as a unit. I don't feel the closeness I once had. In fact, I sometimes feel very uncomfortable when we get together and talk about old times. I would just as soon forget about those unhappy days.

I feel I was cheated because I really never had an adolescent life. I started high school at 18 years of age, never had a social life because I was working my way

through, never experienced the things that teenagers do. I don't have a class reunion to attend because I graduated under a special program they had for veterans at the City College of San Francisco. I dread holidays because of all my experiences in having to work on those days to pay for tuition, having no family to share my thoughts with or to be with during those days. I put on a front at parties and get-togethers, but my wife sees right through the facade.

After military service, I supported my wife and daughter while attending school under the G.I. Bill and working odd jobs. After finishing school, I couldn't get a job in San Francisco. Many of the firms told me they could really use my services but their clients might not approve. So I moved away from San Francisco and have been living in this city now for 23 years. For almost 22 years I have been an official court reporter for the Superior Courts of this county. I am proud of the fact in all those years I haven't failed to file my trial transcripts on time, often working seven days a week, 15-hours a day.

My camp experiences left me with a terrible sense of insecurity. I have this fear about being poor and hungry again. I am constantly striving for more security, even though I could retire now and probably live on my pension and the investments I have made. I attribute a lot of that on my camp and post-camp experiences.

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I <sup>a</sup> earnestly feel we were interned because of pressures put on the government by people who are racists and who stood to gain financially by our evacuation. My biggest disappointment is the Supreme Court of the United States. If this matter were brought before it now, there would be no question but that they would rule against the evacuation. They just didn't have the guts to interpret the law as it should have been.

However, even with all the imperfections and the frailties inherent in our system, this is still the greatest country to live in. I feel I have become a better American because of what happened to me.

AK: Yeah, When my brief interview appeared in the paper, just one paragraph, there was a lady who wrote an angry letter to the editor stating that we should have been deported; that there should be no tax payers' money being spent on hearings of enemies. So that is still here. My biggest concern for appearing was to try to create a clean sheet as it were, that we were not responsible for the Imperial Army's act, nor were we responsible for Pearl Harbor and subsequent acts. The pages of history still bear the erroneous information that we were put into camp for alleged sabotage, alleged activities, it's still there!

And the proof of this is that I have a podiatric assistant trainee who came from Massachusetts. After two months of employment in our office she said to me one day, "How is it that you weren't deported?"

"Emily," I said, "what brings that up?"

She said, "We just had a history class a few years back and we reviewed the events, and it said you people were like the Fifth Columnists and you were the element that created a tremendous amount of threat to the national defense. And she said she was sorely disappointed that the United States would allow people like us to remain after this <sup>type</sup> ~~type~~ of acts of treason." And I said "Emily," I said, "Do I look like a spy?" We dismissed it on that light note, but I realized it, you know.

RW: Did that happen just recently?

AK: That was 1975 or 1976.

To this day...and I didn't mention that I wasn't able to get a house for a long time because of the restricted covenant in our area. I was not able to get a house.

RW: Well, on a happier note, I'd like to ask: looking back is there anything in this experience, that you did or other people did that makes you feel really good today when you think about it?

AK: I think in my case, there are too many erroneous things. You see, my family was <sup>s</sup>plit permanently. So at the age of 18 or so, you know, to be permanently split from the family, and I feel it for my younger brothers, who had gone over there (to Japan), They could not adjust over there, be happy there, or even in the future. So at the age of 14, 15 and 16, they were all on their own over there. And I think if the family were here, I would say it could end on a very happy note. We could say that in spite of that, we were together. But that was not so.

We are really willing to forget it really, put it behind. But we can't for the sake of our children and our children's children. To say that, "Hey, you're an American citizen now, but you have a real, real bad apple in your group, a bunch of traitors no less." We just didn't think that generations of people should have to bear that kind of stigmata, And we're doing everything we can at this point in time to set the record straight. Whether we will succeed or not, we don't know.

RW: If you think of any one else who would like to talk to me, you could just drop your brother a line or you could write to me at Washington University. Is this likely?

AW: I don't know who would feel as free as I do. There are too many who have gone through, you know, being a Nisei and what I had to go through...The humiliation while being in the Army, you know, for example. I was in Japan serving in the armed forces (U.S.A.) and a lady came up to me and she was the wife of the radiologist--

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She comes up to me, and without any provocation...I was filing, I remember, and she said, 'You get out of that uniform, you dirty Jap, you're a disgrace to the uniform.' And I looked up and here she is, dead serious, you know. And I said, where did she come from, you know. She turned out to be a Californian. Her husband, who was raised in the Midwest, apologized profusely and tried to stop her, but he couldn't in spite of his best efforts. But that's sort of thing we do run into. And so, I think the thing that we're able to put up with that is the fact that I became a Christian in 1950, and was able to understand how the Lord bore all of our scars for us. And so, it's bearable. I think everyone carries certain crosses, and this is ours.

LILLIAN NOMA

Miss Noma was 21 years old at the time of the evacuation. She was employed at the state capitol. After Pearl Harbor she received a letter "saying that my presence was very upsetting to my co-workers because of my Japanese descent and that hereby they were terminating my employment." She and her family were sent to the Tule Lake Relocation Center. At Tule Lake she was married. Early in 1946 she and her husband relocated to New York City, where her husband had been promised a job by the War Relocation Authority. We went to New York City, and, of course, I could find a job. But he was promised a job that never materialized. That was WRA. They wanted you to get out of camp.

Well, I found an office job right away, but what could he do with a Japanese college education - he became a bus boy. He did lapidary work for a while, but that was dying out. So he did restaurant and bus boy work. And then he checked around with the Japanese Buddhist Temple and found they wanted domestic work.

I wasn't feeling well yet from my operation and the fact that I couldn't have children was a psychological, emotional thing.

So he took domestic work and we went to Fall River, Massachusetts. And the work was too heavy. I had to cook for a family of 5 children and a couple, and they brought home a mother from an insane asylum. And then, the children were college students who would bring home guests. So, since my

brothers had relocated to Cleveland, we came here because my parents were here.

And then, my marriage didn't work out, and I was divorced. After 7 years I remarried and I have been married for the past 20 years. My husband is an engineer, and I have worked as a secretary all these years. This is my 35th year. I noticed when war started my classmates stopped talking to me; on the street they didn't even see me. They saw right through me. And then trying to find a place to live. Why, if you were a Japanese, the vacancy sign didn't mean anything. But on the whole, I think people have been kind, especially the ethnic groups.

RW: AND which ethnic groups especially have been...

LN: Cleveland is a mixture. I've made many Irish friends, Slovenian friends, and Bohemians.

I'm sorry I didn't respond when Wataru wrote to me..even now, people just because of your oriental features, you're not considered an American.

RH: Well, by me you are. (laughs)

LN: (laughs) Well, that's the way it goes.

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NAOKO NISHIMOTO

Naoko Nishimoto was ten years old when her family was evacuated from Washington. From the Assembly Center they were sent to Tule Lake. She herself appears to have had a fairly untraumatic existence at Tule Lake, but she gave me an interesting account of her family's difficulties in leaving. Her oldest brother, she said, had been sent to Japan and was in Japan at the outbreak of the war.

After this "Yes" and "No" business, the second brother, which is the oldest here in the United States said, "No," he wasn't going to go back (to Japan.)

My father wanted us to go back. And then my third brother said, "You're getting older and we'll be taking care of you. We can't make a living in Japan. We don't know the language." So he talked to him and said, "No, we can't go back."

So my father listened to him and we decided to stay. And so my other brother, the second one who is oldest here, he didn't want to sign any paper, Yes or No, and so he left and got married...My third brother, he stayed on at Tule Lake for some reason. I guess he renounced his citizenship. He didn't want to, but he obeyed his father and did this.

Then the brother who left and married called us and said, "It's OK, you can come out."

RW. Can I ask about the brother who left? He relocated in the United States?

NN: Yes. He left and went to Utah. That was because we couldn't go back to where we were before because we didn't own the land..

He had a buddy that lived in Utah, so we went over there first. But the brother that denounced his citizenship could not leave ...and then, when they said they were really going to close the center, my brother, he came, and then he joined the Army because there was no job. He really wanted his citizenship back, and he thought, perhaps, that way he could get it back.

RW: By joining the Army?

NN: Yes. He could go to college. He was bright, but he couldn't go because we were in camp.

RW: Did he get it back?

NN: I think he did..He told them what had happened because the questionnaires will say, "Did you renounce your citizenship?" or whatever, about this relocation center, and he was very truthful and he said, "Yes." and so he did get it back.

RW: Where did you go after Utah?

NN: After Utah, I graduated high school there and then we came back to California. Because, this other brother, he came back to California because his in-laws had a place to farm. So he went there with his wife and farmed and then he called us over there again. And then we came back to California, and then, I don't like country farming. I'm allergic to the dirt or whatever, and I just couldn't do that kind of work. So I decided that I would come to San Francisco and work a little bit and go to some kind of school.

RW: What did you study?

NN: Well, jobs were hard to come by then, because people were still prejudiced. So I went to a key punching school and then they would place you.

RW: Did you get a job?

NN: Yes, I did get a job, for an insurance company.

At the end of the interview I asked Mrs. Nishimoto whether she knew anyone else who had been at Tule Lake who might be willing to talk to me. She responded, "There is this one man, I don't know what camp he was in, but he kept all those tags and stuff. You know, the numbers that we had and all that?.. I told him I'd like to see them, because I don't know what happened to ours..every family had a number."

SALLY TAKAHASHI

Sally Takahashi was about 13 years old when, with her parents and five siblings, she was confined in the Tule Lake Segregation Center. Her oldest brother, she told me, was and remained in the armed services of the United States. Her oldest sister had gone to Japan before the war and had been married there.

Sally's father wished to return to Japan and spend his declining years there. (I gather that her two older brothers renounced their American citizenship.) She also told me that her father and her older brothers were taken "out of Tule Lake into a concentration camp." She could not remember the details.

When the war was declared over, my Dad wrote to my Mom and said, "We were going back to Japan as a family. Even though my Dad was very domineering..my mother knew better. My brother..he got shot at one of the landings in Italy..he was in Cincinnati then. So my Mom said, "There is a point that we can go." So she allowed us to make our own decision..So we all made the decision: we didn't want to go to Japan. And at that time I had to ask myself, I said, "This is my country."

Accordingly, Sally, a brother and a sister went to Cincinnati, while her father, mother, and two older brothers went to Japan...

To put it bluntly, I think my Dad slipped. I really do. Because it's like during the depression, when the stock market goes all the way down, you lost everything. Well, that's what happened to him.

← { Eventually, the brothers who had expatriated returned to the United States. In Japan, her parents were not welcomed by their relatives.. "they come from the deep country and they weren't that well to do, so they couldn't absorb them in, I guess. So then my Dad begrudgingly came back." r T

Encouraged by her mother, the older sister divorced her husband and returned to the United States.

I think it's safe to say that my Mom had something to do with the divorce. She felt that my sister lost her identity..she was being pushed around too much..But on the other hand, my sister, now she's working in Maryland, right outside of Washington, D.C. She's working with the Federal. She really went through a physical and mental, more or less, while she didn't have a complete breakdown. But she went through a lot.

It was not until our second talk that Mrs. Takahashi told me of her own experiences:

When I went to camp I was in 7th grade when the war broke out, so I was like in Junior High. So you might say that I had fun there. I felt ill feelings and well I guess what you might say it affected me physically, because everything happened to me, let me say, after I got out. Because I was unhappy being separated from the family and having to live in a stranger's home and it was a complete new experience for me even though I made that choice, you know, it was something that I didn't know what was in store for me.

RW: Yes, this was after you left camp?

ST: Right. And then while I was going to school. One summer I think, over one summer, I gained twenty pounds. I'm only five feet tall.

2 ✓

My brother was there. My sister was there at another home and my other brother was in another home too. My brother's wife's family was there. Even though they were there, I mean I can understand now what happens to people, like for instance, suicide - that's way out though. So when I look back, that's what happened to me. I just went within myself. And what brought me out was I didn't stay..I didn't keep that weight very long. I went on a very rigid diet. You see, I was never heavy and I'm still..I only weight about 107 right now and so I, well, I don't know how to say this - I found God I guess.

Even when I gained that much weight and when I was reaching for someone, and I was lonely. I was extremely lonely, and that's what turned the table for me. I had told myself and I don't know where I got it from, that no matter what happens, God loves me without any strings attached. I can verbalize it now, because I know this is what God is all about, but at that time I don't know whether I verbalized it just like I'm saying it now. But I know one thing that I did experience it, and that's what snapped me out of it... So it was a situation where

✓ (t)

I had no more or less take a hold of myself and overcome this extreme loneliness. And this is why I say that I had

this experience with the feeling that God loves me, and that's all that I really needed, and this is really funny, because this excludes your family.

Mrs. Takahashi has married and has several children. She is employed as a nurse, but she told me very little of her work. She did remark: "I work in an Osteopathic Hospital, by the way, and there is a stigma there too."

JANE IWOHARA

Jane Iwohara was 15 years old when she, her parents, and her brother were evacuated from Washington. About her life in Tule Lake she said:

I hated being there..I began to hate Japanese people and mainly because we, as human beings, weren't meant to be incarcerated like that - like cattle. Sometimes I felt I was going to lose my mind.

She and her parents were among the last people to leave Tule Lake, because, according to Mrs. Iwohara, her parents refused to renounce their Japanese citizenship.

We came by train all the way across the country. I remember my parents would look out the window and we saw beautiful sights of America and we finally came to Lakewood, New Jersey. And I remember a Mr. Monday, who was from the government, who was very, very nice and I'll never forget him. I hope to see him in heaven someday. He was very kind to my parents and myself and we were located on a poultry farm in Lakewood, New Jersey..

I went to work for a doctor in New York City, because I had graduated high school in camp.

RW: What would you think were the highpoints or significant points of your life since you've left Tule Lake?

JII: Well, going to nursing school and getting married and having a daughter. And having my mother with me. My father was here with us too until he died. He died here in our home. I was glad of that because I didn't want it to be in a hospital.

RW: Looking back today, what part of your experience is still the hardest to bear?

JI: Well, I can't say..I don't remember anything that is hard to bear. I think God helped me through all of it and..I wouldn't want to go through it again. But I'm stronger in my faith because of all the experiences I've had. And God made me strong each time something happened to me. Because at one time I trusted man and I realized man is not to be trusted. And therefore, I had to trust some higher being, somebody higher than man..Now our whole life revolves around church. Our family would be lost without our church life, because all our friends belong to the church. Our whole life centers around church and church activities..

And I had a nervous breakdown though. I have to tell you that.

RW: When did that happen?

JI: Oh gee, this happened when we moved to \_\_\_\_\_, I guess it was 1952 when my daughter was about two years old.

RW: Do you think it was related to your camp traumas?

JI: I think so. Yes.

I did not think it proper to ask Mrs. Iwohara about her nervous breakdown, but she herself spoke of it again when we were saying our farewells:

(y) It was nice talking to you because I kind of felt relieved. (t)  
I've never expressed anything. I had seen a psychiatrist  
when I had my nervous breakdown. Of course I went to a  
pschiatrist for a long time, but I was never able to bring  
it out in words. Maybe when they gave me shock treatments  
and everything and they were giving me drugs. I don't  
know..But this is the first time I've really ever talked  
to anybody about it.

RW: This is the first time?

JJ: Oh yes. I've never talked about camp experience  
to my husband even. I never felt the need to do it.  
I've never done it, but it feels good now. I feel so  
relieved having done it. I really appreciate your  
calling. Well, I should really pay you \$50.00 an hour.  
(laughs).

THOMAS SAWADA

Thomas Sawada, an Old Tulean, told me that he had refused to answer the Military Questionnaire. However, he did not renounce his citizenship and he was about 25 years old when the war ended. I asked him what he did when he left Tule Lake. He responded:

TS: The thing is my folks weren't rich. My brother and I, we're two years apart. So I told my dad, I said 'We're going to go out and see if we can make some money.' And all my friends went out too then already. We depended on one friend and we went to Idaho to pick spuds for a while and we made good money.

In the meantime, my folks were out too already and then went to the Sacramento area. It was a really sad situation because they were picking olive in wet, rainy weather and all that. When I came back, I looked for a little house and put our money down for a down payment. So we at least had a place to go to. That's what happened. My folks came back. We all got together.

RW: Did you then go to school or did you keep on working?

TS: Well, I kept working because my sister wanted to finish up school too. She had two years to go to nursing school. I put her through school. So after that I was working but I wasn't satisfied with what I wanted to do. I figured I better make up my mind what I'm going to do for a lifetime. So somebody pushed me to sell insurance, so I said I want to sell insurance. (laughs).

RW. How long has it been that you have been selling insurance?

TS: Oh this is my thirty-fourth year. Anyway I made up my mind. We're making a living.

RW: Since you've left the camp, would you say there have been any really high or significant points in your life?

TS: Well, you know the thing is this: After the war had ended..See, we faced a lot of discrimination prior to the war, okay. So after the war, this feeling had changed a little bit. A lot of the Nisei and Sanseis are able to intermingle with certain American businesses and all that. However, to this day, there is still some discrimination hanging around. I mean I feel it even selling insurance. I mean if I approach any white person, especially of English descent, they are the worst ones. Excuse me if you are English now.

RW: You mean the people who come from England?

TS: Yeah. They're the worst. The thing is, I tell my kids too, the people have changed but if you want to get one more step up, they'll hold you down. I mean you have to be an exceptional knowledged and know what you're doing and all that in order to get one step ahead of them. The plateau is there as far as trying to be of service to anybody. But I mean if you want to get beyond that plateau, that's where the tough part comes in.

We got to show that we a little bit better than the other person, or they are going to be able to push you around. In the insurance agency business, I find that. That's why you can't have that..I don't have the manager push me around. I tell him what to do.

This is the reason that I'm thankful that I went to Japanese school in Tule Lake. Although I went to Japanese school while we were going to grammar school, I think the Japanese I learned in the camp was more or less like a review, bringing me up to date. Of all the time I was there I had friends who helped me with my Japanese. So presently, a lot of my policy holders are Japanese speaking. Because I carry on the conversations in Japanese and they need help. And who's going to provide it? So sometime I feel I'm a social worker, because when they're in trouble - I've been to immigration to interpret and I've been in front of a judge to interpret.

RW: That a very fine thing for you to be able to do.

TS: They're surprised because I've never been to Japan.

Learning Japanese in camp was one of my.. nobody can take it away from me. And I'm able to use it now, which I feel thankful that I did strongly try to improve my Japanese and all that. It's really helped me out.

RW: Not only professionally, but in a human way in helping people.

TS: That's right. I feel grateful that I could at least speak and help some other people. There are a lot of so-called Japanese refugees out her too. They're here from Maimoto (?) and Kabushima. So these are some of the people that I'm able to help. I feel that I'm not that strong in Japanese, but at least I can carry on...

JOHN SAWADA

John Sawada is Thomas Sawada's younger brother. He now lives in Illinois. I asked him, "When did you leave Tule Lake?"

JS: I left in '45, or was it August, July or something like that. And we went to Pocatello, Idaho.

RW: Did you have a position or job there?

JS: No, one of my friends was over there. He wasn't a mechanic but he was doing some mechanic work. And just to get over there, we went to his place. And from there we went to work for a farmer right outside of Pocatello to harvest potatoes.

We couldn't go back to the coast yet, so we harvest potatoes, alfalfa work, sugar beets. And then our friend said, "There was a man who needs help in Twin Falls. He's got to get his potatoes in." So we went to Twin Falls for about 3-4 weeks. And when the release came, we could go back to the West coast, then we came back.

RW: And what did you do on the West Coast?

JS: I went back and went to a nursery in East Oakland, San Lorenzo. I worked there for about a year and then in 1946 because my folks were living in Sacramento in a hostel, my brother and I thought we should make a little more money and get a place for them to stay. So in '46 my brother and I went on a farm, that is to say, hit the season. And we started out with asparagus and then apricots, peach, pear, whatever and then we spent '46 up to the end of December doing seasonal work and then we bought a little home for our folks.

And then in January, 1947 I went back to the nursery.

RW: And how did you come eventually to get to Illinois?

JS: Well, the nursery job was 8 hours work. So I started going to night school, taking up radio. My line was accounting, but I thought, something..that will come in, you know..so I started in radio. But I didn't know electricity. So I kept on going there and there was a nice teacher at that school by the name of Mr. Nelson. He said he would teach me, you know. So I saved my money at the nursery and then I read about this coin school here in Chicago. So I wrote to them and the tuition was about \$500.00. So I saved enough money, I paid the tuition, and I came to Chicago; I had \$1800.00 to my name and I came to school.

I said I was going into television. But this electricity was so fascinating. I stuck with motor <sup>✓K</sup> repairing and I've been in this thing for the last 33 years and I'm on my own now.

RW: And you're married and have children?

JS: Well, I'm married and have one daughter and my wife passed away last year.

RW: Oh, I'm sorry.

JS: Kind of hectic, but trying to get on the track again..

I complemented Mr. Sawada on how well he had told me his life history. He said:

Well, these things live with you. It's kind of a sad thing. And yet kind of hard to forget it and go, and it sticks with you..

RW: I myself think none of us should ever forget the injustice of taking a citizen...

JS: (Interrupts)

This is kind of hard to say. But what amazes me a lot, was that the people in the Midwest. They do not know about this.

RW: Yes.

JS: When I first came to Chicago, they say, "We thought of Japanese ancestry was all buck-toothed liked they show in the comics." And they thought we were some kind of a freak. But then they say these people are a little different. The picture they got from these cartoons or whatever it is, is kind of very misleading.

I said, "How could you think in that terms when human beings are human beings?" They said, "That was the kind of picture they drew." So what are you going to do? It's kind of hard.

JOSEPH TAKESHITA

Joseph Takeshita was 18 years old when his family was evacuated from San Francisco to Tule Lake. During the uprising, he and his brother were confined in the stockade. "I remember standing at attention in my bare feet in the snow for about four hours. We were surrounded by MPs." After his release from the stockade, he became the captain of the Tule Lake fire department. He told me that he had nothing to do with the Resegregationists, remarking that he thought they were "crazy young bastards." When I asked him, "What happened to you after the war?" he responded:

I was one of the last out of Tule Lake because..I presume it was for the reason that I was in the stockade that I was not released earlier. I had to get a special letter from Washington saying that you are released; and it was not one of those carte blanche release statements. I was released at one time and then two days later or very shortly I was told I had to get a special letter saying specifically that I was released. And at that point, my parents were already in San Francisco. My brother was already in..I said, "Oh, what the hell, I think I'll go to New York." And having no idea where New York was; and it seemed the farthest place from Tule Lake. So I asked for a one-way ticket to New York. A friend of mine was in Chicago and I stopped there and stayed in Chicago. My brother had gone on to New York and so after several months in Chicago, I earned enough money to go to New York and then I came back to San Francisco to go to school again.

RW: Which school did you go to?

JT: I went to City College.

RW: To City College, and how then did you get to the rank of Professor at \_\_\_\_\_ ?

JT: Again, I must give thanks to my high school dean who was the first person I went to. I said, "Dean Kincaid, what should I do at this point?" He suggested I go to City College rather than Berkeley. And so, for two years I went to City College and it was at that point I discovered sociology and then went onto Berkeley for the sociology major and then finished with a B.A. in sociology and then was interested in research..But I was interested in researching people; like you, rather than the social institution. I'm more interested in people. As a result of this I went to study under Martin Loeb.

Martin was in the school of social welfare. So I transferred over the the school of social welfare to study under Martin; and then unfortunately Martin was on his way to some Midwest University. And at that point I became a social worker. And then I received my M.A. in Social Work and became a case worker, group worker, supervisor, director of an agency, and then 22 years ago I took up position, a tenure track position at \_\_\_\_\_.

PETER MORIOMOTO

Peter Morimoto was born in Japan in 1907. He came to the United States as an exchange student. He was teaching in the Japanese Language School in Sacramento, California, when the war began. Evacuated to the Tule Lake Relocation Center, he did his best to co-operate with the administration and to advise and assist other evacuees from Sacramento. He told me that during the wave of hostility to and fear of "informers" he was called "Inu Number Two", that is, the next after Mr. Noma.

When I interviewed him in 1981, he told me that at Tule Lake his best friend had been Mr. Best, the Project Director. I asked him: "Could you tell me what you did right after you left Tule Lake?" He responded:

Well, as I said, I was a leader of the people. Mr. Best and some people asked me, "Morimoto, you are the leader of this camp and the people they don't want to go out, you know. So we pay you all your traveling expenses, so why don't you go out by yourself; look around all Midwestern cities and Eastern cities." So, they bought me train ticket. So I stopped by Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Cleveland, all those cities. Meet college presidents and church leader, and chamber of commerce president. Then I ask those people if they accept Japanese people if they get out from the camp. So I ask in all those cities and they said, "Yes." "Send them in."

RW: Can you remember when this was when you were doing this?

PM. End of 1945. Right after the war.

Then all cities; none of the cities object, you know; they welcome. So, I returned to Tule Lake. I wrote the newspaper article, big article, and I talked to all different mess halls. Don't be afraid to get out; they'll welcome. Then I encourage all the people. Don't stay here; war has end. You people have to get out..earlier the better. But I got the best impression from St. Louis, so I moved here.

RW: So, you thought that was the best place to go.

PM. Well, I got a good impression from Washington University's Chancellor, Baptist Church minister, Chamber of Commerce president, all those people they encouraged me. So I told people. Some people said, "If you go Mr. Morimoto I'll go with you." So, some people came out with me to here. I told all the different mess halls, you know, told all the people, you don't have to be afraid, because there are a lot of job openings; they will accept you. So, I told them.

RW: What kind of work did you do; what job after that?

PM: Teaching school.

RW: What school did you teach at?

PM: Oh, evening school, Washington University, Berlitz Language School, 2-3 language schools, they ask me to teach Japanese.

RW: You have told me things I have never known before..

PM: I'm glad..I never tell all my whole camp life. This is the first time in 30 years (laughs).

2120. Concluding Comments

At age 12, Joseph Kikichi was brought with his family to post war Japan; they starved, and in their desperation were driven to eat weeds and grass. When, in 1981, he told me about this experience, I sat in stunned silence. When we had finished our talk I went to my office, sat at my desk, and cried. I was vicariously to suffer through other such agonizing narratives by persons who as children had undergone the evacuation and confinement. Most pitiful of all were those who had been taken to Japan, had gone hungry, lived in make-shift houses of cardboard, and had been humiliated by native Japanese as being "outsiders."

"We were hated by the Japanese for going to Japan soon after the war ended. They said, 'Why did you come here? You're not Japanese, you're American.'"

"They told us, 'You're outsiders.' We never could feel at home in Japan."<sup>1</sup>

To take the role of - or try to "understand" the feelings of young people who had been reared in the United States, taught to believe in the Constitution and in justice, confined for three or four years as if they were "dangerous criminals," who then were taken to Japan by their parents, where they were called "outsiders"

or "Americans" by the natives, such empathy is beyond my capabilities, or, perhaps, my strength.

What I did begin to understand and appreciate was why some of the Japanese American parents today often refuse to tell their children anything about their experiences in the camps. I asked a Japanese American who had been confined in Tule Lake if he would care to read some of my interviews. He did so and told me:

"Many former residents of camp keep their experiences bottled up within

themselves. They don't ever relate them to their children. Many related their experiences to you for the first time in 40 years!

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Many of the unpleasant experiences have been "blacked out" in their mind. Even today they can't recall many incidents which have left them with psychological scars. ))

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When respondents indicated that they did not wish to talk about their reactions to a particular event, I did not encourage them to speak. And when they refused to be interviewed, I felt this was their privilege.

Separation of Family Members

A particular trauma which some respondents are reluctant to discuss was the separation and subsequently, the disintegration or "breaking up" of families. The separation began with the incarceration of the so-called "agitators" in the stockade. Mrs. Kunitatni, whose husband was confined in the stockade for almost nine months, told me that her most painful experience at Tule Lake occurred after the birth of her first child. She took the baby to the stockade fence to show to her husband and "while we were visiting, an MP came and dragged me away. And an MP came and dragged him away." She then told me that she "didn't think about it" today, "but you have recurrences in your sleep. . . a nightmare. . .like my husband being dragged away."

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The separation was continued with the series of internments of male members of the Hōkoku and the Hōshi dan. And while, in 1945 and 1946, most of the internees and their families proudly asserted that their internment demonstrated their "true Japanese" character, the concealed feelings of many are probably reflected in the statement of a Nisei girl who told me: "A young boy, the baby of the family was sent away. He sent his mother a note concealed in a rice cake saying, 'I'm terribly lonely, mother.' Naturally, he wouldn't admit anything like that to his family before he was sent away. But he

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✓ sent it to his mother.<sup>2</sup>

A large proportion of the parental generation at Tule Lake were poor farmers who had never been able to acquire land in the United States or, because of the evacuation, had lost their possessions.<sup>3</sup> These parents were entirely dependent on their children and could see no future for themselves in the United States. In consequence, Nisei who wished to relocate had to close their ears to their parents' pleas and "break" with their families.<sup>4</sup> Loyal women, who accompanied their renunciate husbands to Japan were separated from their families for many years.<sup>5</sup> Underage Nisei who accompanied their repatriating parents to Japan, eventually suffered a series of traumata that haunt them to this day. As one of them told me: "They never were able to regain a sense of family relationship or warm sense of security. It is similar to what an orphan must feel -- alone."

### Social Segregation

In Impounded People, Spicer et al. give a detailed description of the status distinctions that were immediately established in the relocation centers.

As the uprooted people came into the centers they suddenly found themselves in communities organized on the basis of two distinct classes of persons -- on the one hand "evacuees" and on the other "appointed personnel." Despite individual efforts of WRA staff to act as if distinctions did not exist, the basic fact was inescapable. At point after point the earliest experiences in the center drove it home. . . The feeling of being prisoners permeated the centers from the first. . . Being an evacuee involved being in a subordinate position. At some centers the commanders of the military police announced that there was to be "no fraternization with evacuees."<sup>1</sup> Some project directors also let it

Student

✓

Incident

be known among the staff that they did not encourage personal relations with evacuees.<sup>6</sup>

When I arrived at the Gila Center in July of 1943, I was told that I would not be permitted to interview evacuees in my room in the women's barrack. On one occasion, when harvesters could not be found for the cotton crop, the administration at Gila planned a cotton picking "picnic," in which both staff members and evacuees were to participate. I rode to the cotton field in an army truck with some Japanese American friends. I was impressed with how delighted they were. Subsequently, I was told that the project director did not approve of what I had done.

When I visited Tule Lake, in February of 1944, staff members or visitors like myself were not permitted to enter "the colony" unless they were accompanied by an armed soldier. With the assistance of Mr. Robertson, I was able to bypass this regulation; I was escorted by a co-operative member of the Internal Security, who remained outside in his car while I made my visits. I was surprised and moved at how pleased my Japanese American friends were to see me; poor as they were, some of them served food during our visit. At <sup>the</sup> this time, I did not fully appreciate the meaning of these social gestures.

During my visit of mid-March, I was able to talk with a number of the "appointed personnel." Some of them were very sympathetic to the Japanese Americans, who were now called "residents" or "colonists." A young school teacher of American History told me that she "let the kids talk and say what they please." She made no attempt to justify what they had experienced. "How could I justify evacuation?", she asked. She then invited me to attend her class on the next day when a debate on the draft was scheduled.<sup>7</sup>

At the end of that day I wrote in my notes:

During my three day stay I have found at least a half dozen staff members who are surreptitiously sympathetic to the evacuees. My neighbor, the laboratory technician, is secretive about her sympathetic attitude. Says she, "If they find out how you feel, they'll start the war of nerves and torture you till you quit."

By "they" she meant the staff members who were not sympathetic. Another female staff member told me that she would very much like to go in and look around "the colony," but "that was not considered the thing to do here."<sup>8</sup>

Most of the WRA Community Analysts were professional anthropologists and sociologists employed specifically to talk with and consult evacuees and obtain their views and suggestions. Dr. Opler began to resume such work after the popular referendum of mid-January. In March, however, some staff members told me that Dr. Opler was about to be transferred to the Jerome Center. I asked him about this and he told me that he was not going to Jerome, but that his "friendliness and mixing with evacuees" was responsible for the rumors.<sup>9</sup>

During the entire year of 1944, virtually no Caucasian staff member, with the exception of Mr. Robertson, (an assistant project director much respected by the Japanese) some Christian pastors, and myself, engaged in anything that could be called social intercourse with the Japanese Americans. Indeed, it was not until I began to interview Japanese Americans in 1981 that I began to suspect that my accomplishments as a fieldworker in Tule Lake were not entirely a reflection of my professional abilities. To a significant degree they ~~may~~ <sup>reflect</sup> reflect the <sup>circumstance</sup> ~~fact~~ that most of my respondents interpreted my visits as evidence that I, a Caucasian American, regarded them as decent, law-abiding and trustworthy individuals.

On several occasions, well intentioned Japanese Americans urged <sup>to</sup> the project director to initiate genuine social interaction between the Japanese Americans and the staff. In late February of 1944 Mr. Kurihara wrote:

The location of the administration buildings, fenced off to protect the administrative forces was bad enough. Situated out of the way and further separated by the Base Hospital [it] gave little or no chance whatever for the residents and the officials to meet and cultivate friendship. Even a casual friendship would go a long way to maintain peace and order. . . The more the Administrator and his forces get in friendly contact with the Japanese, the better will be their understanding.

And in June of 1944, Mr. Itabashi wrote:

Why does the Project Director hide himself? Needless to say, when one meets a stranger and keep an intimate contact with him, he cannot only avoid misunderstanding between them, but also create a friendly feeling even when unhappy things happened. . . My advice to the Director is to show himself at the block managers' meeting at least once every week and keep direct contact with the representatives of all the residents and exchange views with them. This is the only way to avoid misunderstanding, create friendly feeling, and save the camp from any further trouble.

In time, some circumspect pastors, ministers, and a few school teachers were able to initiate genuine social relationships between themselves and some of the Japanese Americans. I was not aware of the significance of these relationships until I interviewed these Japanese Americans in 1981-82.

When I asked Joseph Kikuchi, ~~age nine~~, <sup>being a nine year old in</sup> whether he remembered the WRA school in the Rower Relocation Center, he said, "I thought it was real good. . . They didn't have any facilities except homemade desks and a couple of books." I still remember the teachers were really dedicated type. I think quite a few were Quakers or Christians. The type of encouragement and everything that they gave us was really good, I think. Because during World War II, when the popular thing is to hate the Japanese, those people committed themselves and helped us."

When I asked Rober Oda, <sup>(then 20)</sup>, ~~age 18~~, "Looking back, what was the most helpful thing you learned about your fellow human being?", he responded:

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There were some people who came from outside, non-Japanese, you know, Americans, some were teachers, some were with the administration, that genuinely wanted to help us. . . I think that I realized that not all people hated us. . . I thought not everybody hated us and also ✓ I started to take in Christianity in camp. And I started to realize that God loves us, regardless of who we are. That, I think, helped me a great deal. . . It was then when I became a Christian.

When I asked Arthur Kikuchi, <sup>then 16</sup> age 15, what incidents at Tule Lake came especially to his mind, he said:

Then the beloved missionaries were there. I don't know if you ever got to know Hazel McCartney. Mr. McCartney was our high school physiology teacher who later went to Japan as a missionary teacher, came back and then went through the seminary; to this day he keeps up correspondence.

Later in the interview he told me of an incident which occurred after he had left the center:

I was serving in the armed forces and a lady came up to me and said, 'get out of that uniform you dirty Jap.' That's the sort of thing you do run into. I think the thing that we're able to put up with that is the fact that I became a Christian in 1950, and was able to understand how the Lord bore all of our scars for us. And so it's bearable. I think everyone carries certain crosses, and this is ours.

Mrs. Kataoka, ~~who was~~ (77 years old when I interviewed her and 37 at the time of the evacuation) was sent to Tule Lake as an isolated individual because all of her relatives had repatriated to Japan. She told me that she had been encouraged to study the Bible by a Japanese Christian:

He leaded me to study the Bible and the Bible prophecy; I got kind of interested, you know, how God could help. That's where I got my strength, and I studied real hard from Genesis to Revelations . . . Many Caucasian, like missionary workers, came into my home, and, of course, they wanted to lead me in the Bible passages.

She then told me that her neighbors, "who were all Buddhists" called her inu (informer) because of these visits. But, she indicated, reading the Bible gave her strength:

"to withstand all kinds of difficult situations; so I stood up and I guess I was the only one in the whole block. I was the only Christian in the whole block. And then I went to church on Sunday morning, so they didn't like that either.

And when I asked her: "is there any experience that you still carry with you -- that you can never forget?" she responded:

The people's kindness in the camp. I never forget. Because being, well, I used to go to church so, . . . administration people. . . high school teacher, grammar school teacher, they all get together and they used to invited not only me, but all the Christian people that want to go and have a chat with the people there.

Military Service After Tule Lake

Three of my respondents told me that after their confinement at Tule Lake they had served in the United States Army. Joseph Kikuchi, ~~age 9~~ had been taken to Japan by his parents.

"I spent one year in Japan and then I came back on my own. I was fourteen or so. And I made my way since then by myself."

He lived with and worked for a Jewish family for room and board.

"And, from there I volunteered for the United States Army during the Korean War. It's really ironic. Up from 1941 to '45 or '46 we're what they call security risks. And then by 1949 we're all in Military Intelligence, with the highest security clearance. I got the highest clearance. So I look back on it today and I think, boy, that is really ironic. From a suspected disloyal person you get the highest security clearance.

The reason, I think, is that we were still trying to prove out loyalty. . . Most of us were too young for World War II. And when the Korean War came, quite a few of us volunteered. . . to continue to prove that we were loyal. My brothers also volunteered. They were all in Military Intelligence. One was in Air Force Intelligence and the other was in the CIC, which is Counter Intelligence. . . So today, when they say that we were put in camp because of disloyalty, it doesn't really hold water, because, as soon as the war's over we're considered the loyalest kids and given high military classification.

It doesn't really make sense."

Mr. Okamoto, who was 11 at the time of the evacuation, told me that when he was in Tule Lake he attended one of the Japanese language schools and learned to speak Japanese very well. "I got so I couldn't speak English so well with my English speaking friends. I felt I was developing a Japanese accent." Mr. Okamoto left Tule Lake in October of 1945, worked his way through high school and then enlisted in the Army. During the Korean war because of his competence in Japanese he served in the Army Language School. Like John Kikuchi, he relished the irony of serving in Military Intelligence only a few years after he and his family had been stigmatized as "dangerous criminals."

change age 19  
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Arthur Kikuchi, age 15, was the only member of his family who remained in the United States at the end of the war. His parents and seven siblings went to Japan. He told me that in 1946 he was subjected to a deportation hearing and was subsequently confined in the Crystal City Internment Camp. Shortly after his release from Crystal City he was drafted and served in the Army for 15 months.

A Confession

I confess that after I received my fellowship I had to force myself to approach Japanese Americans who had been segregated at Tule Lake and ask them if they would be willing to talk about their experiences. I had a strong premonition that many of them had had a very difficult time after they left the camp, and I was reluctant to make an extensive and detailed recording of their pains and problems. But in my first interview, Mrs. Kunitani told me that after she and her husband had been permitted to leave Tule Lake they had found a home in a small town in Pennsylvania where Mr. Kunitani had become a farm manager and a leader in the community. As Mrs. Kunitani put it, "He got a citation for this and a citation for that. . he was community minded. . the house is full of plaques and trophies. And my children. . they've all gone through college and they're all making a nice living." At Tule Lake, Mr. Kunitani had been a leader of the Daihyo Sha Kai and had been imprisoned in the stockade for nine months. After his release he became one of my most helpful respondents. To be told by his wife that he and she "had come out on the good end" gave me the strength and spirit to approach other Japanese Americans who had experienced life at Tule Lake.

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When, in subsequent interviews and correspondence I listened to or read the agonizing experiences of Joseph and Arthur Kikuchi and Mitchiko Tsuda I felt deeply grieved and ashamed. But I was able to continue my work because I began to develop a deep sense of obligation to my respondents, most of whom had stubbornly, courageously, intelligently, and sometimes piously coped with or transcended their experiences and have become personnel directors, architects, insurance salesmen, expert electricians, designers, professors, doctors, and, in the case of Mr. Kunitani, dedicated and appreciated leaders in their communities.

Japanese Americans who have read <sup>some of the</sup> ~~my~~ interviews have emphasized that some of the people who were interned "have never been able to cope with their experiences" and that these experiences "have affected them in their whole life." They have also emphasized that "many were able to rise above their unpleasant

experiences and rejoin the mainstream of society, although it took them longer to make it back."

As Joseph Kikuchi put it: "At times, my mind did not want to return to the unpleasant memories, but I feel it's good to be reminded of how far we've come in our lifetime. It makes the good times that much more precious!"

Final Statements

*respondents*

My Japanese Americans should have the final word in this report.

On September 18, 1944, George Kunitani and I were discussing the hunger strike in the stockade in which he had participated. He told me: "Our motive never was so much our release, but rather to prove our innocence. . .If accused, we wanted proof of our guilt."

On April 11, 1982, Thomas Kikuchi wrote: "With all the imperfections and the frailties inherent in our system, this is still the greatest country to live in. I feel I have become a better American because of what happened to me!"

On March 2, I asked June Iwihara, "Is there anything else you'd like to tell me that I've overlooked?" She responded, "Only that I wouldn't want to go through that experience. . .I would sacrifice my life if I had to. I mean if I thought it was going to happen to my daughter or anyone else. I don't care who it is. I don't care if they're purple or what color they are. I would be willing to give my life to prevent it from happening again."

On June 6, 1981 I asked Joyce Kunitani, "Was there anything that happened to you that helped you to become a wiser or a better person?" Mrs. Kunitani thought for a long time and then said, "The experiences definitely made you wiser." I asked, "In what way?" She responded very assertively, "That they won't be put in camp the second time. That there will not be a second time. Definitely!"