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Betrayal + Survival ...

3 of 3

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16. Memories of the Strike and Martial Law

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During 16 months I worked at Tule Lake, (February 1944 to May 1945) I was able to obtain a considerable number of statements about the eventful period of the farmers' strike.<sup>1</sup> Two Japanese Americans who had been members of Daihyo Sha Kai (Peoples Representative Body) gave me copies of the minutes of most of the meetings. No one, however, appeared willing at that time to talk about the fight that took place at the warehouse on the night of November 4 or about the "incident"<sup>2</sup> on the morning of November 5 when the Army threw tear gas at the Japanese Americans coming to work in the administrative section.

In 1981 and 1982 the situation was reversed. Most people could only vaguely recall the farm accident or the demonstration. But a number of men who had been in their early twenties spontaneously gave me statements about the warehouse fight and the tear-gassing.

John Sawada, age 20

Mr. Sawada told me that at Tule Lake he had been head of the fire department. After we had been talking for about a half hour, I remarked:

"There were a lot of things that happened at Tule Lake, there was the farm strike and the Army rule." He interrupted me and said:

Yeah, tanks running through the camp one night. These are so vivid in my mind that I said I could hardly believe this. But then it did happened. That night when the tanks came rolling into camp, somehow or another I was in bed already at eight o'clock and I heard this man hollering for help. And so, like a fireman, I got dressed and walked outside and here I find this man that lives in the next block and he had a club about three feet long and running through the block and he says, 'I think we killed somebody.' I said, 'What do you mean, you killed somebody?'

'Well, these people were waiting at the warehouse, people from the other camp that was harvesting potatoes and things, they came after food from the ice box, and then we're waiting there and got into a big fight.' The club he had was about three feet long, and I said, 'My gosh, what do they have now?' But then it just happened through our block. I was in block 14 and he came through there and no sooner did he come through, than we hear all all this roaring and everything. I think they're shooting blanks, but then they're shooting. And the whole camp was up and rushing toward the administration building. Right at that point, I had my younger brothers and I said, 'Wait a minute, we just wait right here, we're not going to move.' And let the other people. . .they all rushing toward the administration building and I said, 'No. We're staying right here.' It sort of subsided in about an hour or hour and a half and so I said, 'My gosh, what happened?' But then we never knew. Nobody knew, you know.

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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:

✓ 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.

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 <sup>man,</sup> 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

going on that the white staff members of relocation authority was stealing the food out of the warehouse, and was selling it to the black market. I guess it was because the food at that time was very bad; there was hardly any meat at all; for weeks. So, apparently some people were kind of patrolling that area at night and they found somebody taking food out of the warehouse - a couple of Caucasians and there was a truck. Whether they were actually stealing or not, I don't know, but anyway it was suspected and then I guess some arguments happened, and then these two Caucasians just ran into the administration building, apparently, and then the director, I guess. . .

Rosalie Wax: Mr. Best. . .

Robert Oda: Something like that, so the director called up the Army. Of course the Army came in and just knocked down everybody's head that looked Japanese.

Rosalie Wax: How did you feel about the Army coming in?

Robert Oda: Of course, I was in complete shock, and most of the people that were beaten up were the night crew members of the motor pool, which was in the administration area. They had no idea of what was going on. They were rifle butted and they were slugged, they were hit over the head, and so. . .and then a tank came right in to the. . well. . .portion that the evacuees lived, and we were actually the closest to that administration area, so we were the first ones who were hit, you might say.

Rosalie Wax: Were you scared?

Robert Oda: Yeah, because they were shooting machine guns and all that. I think they were shooting in the air, but they were yelling at everybody to get back into the barrack. Of course some people were just going to the bathroom and all that, and they couldn't go to the bathroom.

Rosalie Wax: . . .was there something you were going to say?

Robert Oda: Well, the thing is, you know, that was part of the so-called riot, but actually the only rioting was actually the soldiers. . .not the evacuees. The papers kind of turned the thing around. Actually all the violence was done by the soldiers. The next morning, you see most of the people, we were (living in) ward I, which was pretty much in the center; people on the fringe area - I don't think the tank went that far. So I don't think most of them even knew about it. In the morning, we all started to go to work, and I guess the Army thought it was another demonstration or something, and they formed this long line of tanks and soldiers, you know. They were

trying to stop us from going to work. Of course, most of us could not understand why. I knew there was some kind of incident, I didn't know how serious it was or anything.

Rosalie Wax: That's when they threw tear gas at people, wasn't it?

Robert Oda: Right, in fact it was thrown at me, and one of them hit the girl who was standing right next to me on the forehead and it just about knocked her out. Of course, that really angered me. . .that tear gas is something that I experienced for the first time, but it's not just that you get tears in your eyes, but you can't breathe.

Thomas Sawada, age 22, was an Old Tulean who had refused to answer the military questionnaire, <sup>He</sup> made quite a different statement:

32 Well, you see the thing is this. When the evacuation<sup>d</sup> 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".~~

Thomas

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, <sup>age 19</sup> 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 <sup>was</sup> 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 <sup>19</sup> ~~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.~~

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sending out secret message (laughs) to Japan or something like that. Anyway, the soldiers came around trying to find where it was coming from and finally located this one barrack. I guess they noticed some of the records with our name on them. So they came to our barrack and I was the only one there; my parents were there, but I was the only one who could speak English, so I was the one who naturally responded to them. They asked me about the records and I said I didn't know anything about it. Then they started to search the whole barrack and then they said, "Come along." I thought they just wanted me to walk outside and ask another question or something. Then they ordered me onto the truck and took me to their Army compound and for about all night I was in one room. I thought they were going to question me, but they never did. Then they took me to the stockade. I didn't know what it was; they just told me to go into the gate. It was a very dark night; pitch-dark night and they closed those gates behind me. So I really got kind of angry.

They didn't even give me a chance to explain. But there was nothing that I could do, there was only a tent there. So I just sort of slept it out in the tent. . . Then I started hearing a voice in the dark, and then I found out these were the people who had been beaten up at the night of the so-called riot. . . It was about a week after the riot. There was about six people all bruised up; one person had his head all split up; black eye. They were very

1. During my stay at Tule Lake respondents frequently referred to news obtained from short wave radio broadcasts.

severely beaten up.<sup>1</sup> There was one 15 or 16 year old kid who was hanging around the motor pool that night, but he was dragged in too. But he was not beaten up.

. . .I was there a month and I thought they were going to ask some questions, but they never did . . .It was extremely cold, because I still remember the blankets used to get stiff from being frozen.

When they used to take us to the army messhalls, they'd load up their guns and surround us and warn us that one false move and you could be dead. . . not very comfortable way of having a meal.

I asked: "Did they even come in and watch you in the latrine?"

Mr. Oda responded:

Oh yes, they came right in and pointed a gun at me, I stopped going to the toilets there. So we just had to dig holes in the tent. At night time they would throw rocks at us. One time tear gas was thrown in.

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 <sup>18</sup>19, 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. <sup>Takeshita</sup> Yamashita: My brother and I.

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

Mr. <sup>Takeshita</sup> Yamashita: No

George Okamoto, age <sup>11</sup>12, told me that his brother had been picked up and confined in the stockade sometime in the spring of 1944:

It was only a few years ago that my brother told me about something that had happened to him in the stockade. The MP's made my brother stand against a wall while they lined up in front of him with guns. Then they told him to smoke his last cigarette. For all these years my brother told no one about this. Subsequently, he renounced his citizenship.

Thomas Sawada, age <sup>20</sup>~~21~~, 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.

The period from January to mid-May<sup>1944</sup> 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.

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 ~~43~~<sup>11</sup>, <sup>ed</sup> remarks 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.

<sup>13 said:</sup>  
Mr. Okamoto, age ~~18~~<sup>13</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.

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  
 vt "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.

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>~~44~~ 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.

8 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~~ 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.

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Sally Takahashi, age 43, said:

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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.

2 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.

just elsewhere in 222

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 ~~husband~~ 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 ~~sent to Tule Lake~~ sent to Tule Lake, where she knew noone.

4. ~~xxxxxx~~ 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. ~~see~~ ten Broek, p. 175, ~~on~~

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

I got into studying the Bible, from Genesis to Revelations, because I ~~xxx~~ 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 ~~xx~~ God gave me this wisdom.

19. Informers, Resegregationists, and Renunciation of  
Citizenship - 1981-1982

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Informers

In 1944 and 1945 all of my Japanese American respondents wished to dissociate themselves from the despised and <sup>feared</sup> ~~hated~~ informers and <sup>from the</sup> ~~accomplices~~ <sup>m</sup>. ~~the inu.~~ No one defended or excused them and only Mr. Sasaki, the Chairman of the Coordinating Committee and Miss Kurihara, <sup>his secretary, told me</sup> ~~indicated~~ that they were being called inu and that this distressed and frightened them.

In 1981 and 1982 the situation was quite different. Four respondents, three men and <sup>one</sup> ~~three~~ women <sup>and</sup> told me in some detail how they said or done what they thought was right or decent and, in consequence, had been stigmatized as inu. Three respondents spoke well <sup>who had been assassinated,</sup> of Mr. Noma and some told me how other well intentioned people had been stigmatized as inu by the radicals. Only one <sup>respondent</sup> ~~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?"

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.

~~17-~~

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 (?) 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.

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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:

✓ had a "Well, I have a very pro-Japanese Issei criticize (me) and I had a little 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 people, 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?"

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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, 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

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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.

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1. Chūsei 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.

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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 Hōshi Dan people?

Mr. Kodama: Yes, right ... They had a meeting quite often, those people

*Kidbi* ... mostly Kidbi, you know. The 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.

*Kodama* 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?

K. 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.

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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 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 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.

He was very logical in explaining what's happening ... I don't know for user, but I think he might of stood up in the block meeting and he might of expressed his point of view and it didn't go over.

Mr. Wax: But nobody ever dared say a word because ...

J. Kikuchi: Right. Because if you stood up and said something, then they would beat you up ... I remember my father saying he (Noma) stood up at a block meeting and expressed his point of view and I think it kind of embarrassed the fanatics. And I think to a certain degree they lost their face and I think that's how they got after him.

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.

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MEMORIES OF THE RESEGREGATIONISTS 1981-82

In 1981-82 only 12 of my 27 respondents chose to speak about the activities of the Resegregation Groups, and most of these preferred to tell me how they avoided or resisted the proselyting activities of the "super patriots." For example, Thomas Sawada, said: This so-called Hoshi-dan group started...They talked them into joining this organization..some innocent Niseis who didn't know what it was all about...So, anyway, they came over to our place to see if we would join them. I said, "Don't bother us. We have our own ways of doing things. You do your way, I do my way." <sup>Mr. Sawada's</sup> ~~His~~ brother, John, who was employed as head of the kitchens, explained that his work kept him very busy. ~~When~~ I asked him whether he or his family had ever been pressured by the Resegregationists, he said:

No. Of course, a lot of people said, "Oh, it's good for you." It was good, but the motives behind it was not the thing that I liked. And due to the fact that I took up Judo..I had enough exercises and everything..exercise in the morning is good, but I don't need that type of regimen.

Noriko Tsuruda told me how she, as a young woman, had avoided involvement.

I used to work at the beauty shop..and they used to come around and they used to talk, those pro-Japanese. And when they started talking about citizenship and renouncing, I used to go and sit in the corner and do my crocheting or knitting. I wouldn't mingle because I didn't want them to ask me if I had already denounced my citizenship, which I didn't..but you wouldn't dare express your thoughts.

When I asked Mrs. Kurusu, who was in her early thirties: "Was there any person or people in Tule Lake whom you disliked or who you thought were behaving foolishly, she replied:

Well - the pro-Japan, what did they call them:

← R. Wax: The Sokuji Kikoku Hōshi-dan?

Mrs. Kurusu: Oh..the Hēshi-dan, that's it. I thought they were stupid. When I asked her if she could tell me more about it, she would say only: "I couldn't understand them..I wasn't that pro-Japan. I didn't mingle with them."

<sup>Thomas</sup>  
△ George Kikuchi, a teenager said:

I felt bitter toward those people who were pro-Japan and were encouraging my father to side with them. They would shave their heads and act like they were members of the Imperial Army. My father, I think, just wanted to go back to Japan where he owned land and would be able to live out his remaining years in relative tranquility.

His brother Joseph, age 14 at the time, spoke more freely about the Resegregationists. He told me that his father had not permitted him to go to the Japanese school for the children of Resegregationists:

That was radical. We didn't join that one. My father kind of thought that it was militaristic. Because that group, they shaved off their head, they had the rising sun on their sweat shirts, all of them was completely to Japan.

My father didn't like any kind of fighting, so he just said, "That's not the way I'm going to do." We went to the regular Japanese school, where they just taught us the language, It wasn't any brain-washing.

6  
 That period really disturbed the people of the camp. Up to that point the people obeyed what the administration told us to do. And the line of communication and the block and all the way down to the residents was very strong. But when this force came, it really destructed the whole administration and the line of communication, because it split the camp in two. The one was: you had to be a super-patriot to Japan. And the other was: you were just an internee, because you wrote No-No on your loyalty questionnaire. They really split the camp apart. Naturally, you could identify them, because they shaved off their hair. And they were very militaristic.

R. Wax: Did you, as a boy, have any experiences with these people?

J. Kikuchi: Well, we were kind of fortunate, because in our block we had only two or three families (of Hōshi-dan). But if you were in a block where the majority were that type, then they could really make your life miserable.

R. Wax: Yes, I have it in my notes. They forced people to sign.

J. Kikuchi: Right. And they beat you up. I still remember that we boys went in groups wherever we went. Because, if you weren't on their side, you know, they would try to pick a fight.

Taro Tokunaga, a Hawaiian-born Japanese in his early forties, told me how he admonished members of the Hōkoku:

There is a lot of Wash-sho people at that time..I said, "Well, if you're loyal to Japan, that's fine. But if you're not loyal to Japan, in case you go back to Japan, the Japanese government won't accept you. And same time, the United States government won't accept you.

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 Hōkoku, 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>±(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).

~~VIA~~ 288

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 cleanup of our block area before breakfast.

RENUNCIATION OF CITIZENSHIP

During their confinement at Tule Lake, seventeen of my respondents were American citizens who were obliged to decide whether they would or would not renounce their citizenship. Of these, only five persons chose to tell me something about this experience.

Mr. Kurakawa, one of the most angry of my respondents, told me:

We were there (at Tule Lake) all during the duration, and we even went through the renunciation. And that was another stupid thing that we got caught into doing. Partly it was our stupidity, but it was also forced on us by the Congress and the people in power..

After so many years in camp, one becomes a different person. ...I know that psychologically we were not normal, and whenever we were up against some kind of problem, the environment affected the way we made decisions and we reacted.

I asked: "How did you manage when you did go out? He said:

Well, when I finally came out I came out without my citizenship. And so some things were closed to me unless I lied. And in some cases I lied. But I was able to go to UC in California because the President, Gordon Sproul, I think, was very pro-Japanese American..

So I think I was able to go, pretending I was a regular student, otherwise, if I said I had no citizenship I would have to pay non-resident fee, in which case I wouldn't have been able to go. But because of Sproul, that was open. But there were other things I was interested in.. Foreign Service--that was closed to me without citizenship

*omit used in Chapter 20.*

and of course they would check on my records. And there were all kinds of other things. Even though I graduated from school, UCLA, I felt that, you know, jobs in teaching or other jobs were closed. So I came up to Berkeley to, you know, bide my time, because at that time there was a law suit going where we were trying to recover our citizenship and so I spent several more years until I finally recovered my citizenship, and then I was free to pursue my career or whatever. But I felt that I wasted some time there.

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Robert Oda, who had told me how he had been "thrown into the stockade by accident", told me,

I went through the renunciation process too. And that was mainly a reaction again. I was very depressed during that period. In fact, I thought I was coming down with a mental breakdown at that point..I was getting all those dizzy spells and ringing in my head and all that sort of thing. I couldn't concentrate or remember anything. I was in pretty bad shape for a while. It was a very, very difficult, trying time.

Mr. Ralph Iida, who renounced, expatriated, and seventeen years later returned to the United States, told me he had renounced his citizenship and had then been interned in Santa Fe. I asked, "How did you come to do that?" He replied:

Well, it was just a fad. I mean, everyone was doing it, so I did that too. People, you know, everyone go to Japan, why that's all.

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:

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R. Wax-

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<sup>er</sup> 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

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.

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.

MITCHIKO TSUDA

The most agonizing account of life after leaving Tule Lake was given by Mitchiko Tsuda, who was eight years old when her mother took her and her two sisters to Japan.

The atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in August, 1945. That was horrifying news for my parents and many of their friends in camp who had relatives in Hiroshima. Many people came to our barrack and listened to the radio and cried. My parents were frantic when they heard the broadcast. They had four children in Hiroshima. They had not had any communication with them since the Pacific war started. We had no way of knowing if they had survived the bombing and if so where they could be or who was taking care of them.

My parents decided at this time that my mother and the three children (another sister was born in Tule Lake) should go to Japan and my father would stay in California. My father's assets were still frozen, so he wanted to stay and try to recover his funds. My mother had to go to Japan to see if her children and in-laws were still alive. Since independent civilian travel to Japan was impossible, the only way my mother could quickly get to Japan was to renounce her American citizenship and get on the expatriation ship. It was an agonizing decision but my mother renounced her citizenship.

After Christmas 1945, we were finally allowed to leave Tule Lake. My father left first. Then my mother, sisters, and I were put on a train for Astoria, Oregon to catch our

ship to Japan. It was during the night and raining outside when our train slowed down at the Klamath Falls station. The window shades were closed, but someone told us to peek out. I looked out and there I saw my father standing in the rain, all alone, waving to us. I was not to see him again for nearly ten years.

We were only allowed to take things that we could carry by ourselves. My sister and I had huge knapsacks on our backs filled to the brim. My mother also had a knapsack plus a suitcase and a free hand to hold on to my little sister.

The ship we took to Japan was the General Gordon. We were in steerage where we were packed like sardines. There were rows upon rows of bunks, and just about everyone got seasick. There was no privacy. The ocean was very rough and I was drenched every time I went on deck. It took us approximately ten days to get to Uraga, Japan.

We were once again herded into barracks in Uraga and kept there for approximately two weeks. The food in the American concentration camps was bad but the food in Uraga was worse. Uraga in January was very cold but there was no heat in the building.

After what seemed like a long time, we were put on trains to be taken to our destination. The train was so crowded that one could not get up to even use the bathroom. And every time the train made a stop at a station, there were Japanese soldiers pounding on the windows with their shoe to let them in. These soldiers had no way of getting home

since the Japanese railway system was not in operation at that time. Our train was run by the occupation forces and we were told to keep the windows closed. My sister used to have horrible nightmares about this experience.

My mother sent a telegram to my grandparents as soon as she found out when we would get to Hiroshima. But when we got to Hiroshima, no one was there to meet us. My mother knew where my grandparents lived so she decided we should walk there since there were no buses or taxis.

There is a large river that runs through Hiroshima. There were some damaged and partly burned houses standing on the side of the river where we walked. But on the other side of the river, all I could see for miles and miles was ~~the~~ charred, black, flat land with hardly a structure standing.

When we got to my grandparents' house, we were glad to find my grandparents and brother and three sisters safe. Their home was far enough away from the bombed area to escape any major damage. But we were not welcome in Japan. We were scornfully asked, "Why did you come here?" Food was scarce and life was very difficult. I broke out with boils all over the palms of both my hands. The doctor said it was malnutrition and I needed penicillin. Penicillin was very scarce and my mother was only able to get it through the black market.

I attended a school that was damaged but still standing. There were no glass in the windows. The winters were cold

with no heating and my hands were frost bitten every winter. They turned purple and swelled till the skin could not stretch any more and burst.

My mother did not like Japan when she first went there in 1926 as a teenager. She liked it even less this time. She wanted to return to the United States as soon as she knew her family was safe. My grandparents were quite old so the burden of doing most of the hard labor on the farm fell on my mother's shoulders. There were no animals or machinery to help her lessen the burden.

Occupation forces were just arriving in Japan when we got there. My mother used to stop anybody in a United States army uniform with an Asian face to beg them to help her to get back to the United States.

By 1949, my father had re-established himself in Monterey, California and asked my brother and oldest sister to return to the United States. My mother wrote to her brother in Hawaii to ask if he would take two of her children. She felt that anything would be better for the children than staying in Japan. So in April, 1949, my brother, two sisters and I left Japan. My brother and oldest sister went on to California while my second sister and I stopped in Hawaii to live with my uncle and aunt. Now our family was split in three ways, Japan, Hawaii, and California. I cried when I left Japan. I thought I would never see either of my parents again. I suffered a terrible stomach upset on the day of my departure and I was to suffer with this

ailment often while in Hawaii. The doctors were never able to diagnose the cause of this pain. The mysterious stomach aches disappeared when I came back to California and rejoined my family.

I walked with a limp when I got to Hawaii. The Shriner's Hospital doctors found that one of my legs was an inch shorter than the other and diagnosed it to be caused by malnutrition. After several years of care and proper diet the doctors were amazed to see my legs even out. I lived in Hawaii for six and a half years. Life in Hawaii was much easier than in Japan but I missed my parents very much.

I was twelve years old when I got to Hawaii. I did not speak a word of English. I sat in a first grade classroom for three months. I did not graduate from high school until I was twenty years old.

In 1952, the racial restrictions for naturalization was eliminated and my father was able to become an American citizen, but my mother was still struggling to get back to the United States. Her numerous applications to the American consulate went unanswered. She says there were many times when she wanted to end her life in frustration. By 1954, my brother was in the United States army stationed in Japan, and he was trying without much success to get my mother repatriated to the United States. My father then by chance told someone in Carmel, California about the plight of his wife and the difficulty she was having in getting back to this country. This person evidently ~~was~~ <sup>knew</sup> Senator William Knowland and related the story to him. Senator

Knowland kindly sent a letter on behalf of my mother to the American Embassy in Japan saying he had a special interest in her case. Magically, the doors opened and my mother and two remaining sisters were authorized to take the next ship headed for the United States.

My mother says she cried with joy when the ship left Japan. Her long exile was over and she was finally on her way home. She says she cannot express in words the elation she felt when she first saw the coast of California once again. Eventually, my mother's American citizenship was restored due to the efforts of attorney ~~Wayne~~ Collins. My Wayne parents were reunited after almost nine years of separation. My own ordeal was to continue for another year. I was finally reunited with my family in August, 1955. I had not seen my mother for six and a half years and my father for nine and a half years. I left the United States for Japan when I was eight years old and went to Hawaii when I was twelve. I was eighteen years old by the time I was reunited with my family.

RALPH IIDA

I was told by a mutual acquaintance that Mr. Iida's family in Japan was wealthy and of high status. He himself told me that he had been planning to return to Japan just before the war broke out. At Tule Lake he was a member of the Hōkoku Seinen-dan, renounced his citizenship, and was interned by the Department of Justice in December of 1944. Early in 1946, he and his wife (who did not renounce her citizenship) were taken to Japan.

After Mr. Iida had told me that he had been "taken to Santa Fe", I asked him: "How did you get out of Santa Fe?" He responded:

From Santa Fe I went to Japan.

RW: How long were you there?

RI: Post war I stayed in Japan 15 years.

RW: You are the first person I've talked to who's had this experience. Can you tell me anything about your life in Japan?

RI: Well, of course, before the war and after war, there is so much difference...It was bad time..everything was bad and it was not pleasant to live in Japan at that time.

RW: Some people have told me they just starved for a while.

RI: Yes.

RW: And, they tell me, the Japanese would say to them: "You're an American."

RI: That's right, that's right, in between, yes.

RW: Did anybody say that to you?

Vt RI: Yes, <sup>s</sup>ame <sup>t</sup>hing. Even though I was raised in Japan. I know a lot of people, but they try to segregate me..They can't point at

me directly, but behind, they did that. But those kind of stuff I didn't care too much because I was raised in that town..The social standing of my family was a little bit higher than other people, so I could take it and say to myself, "So what?" I don't mind so much.

RW: Then how did you come back to the United States? After 15 years in Japan.

RI: Well, I tried to regain the citizenship back. Otherwise you can't come here..And even when I applied for regaining my citizenship back, they don't give it back right way.<sup>1</sup> Having no formal

Having no formal education, Mr. Iida has worked as a gardener ever since his return to the United States.

I asked him: If you think back on your lifetime, do you feel that the camp experience helped you or that it sort of hurt you or handicapped you?"

He responded:

In a way, what I went through, I mean, camp life..why, after the war is over, the experience something help me..I can take more pressure than before..Besides, I went to Japan - a lot of things I never think before. I mean experience-wise. And so you are stronger than before. Of course, you get aged, you get more experience. But really, that camp life was something altogether different experience.

RW: Do you feel that you've had to <sup>work</sup> ~~war~~ especially hard in your life in order to make up for the years you spent in camp?

RI: I think so, yes.

RW: In way way?

1. Subsequently, Mrs. Iida told me that she and her son had returned to the United States in 1953 to join her family. Since he had renounced his American citizenship, Mr. Iida was not permitted to return to the →

RI: Well, one thing, I stay away from politics..The newspapers or media, even though I see, I try not to pay attention to the politics and those kind of activity. And more - I got interested in nature. And I feel that sometime you can't trust the people, but I can trust the nature. I'm working in landscape, you know. Anyway, nature responds to you if you treat them good.. I got more feeling..it's hard to say. But anyway - I got interested in nature more than importance of people.

At the end of our second talk, Mr. Iida told me:

Well, I myself, I'm not covering up for myself. I was one bad boy, I suppose. But things went on like that, you can't help, almost like drift, wood drift on river, you know. I did a lot of foolish things, I see now. But too late to think about it. But that's the way it was.

MARY IIDA

Mary Iida, who was 21 at the time of the evacuation, met and married Ralph Iida in the Rohwer Relocation Center. She told me that she could not remember whether she had said yes or no at the time of Military Registration. She accompanied her "disloyal" husband to Tule Lake, leaving her "loyal" family in Rohwer. She was not to see her family for many years. I asked her: "How did it happen that you went to Japan, you and your husband?" She replied:

His father was in Japan. But just before the outbreak of the war he had passed away. And then my husband was thinking of going back to Japan because he's the oldest in his family. But before he ever got going, the war broke out. And then that was it. He couldn't go anymore.

So then my husband's parents' father had left him quite a bit. And then he had to look after his brother and sister. So we decided to go.

RW: How long were you in Japan?

MI: Seven years.

RW: And how did it impress you as a Nisei from America?

MI: It was...I had a very bad impression.

RW: Can you tell me about it?

MI: To begin with there was no food. What I had heard about Japan and its people and all that was everything was very good. But once I got myself over there, everything was negative to what I had been thinking. It was very depressing.

RW: It must have been very hard..

MI: But of course I was there and I had to make the best of, you know, with what I had, but I was fortunate that I did have all my

family here (in United States) and then I had a brother in the occupational force in Tokyo.

RW: I have been told by Japanese from Japan, that often people who went to America and come back to Japan, the Japanese say they are really American, they don't really accept them.

MI: Well, my case, I had never been to Japan and then I had gone there after the war was lost and food wasn't there. And then going to Japan from the United States people, some people really had a grudge.. You see, that means another mouth to be fed. Of course that was in the beginning, later on I had made many friends with the native Japanese people. Well, I didn't know what to make of my own self too. ✓

RW: It must have been a very difficult adjustment.

MI: Because I didn't know their customs and everything. I made many mistakes. Everything I did was backwards or wrong or I had.. I put my shoes on where I wasn't suppose to and oh, I've made my share of errors.

RW: Did you have anyone to help you in this kind of thing?

MI: Well, of course I had the child and regardless of what, I had to feed him, grow up in good health. That was the biggest thing on my mind while I lived there.

RW: Did he make out all right?

MI: He turned out perfect.

RW: Wonderful.

MI: He was very healthy. Aside from..when he was four years old he wanted to go to school so badly, we registered him in a church nursery school. He was four years old, he was happy, but maybe a month after he had started this little nursery school, he came home and was sick with measles. And then he got over that and went

back to school for a few days then he came down with chicken pox. And when he went back he came down with mumps. And that was it. He wasn't going to go back no more. (laughs).

Mrs. Iida, however, promised her son that if he became sick once more, she would take him out of school. Accordingly, he was enrolled in the "regular Japanese public school."

He went to school and he liked it. He would come running home, then eat, go running back. For the two years he was there he was on the honor role.

RW: How was it that you decided to come back?

MI: Well, the boy had to go to school. He was an American citizen and then I thought, had I stayed there forever..I guess I would get by..But I thought, to me, my family was here (in United States) and it is my..I was born and raised here. There was always this desire that I would like to come back. So then, the chance came, so my son and I, we just decided to come.

Then when I was coming back to this country, my mother wrote me that she was ill..I had my mother until she passed on. She was ill for six and a half years.

RW: When I talked to your husband, I think he said, didn't he stay in Japan longer?

MI: He stayed, yes.

RW: How many years was he there before he came here?

MI: Seven more.

RW: Was it hard to get his citizenship back?

MI: Yes. That was part of the reason..for the clearance.

RW: That must have been hard to be separated.

MI: You see, that's why I came to live with my parents. My mother was ill, and then I had a brother that was still going to school.

Mrs. Iida then gave me a detailed account of the universities her son had attended and told me that he is now a nuclear-physicist.

She herself, she said, is employed doing "heavy accounting, banking, interest, and all that." At the end of the interview, she said:

When I first came back (to the United States) in 1953, what hit me the most was how abundant everything was.. When we came back here, and all those supermarkets were stocked so much. It was a good feeling to know that now you could buy whatever you felt like. Not have to take what they gave out, and then pay for it. Things at the beginning, it was rationed, and sometimes the food.. you just wouldn't like it or you didn't know what to do with it, if it's rationed, you just had to take your share.

And as a final word, she said:

Today I never forget that I am a mother. At work I tell people, "I would never do anything that I can't do in front of my son." That I am pretty firm.

ARTHUR KIKUCHI

Arthur Kikuchi was 15 years old at the time of the evacuation. He accompanied his parents and seven siblings to Tule Lake. At Tule Lake he worked as an x-ray technician in the project hospital. Early in 1946, his parents and siblings repatriated to Japan, but because of the influence of a missionary teacher, he refused to accompany them.

When I remarked: "looking back on your experiences in Tule Lake, some of them must have been rather painful," he responded:

Yes. I think that possibly the most painful were the events..One was after my family repatriated and I was put on deportation list. That was something unthinable, be- (K) cause my close friend who is a physician today had already gone to Minnesota, and I expected to be released any day. Instead I was put on a deportation list. And it surprised me because my father never involved himself in any of the rallies and war cries. He was a very quiet, reflective man who was apolitical. My physician's friend, his father was very outspoken politically, and to see him being released and me staying and going to deportation was extremely stressful.

RW: What happened?

AK: What happened was I joined the Tule Lake Defense Committee and Wayne Collins came to our rescue. And there is an Irish terrier if you ever saw one. He could not stand to see the government pushing us around this way. And he got hopping made and he really

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devoted the balance of his life to our cause. This man is a righteous man and he was not intimidated by the government. His intervention... prevented additional deportation.

Arthur Kikuchi - December 14, 1981

Two stressful things happened; in part of the deportation there was a hearing prior to that. And I was asked why I didn't go with my family. And I said that it would be a foreign country and it would mean for me to start all over again. And I could just not see that.'

And I then was asked whether I would bear arms for the United States.

And I explained very carefully that I'm in a medical field and already an x-ray technician and that I could not bear arms. If you were to categorize me, I would be a pacifist. I would be willing to go and serve in the armed forces, but in a non-combat capacity.

And then the men questioned my loyalty to the Emperor and at that point I said: "What ancestry are you?" to the interpreter. He said, "I'm part Irish and part German." So I said, "Are you loyal to the Kaiser?"

He said, "Don't be ridiculous." I said, "You said it."

Another stressful thing was, following that, prior to being sent to Crystal City,<sup>TX</sup> Texas...We were stripped naked and searched for hidden weapons, and that was the first humiliation on top of humiliation I went through.

RW: What happened to you after you were sent to Crystal City?

AW: I was drafted..I had to serve my country now or spend time in a real clinker..It was not much of a choice..I served in the Army.

27. An Internment Camp under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice.

RW: For how many years?

AK: I served for 15 months...From Tule Lake I went to Crystal City, and then I was out for about a ..I just had a brief time to catch up with whatever I'm supposed to catch up with--civilian shock--you know. And then into the Army. So I was supposed to report to my home, and I had no home and no relatives..It just didn't look good on paper to say, "Where's my last residence?" and I say, "Crystal City, Texas." So I borrowed an address from Acampo. There was a family acquaintance and I used their address.

RW: And this happend in 1946?

AK: Yes, that's correct, 1946.

AK: My buddies were the same way. My buddies from Tule Lake ended up in the same way and they actually spent time in San Francisco prison, and Wayne Collins got them out. He got them out from there and right into the Army.

My older brother, who was 3 years older than I was, while at Tule Lake, refused to serve in the armed forces. He said as long as my parents are held, and they have no resettlement status, he said, "I cannot serve." And so, they took him and 15 or 17 other people and took them and put them into jail in San Francisco, let's see was it early 1945? I don't know if your records show such incidents. They appeared before Judge Goodman and he threw out the case. So he came back to camp.

RW: And after you got out of the Army, what did you do then?

AK: Well, after I got out of camp I couldn't get a job. Unfortunately, I ended up in San Francisco from Acampo. I came to San Francisco little realizing that that city was possibly the steepest in prejudice. I didn't know that. And so, although I was a qualified

x-ray technician and jobs were available in my category, they would not give me a job. And so I washed dishes and cleaned windows and I put myself as a house boy and started off to college. And that's how I started.

RW: And so you went through college as a houseboy?

AK: Yes, I went through as a houseboy and after the lifting of prejudice, finally in the late '40's, I was able to get a job as an x-ray technician, but it took a sympathetic Jewish doctor to get me in..I applied at the Stanford Medical School...

AK: I went through Stanford Medical School first as a Darkroom Technician; and then I was an x-ray technician there; and then the director of the department offered me a job in his office and at that point I knew that I didn't want to continue being in a field in which I couldn't be independent, because I knew it would be tough getting a job. I had to find a way of getting independent and so I enrolled in the professional school and got into Podiatry College.

RW: Well, I just have a few more questions. Looking back today, what part of your experience, and God knows it was a terrific experience, what part of the experience is still the hardest to bear?

AK: I think the incarceration without a hearing; I still wake up at unpredictable times and I'm still in camp, and I wake up in a pool of sweat. And I'm still in camp, and I'm still writing letters to the Justice Department, and getting no replies and that has been the toughest...

RW: Was this a trauma that happened when you wanted to leave Tule Lake?

AK: No, still today...To this day I'm still in camp. So that's a nightmare, a recurring nightmare and that's a stressful situation. I think if we were paying for a crime, you'd say to yourself, "Well, I deserve to be put there," but if it isn't, then the anguish, the mental anguish...

I appeared at the National Hearing, the one that was held in Los Angeles. And interestingly enough, from this valley, only three of them (Japanese Americans) went forward to testify; the others are still afraid to testify. The reason being that they feel that anything that they say might be counterproductive in that they may be put on the undesirable list of the FBI.

RW: People are still afraid?

AK: Still afraid. Because they still do not trust the fact that the United States citizenship confers no immunity and no legal justice. This is the fear that is put into them. And so to this day, you will find, very few people reluctant to even grant an interview. And I am able to grant it because I've been through the worst and the worst still to come is that they could still deport me if they so wish. Well, I have had a creative life, and so it doesn't make any difference now. So that's the way I look at it. And I think if we are afraid of ourselves, or our shadow, I think that's not healthy. So I encourage the Nisei people to speak up, but they are not the speaking kind.

RW: Some people will talk to me, but I still know they're holding back.

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 bearn 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 happend 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--

(e) ✓ 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 th~~s~~ 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.

KOSHIRO FURAKAWA

F Koshiro Furakawa was 19 or 20 years old at the time of the evacuation. He was, at first, reluctant to talk to me, explaining: "I don't want to be used by a professor who is out to advance himself or herself." I thereupon offered to tell him some of the general impressions I had gained from my previous interviews. He agreed with all of the, and, as we conversed, he began to tell me about some of his experiences. He told me that soon after his arrival at Tule Lake, he had tried to relocate. But the people in charge of student relocation had asked him, "Do you have a thousand dollars in your account?" He said, "No." They said, "Well, we can't even encourage you to go."

✓ At the end of our talk, I asked him, "You know, I'm curious, how did you manage when you did get out." He replied:

✓ Well, when I finally came out I came out without my citizenship. And so some things were closed to me unless I lied. And in some cases I lied. But I was able to go to UC in California, because the President, Gordon Sproul, I think, was very pro-Japanese American...

✓ So I think I was able to go, pretending I was a regular student, otherwise, if I said I had no citizenship I would have to pay non-resident fee, in which case I wouldn't have been able to go. But because of Sproul, that was open. But there were other things I was interested in..Foreign Service that was closed to me without citizenship and of course they would check on my records. And there were all kinds of other things. Even though I graduated from school, UCLA, I felt that, you know,

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jobs in teaching or other jobs were closed. So I came up to Berkeley to, you know, bide my time, because at the time there was a law suit going where we were trying to recover our citizenship and so I spent several more years until I finally recovered my citizenship, and then I was free to pursue my career or whatever. But I felt that I wasted some time there.

If you feel that I still feel bitter about it, I do. And yet, you know, I've been able to live with it and make adjustments. I'm a professional librarian, and I have been able to support a family and also pursue my interests as a writer, actor, and playwright.

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So I don't feel too bad. I've gotten my education enough that, you know, I went to UCLA and then I went to Cal. and ~~went~~ back to get my library degree, so that I could get a job. And I don't feel that I want to go anymore. I didn't really care for the academic life, so, being more of an artist, I feel pretty good. I feel good about my family and so it is all right.

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.

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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

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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?

JJ: 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:

It was nice talking to you because I kind of felt relieved. <sup>(t)</sup>  
I've never expressed anything. I had seen a psychiatrist  
when I had my nervous breakdown. Of course I went to a  
<sup>y</sup> psychiatrist 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 And then in Janaury, 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 stuch with motor repairing and I've been in this thing for the last 33 years and I'm on my own now. ✓-K

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).

Thru age 19  
19

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 ~~xxx~~ were 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.

## Footnotes for Preface

<sup>1</sup>D.S. Thomas and R.S. Nishimoto. 1946. Berkeley:  
University of California Press.

<sup>2</sup>R. Wax. 1971. Doing Fieldwork. Chicago: University  
of Chicago Press.

## Footnotes to Chapter 1.

1. See Spicer, et al., pp. 61-139 for a detailed description of this period of camp life.
2. There were a few exceptions to this policy; for example, tubercular cases, college students who wished to continue their studies outside the prohibited area, mixed bloods, and the female spouse in mixed marriages. (Thomas and Nishimoto, 1946, p. 33).
3. Ibid., p. 57.
4. Ibid. The details of what happened during this period of 1942 are extremely complex. Interested persons should read The Spoilage, pp. 53-63.
5. See Section in "Impounded People" entitled An Emerging Framework of Community Life, pp. 161-69.
6. Ibid., p. 177.
7. Fieldnotes, July 30, 1943.
8. Ibid., August, 1943.
9. Ibid., September 2, 1943.
10. Tamie Tsuchiyama, "Segregation" (Unpublished Manuscript), p. 22.
11. Ibid., p. 19.
12. Joe Kurihara (Unpublished Manuscript).
13. Fieldnotes, July 29, 1943.
14. Ibid., August 15, 1943.

15. Ibid., Sally Wakida, July 19, 1944.
16. Ibid., July 18, 1944.
17. Ibid., July 19, 1944.
18. From a letter written to me by a Kibei, dated  
December 3, 1943.
19. Bob Tsuruda, Field Notes, September 17, 1944.

## Footnotes to Chapter 2.

1. Impounded People, p. 177.
2. Ibid. 179
3. Doing Fieldwork, pp. 95-6.
4. Fieldnotes, April 14, 1944.
5. Doing Fieldwork, ~~p. 97.~~ pp. 95-7.
6. See Part ~~II~~, pp. v for statements made in 1981 and 1982.

^  
202-6  
Four

Footnotes to Chapter 3.

1. According to Kunitani, Fieldnotes, January 10, 1945.
2. Ibid. April.
3. WRA, Tule Lake Incident, Report of Talks by Colonel Verne Austin and R.B. Cozzens at Outdoor Stage in Japanese Colony," November 13, 1943 (manuscript).
4. WRA, op. cit., Italics his.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. WRA, "Tule Lake Incident, Report of the Army Search of the Colony, November 26, 1943" (manuscript).  
(Cited from The Spoilage. p. 162.)
8. The young men who had been arrested on the night of November 4, were at first confined in tents. But as arrests increased the "detainees" were moved to another area. Five barracks, a mess hall, and a bathhouse were erected. All of the apprehended men were "detained" without charge and without trial. Some were to remain there for nine months.
9. For details of the strike see The Spoilage, p. 174-5, and Mr. Tada's extensive statement in my Fieldnotes.
10. The term giri is generally associated with a warrior's loyalty to his liege lord. In broader terms, however, it refers to all debts or obligations that should be repaid with mathematical equivalence to the favor received. There are time limits. (See Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, p. 116.

11. Fieldnotes, January 8, 1945.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., August 24, 1944.
14. Ibid., April, 1944.
15. Ibid., August 30, 1944.
16. R. Nishimoto, Field Notes, November 26, 1943.

## Footnotes to Chapter 4.

1. Dog (s), i.e., stool-pigeon, informer.
2. Fieldnotes, March 14, 1944.
3. Doing Fieldwork, 118.
4. Ibid.
5. The Spoilage, p. 125. See also Impounded People, p. 234.
6. Fieldnotes, Feb. 3, 1944.
7. Letter, Black to Ishikawa, March 1944.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. See The Spoilage, pp. 231-2.
11. Doing Fieldwork, pp. 118-20.
12. Ibid. p. 125.
13. Ibid. p. 126.
14. See The Spoilage, p. 240-9.
15. Doing Fieldwork, pp. 129-130.

Footnotes to Chapter 5.

1. To be stigmatized as an inu brought social ostricism, which, in the crowded and confined life of the centers was painful in the extreme. A suspected man, seating himself in the mess hall, was met with an uncomfortable silence and meaningful glances. If he entered a latrine or boiler room, the common gathering places for gossip and discussion, friendly talk or argument ceased with his appearance. Because of the lack of privacy imposed by camp conditions, he could find no escape and was reminded of his despised status many times a day. Moreover, camp life offered almost no resources in which an ostracized individual might find temporary escape. The administration frowned on fraternization between Caucasian staff members and the Japanese. Marked friendliness with Caucasians would, in any case, corroborate the suspicions of the community. When tension between the administration and the residents became grave, the man marked as inu was liable to be attacked and beaten. Understandably, most people avoided doing or saying anything which might cause them to be suspected of being inu. (Doing Fieldwork, pp. 62-3).
2. The Spoilage, p. 262.
3. Ibid.

4. Minutes of the joint meeting of the Advisory Council and the Coordinating Committee, January 28, 1944.
5. The Spoilage, p. 205.
6. Doing Fieldwork, pp. 109-10.
7. Michi Weglyn, Years of Infamy, p. 129.
8. Mr. Tsuruda did not intend to go to Japan. When I met him in the Gila Center he had told me that he was going to Tule Lake with his aged and dependent parents to sit out the war. He valued my friendship and he was shortly to develop a warm relationship with his "boss", Mr. Hayward. On June 25 he made statements which led me to suspect that he was being called an inu.
9. Engeki kai - dramas.

## Footnotes to Chapter 6.

- ✓ 1. See p. <sup>60</sup>~~44~~.
2. Forty years later Bob's sister told me that Bob had suggested this policy to Mr. Hayward, because he thought it might result in an improvement in the quality of the food.
3. On October 25 Mrs. Wakida who, like Bob, had come to Tule Lake from the Gila Relocation Center, told me that Bob had relocated because he had been threatened by one of the "strong-arm" gang who wanted him to give them sugar from the mess so that they could make sake. On November 18, 1981 Bob's sister told me that although he had said nothing to her, she strongly suspected that he had been threatened because of his close association with Mr. Hayward, the head of the mess operation.
4. Mr. Kurihara was a veteran of World War I, who deeply resented the injustices to which he and the other Japanese Americans had been subjected. His angry denunciations of informers and fence-sitters may have been, in part, a defense against his own ambivalence. He thought and acted like an ethical American, but at this time he would have been the last to admit it. In late September, when the Re-segregations circulated their second petition, Mr.

Kurihara told me that they were threatening to use force and that if they did he would expose them "whether they call me an inu or not." (See pp. for complete statement). Mr. Kurihara renounced his American citizenship and expatriated to Japan. Just before he left for Japan, he wrote me a letter in which he said, "The American Democracy with which I was infused in childhood is still unshaken. My life is dedicated to Japan with Democracy as my goal."

- 5. This was the proposed election of Ward Police Commissioners.
- 6. In 1981, a Japanese American respondent told me that a few days before he was murdered, Mr. Noma had made a speech in the messhall in which he spoke very critically of the Resegregationists.

## Footnotes to Chapter 7.

1. Fieldnotes. July 14, 1944.
2. Ibid., July 25, 1944.
3. The Spoilage, P. 281.

Footnotes to Chapter 8.

- 1. The Spoilage, p. 310
- 2. Ibid. pp. 312-12.
- 3. Field notes, September 15, 1944. Mr. Kurusu was referring to the uprising and the period of Martial Law.
- 4. So far as I know, no one has ever been able to explain how the Resegregationists managed to get these bugles.
- 5. Fieldnotes, September 11, 1944.
- 6. Ibid., September 7, 1944.

## Footnotes to Chapter 9.

1. Fieldnotes, September 21, 1944.
2. Ibid., September 27, 1944.
3. Cited from a copy given me by Mr. Kurusu.
4. WRA, Community Analyst "Report on Center Trends (Oct. 8-16)" (manuscript), October 16, 1944. (Cited from The Spoilage, p. 318.)
5. Let the long thing wind about you; let the great thing swallow you.
6. Fieldnotes, October 12, 1944.
7. "Seicho-No-Ie is an internationally renowned humanity-enlightened movement or truth movement found in Japan by Dr. Masaharu Taniguchi in 1930 through divine revelation, based on the sublime ideal of bringing genuine happiness to all mankind - an ideal of world of happiness, gratitude, and peace - not a mere visionary Utopia but the manifestation here on this earth of a home of infinite unfoldment brimming with abundant life and creation." (Contemporary Religions in Japan, IV, No. 3 (September 1963) pp. 212-229.)

Literally, Seicho No Ie means "house of growth." Loosely it may be translated as "The Home of Infinite Wisdom and Abundance."

8. Fieldnotes, November 9, 1944.
9. Ibid.
10. Letter from Mr. Itabashi, dated Oct. 28, 1944.
11. Fieldnotes, Oct. 17, 1944.
12. Ibid., Oct. 23, 1944.
13. Ibid.
14. The Spoilage, p. 320.
15. Fieldnotes, October 30, 1944.
16. Doing Fieldwork, p. 163.
17. Ibid., pp. 163-166.

## Footnotes to Chapter 10.

1. Doing Fieldwork, p. 166.
2. Ibid., p. 167.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., January 8, 1945.
5. Ibid., January 9, 1945.
6. Ibid., January 11, 1945.
7. Ibid., January 18, 1945.
8. Early in 1944 George had been active in establishing a centerwide athletic organization for young men.
9. These statements are incorrectly dated in "The Spoilage," pp. 342-342.
10. On January 26, he told me there had been a miscalculation. The more accurate estimate was close to 5,000.
11. Doing Fieldwork, pp. 167-8.

Footnotes to Chapter 12.

- 1. See Doing Fieldwork, p. 169.
- 2. See Impounded People, pp. 274-6. 296-7 for a brief account of events at Tule Lake in the latter half of 1945 and thereafter.
- 3. Prejudice, War and the Constitution, Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. <sup>R</sup>Banhart, and Floyd W. Matson, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970. pp. 178-183.
- 4. Pacific Citizen, May 22, 1959.
- ~~5. Ask Ms. Orr about this - "deserve" what Weglyn has in her text.~~
- 5 6. Washington Post and Times Herald, May 28, 1959.
- 6 7. Pacific Citizen, May 22, 1959.
- 1 8. Wayne Collins, "Withdrawal and Dismissal of Last of Parties-Plaintiff Without Prejudice and Court Order Thereon and Statement of Council for Plaintiffs Concluding Cases." August 7, 1968.

The section above has been taken from Michi Weglyn, Years of Infamy, pp. 263-65, William Morrow and Co., Inc. New York, 1976.

Chapter 13  
Footnotes to ~~Section II, Introduction.~~

1. See pp. ~~2-3~~, 4-7.

~~2. See p. 127.~~

~~3. For the complete text of the interview, see Appendix A.~~

Footnotes to Chapter ~~14~~<sup>15</sup>.

1. Four of the men interviewed had volunteered for or were members of the armed forces of the United States. All were evacuated and incarcerated without a hearing.
2. The one exception was Mr. Morimoto, an Issei, age 35. He said, "Well, after all, it was war time..We were lucky to intern in the United States. If I was in Manchuria or Siberia, I would have had miserable time..I have a friend who lost his life in Siberia..that is wartime..not normal times."
3. The University of Chicago Press, 1949.
4. See, for example, Years of Infamy, pp. 80-2.

Notes to Chapter <sup>16</sup>~~15~~.

1. See Spicer, et al., pp. 61-139 for a detailed description of this period of camp life.
2. See pp. 1-4.
3. See pp. 2-3. Events varied from center to center during the military registration. See Thomas and Nishimoto, The Spoilage, pp. 51-83; Spicer, et al, Impounded People, pp. 142-61. For a detailed account of the turmoil at the Tule Lake Relocation Center, see The Spoilage, pp. 142-61.
4. Mr. Furukawa did not tell me when he was born.
5. This meant that Mr. Morimoto had affirmed that he would be willing to serve in the U.S. Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC, but that he refused to forswear his allegiance to the emperor of Japan.
- ✓ 6. Chūsei has no counterpart in present day English. It 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.
7. There were eight children in the Kikuchi family.

Footnotes to Chapter <sup>17</sup>~~16~~.

1. See pp. ~~10-14~~, 18-24.
2. The "incident" was a euphemism employed by the WRA for the "demonstration" of November 1, the violent events of the night of November 4 and the morning of November 5. Subsequently, the term was also used by Japanese Americans.
3. Mr. Sawada probably meant to say "segregation."
4. See pp. ~~15-19~~, 25-30.
5. The small town of Tule Lake was located a few miles from the Segregation Center.
6. During my stay at Tule Lake respondents frequently referred to news obtained from short wave radio broadcasts.
7. On April 14, 1944, Dr. Opler told me: "The boys were smacked around when they were picked up on November 4." On August 16, 1944 I talked to a school teacher who said that she had cleaned up the Statistics Office in the administration building on the morning of November 5. This was the room in which the Internal Security had questioned their captives. Blood and hair were spattered on the walls and floor. She had also seen a bloody baseball bat. She said that the room looked as if people had been beaten in

it. On the same day I talked to one of the Japanese American doctors who worked at the hospital. He told me that on the night of November 4 he had been asleep when the trouble broke out but was awakened in the hospital to treat a tall boy named \_\_\_\_\_ who had a bruise on the side of his head. He had asked \_\_\_\_\_ what had happened and the boy explained he had received the injury when he opened a truck door to get out and a stone had struck his head. Miyamoto and his assistant looked out of the hospital window toward the Caucasian Canteen. They saw a soldier pound on the door which was opened by an old Issei, the Co-op watchman. Without hesitation the soldier raised his rifle and crashed the butt down on the old man's face. The injured man was also brought to the hospital for treatment. Before his cut lip was sewn up, the soldiers demanded entrance. Miyamoto let them in. They took the injured but untreated man with them over Miyamoto's protests. Miyamoto slapped a bit of tape over the injury. Three days later he was called to the stockade by the Army to treat this man. There he saw \_\_\_\_\_, the boy who had had the slight head injury. His face was tremendously swollen and he had bandages on his arms and legs. He also saw a boy with a

broken arm and a boy with a great gash on his head which required eight stitches. He was sure that \_\_\_\_\_, whom he saw taken to the stockade on November 4, was beaten after his arrest. (Fieldnotes, April 14, 16, 1944).

Footnotes to Chapter <sup>18</sup>~~17~~.

1. See pp. ~~20-32~~. 31-45.
2. Before the evacuation Mr. Morimoto was teaching in the Japanese Language School in Sacramento.
3. This must have been before the segregation or, perhaps, Mrs. Nishimoto may have participated in hikes and outings which were arranged by the administration in April 1945 when people were being urged to relocate.
4. 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. Gripsholem (tenBroek et al., p. 175).

Footnotes to Chapter 19.

1. See p. <sup>325</sup> <sub>A</sub>, footnote 6.

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

3. 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.

Footnotes to Chapter 20.  
Footnotes  
After Tule Lake

1. Subsequently, Mrs. Iida told me that she and her son had returned to the United States in 1953 to join her family. Since he had renounced his American citizenship, Mr. Iida was not permitted to return to the United States until 1960.
2. An internment camp under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice.

④ The characteristic of quickness and respect which "Indians" possess can be shown in many places. Even a picnic or tribal meeting  
 What you have said is true; however, the question only asks for how this point was described or elucidated in class. It is a specific distinction, and a relevant one for a text question.

Footnotes *chapter 21*

<sup>1</sup>As Curtis B. Munson put it, "The American-educated Japanese is a boor in Japan and treated as a foreigner." Cited from Years of Infamy, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>Fieldnotes, February 28, 1944.

<sup>3</sup>Spicer, et al, pp. 83-4.

<sup>4</sup>See pp. ~~20-2~~ 139.

<sup>5</sup>For example, Mrs. Iida and Mrs. Kurusu.

<sup>6</sup>Impounded People, pp. 83-84,87. For an excellent and detailed description of evacuee subordination, see Impounded People,pp. 83-102

<sup>7</sup>Fieldnotes, March 15, 1944. For my report on the debate, see pp. ~~22-4~~ 33-5.

<sup>8</sup>Fieldnotes, March 14, 1944.

<sup>9</sup>Fieldnotes, March 16, 1944

