

CONSTITUTIONAL BICENTENNIAL



MIS Intelligencer

VOLUME 21, NUMBER 3 SAN FRANCISCO, CA MAY 1988

MIS DINNER MEETING

The MIS NorCal Spring 1988 Dinner Meeting was held on March 26 at the Officers Club, McClellan AFB,

Sacramento. TORAO SAKAMOTO over the dinner and program, attended by eighty persons. JOHN CONNALLY, Chief Administrator, California State Assembly presented an interesting view of California as a beautiful, thriving state on the Pacific Rim. With a booming population engaged in industry and agriculture and a total 1988 budget of 77 billion dollars, it is the sixth largest economic entity in the entire world. However, the bad news is that there are major problems in the infrastructure of highways, the water situation and education, which the Governor, the legislature and the people seem reluctant to face.

Entertainment consisted of songs by PAUL ITO, PAT YAMAUCHI, JOHN CONNALLY and his daughter, NAKO MATSUNO and BOB MIDZUNO. Each table was festooned by flowers placed by MARY KOZONO, ASAKO TOKUNO and LOUISE TSUDA. DLI 46th Anniversary plaques were presented to TOM SAKAMOTO, ROY UYEHATA and TOM KAWAGUCHI. Oodles of wonderful prizes were raffled off for everyone. A good time was had by all.

The next Dinner Meeting will be held in San Francisco in the fall, at which time MIS NorCal plaques of appreciation will be presented to ERIC SAUL and LONI DING for recording the MIS and Japanese American stories in the YANKEE SAMURAI MUSEUM EXHIBIT and the documentary film, COLOR OF HONOR.

YANKEE SAMURAI

MISers are signing up for the event, June 8-12. Golfers should contact MARSHALL SUMIDA, SF, CA 94131,

NATIONAL AJA VETERANS REUNION

phone

Contact TOM SASAKI, Sacramento, CA 95822, phone for the MIS dinner at the NUGGET on June 10.

THE COLOR OF HONOR, THE JAPANESE AMERICAN SOLDIER IN WWII

Ding's 'Color of Honor' Recognized by S.F. International Film Festival

Loni Ding's documentary "The Color of Honor" received honorable mention in the Bay Area filmmakers division of the 1988 Golden Gate Awards, presented by the San Francisco International Film Festival.

The film deals with the wartime experiences of Nisei who fought for the U.S. in Europe and the Pacific as well as those who resisted the draft or resisted orders from the Army.

The winners in the Bay Area documentary category were "Dear America: Letters Home From Vietnam" by Bill Couturie and Thomas Bird and "Downwind/Downstream: Threats to the Mountains and Waters of the American West" by Christopher McLeod and Robert Lewis.

Awards were also presented in film and video, broadcast television and experiments in form.

The Northern California premiere screening of COLOR OF HONOR was held at the KABUKI Theater in J Town, San Francisco on Sunday, January 31, 1988, sponsored by MIS NorCal, National Asian American Telecommunications Association and Film Arts Foundation. A sell out crowd viewed the showing which was followed by a reception.

On Sunday, March 6th, MIS SouCal, Visual Communications and the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center presented the Southern California Premiere screening of COLOR OF HONOR at the JAPANESE AMERICAN

THEATER in J Town, Los Angeles. The program honored JOHN AISO, SOICHI FUKUI, YOSH NAKAYAMA, KO SHIBUYA and other distinguished MIS veterans who have passed on and were unable to share in the recognition of the proud achievements of the Military Intelligence Service. The benefit showing was a complete sell out and was followed by a reception.

AISO BOOK EDITOR SELECTED

Tad Ichinokuchi was selected to assume the role of the new editorship for the late Judge John Aiso's book at the new board meeting of the Military Intelligence Service, MIS of Southern California, held last month.

Daniel Aiso, the judge's brother also agreed to assist. Anyone else wishing to help can call (213) 941-4586, (213) 538-8994 or (818) 570-8725.

MIS/DLI 46th ANNIVERSARY

DLI plaques in appreciation for support and assistance to celebrate the MIS/DLI 46th Anniversary in Monterey on October 31, 1987 were awarded to:

TOM SAKAMOTO
TOM KAWAGUCHI
GORO YAMAMOTO

ROY UYEHATA
BANDO MITSUHIRO
SHIG KIHARA

VOX POPULI

CLAIMS BY J.A.S IN FILMS, EXHIBITS ARE CHALLENGED

By DAVID D. LOWMAN

I wish to call your attention to a 100-minute documentary film, "The Color of Honor," which will premiere in Southern California at the Japan America Theatre in Little Tokyo, Sunday, March 6.

This film premiered, October 1987, at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., as part of an extensive exhibit titled: "A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the Constitution."

The exhibit and film has to do with the exploits of Americans of Japanese ancestry who were in the military during World War II. These exploits have been filmed and exhibited several times in the past several years and contain serious errors of fact. To my knowledge, this letter marks the first time that the claims made in the exhibits and films have been challenged.

In the past, the exhibit was sponsored by the Presidio Army Museum of San Francisco (Eric Saul, curator) and was sometimes shown under the title "Yankee Samurai." The film, "The Color of Honor," is a sequel to another film documentary that widely publicized Nisei participation in World War II.

"The Color of Honor" specifically has to do with the role of Japanese Americans in military work during World War II. Unfortunately, in this area, the credit has been claimed for major intelligence accomplishments in which the Japanese Americans had no part, and sweeping generalizations are made which are simply incorrect.

In the exhibit "Yankee Samurai" and again in the film "The Color of Honor," the Japanese Americans assigned to military intelligence are credited with playing a major role in what has been rightly termed America's greatest intelligence coup — the breaking and exploitation of Japan's high grade codes and ciphers, codenamed MAGIC and ULTRA.

It is absolutely untrue that Japanese Americans were involved in these activities. Rightly or wrongly, for security reasons, they were excluded from these operations throughout the war.

Of the several instances cited, the most blatant example of claiming false credit is the claim that Japanese Americans intercepted and translated Japan's message that led to the shootdown of Admiral Yamamoto's plane in April 1943.

In fact, this message was sent in the Japanese Navy's most secure cryptosystem, and was translated by Alva B. Lasswell, a Marine Corp officer working in a highly secret cryptanalytic area in Pearl Harbor known as HYPO.

The message gave a detailed itinerary for an inspection trip in the South Pacific for Yamamoto, who was commander-in-chief of Japan's Naval Forces and its greatest hero.

HYPO delivered the decrypted and translated Japanese message to Admiral Nimitz and the decision was made to ambush Yamamoto. The Japanese Americans in the U.S. Military Intelligence Service had nothing to do with this operation.

The Americans of Japanese descent in military intelligence performed valuable services in translating captured documents and diaries; in interrogating prisoners; and in translating low level plain text voice communications. These activities, however, hardly merit the extreme claims in either the exhibit or in the film releases.

General Willoughby, MacArthur's G-2 (chief of army intelligence), is quoted as saying "The Nisei saved countless allied lives and shortened the war by two years."

The more recent film claim exaggerates "countless allied lives" by specifically stating that "over a million American lives" were saved. And supposedly, because of these same Japanese American intelligence feats, General Douglas MacArthur is quoted as saying, "Never in military history did an army know so much about the enemy prior to actual engagement." The film documentary quoted MacArthur as distinguishing the Japanese Americans as "superb secret human weapons."

In point of fact, the first quote by MacArthur was stolen from a source meant for the people actually responsible for breaking Japan's secret codes and ciphers, one of the most significant accomplishments of the war.

"The success achieved in reading the Japanese diplomatic codes merits the highest commendation and all witnesses familiar with MAGIC material throughout the war have testified that it contributed enormously to the defeat of the enemy, greatly shortened the war, and saved many thousands of lives." (Emphasis added)

This evaluation and note of praise is on page 232 of the report of the Joint Congressional Committee investigating the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Numerous wartime leaders made such statements about MAGIC. As for the Willoughby "quote," it cannot be authenticated. None of his written materials contains such a statement. However, if he did say it, his statement would be similar to other statements about the United States code-breaking operations, except for the part about the Nisei (Japanese Americans in military intelligence.)

Willoughby may have assumed or thought that the Nisei intelligence were a part of the code breaking operations, but of course they were not.

General MacArthur's quote is well known and is clearly directed toward code breaking operations. As General George C. Marshall, army chief of staff, wrote in a 1944 letter to Thomas E. Dewey:

"...all operations in the Pacific are closely related in conception and timing to the information we secretly obtain through these intercepted codes. They contribute greatly to the victory and tremendously to the saving in American lives."

And, because of the broken codes, "Operations in the Pacific are largely guided by the information we obtain of Japanese deployments. We know their strength in various garrisons, the rations and other stores continuing available to them, and what is of vast importance, we check their fleet movements and the movement of their convoys."

There is the intelligence made reference to by General MacArthur.

I am certain that the dedicated Japanese Americans who served in military intelligence during World War II would not consciously claim the accomplishments of others as their own.

However, the role of all Japanese Americans in World War II has become a political issue. Legislative bills are pending before the United States Congress and damage suits brought before the federal courts, all seeking an official version and interpretation of history which is not always in accord with the historical facts.

Exhibits and films of the role played by Japanese Americans in the Armed Forces during World War II should be shown, for they have much to be proud of. But let such documentaries be a factual presentation.

This letter has addressed only the subject related to Japanese Americans in military intelligence during WWII. Exhibits and film showings containing the larger issues of the evacuation of persons of Japanese descent from the West Coast in 1942, and the role of draft resisters, presents other questions of factual data.

My testimony of U.S. intelligence in 1941 and 1942, was delivered April 28, 1986, before the Subcommittee of the Judiciary, House of Representatives. The recently declassified documentation presented to the U.S. Congress differs substantially from commonly held beliefs on the reasons behind the evacuation.

The U.S. Department of Justice, during the April 1986 hearings, does not agree with the report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). The commission's report and the proposed congressional actions based on this report, have been the core of the Smithsonian Exhibition exhibit to run for five years, in addition to other exhibits and film showings by the Japanese American Citizens League or related organizations.

"The Color of Honor," a 100-minute documentary, will be shown as a fund-raiser at \$50 per ticket, to secure a national distribution of the film sponsored by the PBS (Public Broadcasting System.)

Funds raised will be used to promote and publicize the aforementioned false claims in materials mailed to hundreds of media outlets across the United States.

According to a recent press release, the achievement of the Nisei in the Military Intelligence Service during WWII (MIS), were kept a classified secret until the 1970s — "hidden from the knowledge of the American public."

This statement suggests some sort of misconduct on the part of the United States government in perhaps covering-up the achievements of Japanese Americans. Simply stated, there has never been any intention on the part of government or individual historians to discredit the honorable service of Japanese Americans in the Armed Forces during WWII.

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As a concerned citizen, and a former career intelligence officer with the National Security Agency, I am duty-bound to clarify the claims made by those responsible for the exhibits and film showings to the American public.

(David D. Lowman, a former career intelligence officer with the National Security Agency, has testified on World War II intelligence before congressional committees of the U.S. Congress on three different occasions.)

(Vox Populi, or "Voice of the People," is an open column, which does not necessarily represent the views of *The Rafu Shimpo*. Those interested in contributing to the column may write to Vox Populi, English Section, *The Rafu Shimpo*, 259 So. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles, CA. 90012.)

As a concerned citizen and a career intelligence and language instructor and administrator for the United States Army for 33 years in war and in peace. I am duty bound to deplore the fact that there was some concealment of the truth and distortion of facts regarding the intelligence service of Japanese Americans in WW II; that there was a failure of political leadership resulting in a grave constitutional injustice to Japanese Americans in WW II; and that there is a continuing effort to denigrate the loyalty and sacrifice of Japanese Americans in WW II and to insist that the relocation was justified.

(Shigeya Kihara, from Monterey, California, served in the MIS.)

VOX POPULI

CONCEALED TRUTH & DISTORTED THE FACTS

By SHIGEYA KIHARA

David D. Lowman's recent article (*The Rafu Shimpo*, Feb. 16, 1988) stresses the importance of facts in his challenge of the Military Intelligence Service record.

Unfortunately, the facts have not always been factual. Truths have been concealed. Facts have been selectively recorded and in some instances distorted. Statements have been made, unsupported by evidence.

A glaring example is the concealment of the work of 800 MIS intelligence operators of JICPOA, CINCPAC, Hawaii. Captain W.J. Holmes, chief, Combat Intelligence Unit, responsible for ULTRA messages, Fleet Intelligence, CINCPAC writes in "Double Edged Secrets," (1979) that Army General Joseph Twitty was J-2 of JICPOA and that Major Lachlan Sinclair was executive officer of its Translation Section.

He fails to mention that Sinclair was a MIS graduate of Camp Savage, Minnesota and that he supervised the work of 800 Japanese Americans who did the bulk of the translation, interrogation and went in with the Marines on every amphibious assault of the Pacific Islands.

Admiral Edwin Layton, Fleet Intelligence officer, CINCPAC infers in his "And I Was There," (1986) that Nisei were disloyal to America without citing one name, incident or fact in his damaging allegation.

He does not mention the tremendous sacrifice of Nisei soldiers for America in World War II, especially the thousands from Hawaii. And it is incredible that he does not mention the 800 MIS Japanese Americans in his command, who served in the Translation Section of JICPOA right under his nose.

Both Holmes and Layton acknowledge that the translation of Admiral Koga's "Operation Z," the Japanese Imperial Navy's plans for the defense of the Marianas and the Philippines, one of the greatest intelligence feats of the Pacific war was accomplished at ATIS, Brisbane, Australia and provided to CINCPAC.

"Operation Z" was not an intercepted message and decoded by ULTRA. It was a captured document that was recognized by Colonel Sidney Mashbir to be important.

He put his best translators on the job and the final check was done by two Nisei, Yoshikazu Yamada and George Yamashiro. Layton had a hundred copies of "Operation Z" made and distributed to every flag officer in Nimitz' numerous fleets.

This intelligence contributed to the Navy's decisive victories in the Battle of the Philippine Sea and the Battle for Leyte Gulf.

World War II involved much, much more than intelligence. United States intelligence involved much more than code-breaking and MAGIC or ULTRA. MIS graduates operated over the entire spectrum of intelligence work at strategic levels worldwide and at tactical levels in every theater and campaign in the Pacific and Asia. They made invaluable contributions to the United States victory.

The historical, constitutional and human message of "A More Perfect Union" and "Color of Honor" is that Japanese Americans volunteered to fight for America, for freedom, justice and the truth despite the monstrous injustice of the relocation.

In point of fact, 30,000 men and women out of the 280,000 Issei, Nisei, men, women and children of the Japanese American community served in the Armed Forces of the United States in WW II, an astonishing proportion.

VOX POPULI

OVERALL IMPACT OF M.I.S. NISEI WAS CONSIDERABLE

By HARRY AKUNE

For one whose loyalty to his country may never have been questioned, the services performed by the Nisei translators, interrogators and interpreters during World War II may seem insignificant. My suspicions that James Lowman has never faced such a challenge arise from reading his condescending dismissal of the achievements of the Nisei in his letter (*The Rafu Shimpo*, Feb. 16, 1988).

Only one who is completely unfamiliar with the challenges and diversity that many of my fellow Nisei faced and overcame during the war years could so casually dismiss their achievements at that time.

I am a natural born American citizen. At the onset of World War II was classified 4C, "an enemy alien," by the Selective Service Board. This classification was made solely on the basis of my race, not through any investigation or determination of probable cause.

Like thousands of other American citizens, I was subsequently "relocated" from my home in California and interned in an isolated, desert "camp," again, the sole reason being my parents were of Japanese ancestry.

After being interned in the dustbowl environment of Amache, Colorado, I was suddenly judged acceptable for military service because there was a need for translators in the Pacific war. Having had a fair knowledge of the Japanese language, I volunteered for the Military Intelligence School in December of 1942.

I underwent intensive instruction in Japanese language military at Camp Savage, Minnesota, and infantry basic training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. Then — with many other Nisei like me — I was sent overseas to serve in the Pacific war against Japan.

There was no public knowledge of the contributions of the Nisei to the war against the Japanese. We were kept at the highest level of security and were often privy to information that even intelligence officers such as you, Mr. Lowman, did not have.

To this day, many Nisei still hold information that we were commanded never to reveal. We were entrusted with this information — even in a climate of great suspicion about our backgrounds and motives — because we earned the confidence of our superiors through our actions in the field.

Like thousands of other Nisei, I served in combat intelligence in the war against Japan and my contributions have been officially acknowledged. I would like to cite from the Historical Report, Corregidor Island Operation, by George M. Jones, Col., commanding officer of the 503rd Parachute Infantry Regimental Combat Team, Sec. 5, Lesson Learned and Noteworthy Data, Part D., Operation applicable to infantry operation:

1) "The Japanese interpreter attached to RCT Headquarters enabled advanced elements to be using very valuable information on the enemy disposition and weapons within two hours after the capture of prisoner. A Japanese interpreter should be attached and jump with Regt 1 Hq groups on every mission."

Another excerpt from a recent letter sent to me from the Commander of the Rock Forces, Brigadier General George M. Jones states:

"...I was not aware that you did not receive appropriate recognition for the great contribution that you made to the 503rd. There is no doubt in my mind that the intelligence that you provided to me saved many casualties and shortened our operation on Corregidor. For that, I will always be grateful to you."

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These are gracious words from a great warrior, which I humbly accept for my small contribution to one part of the American war effort. However, Mr. Lowman, even you can easily deduct that if these achievements are multiplied by the thousands of other Japanese American soldiers who served with equal if not greater distinction in the Pacific for every branch of the service and for every Allied command, the overall impact of the Nisei combat linguists in the MIS was quite considerable.

Other high-ranking officials have gone on record to recognize the Nisei's major contributions to the war effort. John Weckerling, retired Brigadier General, United States Army, who served throughout World War II as an intelligence officer and who was deputy assistant chief of staff, G-2, for the War Department, Washington, D.C., in 1946, wrote in an article entitled "Japanese Americans Play Vital Role in United States Intelligence Service in World War II:"

"The story of the Nisei during WWII is closely interwoven with the vindication of a sizeable segment of our immigrant population (300,000 Japanese Americans in the United States and Hawaii in 1942). Looked upon with great suspicion before and immediately after the outbreak of war, the Nisei justified the confidence of those who knew them and supplied the answer to one of our most vital war problems — the need for efficient interpreters and translators of the Japanese language."

General Weckerling goes on to point out that the Nisei were particularly valuable because the Japanese military "were apparently secure in their belief that the difficult Japanese language in which their orders and plans were written and communicated could not be deciphered by Occidentals."

In other words they did not feel a need for secret codes other than the Japanese language itself. Therefore, "the American-born Japanese language specialists — translators, interrogators, radio monitors and trained order of battle experts — were one of the chief means of obtaining intelligence of the enemy and his plans."

This statement is a direct refutation of Mr. Lowman's assertion that the Nisei played only a minor role because the important Japanese military communications were in secret code.

Mr. Lowman also fails to consider the obvious fact that even if messages were transmitted in code, once deciphered they would require translation from *romaji* (Anglicized versions of phonetic sounds) to the appropriate Japanese *kanji* (characters) and then to corresponding English meaning.

As anyone familiar with Japanese knows, there are several different *kanji* that could represent any particular phonetic sound. Therefore, the task of determining meaning from the already-deciphered code is as demanding and important as the actual breaking of the code itself.

There is no doubt that the Nisei of the MIS were called upon to translate these deciphered messages into meaningful and useful English — a task for which few non-Japanese were equipped.

Now, after waiting 40 years for a small bit of recognition for what I and my fellow Nisei contributed to the Japanese defeat, I am confronted with Mr. Lowman casting doubt and suspicion about the nature of our service to America — on the front page of our community newspaper!

It sincerely breaks my heart when I think of all the guys who have passed on, some of whom gave up their lives for this country in the war, never knowing any recognition for their patriotism in the face of great adversity. And now to have these insinuations made that our contributions were minor makes me truly angry.

For the sake of the now-deceased Nisei veterans, and for the many Nisei who are more than deserving of some small bit of recognition in the twilight years of their lives, I urge the public to come out to the Japan America Theater on the afternoon of March 6 to see "The Color of Honor" and judge for themselves the integrity of the film and the Nisei it documents.

Perhaps Mr. Lowman might even have the integrity and courage to show up that afternoon to personally discuss his peculiar and limited historical perspectives with the Nisei veterans who remain a living testimony to real valor and patriotism under fire. He might learn a few things — if he's got an open mind.

(Harry Akune, of Gardena, was a specialist in interrogation of Japanese prisoners and was assigned to 6th Army Headquarters in 1945. When it became apparent that his skills were needed in Corregidor, Akune volunteered for the 503rd Parachute Infantry Regimental Combat Team. After one practice jump, his second and last jump was onto Corregidor. His services were valuable because little was known of the Japanese forces on the island until such information could be obtained from Japanese prisoners. Just last year, retired Brigadier General George M. Jones, of the parachute infantry, awarded Akune with a certificate as a parachutist, dated February, 16, 1945, and a paratrooper badge.)

VOX POPULI

CLAIMS ABOUT J.A.S IN FILMS, EXHIBITS ARE RECKLESS & ERRONEOUS

By JOHN ESAKI

It is clear to me from the opinions expressed in his letter (*The Rafu Shimpō*, Feb. 16, 1988), that David Lowman has not seen the documentary, "The Color of Honor," of which he is so vehemently critical.

I have studied a videotape of the film since his letter appeared and I can testify that Lowman's article contains several blatant errors of fact that could only be made by someone who has not bothered to view the work — or by someone who is deliberately distorting facts to mislead the public. Careful readers will note that Lowman never actually asserts in the letter that he has seen the film.

Readers (and the *Rafu Shimpō*) should seriously question the background and political motives of this man and his attempt to discredit the Nisei's carefully documented achievements for the U.S. Army in the Pacific during World War II.

Here are the major erroneous statements Lowman makes in his letter:

1) Lowman prefaces his observations on the film by making this statement about the current exhibit at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C. titled "A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the Constitution." "In the past, the exhibit was sponsored by the Presidio Army Museum of San Francisco (Eric Saul, curator) and was sometimes shown under the title "Yankee Samurai."

This is completely erroneous. Although an exhibit created by Mr. Saul titled "Go For Broke" was one of the inspirational sources of the Smithsonian exhibit, "A More Perfect Union" is an entirely different exhibit, conceived, written and curated by the staff of the Smithsonian's Military History Division of the American History Museum.

Lowman's indiscriminate lumping together of these distinct and different exhibits is not only an act of ignorance, but is an insult to the historians, scholars and staffs of both the Presidio Military Museum and the Smithsonian.

2) He asserts that the documentary, "The Color of Honor," claims credit for the "breaking and exploitation of Japan's high grade codes and ciphers, covernamed MAGIC and ULTRA." This is a complete fabrication. There are absolutely NO such claims made in the film — or in either exhibit. Lowman has simply told an outright untruth.

3) He asserts that in the film "the most blatant example of claiming false credit is the claim that Japanese Americans intercepted and translated Japan's message that led to the shoot down of Admiral Yamamoto's plane in April 1943." This again is Lowman's total fabrication. There is no such claim or even a reference to this episode in "The Color of Honor" or in either museum exhibit.

Yet, Lowman goes on to give a detailed, four-paragraphed, description of this aspect of the war, so that he can proclaim that the MIS "had nothing to do with this operation." Mr. Lowman is obviously searching for ways to discredit the Nisei and misrepresents the film to state his case.

4) He asserts that "The Color of Honor" included an exaggerated claim that "over a million American lives" were saved by the action of the Nisei in the Pacific. There is no such claim in the film.

Filmmaker Loni Ding, who is a university teacher, was careful to include only factual statements which were verifiable by multiple sources.

Further, Lowman objects to the attribution of a quote: "General MacArthur is quoted as saying, 'Never in military history did an army know so much about the enemy prior to actual engagement.'" In truth, MacArthur is not quoted in the film.

Narration spoken in the film about General MacArthur states: "It has been said that Gen. MacArthur in the Pacific war knew more in advance about the disposition of the enemy than any commander in military history. The record however is strangely silent about the men who were critical to gathering the intelligence that saved thousands of lives and helped shorten the war." The source of this information is renowned historian John Costello's book about MacArthur, titled "The Pacific War."

5) Lowman asserts that the Nisei translated "low level" communication, and complains that they are being credited for the "significant accomplishments" of those people (read: White people) who deciphered secret codes and ciphers. Again, Lowman reveals his ignorance, in this case about the nature of Japanese intelligence communications.

As Brig. General John Wecklering, intelligence officer throughout WWII and deputy assistant chief of staff, G-2, War Department, Washington, D.C., has written, most wartime communications were not in code because the Japanese believed that their language itself was undecipherable by Occidentals. And even when Japanese communications were coded, once deciphered by code-breakers they required translations from phonetic representations to appropriate Japanese characters and, then, into English.

The Nisei worked side by side, at the highest levels of security, with those decoding and translating these messages. (My research reveals that Lowman DID NOT serve as an intelligence officer during World War II, as his stated credentials lead us to believe; this perhaps accounts for his ignorance in this area.)

Lowman is only right about one thing in his letter. He states: "I am certain that the dedicated Japanese Americans who served in military intelligence during World War II would not consciously claim the accomplishments of others as their own."

You are damned right about that, David Lowman. For all their tremendous contributions to America and the shameful lack of recognition accorded them for their deeds, for all the prejudiced and despicable insinuations made about them both then and now, they remain humble, unassuming, and incredibly modest about their personal achievements and personal sacrifices made in behalf of this country.

And if not for the five-year-long efforts of a Chinese American university teacher and filmmaker to tell their story to the American public, many of us would still not be fully aware of those accomplishments.

This is what makes Lowman's erroneous statements in our community newspaper so tragic. If his criticisms of the film and his deflation of the accomplishments of these Nisei are accepted by just one reader of his letter and if his misstatements discourage just one person from seeing this important work, then a grave injustice has been done to the men who fought and died for this country.

I urge *Rafu* readers to see the film and judge for themselves the dubious nature of Lowman's claims.

In closing, I'm amazed that a person who allegedly has worked for our National Security Agency could display such inept research and shoddy investigatory skills as demonstrated in his letter.

It kind of makes you wonder, doesn't it, when our national security has been in the hands of what can only be either an incompetent individual — or a maliciously prejudiced one.

To me, this is one of the most convincing reasons why we need to keep educating the American public about our contributions to this country through documentaries such as "The Color of Honor."

Lowman is only the tip of the proverbial iceberg, the most visible of a great number of Americans, many in positions of influence in government and industry, who are completely ignorant about how much Japanese Americans have contributed to the building and defending of this nation.

They need to see "The Color of Honor." Those who attend the benefit screening Sunday (March 6, beginning at 2 p.m. at the Japan America Theatre in Little Tokyo) will be helping to get it out to them.

(John Esaki is a staff member of Visual Communications, a media resource center in Los Angeles. He received a national Emmy Award nomination for his sound recording on "Nisei Soldier" and was a crew member for "The Color of Honor." He has served on the Board of the National Asian American Telecommunications Association.)

Nikkei Receives Highest Civilian Intelligence and Military Awards

WASHINGTON — Harry Fukuhara, supervising intelligence operations specialist at the 500th Military Brigade, Camp Zama, Japan, has been presented the two highest civilian awards, according to the January-February issue of INS-COM (U.S. Intelligence and Security Command) Journal.

The Decoration for Exceptional Civilian Service Award was presented on Nov. 18 by Secretary of the Army John Marsh. This is the top honor presented to civilians within the Army.

The award, consisting of a gold medal, a rosette and a commendation certificate, was for Fukuhara's work as a national liaison officer who forged relationships between American and Japanese intelligence and security officials.

Fukuhara was also awarded the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal in recognition of his service to the U.S. and to the intelligence community. The medal was presented Nov. 17 by CIA Deputy Director Robert Gates at CIA headquarters.

The medal is the highest intelligence community award presented to civilians.

During World War II, Fukuhara, an internee at the Gila River, Ariz., camp, volunteered for the Military Intelligence Service and graduated from Camp Savage, Minn. He served with distinction in New Guinea, New Britain, Morotai and the Philippines.

Younger JAs Invited to Okei Grave's Spring Clean-Up

SACRAMENTO — The annual Okei Grave and Wakamatsu Colony Memorial general spring clean-up has been set for Sunday, April 17, announced Hike Yego, Placer County JACL chapter president. Yego invites all interested persons to assemble at the Gold Hill site by 9 a.m.

Placer, Sacramento and Florin JACL chapters, the greater Sacramento Nikkeijin Kai, and interested individuals have been participating in this event on an annual basis for the past 17 years, he noted.

This year, the coordinators would like to encourage some of the younger folks from the Japanese American community to assist in this endeavor.

"You will be well rewarded by a historian's account of Okei-san and the first group of Japanese immigrants to settle in the United States to establish a tea and silk farm colony at Gold Hill and their passing," said Yego.

All interested persons are reminded to bring a favorite garden tool and to pack a bento lunch for an after clean-up fellowship. Anyone wishing directions to Gold Hill can call Tom Fujimoto in Sacramento, (916) 427-6839.

OBITUARIES

KAI EDUARD RASMUSSEN Army Colonel

Kai Eduard Rasmussen, 85, a retired Army colonel and former director of the old Special Operations Research Office at American University, died March 11 at the Veterans Administration Hospital. He had Parkinson's disease.

Col. Rasmussen, who lived in Washington, was a native of Denmark. He came to this country and enlisted in the Army in 1922. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, N.Y., in 1929.

Before World War II, he served with the Coast Artillery in the Philippines and as a language student and assistant military attache in Japan. During the war, he served as commandant of the Army Language School.

He was military attache in Norway from 1946 to 1949. He then went to Tokyo as assistant chief of staff for Army intelligence in the Far East. He spent his last two years before retiring in 1955 as an Army intelligence officer at the Pentagon.

Col. Rasmussen's military decorations included three awards of the Legion of Merit.

In 1955, Col. Rasmussen was named director of the Special Operations Research Office, which was under contract to the Army to support special warfare operations. The organization conducted sociological, military and communications research projects in Third World countries.

After retiring again in 1963, Col. Rasmussen lived in Florida and Spain before returning to this area in 1979.

Survivors include his wife, the former Emma Baker, and one daughter, Ann R. Kinney, both of Washington; one son, Kai Jr., of Bethesda; one brother, Niels, of Rouses Point, N.Y., and four grandchildren.

KAI EDUARD RASMUSSEN

- Born: November 26, 1902, Helsingør, Denmark
- 1918: Graduated from Fredericksborg Stats Skole, Hillerød, Denmark
- 1922: Emigrated to USA in the spring; Enlisted in U.S. Army, September 10 for service in Hawaiian Islands
- 1924: Entered United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, July 1
- 1929: Graduated USMA, June 10
- 1929-30: Assigned 62nd Coast Artillery Anti Aircraft Regiment, Fort Totten, New York
- 1930: Married Emma F. Baker in Aberdeen, Maryland, August 16
- 1930-33: Corregidor, Philippine Islands; Daughter, Ann born, 1931
- 1933-36: Fort Monroe, Virginia
- 1936-40: Japanese Language Student and Assistant Military Attache, U.S. Embassy, Tokyo, Japan; Son, Kai Jr. born, 1937
- 1940-42: Fort Winfield Scott, Coast Artillery, California and MISLS Crissy Field, Presidio of San Francisco
- 1942-46: Commandant MISLS Camp Savage and later Fort Snelling, Minnesota
- 6/46-8/46: Commandant MISLS Presidio of Monterey, California
- 1946-49: Military Attache, U.S. Embassy, Oslo, Norway
- 1/50-8/50: Director of Reserve Training for the State of North Dakota in Bismark
- 1950-53: Chief of Order of Battle and G-2, Far East Command, Tokyo, Japan
- 1953-55: Chief of Collection and Dissemination Division, G-2, Army, Pentagon, Washington, DC
- 1955: Retired U.S. Army, September 30
- 1955-63: Director of Special Operations Research Office, American University, Washington, DC
- 1963-65: Resided in Torremolinos, Spain
- 1965-79: Resided in Largo, Florida
- 1979: Moved to Washington, DC
- Died: March 11, 1988, Washington, DC

The Emigrant

Incidentals Confronting an Emigrant in America

Written in Florida, 1966

I arrived in the USA in the late spring of 1922 with about \$5 to \$10 and started looking for a job. I had hoped to land a job as a telegrapher with Western Union as I had some training in that field. I was frustrated completely as in 1922 the USA also experienced a wide spread depression.

I started looking for any job that would keep body and soul together and drifted up the Hudson Valley, taking a few days work on a farm, being paid the magnificent sum of \$20 per month and bed in the barn. My next job was that of an oiler in a piano factory, paid \$1 per day. I had no desire to ending the rest of my life on either of these jobs, but even so I was eating regularly and also had a place to sleep. Onward I went up the Valley to Albany where I immediately landed a job as a dishwasher in a steam kitchen. Here I worked seven days a week, 12 hours a day. The Greek who owned the restaurant took a shine to me and asked me to stay and he would promote me to night cashier. Again, that was not what I had emigrated for and I decided then to enlist in one of the armed services. Again, I did not find it too easy. To begin with I offered my services to the Navy which turned my application down, due to several shortcomings, such as not being a citizen, flat feet and other shortcomings. I then offered myself to the Marine Corps with the same dismal result. I finally was accepted into the U.S. Army for service in the Infantry with station in Scofield Barracks, Hawaii.

I was very happy that my new country accepted me. An Army Transport picked us up in New York for the trip through the Panama Canal. On the first inspection I was detailed as orderly to the Commanding Officer, and was always up in first class to be on immediate call. The Commanding Officer had his family with him and that resulted in an incredible piece of luck which led me to West Point.

Going through the canal late one evening the young son of the Colonel confided in me that he was going to West Point. I did not know what West Point was and made the inane remark that I would like to do the same. The next morning the Colonel called me into his office and put me through a series of questions and finally told me that he was afraid that I could not possibly make the grade as both schooling and language were too demanding. I was not particularly upset as I really had to agree with him. The next morning he called me into his office and challenged me to try for the appointment. The Colonel apparently sent a message to Fort Shafter having me assigned to Headquarters 19th Infantry where they needed a radio operator. This assignment also gave me a chance to study. In due time I was assigned to the famous West Point Prep School and in April 1924 found myself assigned to USMA which I entered in July of 1924 and graduated on June 10, 1929.

The reason that I have written this description in such detail is to demonstrate how much an American citizen will do for an emigrant provided he is convinced that the young man will attempt to do his share.



The Nisei School

Excerpts from the Graduation Speech Given by Kai E. Rasmussen June 25, 1977 at the Defense Language Institute, Monterey, California

When I'm speaking of the language school and its students during the period of 1941 to 1946 I often use the term Nisei. It is not because I denigrate the other students or language divisions but because, during my tenure at the school it was truly a Nisei school in which the staff and faculty as well as the great masses of students were indeed Nisei and the principle language taught was Japanese. The American people normally have never been linguistically gifted and the belief has sprung up accusing the United States of being a dullard where foreign languages are concerned. This is, of course, clearly not supported by fact when we realize that the very country we live in has been settled by diverse ethnic groups, all speaking separate and differing languages. This belief, however, has some root in actuality in that these diverse and polyglot groups were all seeking a common goal of rapid and complete Americanization and often preferred not to speak the mother language with the result that a second generation frequently actually had lost their bilingual heritage. Then, also, our budding nation quickly became an inwardly expanding nation and the only lingua franca acceptable to them was that of English. In a need for social intercourse between various nations of the world, languages have been the means by which this intercourse has been achieved . . . I shall attempt to outline in part the Army's role in satisfying national linguistic needs during the last three-quarters of a century.

The requirements for Oriental language were recognized early by the Intelligence Department and assignment to both U.S. Embassies in Tokyo and Peking were made on a regular basis in that one or two officers were detailed each year to each embassy for a four year period as language students and service attaches. I might point out that General Pershing, Class of 1886, was one of those students as well as General Strong, who was at G-2 at the beginning of World War II, Class of 1904. This system was kept in use until World War II. The requirements for French and Spanish were largely dictated by the need for language instructors detailed to the Military Academy and each instructor selected was afforded a one-year study in Europe. With the addition of German and Russian to the system, it had been enlarged to accommodate the added requirements. In the meantime, World War II was raging in Europe and by the summer of 1941 the war clouds were hanging heavily over the Pacific Ocean area and it became clear that, in the event of open hostilities involving American military forces, they would be fighting with the distinct handicap of not having the necessary linguistic assets in support. It also became apparent that the only possible solution to the problem initially would be utilizing bilingual Americans of Japanese ancestry, known as Nisei.

At that time, I was detailed to conduct a rapid survey of Nisei language capabilities. By mid-summer 1941 I had interviewed some 3,700



On maneuvers with a Japanese Artillery Regiment in Sendai, Japan, 1939

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Nisei, all of whom were already serving in the drafted Army. I had prepared a scale upon which to gauge the result and I must admit that I had set up my sights too high, in that I found only 3 percent fully qualified and another 8 percent potential students after a long training period. As a result of these discouraging findings, the War Department directed the Fourth Army in San Francisco to establish a Japanese language school, which was then informally known as the Fourth Army Intelligence School. By November 1, when the school was activated, we were encoined in the old Crissy Field airhangers in San Francisco with sixty students, eight civilian instructors and a commandant. We antedated Pearl Harbor by six weeks. We take great pride in it as an organization.

Despite the care with which these initial students were selected, only 35 of the 60 early students managed to finish the course of study. Even before the first graduation, commanders in Alaska and Guadalcanal were clamoring for Japanese language personnel, so the course had to be cut short though it had been planned for six months and the graduates were sent to the field commands immediately.

During the planning and early operational phases of the school it was inevitable that some negative minds should question the loyalty of the American Japanese in the war against Japan. However, as a result of the early intelligence successes of the graduates, predictions of these doubters were quickly stilled and the school work was pursued at an ever-increasing tempo. As historical fact, not one American Japanese nor one of his alien parents was guilty of an un-American act at any time before, during or after the war with Japan.

As the first class of the school was coming to a close, the relocation of all Japanese as well as Americans of Japanese origin was ordered and we had to select a new home. I was on the road once again, finally settling in Minnesota, where I received a great deal of help from, at that time, Governor Stassen. We resettled at Savage near St. Paul. Later on, when we had outgrown the temporary camp at Savage, we took over the historic old Fort Snelling where we stayed until 1946, when we returned to California to an equally historic fort, the Presidio of Monterey.

As time progressed, and as the war, the contact war, grew in all directions in the Pacific, all major commands and the chiefs of intelligence wrote highly commendatory letters back to the War Department and the Commandant at the MISLS. These were accompanied with ever increasing praise and requests for more and still more intelligence language specialists.

In sending out intelligence teams we felt a need for caucasian team leaders and we were authorized to secure and train those leaders. The main purpose of this was to have an unmistakably caucasian officer associated with Oriental faces in order not to have some trigger-happy G.I. pop a gun. The candidates for this detail were selected on academic excellence. They were largely taken from the national Phi Beta Kappa rosters. After a year of ASTP training in Japanese at a university, the candidates attended another year of Japanese at the University of Michigan before coming to Camp Savage or Fort Snelling for a six month course in advanced language training and intelligence procedures. They were then issued their ten-man intelligence team, all Nisei, as well as all the Pacific Theatre equipment, including jeeps. That made them very popular with the commanders wherever they went.

From time to time the War Department laid new requirements on the school, which unflinchingly met the challenge satisfactorily. Our special language requirements during 1945 included Chinese and Korean, and our students included my favorites, a Nisei WAC platoon. As the war started to wind down in '45 and early '46, the demand for combat-oriented training also lessened, we had to prepare ourselves for occupation and civil functions. Even so, there was no diminution in requirements for Japanese personnel and in excess of 6,000 graduates served in the Pacific Ocean area before the end of the war. No training function, however well executed and brilliant in design can be successful unless serving as a useful end and I feel that I must enumerate some of the uses to which the graduate lent his efforts.

It may be well to outline the geographical span of graduate assignments. MISLS personnel operated with the U.S. and allied forces from Alaska in the north, to Australia and New Zealand in the south, and from Hawaii in the east to China, Burma and India in the west. In addition to that, they served with highly classified special operations inside the United States. The diversity of assignments included all U.S. Army units, as well as Navy, Marine and Air Corps organizations. Additional assignments were to allied commands, such as Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, India and China. Assignments were also made to small specialized units such as OSS, Psywar, Code Analysis, Radio Intercept, Camouflaging and OWI as well as to Merrill's Marauders. All in all, MISLS Nisei lent support to more than 130 organizations.

Finally, in conclusion of this detailed description of the planning for the establishment of a language school, as well as achievement of the graduates in these and countless other operational situations, the MISLS and its Nisei accepted the highest order of bravery, courage and excellence in execution of their assigned tasks. There can be but little doubt that, except for the intelligence teams in the Pacific, the war would without a doubt have lasted longer and resulted in hundreds of thousands additional casualties.



MISLS Graduates on Return from Merrill's Marauders in Burma, Ft. Snelling, 1946

Hartnell Honors Three Residents

The Hartnell College Foundation presented three Salinas residents with its Distinguished Service Awards for 1988 at a dinner last night at the college.

Ed Adams, Adele O'Grady and Harry Iida were honored at the dinner for their contributions to the college community.

After spending 20 years in the U.S. Army and serving in World War II and the Korean conflict, Harry Iida moved to Salinas. In 1959, using his bilingual skills, he helped establish greenhouse flower growing in the Salinas Valley.

Later, he co-founded TST Flowers, Inc., a flower shipping operation designed to assist limited-English speaking growers in nation-wide marketing. TST Flowers, Inc. is now one of the largest wholesale flower shipping firms in the Salinas Valley.

Iida was also instrumental in the formation of the California Flower Cooperative, a 110 member supply firm designed to meet the needs of the flower growers by sharing bulk wholesale purchases. Additionally, as a member of the Salinas Area Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors, Iida helped develop the sister relationship between Salinas and Kushikino, Japan, which has allowed many cultural, educational and economic exchanges between the two cities.

The Herald, Saturday, April 16, 1988.

In addition, he is a member of the Advisory Board of the California First Bank, as well as a Director of the Japanese American Historical Society, a Director and former President of the Military Intelligence Service Association of Northern California, a member of the Monterey County Sheriff's Advisory Council, and a member of the Independent Insurance Agent's Association. Iida has assisted Hartnell with its Japanese Agricultural Training Program and has been helpful in establishing a sister college relationship with Miyagi Agricultural College in Sendai, Japan. He has also aided the Hartnell College Foundation by promoting several exhibitions of the Mrs. Leslie Fentorr Netsuke Collection and securing donations to promote these exhibitions.

Congress To View Ding's Nikkei Films

MATSUI EULOGIZES AISO BEFORE HOUSE COLLEAGUES

WASHINGTON, D.C.— Representative Robert T. Matsui (D-Calif.) today eulogized former State Appeals Court Justice John Fujio Aiso, who died last month from injuries sustained in a mugging attack, in remarks made before the U.S. House of Representatives.

Rep. Matsui told his colleagues that Judge Aiso was a man who "set standards that Americans of all races should strive to achieve." He also said that Aiso's tragic cause of death was a cruel irony for "a man who worked daily to uphold justice and who did so much to stop crime."

"John broke an important racial barrier when he became the first Nikkei judge in the continental United States with his appointment to the Los Angeles Municipal Court in 1952," Rep. Matsui said.

"Known for his ability and sense of justice, he served in

California courts until his retirement 21 years later, by which time he held a seat on the 2nd District Court of Appeals.

"His distinguished judicial career came after many other contributions to his country," Matsui continued. "He entered the U.S. Army in 1941 as a private, but rose to the rank of Lt. Colonel and served as the director of academics at the Military Intelligence Service Language School before leaving the army in 1947."

"He continued to serve as a reserve officer until his retirement at the rank of colonel in 1965. He was awarded the Legion of Merit for his distinguished service."

Matsui concluded his remarks by calling Aiso a man that has "exemplified the virtues that made the U.S. the great nation that it is today. A man who fought for freedom and worked daily to uphold justice, he set standards that Americans of all races should strive to achieve."

WASHINGTON — Rep. Norman Y. Mineta, and Sen. Spark M. Matsunaga, have scheduled the broadcast to all members of the House and Senate of two films by award-winning filmmaker Loni Ding.

In a letter delivered today to each of their colleagues in the House and Senate, respectively, Mineta and Matsunaga announced that "Nisei Soldier" and "The Color of Honor" will be broadcast in their entirety on Feb. 9 and Feb. 11 beginning at 1:30 p.m.

"Nisei Soldier" (1983), is a 30-minute documentary on the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and 100th Battalion, highly-decorated Japanese American combat units which fought in Europe during the Second World War.

"The Color Of Honor" (1987), is the sequel to "Nisei Soldier." This 101-minute film tells the story of Japanese American linguists who served as interpreters and translators on secret missions throughout Asia and the Pacific during the Second World War.

The films will be broadcast on the internal television network within both the House and the Senate. Professional quality video transfers were provided by Loni Ding, who wrote, produced and directed each film.

'Color of Honor' Producer Ding Honored by Hawaii State House

HONOLULU — Filmmaker Loni Ding, producer of "Nisei Soldier" and "The Color of Honor," was recognized by the Hawaii state House of Representatives on March 29.

The resolution, introduced by state Rep. Roland Kotani, honored Ding for "the success of her films" and for her "outstanding creative work in the service of the ideals of racial and ethnic equality, multi-cultural understanding, and genuine Americanism."

Ding, who is based in San Francisco, began making films in 1970 and has won three Emmy awards for her PBS programs on Asians and Asian Americans, including "With Silk Wings: Asian American Women at Work" and the children's series "Bean Sprouts."

"The Color of Honor," her latest film, details the story of Nisei soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II by combining wartime footage with interviews with MIS veterans.

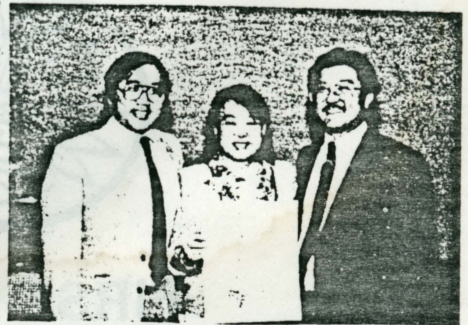
Their job was to translate

captured documents, intercept enemy transmissions, and interrogate prisoners. Their contributions were acknowledged by such U.S. Army commanders as Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who said, "Never in military history did an army know so much about the enemy prior to actual engagement."

In remarks on the House floor, Kotani said, "For 40 years the MIS story went untold because of the vow of secrecy that was imposed on intelligence operations."

"It took a Chinese American filmmaker to bring these stories of patriotism before the American public at a time when Congress is still deliberating on the need for redress and reparations for the injustice which was perpetrated upon Americans of Japanese ancestry during World War II."

"The Color of Honor" played to turnaway crowds at the 1987 Hawaii International Film Festival, prompting Ding to return this year to allow people here another chance to see the film.



Hawaii State Representatives David Hagino (left) and Roland Kotani with filmmaker Loni Ding.

Photo by K. Russell Ho

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JOHN AISO MEMORIAL LIBRARY

A recently completed academic library at DLI, Presidio of Monterey, CA is to be named in honor of John Aiso. Aiso is the one single most responsible person who implemented the War Department's plans to establish a Japanese intelligence school in 1941. As Director of Academic Training, 1942-46, Aiso brilliantly executed the MISLS mission of training 6,000 intelligence operators who contributed to victory in the Pacific War.

The dedication of JOHN AISO MEMORIAL LIBRARY is planned for the fall of 1988.

KAI RASMUSSEN HALL

The name KAI RASMUSSEN HALL was reserved for the DLI Headquarters building ever since it was built over ten years ago.

Rasmussen had the vision and courage to conceive the establishment of MIS and doggedly persisted until it was activated at the Presidio of San Francisco in November 1941. As Commandant from 1942-46, he provided the military leadership for carrying out a critical intelligence operation at a time of national crisis.

The dedication of KAI RASMUSSEN HALL and JOHN AISO MEMORIAL LIBRARY may take place at the same time in the fall of 1988.

IN MEMORIAM

KAZ YOSHIHATA passed away in March 1988 after a long and courageous battle with cancer. Novato, CA.

DR JOHN SWIFT passed away in 1986 in Hillsborough, CA.

NEW MEMBERS

SAM KANAI,
Sacramento, CA 95822.

ALLEN MEYER, Chicago, IL 60657.

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THANK YOU, CONTRIBUTORS

ANN R KINNEY

ART KANEKO

HARRY IIDA

Thanks a million for your help. Its sincerely appreciated.

NASUO HASHIGUCHI

HAYATO KIHARA

ROY UYEHATA

Harry Tanabe Appointed to V.F.W. Position

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Harry H. Tanabe, VFW Post 9879, San Francisco, has been appointed by VFW National Commander-in-Chief Earl L. Stock, Jr., of Ft. Plain, New York to serve as a National Aide-de-Camp for 1987-88.

Stock, head of the over two million-member organization of overseas veterans commented, "It is because of the tireless efforts of civic and patriotic-minded citizens like Comrade Tanabe that the veterans and the communities the VFW serves have been affected in a positive manner.

"Our programs touch every citizen in the community, they help the young, the old, the Vietnam veteran and non-veteran alike. I am pleased to make this appointment because I know Comrade Tanabe will do an outstanding job for the VFW, the veteran and the community."

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