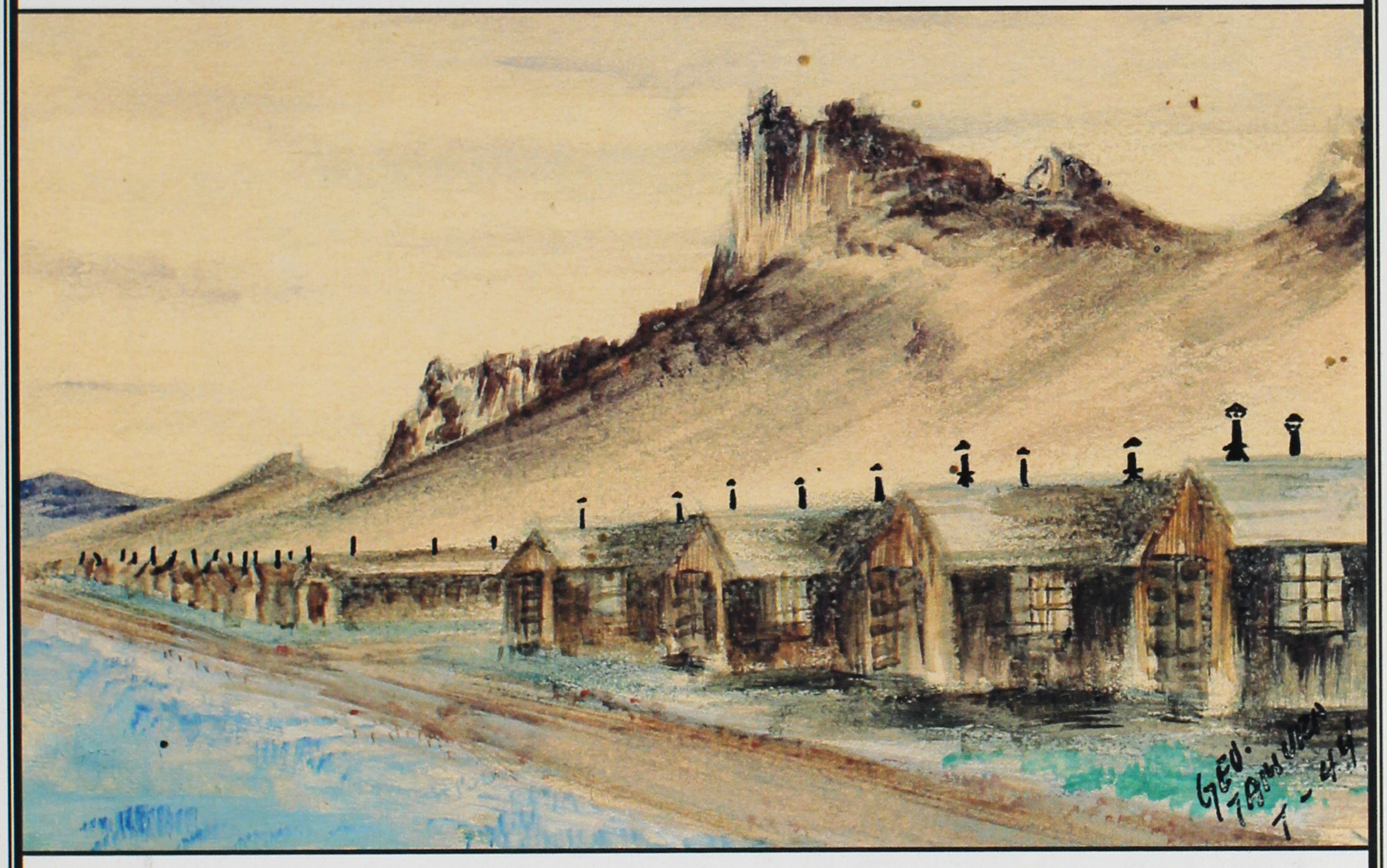
Tule Lake Pilgrimage

2010



Sharing the Untold Stories of Tule Lake

July 2 - 5, 2010

Oregon Institute of Technology

Klamath Falls, OR

LIFE

Vol. 16, No. 12

March 20, 1944

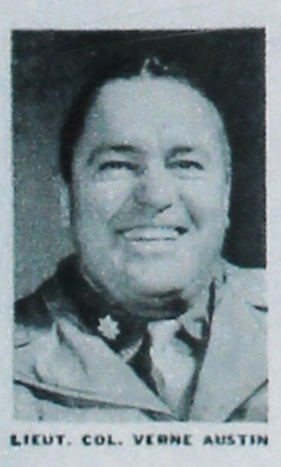


THESE FIVE JAPS ARE AMONG 155 TROUBLE MAKERS IMPRISONED IN THE STOCKADE WITHIN THE TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER. HERE THEY ARE ANSWERING ROLL CALL

TULE LAKE

AT THIS SEGREGATION CENTER ARE 18,000 JAPANESE CONSIDERED DISLOYAL TO U. S.

Photographs for LIFE by Carl Mydans



LIEUT. COL. VERNE AUSTIN

The Japanese above, photographed behind a stockade within the Tule Lake Segregation Center at Newell, Calif., are trouble makers. Calling themselves "pressure boys," they are fanatically loyal to Japan. Along with some 150 other men in the stockade, they were ringleaders in the November riots which the U. S. Army, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Verne Austin (*left*), finally had to quell. By their strong-arm methods they are responsible for Tule Lake's reputation as worst of all civilian detention camps in U.S.

Most of the other 18,000 men, women and children of Japanese ancestry, now segregated at Tule Lake, are quiet, undemonstrative people. About 70% of them are American citizens by birth. All of the adults among them, however, are considered disloyal to the U. S. Either they have asked to be repatriated to Japan, or they have refused to take an oath of allegiance to the U. S., or they are suspected of being dangerous to the national security.

In March 1942, some 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry were moved out of their homes in strategic areas of the West Coast. Eventually they were settled in 10 relocation centers. There the loyal Japanese were separated from the disloyal. The loyal ones have the choice either of remaining in a relocation camp or of finding employment in some nonstrategic area. The disloyal ones have been sent to the segregation center at Tule Lake.

The November riots, in which some Americans were hurt, precipitated much heated discussion about the Tule Lake camp, and the center remains a political issue. LIFE last month sent Staff Photographer Carl Mydans to report on conditions there. He had himself just been repatriated from 16 months spent in Jap internment camps. At joint consent of War Relocation Authority, which has charge of the camp, and the Army, who guards it, he lived at Tule Lake for a week. His pictorial report, the first of its kind, follows.

Tule Lake Segregation Center was featured in the March 20, 1944 issue of Life Magazine

TULE LAKE PILGRIMAGE 2010

SHARING THE UNTOLD STORIES OF TULE LAKE

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Welcome to the 2010 Tule Lake Pilgrimage!

In commemoration of the 4th of July holiday, we gather at one of our Nation's sites of shame, to reflect on the meaning of patriotism and our rights as Americans.

The Tule Lake Segregation Center stands as a painful reminder of the injustices committed against Japanese Americans during WW II. While imprisoned in American's concentration camps, Japanese Americans were forced to make wrenching decisions: whether to obey or challenge military exclusion orders, whether to answer "yes" or "no" to the government's demand to proclaim loyalty, whether to serve in the Army, and whether to prepare for a future in Japan or to remain in a country that stripped them of their rights and property and incarcerated them.

This year's pilgrimage theme, **Sharing the Untold Stories of Tule Lake**, provides an opportunity for those who were incarcerated at Tule Lake to tell the stories of their experiences and the impact of the incarceration on their lives. Others of us can have the opportunity to learn from those who were incarcerated at Tule Lake.

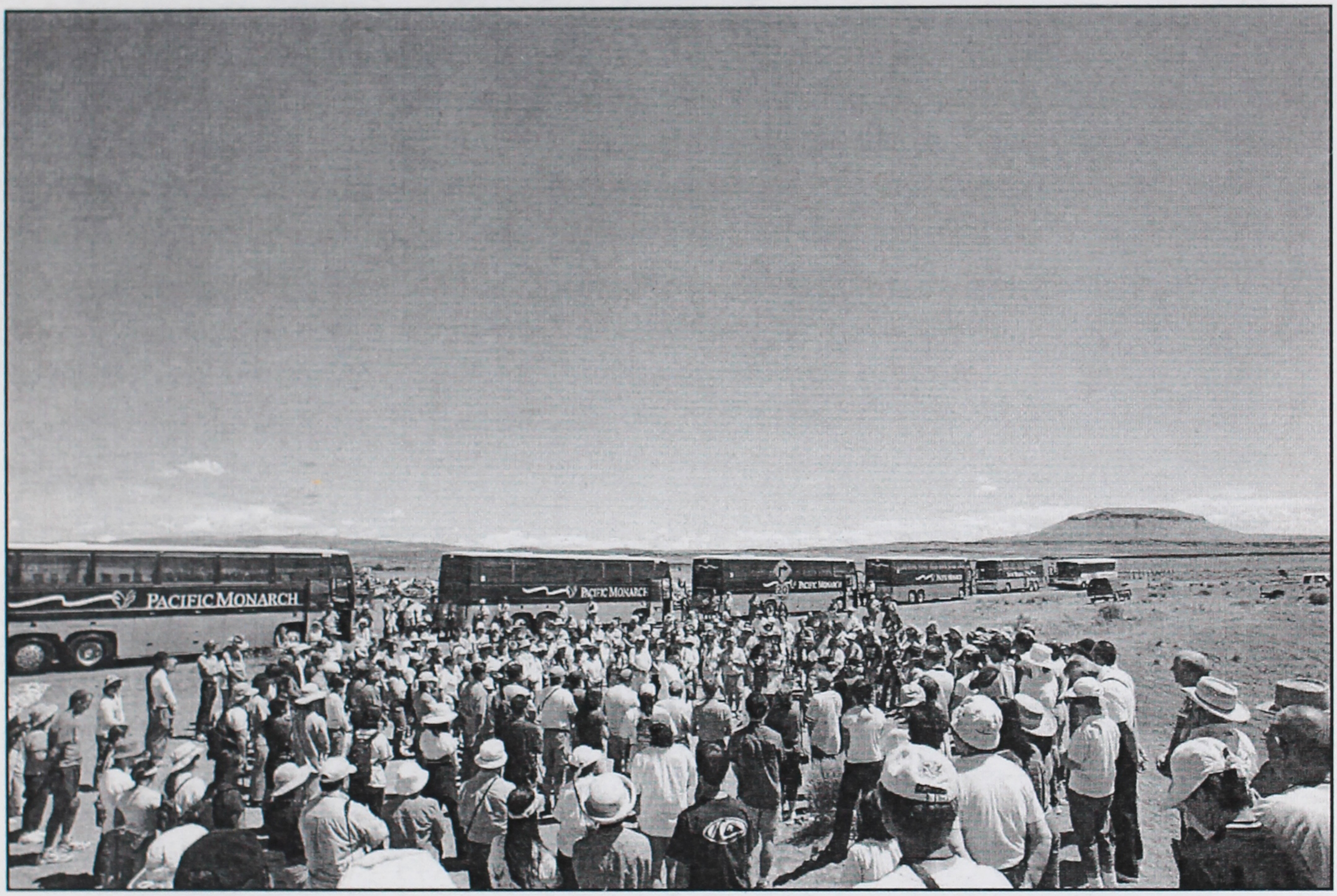
Sixty five years have gone by since the closing of the Tule Lake Segregation Center. However, few people are aware that 12,000 persons of Japanese ancestry who were incarcerated at Tule Lake protested their incarceration and refused to cooperate with the government's demand to prove loyalty to the country that imprisoned them. Their protest led the government to label them as "disloyal," to segregate them, and to target them for denationalization and deportation. For decades, they were marginalized within their own communities and referred to in derogatory terms as "troublemakers" and "disloyal".

These stories of dissent contradict the prevailing public relations myth that portrays Japanese Americans as the "model minority" willing to submit to and endure all sorts of abuse to prove their loyalty. Pigeonholing the actions of Japanese Americans as either loyal members of the 442/100th Battalions or disloyal pro-Japan fanatics served no purpose other than to divide us. This artificial distinction fostered a persistent historical inaccuracy, a false belief that Japanese Americans did not protest their unjust imprisonment. It is a view that we must challenge, for it prevents the understanding and compassion for the range of responses that people made under impossibly difficult circumstances – responses that had little to do with loyalty or disloyalty.

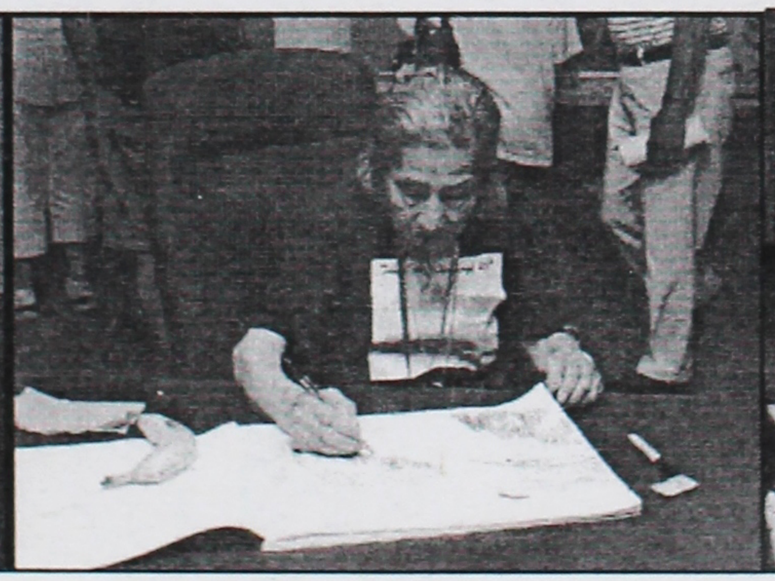
We hope your participation in the pilgrimage will inspire you to continue the work towards healing our collective wounds and completing unfinished business. We have an exciting program planned, but for it to succeed we need your help. Your questions,

If you were incarcerated at Tule Lake or at another incarceration camp, we want to hear your experiences and your unique stories. We know that some of the memories may be painful and difficult to share. We ask that everyone honor and respect each other's perspective to create an atmosphere that will make it possible for us to learn and understand, to remember and discover what happened here. We will all be the richer for it.

Thank you for joining us!









Pilgrimage Policies

To ensure an enjoyable trip for all, we ask for your cooperation in the following areas:

- Alcohol, illegal drugs, firearms and other weapons are not allowed.
- Stay with your group. Make sure someone knows where you are or where you are going at all times.
- Listen to and cooperate with the bus monitors.
- Smoking is prohibited on the buses, in the buildings at the Oregon Institute of Technology, and on the Castle Rock Hike.
- Please obey all regulations of the bus company and of the Oregon Institute of Technology.
- This pilgrimage may be a highly emotional experience for many. An attitude of openness, appreciation and support for each person, whatever their perspective or experience, will maximize the benefits to all who are on the pilgrimage.
- We will have over 50 persons who were incarcerated at Tule Lake and are 80 years of age or older. Please give them priority when lining up for meals, allow them the seating and shade when assembling outdoors, and provide them with assistance when boarding and exiting the bus.
- A "Lost and Found" will be maintained at the Tule Lake Committee sales table in the Sales Room (OIT – Sunset Room). Please bring to the Sales Room all personal property you find during the pilgrimage.






二十六西五年八月


第三國民學校由笠科一年有興班

People and Phone Numbers

Bus Monitors

Please get to know your assigned bus monitors. They will provide you with important information and can help answer questions you may have. Please assist them in their duty of making sure all participants are accounted for ano one get left behind.

Berkeley
Yuki Mathias
Momii Palapaz

Sacramento Airport
Karen Fujii
Ron Misaki

Seattle
Stan Shikuma
Lois Yoshishige

Sacramento
Lorna Fong
Satsuki Ina

San Francisco
Hiroshi Shimizu
Kayoko Aoki
Nina Fallenbaum
Takamichi Go

San Jose/Union City
Jimi Yamaichi
Michael Beusch
Molly Kitajima
Sharon Nakamura
Roy Ikeda

Medical Personnel

Stan Shikuma, RN.....(206) 919-1465

OIT Contact Numbers

Emergency.....(541) 885-0911
Campus Safety (non-emergency).....(541) 885-1111
Ambulance, Police, Fire.....(9) 911

Tule Lake Committee/Bus Monitors

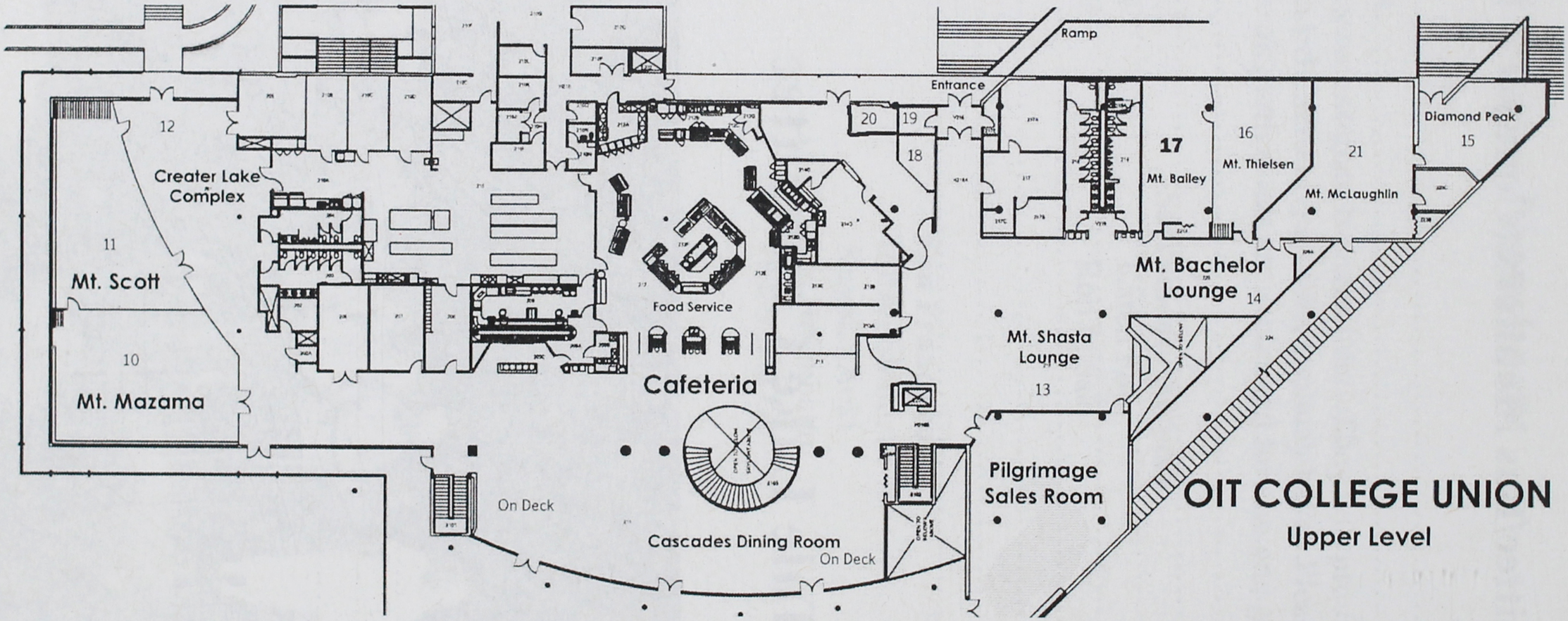
Michael Beusch.....(650) 483-1975
Jerry and Fran Ellis.....(408) 702-7540
Nina Fallenbaum.....(202) 577-7930
Lorna Fong.....(916) 698-6327
Karen Fujii.....(510) 304-2069

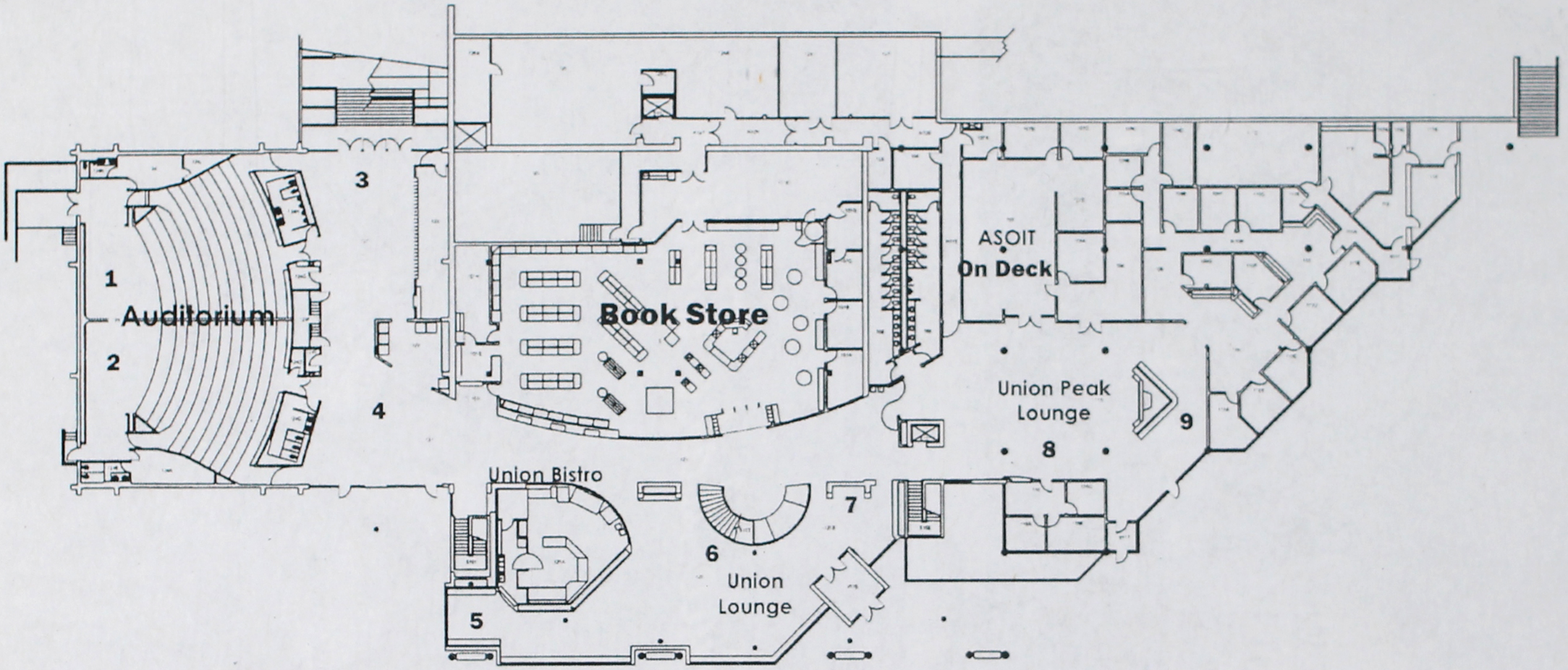
Tule Lake Committee/Bus Monitors (Cont.)

Roy Ikeda.....(510) 306-5033
Satsuki Ina.....(916) 947-5194
Molly Kitajima.....(510) 453-8144
Yuki Mathias.....(510) 919-9904
Craig Matsuzaki.....(510) 418-3694
Stephanie Miyashiro.....(510) 409-0866
Sharon Nakamura.....(510) 552-2579
Stan Shikuma.....(206) 919-1465
Hiroshi Shimizu.....(415) 317-2686
Barbara Takei.....(916) 427-1733
Jimi Yamaichi.....(408) 605-5002
Lois Yoshishige.....(541) 517-3436
Jan Yoshiwara.....(360) 951-5852

Tule Lake Committee




Ramp
Entrance
12
Creater Lake Complex
11
Mt. Scott
10
Mt. Mazama
20
19
18
17
Mt. Bailey
16
Mt. Thielsen
21
Mt. McLaughlin
Diamond Peak
15
Food Service
Cafeteria
Mt. Bachelor Lounge
14
Mt. Shasta Lounge
13
On Deck
Cascades Dining Room
On Deck
Pilgrimage Sales Room
OIT COLLEGE UNION
Upper Level



OIT COLLEGE UNION

Lower Level


Tule Lake Babies

Tule Lake Pilgrimage 2010

Schedule

PLEASE NOTE: THIS SCHEDULE IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE. YOU WILL BE NOTIFIED OF ANY CHANGES TO THE SCHEDULE AT THE PILGRIMAGE.

Friday, July 2, 2010

Departure Locations & Times

San Jose.....7:00 AM
Union City.....7:30 AM
San Francisco.....8:00AM
Berkeley.....8:30 AM
Sacramento.....9:00 AM
Sacramento Airport.....10:00 AM
Seattle.....7:00 AM
Portland.....11:00 AM
Eugene.....2:15 PM

11:30 – 1:30 **Lunch** (First United Methodist Church, Redding – CA buses only)

4:30 -6:00 **Buses Arrive at OIT.**
Check-In and registration will take place in the lobby of the OIT Student Union, Mt. Shasta lounge area. Volunteers will assist seniors with luggage and check in. **Please save the small manila envelope in which you receive your room key. Place the key back in the envelope when you check out on Monday to help expedite the process.**

4:30 – 6:30 **Films (OIT Auditorium).**

Several films on Tule Lake and on the incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII will be shown.

Crane Folding. (Bachelor/Shasta Lounges).
Assist in origami crane folding. The cranes will be strung together and used for the memorial service.

5:30-7:00 **Dinner (OIT Cafeteria – Cascades Room)**

7:30 - 8:30 **Welcome Program (OIT Auditorium)**
Welcome and Introductions, Overview of Events and Activities
Barbara Takei, MC

8:45 - 11:00 **Activities in the OIT College Union**
There will be a number of activities going on at various locations in the OIT College Union during this time. Feel free to attend as many as you like. No prior sign up is required.

Mixer (OIT - Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)
Meet other pilgrims and enjoy refreshments in an informal setting.

Sales Room Open (OIT – Sunset Room)
T-shirts, books, DVD's, gift cards and other Tule Lake merchandise are on sale. Cash or checks only.
In addition to the Tule Lake merchandise, books, literature and information will be available at tables maintained by the following organizations:

Asian American Curriculum Project
United to End Racism
NJAHS
Campaign for Justice
Hiroshi Kashiwagi

Tule Lake Camp Tour Through Photos and Memory: Jimi Yamaichi (OIT Auditorium)

Join Jimi Yamaichi as he takes you on a tour of the Tule Lake camp through a slide presentation. Jimi was one of 26 draft resisters at Tule Lake and was the construction manager of the project to build the jail, which you will visit on Saturday.

Reflections Group: "Arriving and Remembering" (OIT - Mt. Scott Room)

Satsuki Ina will facilitate a discussion among Tule Lake participants interested in having additional time to reflect and make meaning of their pilgrimage and/or camp experiences. Everyone is welcome. To minimize disruption the door will be closed at 8:45 sharp.

Satsuki is a Sansei psychotherapist and filmmaker who was born in the Tule Lake Segregation Center. She has devoted her life work to the understanding of the emotional impact of the incarceration on generations of Japanese Americans.

Conversation with Morgan Yamanaka (OIT – Mt. Bailey Room)

Hiroshi Shimizu will have a conversation with Morgan Yamanaka about his extremely interesting history: after Pearl Harbor renouncing his Japanese citizenship, going from S.F. to Santa Anita to Topaz, becoming a No -No, getting segregated to Tule Lake, being thrown into the Stockade, renouncing his American citizenship...

Crane Folding (OIT - Bachelor/Mt. Shasta Lounges)

Assist in origami crane folding. The cranes will be strung together and used for the memorial service.

Tri-State High School Reunion (OIT – Mt. Mazama Room)

Join the graduates of Tri-State High School Class of 1945 as they remember and reflect on their important years at Tule Lake.

What was Your Block Number? (On Going at OIT - Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)

Mark your block number on the Tule Lake map. Segregation Lists available for viewing.

Tags Project (On Going at OIT - Bachelor/Mt. Shasta Lounges)
Everyone who was incarcerated at one of ten incarceration camps was issued a tag and an ID number designating their destination camp. The Tags Project is an effort by artist Wendy Maruyama to recreate all 120,000 or so of these tags to convey to all who view them that the mass incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry was a massive project that affected an entire culture of people and their future generations. For the second year, the Tule Lake Pilgrimage joins many other Japanese American organizations in this effort. Look for signs in the Bachelor/Shasta Lounges if you are interested in volunteering for this project during the pilgrimage.

Introductory Session for Japanese Speaking Attendees (OIT – Diamond Peak Room)
Ayako Nagano will lead this session where Japanese speaking pilgrims have an opportunity to meet and hear in Japanese some of the important points that were made in the Welcome Program.

Oral History (OIT - Mt. Thielsen Room)
Since 1996, the National Japanese American Historical Society, Inc. and the Tule Lake Committee have conducted oral interviews of former camp inmates at each Tule Lake Pilgrimage. With guidance from Dr. Sachiko Takita-Ishii (TLC) and Rosalyn Tonai (NJAHS), and the help from an intergenerational core of volunteers and student interns from San Francisco State University and the University of San Francisco, the project has conducted some 48 audio/video interviews. In 2009, the Tule Lake Oral History Project received its first grant from the California Civil Liberties Public Education Project of the California State Library to help bring these untold stories of Tule Lake to light. Check out some of the stories at www.njahs.org/programs. **If you are interested in sharing your story, please see Rachel Inouye (English-speaking) or Kayoko Aoki (Japanese-speaking) at the NJAHS table in the Sales (Sunset) Room.**

Union Bistro (OIT – Ground Floor - 8:00 pm to 11:00 pm)
Coffee, smoothies and other food items are available for purchase.

10:00 -- 11:00 **Youth Group Jam (OIT - Union Peak Lounge)**
This is an opportunity to meet others, share experiences and discuss how younger Nikkei generations who were not incarcerated at Tule Lake can help preserve the Tule Lake site and its stories.

Saturday, July 3

6:00 - 9:00 **Castle Rock Hike, Board Buses**
Hike leader, Stan Shikuma
Hikers will need to pick up their breakfast before loading on the bus at the OIT parking lot. Hikers must wear hiking boots/shoes and be in good physical condition. No smoking will be permitted during the hike. The hike is not recommended for children under the age of 10, or those with physical or medical conditions that could lead to dizziness, falls, or other injury. A list of individuals participating in the hike will provided to your bus monitor. Hikers should complete the hike by 9:00 AM.

6:30 - 7:00 **Qigong Groups (OIT – Outdoor space between the College Union and the Dorms)**
Join Pete Yamamoto who will lead a qigong group for early morning exercises.

7:00 - 8:30 **Breakfast (College Union Cafeteria – Cascades Room)**

8:45 – 9:00 **Board Buses for Tule Lake and the Camp Tour**
Board the first available bus. Buses will depart when seats are filled.

9:30 – 10:15 **Camp Tour (walking)**
Explore the jail, location of the Stockade, and the roadside historical marker. Then everyone should find and board the bus they rode on to come to the pilgrimage for the remaining Camp Tour. **People who arrived on the pilgrimage on alternative transportation should board buses where seats are available (look for announcements).**

10:15 - 12:30 **Camp Tours (buses)**

Sites where pilgrims disembark from buses are printed below in bold. Portable toilets are located at the stockade and the CCC camp.

Group 1: San Jose and Seattle buses start at MP camp and Segregation era entrance, **block 73**, point out motor pool area, toward Alaska region past warehouses, Newell store, State landmark plaque, then to **CCC camp** on Hill Road.

Group 2: San Francisco and Berkeley buses to **CCC camp** on Hill Road. On return leg, stops at MP camp, Segregation-era entrance, **get out at block 73**. Drive past motor pool area and site of high school, swing around Alaska region to warehouses, Newell Store, State landmark plaque.

Group 3: Two Sacramento buses start at **CCC camp** on Hill Road. Continue to MP camp and Segregation-era entrance, **block 73**, note motor pool area, toward Alaska region to warehouses, Newell Store, State Landmark Plaque.

12:30 – 3:00 **Barbeque Lunch at Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds Catered by the Tulelake Volunteer Firefighters.**

Activities at Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds

After lunch, take part in the Taiko Workshop, visit the Tulelake-Butte Valley Fair Museum of Local History (no fee), make mochi, take part in the obon odori, or take a break and rest.

Taiko Workshop (Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds)

Led by Stan Shikuma, Molly Kitajima, Craig Matsuzaki of Tule Lake Taiko. For taiko enthusiasts, this is your chance to jam with taiko players from all over the West Coast.

Tulelake-Butte Valley Fair Museum of Local History (Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds)

This local museum has exhibits of the Tule Lake Segregation

Center, including a restored barrack and guard tower, exhibits of the POW camp, homesteading,
logging and farming in the area, and much more. The museum features a one hour audio cassette tape tour. Murals within the museum include a view of the Tulelake Camp with more than 1400 barracks that were home to over 18,000 Japanese Americans during WWII,. Admission is included as part of your registration fee.

Mochi Making (Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds)
Join with Molly Kitajima and take part in traditional mochi pounding. Volunteers get first dibs on sampling the mochi.

Obon Odori (Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds)
Whether you are an experienced obon dancer or a novice, come join the fun.
There will be people who can teach you the basic steps and movements. Bring a happi coat to add color to the odori. This traditional summer time activity will be led by Naomi Kitajima.

3:00 - 3:15 **Board Buses to Linkville Cemetery in Klamath Falls for Memorial Service.**

4:00 – 4:15 **Group Photo to be taken at the Linkville Cemetery, Klamath Falls**

4:15 – 5:30 **Memorial Service (Linkville Cemetery, Klamath Falls)**
Bishop Koshin Ogui
Reverend Saburo Masada

5:30 - 6:00 **Board Buses – Return to OIT**
You may board the first available bus on the return to OIT. Buses will leave when seats are filled.

6:00 – 7:30 **Dinner (OIT Cafeteria – Cascades Room)**

7:30- 10:30 **Sales Room Open (OIT – Sunset Room)**

8:00 – 9:30 **Intergenerational Discussion Group Facilitator Training (OIT - Mt. McLaughlin Room)**

8:00 – 10:00 **Reflections Group: Stories of Tule Lake (OIT - Mt. Scott Room)**
Join Satsuki Ina in an informal setting to share your story and/or your family's story about life in Tule Lake. To minimize disruption the door will be closed at 8:00 sharp.

8:00 – 11:00 **Union Bistro Open (OIT – Ground Floor)**

8:30 - 10:00 **Open Mic (OIT - Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)**
Momii Palapaz will be the MC of this open mic session. Sing, dance or play a ukulele. Recite a dramatic vignette or poem or tell us a story. Read a passage or share your writings. This is a time to relax and enjoy the community of individuals who have come together for the 2010 Tule Lake pilgrimage.

What was Your Block Number? (On Going at OIT - Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)
Mark your block number on the Tule Lake map. A list of those incarcerated at Tule Lake will be available for viewing.

Tag Project (On Going at OIT - Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)

Tri-State High School Reunion (OIT – Mt. Mazama Room)
Join the Class of '45 celebrate their 65th graduation anniversary with a piece of their anniversary cake.

Oral History (OIT - Mt. Thielsen Room)

Sunday, July 4

6:30 - 7:00 **Qigong Groups (OIT – Outdoor space between the College Union and the Dorms)**

Join Pete Yamamoto who will lead a qigong group for early morning exercises.

7:00 -8:30 **Breakfast (OIT Cafeteria – Cascades Room)**

7:45-8:45 **Sales Room Open (OIT – Sunset Room)**

8:30 – 4:00 **Union Bistro Open (OIT – Ground Floor)**

9:00 - 11:45 **Intergenerational Discussion Groups.**
Each person on the pilgrimage will be assigned to a discussion group. A list of each of the intergenerational discussion groups and the meeting place for each group will be posted at the entrance to the OIT cafeteria. Please check the lists and find where your discussion group will meet.

11:45-1:15 **Lunch (OIT Cafeteria – Cascades Room)**

11:45 – 1:15 **Debriefing for Facilitators of Intergenerational Discussion Groups (OIT – Mt. Mazama Room)**

11:45-1:45 **Sales Room Open (OIT – Sunset Room)**

2:00 - 3:15 **Remembering the Untold Memories of Tule Lake—Lawson Inada**
Poet Lawson Inada will lead an audience interactive session to elicit deeply buried untold memories of Tule Lake.

3:30 – 4:45 **Workshops (OIT – Room Locations Below or Will Be Posted at the Entrance to the OIT Cafeteria – Cascades Room)**
The following workshops will be presented during this time. Please choose the workshop that is of most interest to you. No prior signup is needed.

Japanese Speaking Workshop (OIT - Mt. McLoughlin Room)
A roundtable discussion in Japanese led by Ayako Nagano will start by asking the audience to share the highlights of their experiences at the Pilgrimage. Explore some of the things we thought we knew about the incarceration and compare it against what we learned on the Pilgrimage.

Workshop Eliminating Racism through Peer Counseling. (OIT - Mt. Bailey Room)
(Description to Follow)

The Tule Lake WRA and the Santa Fe and Fort Lincoln Department of Justice Camps: A Cooperative Relationship (OIT— Auditorium 2)
Many of us are familiar with the Department of Justice camps because of the Issei who were pre-selected before Pearl Harbor and then interned in one of these camps. But, how many know of Tule Lake's relationships with several Department of Justice Camps, including the Santa Fe, NM and Fort Lincoln, ND internment camps. What was the difference in the treatment of those interned in DOJ camps and those incarcerated in WRA camps? Why were some Issei and Nisei taken from the WRA camps to the DoJ camps, and vice-versa, during the War years? Learn the answers to these questions and more from University of Washington Ethnic Studies and Sociology professor Tetsuden Kashima, Ph.D. Kashima is author of Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II.

Update: Redressing the WWII Japanese Latin American Rendition program (OIT — Union Peak Lounge)
For three decades former Japanese Latin American (JLA) internees have been seeking redress for the shocking WWII Japanese Latin American rendition program, where over 2200 JLAs were kidnapped and interned in Department of Justice camps for the purpose of hostage exchange. Join Grace Shimizu to learn more about the war crimes endured by JLAs, their ongoing redress struggle and the post-911 significance of their campaign for justice.

Personal Reflections (OIT – Mt. Thielsen Room)
Join Tsukasa Matsueda as he reviews his journey starting from the Stockton Assembly Center, to Rohwer, AK, then to Tule Lake, CA. He was 16 when his family was incarcerated for 4 years. Those 4 years impacted his whole life. Learn about the interaction among the several groups of incarcerees at Tule Lake.

Tule Lake Preservation (OIT – Mt. Scott Room)
Dave Kruse, Superintendant of the Tule Lake National Monument, will discuss the plans and the progress the National Park Service has made for Tule Lake in terms of preservation and the future visitors' center.

Getting Deeper Into It: Further Explorations into the Untold Stories of Tule Lake with Lawson Inada (OIT—Auditorium 1)
Poet Lawson Inada will explore deeper into the untold stories of Tule Lake

4:30-6:30 **Sales Room Open (OIT – Sunset Room)**

4:45 - 6:15 **Dinner (OIT Cafeteria – Cascades Room) (Performers will have dinner off-site)**

6:45 – 7:15 **Board buses for the Ross Raglan Theater (Klamath Falls)**
Board the first available bus. Buses will depart when full.

7:30 - 9:30 **Cultural Program (Ross Raglan Theater – Klamath Falls)**
Hiroshi Shimizu: Emcee
Megumi : Story teller
Barbara Muramoto: Koto Master
Toru Saito: 3 Songs from the Great American Songbook
Tule Lake Taiko: Stan Shikuma, Craig Matsuzaki, Molly Kitajima, Russel Baba, Jeanne Mercer
Purple Moon
Hiroshi Kashiwagi
Lawson Inada

9:45 – 10:15 **Return to OIT**
Board the first available bus. Buses will depart when full.

10:00 – 11:00 **Farewell (OIT – Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)**

An informal gathering to share experiences and say farewell.

What was Block Number? (On Going at OIT - Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)
Mark your block number on the Tule Lake map. Segregation Lists available for viewing.

Tag Project (On Going at OIT - Bachelor/Shasta Lounges)

10:00 -11:00 **Sales Room Open (OIT – Sunset Room)**
This is your last chance to buy souvenirs of the pilgrimage. The Sales Room will not be open on Monday, July 5.

Monday, July 5

6:00 -7:30 **Breakfast (OIT Cafeteria – Cascades Room)**
Pick up your bag lunch at the OIT Cafeteria before departing.

7:30 – 8:30 **Check Out (OIT – Residence Hall and the Village)**
You must return your dorm key to OIT staff.

8:00 – 9:00 **Board Buses for Departures**

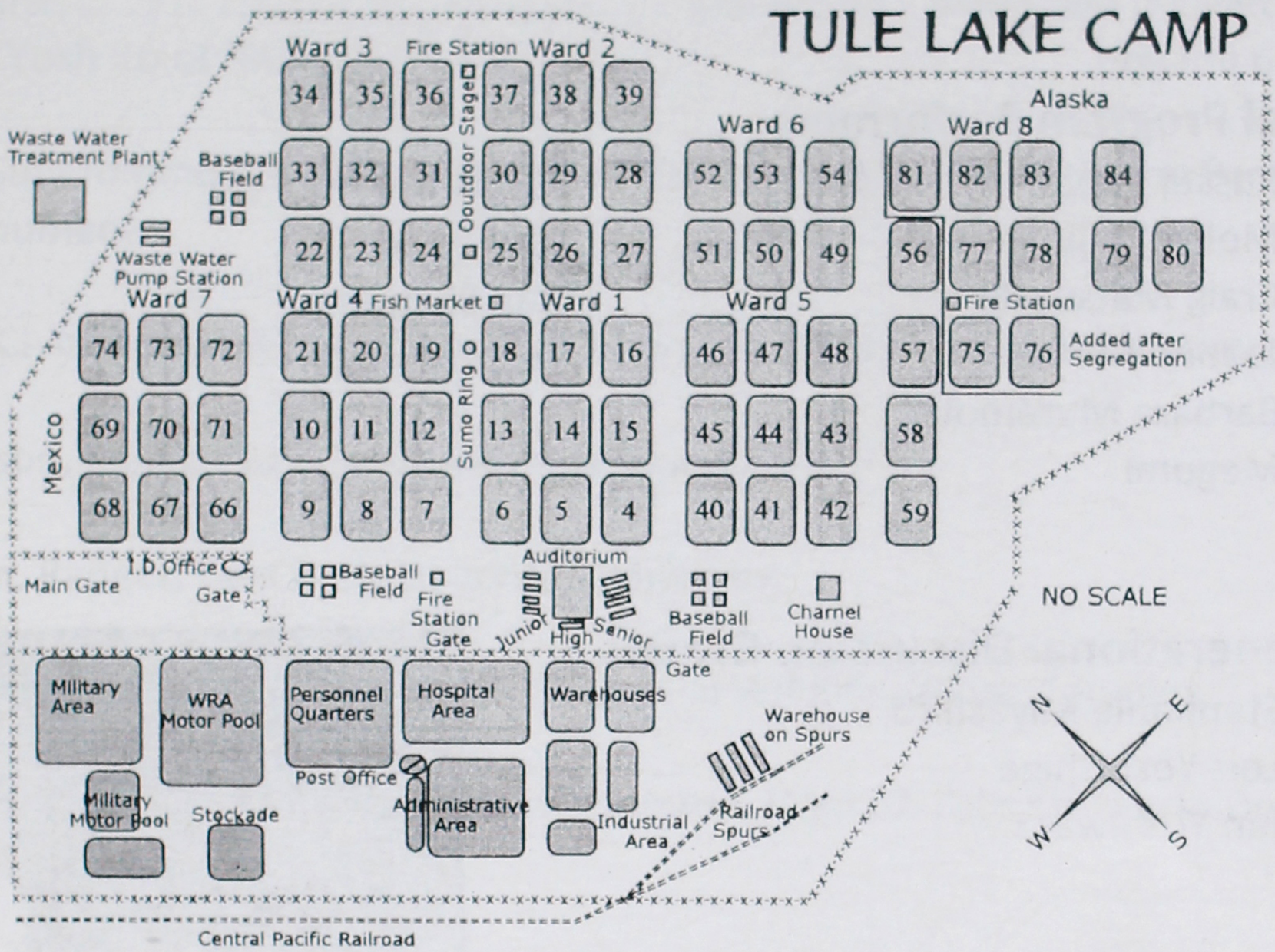
8:00 – San Jose/Union City bus

8:30 – Seattle bus





MAP OF TULE LAKE CAMP



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Thank You!

Cultural Program Performers

Russel Baba
Molly Kitajima
Craig Matsuzaki
Jeanne Mercer
Barbara Muramoto
Megumi
Purple Moon
Toru Saito
Stan Shikuma
Karen Young

Intergenerational Discussion Groups

Stephanie Miyashiro
Lois Yoshishige
Jan Yoshiwara



Interfaith Memorial Service

Bishop Koshin Ogui
Reverend Saburo Masada

Lunch at Redding

Redding First United Methodist Church . . . . . lunch facilities and volunteers
Lee Macey
Don Yost
Ann Cropsey
Damon Cropsey
Shasta County Citizens Against Racism

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Dave Andrews, Lead Maintenance Worker, Klamath Falls City Parks Department

Lisa Bailey, City Parks Administrative Aide, Klamath Falls City Parks Department

John Bellon, Parks Superintendent, Operations and Maintenance, Klamath Falls City Parks Department

David Dillabo, CEO, Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds

Tulelake Volunteer Fire Department

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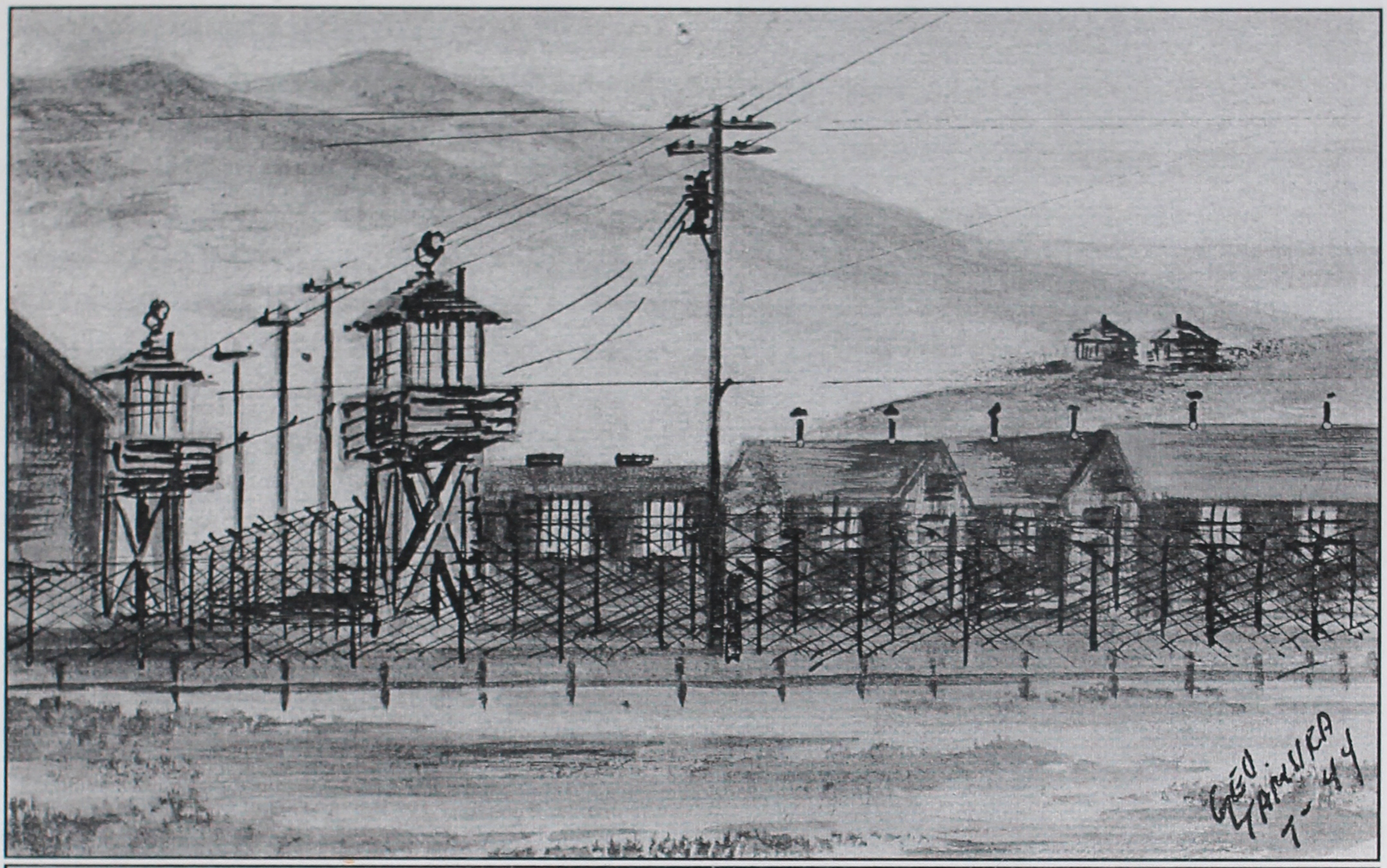
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We would also like to thank all of the generous donors to our pilgrimage scholarship fund who helped make the pilgrimage possible for those who might otherwise have been unable to attend. And last but not least, a big thank you to all of the 2010 Tule Lake Pilgrimage participants who volunteered their time and energy to make this pilgrimage a success.
Thank you!



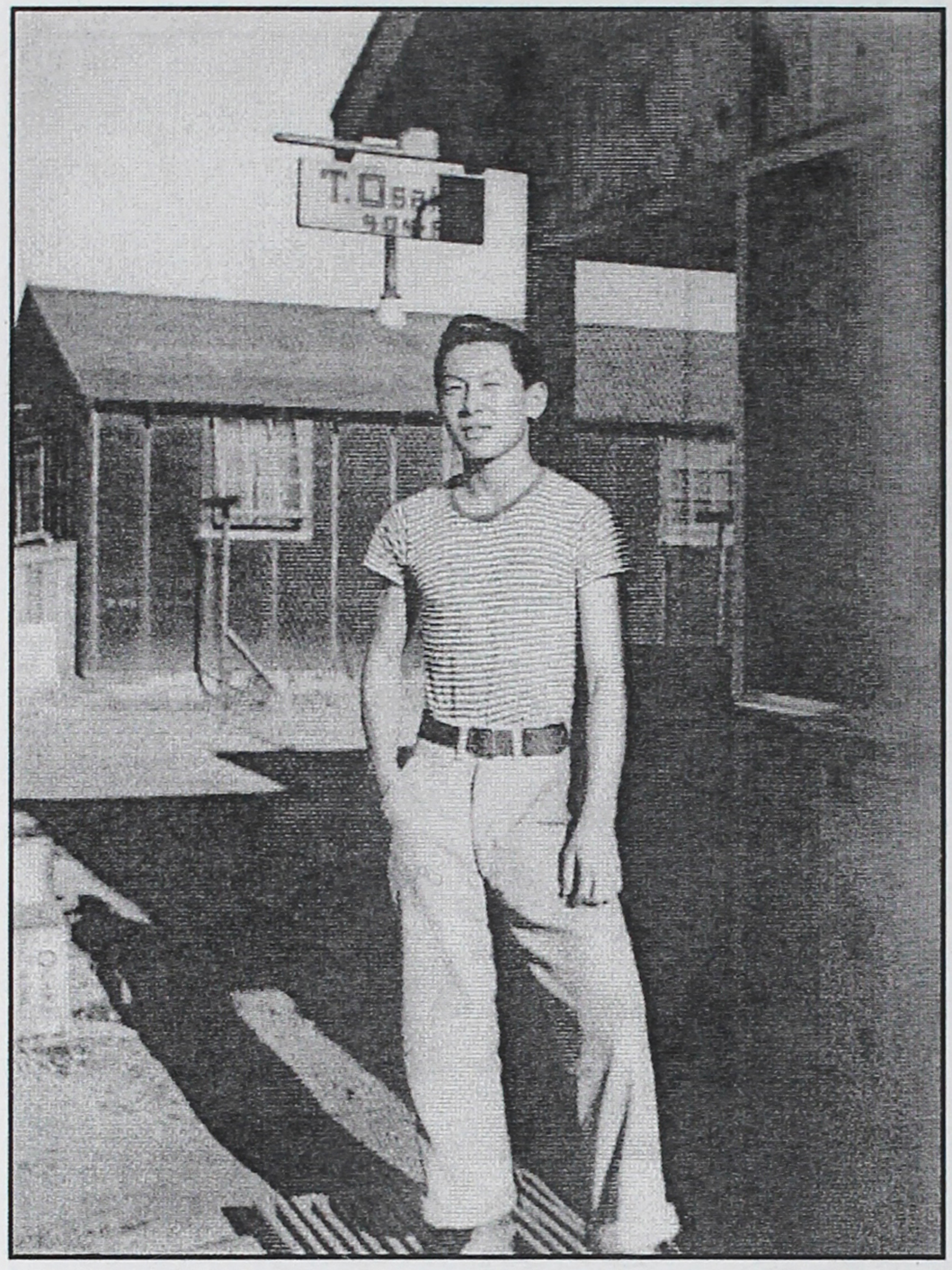
The Stockade



The Stockade: A black and white rendering of the watercolor by George Tamura.

"The isolation area. officially called Area B and commonly called the stockade, was situated at approximately the same location northwest of the hospital for the entire period of its existence, November 5, 1943, to August 24 1944. It grew in size from one army tent to five barracks, a mess hall and a bathhouse. The final site covered about two-thirds of an acre. It was enclosed by a high wire fence." (from the WRA report "History of Area B at Tule Lake - The Stockade")

"During the 9 months that the stockade was in existence over 350 men were picked up and detained for varying periods, some of them for more than 8 months. Its maximum population was reached during January when more than 250 were in confinement at one time. It was the source of grief and emotional disturbance to the families from which these men had been separated and of irritation, discontent and persecution reference among the general population. The surging suspicions against **Inu** were closely tied in with fear of arrest and incarceration in the stockade. The stockade was an important element in every political issue that arose between administration and residents, or within Politcal factions among the residents. Status quo had its origin in the stockade issue; the Coordinating Committee's fate was largely determined by its actions in regard to the detainees; the administrative failure to realize its plan for representative government was directly connected with its stockade policy; and the underground pressure movement drew increasing popular support for its program of unconditional release of those who had been incarcerated. " (from "The Spoilage". Thomas & Nishimoto)



Wayne Yoshito Osaki
Letter to Mr. Guy Cook
former Vice Principal
Tri-State High School

June 14, 46
Orinda, Calif.

Dear Mr. Cook,

I am very sorry I neglected writing to you but ever since I started to work at this night club it is almost impossible for me to write. I just found few minutes before supper so I started to write but I don't know exactly how many days I'll take to finish. Every day, except Monday, I work from 9:30 AM to 12:00 AM. This place called Orinda is just in back of Oakland and every Monday I go home to bring some of my laundry. This job is a lot of hard work and long hours but since the wages are very good, I took it. I'm trying to save as much as I can for the school and waiting anxiously for the day when I can attend college. I think I wrote enough of my personal affairs so I will continue with my story.

Next morning I woke up shivering in the bed. My feet were almost numb and so was my face. It was still very dark inside the tent but I know it was dawn by the dim light which was coming through the hole in the tent. Suddenly I heard a guard yelling "Get ready for chow." Boys around me jumped out of the bed. I didn't know what was going on so I asked. They told me it's time for breakfast and we have to get to the gate quick. I hated so much to get up in a cold morning such as this but I did. When I pulled the blankets away I noticed that the top blanket was frozen. When I think of it now, I think it was just like sleeping in a refrigerator. I started to search for my shoes under my bed but I couldn't find it. It was still so dark in there; I had to search for it with my hands. But that night my shoes must of walked away. I just couldn't locate it. Meanwhile all the boys went outside leaving only me in the tent. Guard shouted "Hurry up you in there" from the gate. There were only 9 of us in two tents so the

guard knew there is another person still in the tent. I crawled under the bed & finally found my shoes but it took me another good 2-3 minutes to tie the strings on. By that time, the guards were at the end of their patience. "If you don't hurry up, I'll drag you out and I heard footsteps coming toward my tent so without even tying the shoe laces I got out of the tent. The canvas of the tent was frozen stiff and I had to more or less break it to get out. When I got out I saw a big Sergeant right in front of me, "Get in the line there," he shouted at me. Boys had a line of two right by the gate so I joined in the tail end of it. "Alright," the Sergeant said, "One false move and that'll be your last move, now get going!!" When we marched out of the gate we were surrounded with about a dozen soldiers with bayonets and their fingers on the trigger. I thought what a jam I got into, what if the guard just pulled the trigger accidentally. Many soldiers along the roadside were watching us and I heard some said words like "There goes the god dam Japs."

"A nice way to treat a citizen," I thought when we got to the mess hall, we were welcome by the words, "Here comes the god dam Japs." Then we had to wait for a while at the outside, I was shivering because I didn't have much clothing on. Finally we were seated. I was hungry because I didn't have my supper the night before. The food was awfully good because we were eating at the Army mess hall, except the coffee was almost black and strong as anything. I poured in about a quarter can of condensed milk but it didn't help much. That coffee is one thing that I can never forget.

While we were eating the guards kept us very closely guarded. The guards were not more than 2 yards away with their bayonets pointing in our backs. Every time when the guard in back of me made a move I had to turn back to see how far the bayonet was from my back. It wasn't a very pleasant way to eat but I was hungry and the food tasted very good. During those days food in camp was very poor and I wished that they could share some the foods I was having.

After the breakfast, we marched back to our tents again with guards surrounding us. For the next six days at every meal we had to go through the same thing and how we hated that. We wished that they would give us some bread and something to put it between the bread so we can eat in the tents.

Most of the corporal of the guards were strict and mean to us but once in a while we had an understanding guard. We wished that these

understanding persons would stay on guard but usually they were exchanged right away. I still remember an elderly Captain who use to walk by our tents once in a while and he use to buy things for us at the Army canteen. We all appreciated his generosity and praised the quality of this Captain.

When we marched to the army mess hall & back we had to be very careful of our movements. The guards seemed very nervous & afraid of us and every time when we made a sudden movement even turning our head back or lifting the hands to rub the eyes, the guards almost shot us. They must of thought that we were real dangerous people. So we always had to be very careful and made a very slow movement when we had to.

I still remember the worst part of the line was in the front and the rear. When they wanted us to go the one in back gets a little shove with the point of a bayonet and when they wanted the line to stop. They place the bayonet right on the belly of the person in the front and that usually makes anyone stop. Once in a while a guard in the back tells us to go & gives a poke and the guard in front tells us to stop at the same time. It's hell until the guards on both ends make compromises and start to go in one direction.

But there was one pleasure in this march of hell. It was the only time when we could see the glimpse of the camp & how we all wished that we'd be there soon. It was especially comforting to see a feminine figure. Until this time I never realized the importance and the necessity of the female sex. I don't mean that I didn't recognize the importance of our opposite sex but I sensed our basic human nature. I imagine it is quite different to understand what I mean but if anyone had any similar experience as mine, I think they will understand me.

First day I was full of pep because I thought I'd be free soon. But as the days pass by I begin to lose hope and later I was wrapped up in uncertainty. What will happen to me? Will they ever question me? Maybe they'll send me away someplace. They might even shoot me down in front of the firing squad. It may sound silly but when a person is under such circumstances, he imagines lots of things. I know this because it was the same with all the people in there. They all acted as though they didn't care what happened & they joked and laughed. But when the laughing was over, they were all thinking and they were just as worried as I was.

The first morning when I went to the breakfast I was surprised & almost terrified when I took a look at the people I was eating with. There

was fat person sitting right in front of me and he had his eyes set right on mine. He had no white part left in his eyes. They were all blood shot. His long hairs were in a mess & his face all swollen. He was certainly gruesome and he just kept his eyes on me. Once in a while he took a deep breath and eat but soon he was watching me again. The others looked just as gruesome with bruises & sores on their faces, but they were minding their own business. I looked around and wondered whether some of these people are Japanese. Some of them certainly didn't look like it. When we were back in the tents we didn't dare step outside for an air. We were afraid that some soldiers might throw rocks at us or say some unpleasant things to us. So we were always cooped up in the dark tent all day long.

On my second night, someone threw a tear gas bomb at us but we had our tent closed tight so it didn't affect us. The guard came rushing in & stamped it out. That was the last incident which occurred at the guard house.

On the third day we were awfully worried because we saw all the soldiers fully armed and we figured something happened again. We were right by the army motor pool so we practically knew every time the trucks moved. The trucks and jeeps came in and out whole through the night we were certain that something happened again. I practically gave up my hope of ever returning to the colony that night.

For our daily water supply we were allowed one small bucket of water for 9 of us. It was just enough for us to drink so for six days we didn't even wash our face or change our clothes. Later I began to look just as gruesome as the rest of them were. I found this out when I went to the hospital as an interpreter for one Kibei fellow who had a head injury. I looked at myself in the mirror and I couldn't even recognize myself. My face was all black with soot, my eyes blood shot & hairs all soiled. Our hairs were soiled because we often use to blow into the draft hole of our stove to get the thing going.

We were allowed to bring in only the amount that we can carry in our hands & no more. There was a barrel full of coal outside of the gate but they didn't allow us anymore than what we can carry. Nine of us carried as much as we can but it wasn't enough to last us throughout the night. So in the morning we just had to shiver in the tent until breakfast.

On my fourth day we saw one of the members of the Negotiating Committee outside the gate & we thought he came to get us out. But soon we found that his position was no different from ours. When he told us

that the negotiation between the colony & the project director was broken, I really felt like crying. He told us the developments which occurred after I was pulled in & we were able to get some idea what was going on. Nevertheless we felt very secure to have a brilliant man with us, Mr. Tsuda who use to be head of Wardens.

I will write the rest in the near future. If you think I am writing too much in detail, please say so.

Yours very truly,

Yoshito Osaki

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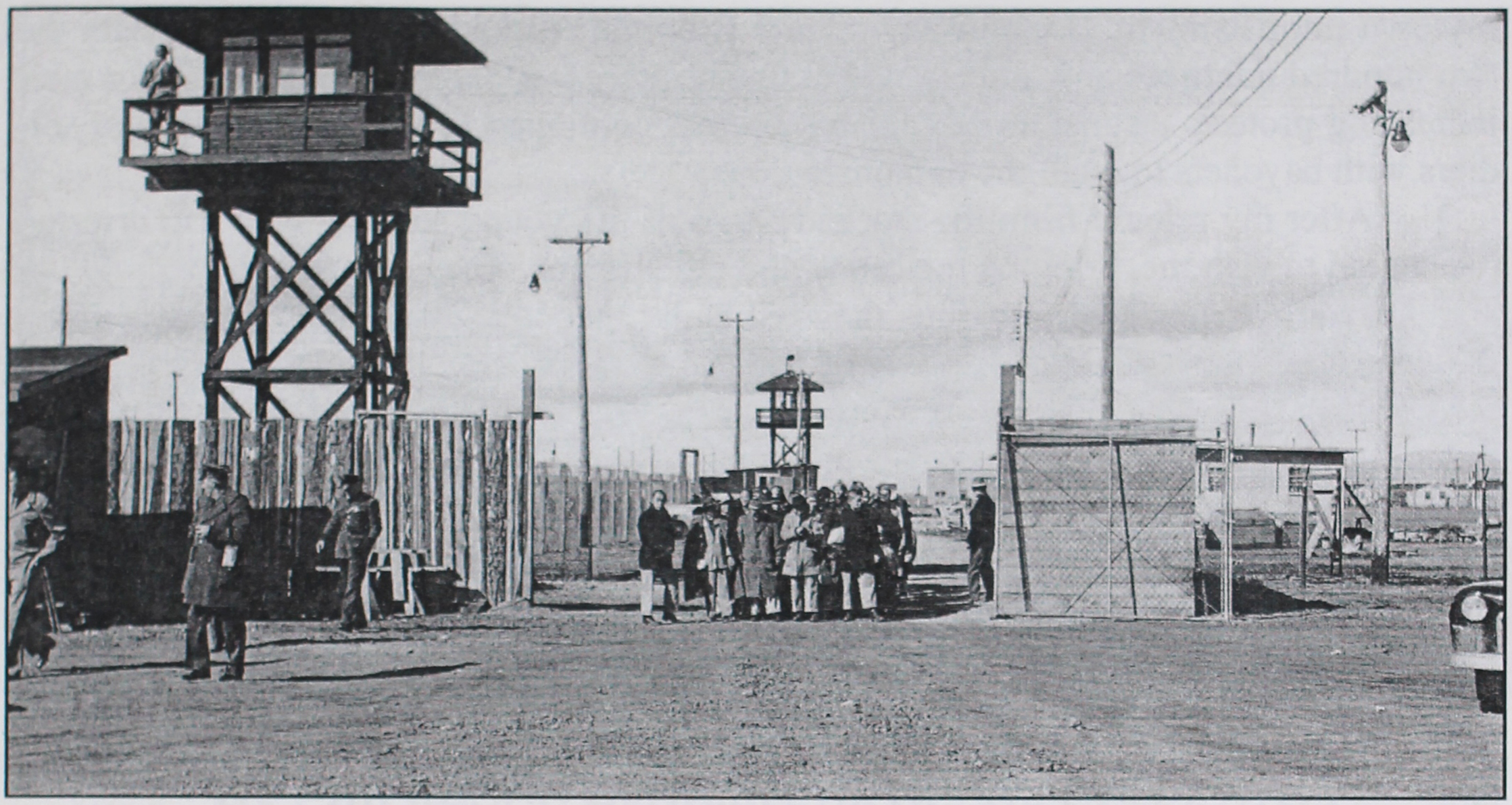
64 years after writing the above letter Mr. Osaki dictated the following story to his wife Sally. It will be published in "Making Home from War" by Heyday Books of Berkeley later in 2010. "Making Home from War" edited by Brian Dempster.

The Stockade in Tule Lake

By Yoshito Wayne Osaki
Written by Sally Osaki

At the time, I could never have known my stint in the stockade would arise out of an innocent act: my mother had loaned some Japanese records to a neighbor who wanted to broadcast popular Japanese songs for the enjoyment of us prisoners. Somehow the ham radios picked up the broadcast outside of the camp, and, when the camp authorities investigated, they found our family name on the records. The day the soldiers came to our barrack, I was arrested since I was the only one home who spoke English. Bewildered, I had no idea why I was going to be thrown into the stockade along with dissidents who had been picked up during the camp protests. The soldiers would not respond to my question, "Why am I being arrested? "

In the stockade, I was disturbed by the sight of dissidents -- five other Nisei's and three Kibei's -- who had been beaten and wore bandages to cover their cuts and bruises. I heard the same repeated phrase from many of them: "I have no idea why I



am in the stockade." Two of the prisoners said, "We got arrested for going to the latrine between the 7pm to 6am curfew; this was imposed on us following our mass protests for better medical care, upgrade of food, milk for children, and better working conditions." Five of them were truck drivers who were inadvertently involved in an incident in which a European American staff person had stolen meat from the storage locker.

For the first two weeks, I was housed in a tent and given only two army blankets and a cot, despite the winter snows continuously falling outside. In the mornings, the top blanket was frozen with ice. Later, I was placed in one of the barracks that was part of the stockade. Soldiers stood posted as sentries outside the barbed wire fence at all times. I will never forget the hardship and degradation of being caged like an animal, the indignity of going to the latrine with a bayonet pointed at my back. The soldiers marched us to their mess hall by shoving us with the bayonets of their guns, their fingers on the triggers. There, we were fed their leftovers, such as fried chicken and beef stew. Weirdly enough, the food was actually much better than our normal camp meals of dry, tasteless meat and boiled potatoes and smelly mutton stew. But I found it difficult to eat with a bayonet pointed at my back.

Although I was released after a month, when the camp officials realized that I was not involved in any conspiracy, I was still outraged. My anger blurred with sadness when my parents told me, "Our neighbor who inadvertently broadcast Japanese music outside the camp was sentenced to a prison outside of Tule Lake." I was sorry about his arrest and realized the neighbor was only trying to entertain the prisoners, but I resented

my own imprisonment. Despite my release from the stockade, I sympathized with the two hundred internees now imprisoned in this military jail. They paid the price for their increasing protests against an administration that continued to use army tanks and soldiers with bayonets to quell the demonstrations.

After my release from the stockade, two of the young soldiers who had arrested me started to visit me, bringing me candy and other treats. They didn't say anything about my arrest, but it was obvious they felt badly that I had been unfairly thrown into the stockade. Due to their offerings of friendship, I started to enjoy their visits. We talked about the latest sports news from the outside world. "I'm a Yankee fan," I told them.

Both of the soldiers were Dodger fans and we engaged in heated debates about our favorite players, arguing the merits of Joe Dimaggio versus Pee Wee Reese and who hit more home runs. Since we were about the same age, we also talked a little about our future dreams of going to college. I felt sympathy for these young men who told me, "We might soon be sent overseas to the battlefield." Like them, my future was uncertain.

Soon other internees noticed their presence, and even my best friends started to ask me, "Why are these soldiers visiting you?" I finally had to ask the soldiers, "Please stop coming to see me." The soldiers apparently noticed the strange looks their visits were causing from others and seemed to understand my request. During this time of protest against the camp administration, if I or anyone else was friendly to the authorities, we were suspected of being an *inu* (a dog or informant). I felt a mixture of relief and loss. While I kept my distance from my new friends, the soldiers, I missed them stopping by to see me. I look back fondly at our talks about baseball and college, and wonder if they, too, made it home.





MY CHILDHOOD MEMORIES OF THE TULE LAKE CAMP

By Adeline Manzo

On the weekend of July 4th, 1996, a Tule Lake Pilgrimage was held at the site of the American style concentration camp during WWII, located near the borders of California and Oregon. There were about 280 people in attendance. Although not too many former internees attended this event, yet the excitement and "need to know" were expressed. My parents with 4 children, ages 9,7,4 and a newborn baby were interned in Tule Lake. I was the seven year old.

December 7, 1941, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and on December 8, U.S. declares war on Japan. May 27, 1942, Tule Lake, one of 10 internment camps was ready to intern 18,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans. The army rounded us up and put us on trains to unknown destinations. As the train approached small towns along the way, shades were drawn to avoid confrontation with the townspeople. My sister and I, jumped up and down on our train seats and so excited because we were going somewhere. We wiped off the steam clouding the train windows so we could see outside.

The number of persons moved out of their homes totaled 120,000 and most of us went quietly and obediently. After months and months of settling the internees, those who were 18 years and older were given questionnaires to fill out which tested their loyalty to the United States. It turned out that no matter how you answered some of the ques-

tions with yes, yes, or no, no, you would be found disloyal. They were tricky questions. Those found to be disloyal were sent to Tule Lake and those who were loyal in Tule Lake were sent to one of the 9 other camps. Our family remained in Tule Lake because my father was ill and was hospitalized. My Tule Lake address was 2607C. 26 was the block number, 07 was the barrack number and C was the apartment number. The family was also given a number which I never knew.

Tule Lake, held 18,000 people. By mid July 1943, Tule Lake became known as the segregation center, and the whole camp scene changed from a quiet, obedient camp to a violent one. I went to two schools -in the morning, an English language school and in the afternoon, a Japanese language school. In the morning we recited The Pledge of Allegiance and in the afternoon, we sang Kimi Ga Yo Wa, the Japanese National Anthem. I learned my multiplication tables in Japanese numbers, and to this day when multiplying, I must do the calculation in my mind in Japanese and then convert to English.

Winters were so severe; we were always cold and we shivered into the night as the pot-bellied stove was inadequate to heat our barrack. We huddled together to keep warm. Another way to warm ourselves was my father brought some hot water from the outside bathhouse and poured it into a large tub. We put our feet in it to warm up and this was a happy time for me. I shrieked and laughed as my mother played games like pinching and playing toesies.

Children always manage to find ways to have fun, and in the summer one of the things we did was to capture giant dragonflies and keep them as pets. An outdoor movie screen was provided to see movies in the evenings. One particular movie my siblings and I recall seeing was a story about a little boy and his dog, "Biscuit Eater", and a series of Flash Gordon's stories of fight for justice themes. To keep people busy and happy, sport equipments were provided, softball fields and basketball courts were set up. We watched our father's team play baseball against other teams and I can recall trying to make the pitcher nervous by yelling over and over "spaghetti arms -you can't pitch". I'm sure he was mad and about ready to throw the ball at me. The men in the camp built wooden bath tubs for soaking and we children had our very own swimming pool to jump into. In the small lakes at the edge of the camp we played in the tall tulies that grew in abundance and made whistles. We played for hours in deep beds of white sea shells that came to our knees. We made necklaces, brooches and assortment of jewelry, but unfortunately, most of these were left behind when we left camp.

About 15 years ago, a Smithsonian curator from Washington DC, came to Los Angeles

seeking artifacts from camp. At that time, my mother brought out a large basket from camp that contained the same shells that we played in. The curator was so happy to see them in the same condition as they were 50 years ago, and are now on display at the Smithsonian Institution exhibit, "A More perfect Union", to commemorate the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution (1987). The exhibit is in the National Museum of American History in Washington D.C. It tells of the foundation of the US Constitution with special emphasis on the forced relocation of 120,000 Japanese American and the violation of their constitutional rights during WWII. The exhibit is still in place and opened to the public. The curator explained to me that the former Tule Lake internment camp ground had been sold to farmers and the grounds were tilled and retiled and planted and replanted, but nothing ever grew at the campsite. The sea shells as you see them today, are in fragments, dirty and broken, and not suitable for the exhibit.

To keep busy every able-bodied adult worked in camp. Doctors, nurses, professionals were paid $19.00 a month. Farmers who put food on our tables and laborers were paid $12.00 a month. Other work available were cooks, food servers, carpenters and general workers. My father was a block manager and mother served food in the mess hall where our meals were served 3 times a day for our block. When the dinner bell tolled the people lined up and rushed to their favorite tables. Many families did not eat together because the mother was the food server and was not available to supervise. We children developed very bad table manners and ate only what we wanted. We sat on long benches facing each other, spitting up food and tossing things at each other. It was so much fun to make a mess.

The nights in Tule Lake were eerie. It was dark and quiet, except for the search lights sweeping the camp grounds. I had often told myself not to get caught in the latrine during a black-out, but you never know when this is going to happen. A black-out is when the camp's lights are all turned off at the main switch to keep control and the nights are so dark you cannot even see your hands in front of your eyes. One night the fearful black-out happened and I sat in the latrine and cried and cried until my father came with a lantern. I was so relieved to see him.

In October 1943, at age 8, the camp's problems grew from both internal and external conflicts. With the segregation, the Kibei's (those born in America but educated in Japan) loyal to Japan turned on the Japanese Americans, who were loyal to America causing a reign of terror from within and the army's repression from without. The Kibei's formed gangs and in the dark of the night, preyed, stalked and beat up anyone who was caught outside his barrack. With the escalating violence, frustration and anger increased on both sides of the fence.

One day, a farm worker, Mr. Kashima, was killed in a truck accident and a truck driver, was injured. The Kibei's demanded from the War Relocation Authority compensation for the dead man's family but it was denied. Then they demanded to hold a funeral, but that too was denied. The farm workers refused to return to the farms until demands were met, but the authorities completely barred the workers from the farms and instead called in farm workers from other camps. This enraged the Tule Lake internees, and mass demonstrations within the camp followed and caused such turmoil that everyone suffered. The Army was called in and responded by
sending tanks and armed soldiers firing warning shots to take control. The peaceful people as well as the troublemakers were harassed by the Army causing mistrust and great fear for everyone. Martial Law was imposed and the entire camp was searched for contraband and the trouble makers were rounded up, arrested and placed in a stockade and beaten. I remember the soldiers entering our barrack, searching and turning everything over and yelling out sharp questions to my parents. We children were so scared our bodies shook with fear.

It was in this fearful climate that the following accident occurred. One day while in English class, I looked outside the window and saw a man run into a school barrack next door. The building had been lifted off the ground with 2x4 wood blocks placed under it. As he stepped up into the building, the roof collapsed on top of him, killing him instantly. As I watched in horror, it was impossible to tell if the man's body was underneath the building or if the roof fell on top of him. That's how flat the building was when it fell. With the fall a loud noise and puffs and puffs of dust followed. I saw a man's black shoes and green pant legs laying under the root The teacher walked up to the windows and without saying a word to us, pulled down the shades and then returned to her position at the head of the classroom, continuing the lesson as if nothing happened. I was stunned as I absorbed what I saw, but we were not allowed to talk about it or look out the window. Upon returning home, I told my family of the accident, but their expression was of disbelief Why would anyone believe such a story from a 10 year old. I began having nightmares and would wake up every night following that horrible dream I never discussed this incident again with anyone and never heard anything further about this accident. That was all I ever knew until 50 years later. As I reflect back to those days, I believe the teacher's silence was due to fear, that if she stepped forward with the news of what she had witnessed, she would have brought undesirable attention to herself.

So for some 50 years, every day, I saw the picture in my mind of this man's black shoes and green pant legs, but as time went on, I began to have doubt. Maybe it never hap-

pened; maybe I just dreamt it; maybe I just imagined it. But the picture continued.

Then came the 1996 pilgrimage, the very first one I attended. There were many group discussions and getting -to-know -you session with questions and answers. Another event scheduled was a bus ride to view the actual campsite. So when the time came, I was late getting to the busses, but it must have been an angel that guided me to get on that particular bus with only one open seat left. As we rode, I was sitting next to a lady named Mary Fong. Mary and I introduced ourselves during the one hour ride to the campsite and she mentioned that this was her very first pilgrimage. I told her this was my first also. She introduced me to her two brothers, Thom and Jim Kawano, sitting just behind her. She began telling me her story about her family and where she lived and that her father died in camp. My heart raced as I listened. As her story unfolded, she explained that a school auditorium had caught on fire and a few days later a corridor connecting to the burned building was being prepared to be moved when her father came by, entered the building, and it collapsed on top of him. Mary was told of her father's accident from one of the other managers of the demolition.

Two men were pinned under this fallen building, Mr. Nakamura, was on the opposite side of my classroom so I did not know about him, but all the workman witnessing this accident pulled Mr. Nakamura out, . sending him to the hospital which was located just outside the barbed wire fence. In the meantime, on my classroom side, Mr. Kawano's body lay under the rubble unnoticed, and during the excitement no one realized that he was missing. He was absent at lunch and dinner at the mess hall of his block and didn't come home that whole day and the family was worried about him. Unknown to the school workmen, Mary said, her father's body lay under the rubble there and was found hours later when the cleanup of the building began.
I told Mary of what I saw at school and the teacher pulling the shades and that we were not allowed to discuss this with anyone. We both cried as I revealed that it has taken 50 years to talk to someone and that I have kept this in my heart and now at last, I could talk about it. I learned it happened on May 15, 1945, just 2 months after my 10th birthday. No witnesses had come forward.

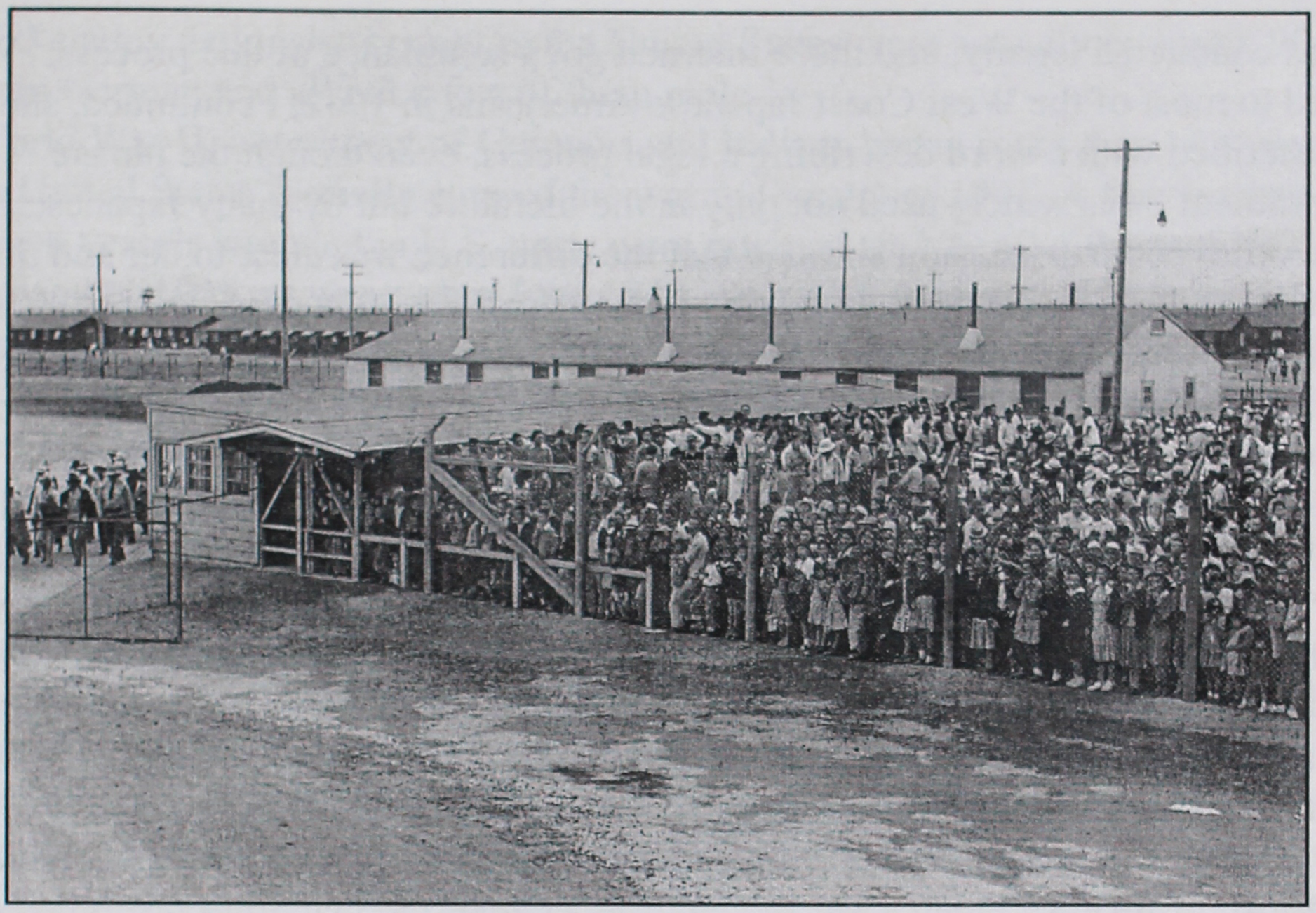
In the year 2000, Mary and her family read my story and one of her brothers contacted the FBI to see if there was a report on this accident. There certainly was and the copy is attached. At the time of the accident, the war was coming to an end, and Mary and her siblings were thinking about getting out of camp to find work or go to college, and to find a home to settle into. Their father had died, he was buried and with the funeral over, it was all done, and did not question or try to get a report on the accident.

So, now, at last after 50 years, I learned it was all true, that it really happened. The man that died was a real person. He had a family, a wife and children. It was a very big burden that I carried, but now, at last I know the truth and can finally tell Mr. Kawano to rest in peace.

If it was not for the Tule Lake Pilgrimage of 1996, this story would never have been complete and I want to thank the Tule Lake Committee for making this possible. It was a miracle that Mary Fong and I met on our very first pilgrimage in 1996. I can finally put this nightmare behind me.







Words Do Matter: A Note on Inappropriate Terminology and the Incarceration of the Japanese Americans

By Roger Daniels

6 Feb 2008

On or about August 2, 1979, I received a telephone call from Senator Daniel K. Inouye's Washington office.[1] One of his administrative assistants read me a draft of what became Senate Bill 1647 calling for the establishment of a "Commission on War-time Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC)." The call came because I had been advising the staff of the Japanese American Citizens League and others about the campaign for redress.

After hearing the draft I commented that it sounded good to me except that the word "internment" was inappropriate and that "incarceration" was a more accurate term.[2] She asked what the difference was, and I explained that "internment" was an ordinary aspect of declared wars and referred to a legal process, described in United States statutes, to be applied to nationals of a country with which the United States was at war. I pointed out that perhaps eight thousand Japanese nationals had been formally interned by the government during World War II, beginning as early as the night of December 7–8, 1941, and that, although a great deal of injustice accompanied this wartime internment,

it was conducted legally, and those interned got a semblance of due process.[3] What happened to most of the West Coast Japanese Americans in 1942, I continued, should not be described with a word describing a legal process, even though the phrase "internment" was widely used not only in the literature but by many Japanese Americans. After some discussion she said that the difference was clear to her and that the bill's text would be changed. In a second phone call, the next day, she told me that, unfortunately, the senator had not waited for my vetting and had secured the agreement of a number of other senators to co-sponsor the bill and that he would not countenance any changes.

Thus, not for the first time, inappropriate, euphemistic language was employed, officially, to describe what happened to West Coast Japanese Americans in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. Although, over time, the consciousness of Japanese and other Americans has been raised, most notably by the successful redress movement which resulted in the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which eventually produced both an apology and a payment of $20,000 to more than eighty thousand survivors, most of the literature about the wartime events still uses language created during and immediately after World War II. In this essay I will first outline, briefly, the history of statutory internment in American history, and then trace and analyze some of the inappropriate language that has been used and try to show why it is important to call things by their right names and how the use of such language helped to mask the true nature of an American war crime.

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Internment has long been recognized in both American and international law. By World War II it was regulated by a system of rules—the Geneva Convention—which governed the treatment of prisoners of war and was sometimes extended to civilian enemy nationals, including diplomats, resident in or captured by a belligerent nation. Although the first statute to use the term "alien enemy" was passed during John Adams's administration, there was no formally declared war, and no internment occurred.[4] The first actual internment by the United States government occurred during the war of 1812 when some resident British, mostly merchants, were ordered to remove themselves fifty miles inland. British merchants in New York City, for example, were interned, but left at liberty up the Hudson at Newburgh.

The United States next resorted to the process during World War I. At that time there were about half a million unnaturalized resident aliens of German birth in the United States who were proclaimed "alien enemies" as soon as the United States declared war in April 1917. Some eight thousand enemy aliens—the vast majority of them Germans and almost all the rest subjects of Austria-Hungary—were arrested under presidential warrants, but nearly three-quarters of them were released within a short time. Only

about 2,300 enemy nationals resident in the United States were actually interned, 90 percent of them German and all but a few of them male.[5]

During World War II, internment of Germans and Italians began more than two years before the United States formally entered the war in December 1941. A few seamen from German vessels stranded in U.S. ports were interned shortly after the outbreak of war in September 1939, as were, after June 1940, perhaps a thousand Italians, seamen and a group of food workers from the Italian exhibition at the New York World's Fair of 1939–40.[6] All of these were persons without permanent resident status; no resident aliens were interned in the period before the United States went to war.

Shortly after the fall of France, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act of 1940,[7] which required, for the first time in American history, that all resident aliens register annually at post offices and keep the government apprised of any change of address. Among the several million registrants were 695,363 Italians, 314,715 Germans, and 91,858 Japanese, so that, after the United States went to war, there were about a million unnaturalized natives of the Axis powers resident in the United States, all of whom were, according to both American and international law, potential internees.

When war came President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed three similar public proclamations on December 7 and 8, 1941, which, under the authority of sections 21–24 of Title 50 of the United States Code, declared that Japan, Germany, and Italy were at war with the United States and that, accordingly, in the language of the law, "all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of [those countries], being of the age of fourteen years and upward, who shall be in the United States and not actually naturalized,[8] shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies."[9] Austrian and Korean resident aliens, who had German and Japanese nationality respectively, were not declared enemy aliens.[10]

The Roosevelt administration never intended to intern any sizable percentage of those million alien enemies. Attorney General Francis Biddle, a civil libertarian of sorts, and his staff in the Department of Justice wanted a minimal program and were aware of the gross injustices suffered by German and Italian resident aliens in Winston Churchill's Great Britain.[11] In preparation for war, various federal security agencies, military and civilian, had prepared Custodial Detention Lists, better known as the "ABC Lists," master indexes of persons who were, allegedly, potentially dangerous subversives.[12] The "A" list consisted of persons identified as "known dangerous" aliens; the "B" list contained individuals who were "potentially dangerous"; and the "C" list was composed of people who merited surveillance due to pro-Axis sympathies or propaganda activities. As is common for internal security lists, they were largely based not on investigations of individuals, but on "guilt by association," as most of the names came from membership and subscription lists of organizations and publications deemed subversive.

It is not yet possible—and may never be—to give precise figures for either the total number of persons interned or how many there were of each nationality. Several civilian agencies, chiefly the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and the military authorities made arrests, and the surviving records are incomplete. Until spring 1943, civilian internees were largely under military custody; most were then transferred to the INS, which had held some civilians since early in the war. At various times the INS reported, with what seems like studied vagueness, on the number of persons it held, but its reports do not always make clear what categories of persons were being counted. In late 1944 J. Edgar Hoover reported that 14,807 enemy aliens had been taken into custody by the FBI, of whom nearly two-fifths had "been ordered interned by the Attorney General and the military authorities."[13] Hoover's seemingly precise figures leave room for doubt: early in the war many individuals were arrested by various local authorities and held under military auspices in places like Camp Forrest, Tennessee,[14] and they probably were not included in his totals. Given the current state of our knowledge, the best "guesstimate" of the total number of persons actually interned is something under 11,000, broken down as follows: Japanese, perhaps 8,000; Germans, perhaps 2,300 (coincidentally about the same number as in World War I), and only a few hundred Italians. Many more had been arrested and held in custody for days and even weeks without being officially interned. In addition, the United States government brought more than 2,264 Japanese (chiefly from Peru), 4,058 Germans, and 288 Italians into the United States from a total of fifteen Latin American countries, and interned them.[15] And finally, more than 3,100 Japanese, initially incarcerated by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), were later turned over to the INS for internment.

When the internment program started in 1939 there were no existing internment camps. Many of the first, pre–Pearl Harbor German and Italian internees were housed for a time at Ellis Island, Angel Island, and aboard their own ships; others were sent to INS camps set up in existing permanent army barracks and other federal buildings, where conditions were often more comfortable than in the later purpose-built or converted camps. Most of the prewar Italians, for example, were sent to Fort Missoula, Montana, where they lived in brick barracks with steam heat. Eventually most internees wound up in INS internment camps, primarily in Louisiana, Texas, and New Mexico.[16] The facilities and living conditions in all of these camps for enemy aliens were superior to those in the concentration camps in which Japanese American United States citizens were held, partly because the U.S. State Department insisted that Geneva Convention conditions be maintained in them in the hope that the Axis powers, or some of them, would reciprocate.[17]

Once war actually came, the often-competing American security agencies, civilian and military, constantly raised the number of persons to be interned. J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, for example, had a pre–Pearl Harbor list of 770 Japanese aliens who would require detention in case of war.[18] Yet, a little over two months after Pearl Harbor, it had managed to find almost three times that many —2,192 Japanese—to intern.[19] And so it went. Almost certainly very few of those interned were really threats to American national security. To be sure, many if not most of them were rooting for their native lands, but the same could be said for many of the million plus uninterned alien enemies. Many others were simply torn by conflicting loyalties, such as the Italian immigrant who had written President Roosevelt shortly before Pearl Harbor that "since Italy is my mother and the United States is my father . . . I don't want to see my parents fighting," and got interned for his pains.[20]

Often, especially early in the war, alien enemies were arrested in their homes in the dead of night, told to pack a bag, and hauled off to the nearest custodial facility, usually a local jail. Sometimes their families did not hear from them for days or even weeks. But many of those arrested were released relatively quickly, and, as the numbers cited earlier indicate, only a minority of those taken into custody was actually interned. Many, perhaps most, internments fragmented families, as in many cases the interned man—and all but a minuscule percentage of resident American internees was male—was the only breadwinner in the household. In a number of such cases, wives and minor children, some of them United States citizens, voluntarily joined the family held in internment. One INS camp, in Seagoville, Texas, was chiefly for women and children, and eventually another at Crystal City, Texas, was set up for families.[21]

In the case of the Japanese Americans, so many male leaders were seized that not just families but entire ethnic communities were decapitated. In addition, since many Japanese Americans kept their money in American branches of Japanese banks, their liquid assets were frozen as the Treasury Department seized and closed all enemy-owned banks.[22] Eventually families were allowed to draw up to $100 a month of their own money.

Those who were actually interned had some recourse. Enemy Alien Hearing Boards, composed of three or more citizen volunteers, were established in every federal judicial district. Each internee had the right to have his or her case reviewed by such a board, which could recommend parole or internment—but the attorney general was not obligated to accept board recommendations. The internee could have a relative, friend, or agent attend the hearing, but was not allowed to have legal counsel. Evidence of loyalty, testimonial letters, etc., could be presented to the board, but the internee was not entitled to know the nature of any charges against him or her or, in cases resulting from denunciations, the name of the accuser or even the existence of an accusation. Except for an-

ecdotal evidence –(see below), we know next to nothing about such boards, the persons who staffed them, how they operated, the number of cases they reviewed, the results of such reviews, or how their recommendations were treated by the Department of Justice. The review boards helped to ameliorate the internment process, as large numbers of their hearings eventually resulted in release. And, even if the review board hearing did not result in release—the internee was not informed of its recommendation—internees could forward appeals with supporting documents to the attorney general. However, some interned aliens did not want to be released, but instead signed documents indicating that they wished to be returned to their native lands as quickly as possible, which usually meant after the war.

As noted, Geneva Convention conditions generally applied. Diplomatic officials from the various "protecting powers" who looked after the interests of enemy nations within the United States inspected the internment camps regularly and made note of internee complaints. In addition to food, housing, and recreation, internees were entitled to free mail services within the United States and access to mail and parcels from their mother countries, supervised by the International Red Cross but subject to censorship.[23]

Thus internees had a very different kind of existence from that of most Japanese Americans. While the decision to intern an individual may not have been just, internment in the United States generally followed the rules set down in American and international law. What happened to those West Coast Japanese Americans who were incarcerated in army and WRA concentration camps was simply lawless.

In discussing language, perhaps the best place to start is with the three- and four-letter epithets that were all but universally used to describe persons of Japanese birth or descent. While it was common until very recently for most Americans to use ugly words to describe persons of color and others deemed to be "lesser breeds without the law"—nigger, kike, wop, spic, chink, greaser, etc.—none was more universally used than Jap or Japs. One cannot imagine, for example, a respectable politician using any of the other terms in the title of a magazine article, but Franklin Delano Roosevelt could propose to call a 1923 essay—actually intended to minimize trans-Pacific antagonisms—"The Japs—A Habit of Mind." [24] Even a casual perusal of pre–World War II American newspapers and magazines shows that in both headline and text the word was often used to describe: 1) the Japanese government; 2) the people of Japan; and, more rarely except on the Pacific Coast, 3) Japanese Americans. One does not have to be a student of semiotics to understand the dehumanizing effect of such continuous and casual usage. And, of course, once the United States and Japan were at war the usage multiplied. The language and visual contexts of World War II movies made in the 1940s and 1950s—and which still pollute our TV channels—make it quite clear that while the actions of Germany and of most Germans were evil, a distinction was often made between "good" and

"bad" Germans. The actions of the Imperial Japanese Government and the actions of not only its people but of persons of Japanese ethnicity anywhere were treated as the deeds of an evil race. Perhaps the most notorious example of the casual demonization of Japanese persons were the mid-December 1941 companion pieces in the two Luce news magazines, *Time* and *Life,* which purported to tell Americans "How to Tell the Japs from the Chinese" or "How to Tell Your Friends from the Japs." [25] The *Life* article was illustrated by Milton Caniff, creator of the widely syndicated comic strip "Terry and the Pirates." Almost two months later, on February 13, 1942, just six days before FDR signed Executive Order 9066, another popular cartoonist, Theodor Suess Geisel (1904–1991), a.k.a. Dr. Suess, drew a particularly vicious editorial cartoon for the left-wing New York City newspaper *PM* showing an endless stream of identical, grinning Japanese men coming from the Pacific Northwest to a building on the California coast labeled "Honorable 5th Column" to receive packages marked "TNT," while atop the headquarters another of what we would now call the clones looks out to sea through a telescope. The cartoon is captioned "Waiting for the Signal From Home . . ." Popular culture had so infused the complex image of the "Jap" into the American mind that no further explication was necessary. [26] It is possible to pile up similar examples ad infinitum. [27] Government officials were well aware of this. Geisel, for example, was later commissioned as a captain in the Signal Corps and sent to Hollywood to help film director Frank Capra make propaganda films and cartoons to indoctrinate American servicemen and women. [28] This well-established mind-set made it easy for government officials to use carefully chosen words to blind Americans to the fact that their government was systematically stripping some American citizens of their most basic rights by fiat. Before examining that process in some detail, it might be well to remind ourselves of the conclusion of the CWRIC: [29]

> The promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, and the decisions which followed from it—detention, ending detention and ending exclusion—were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership. Widespread ignorance of Japanese Americans contributed to a policy conceived in haste and executed in an atmosphere of fear and anger at Japan. A grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident nationals of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them, were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II.

The stripping of rights began long before President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. Within hours of the attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle, in addition to arranging for and enforcing the statutory procla-

mations affecting "alien enemies" as set forth in sections 21–24 of the United States Code, also ordered that the borders be closed to alien enemies and "all persons of Japanese ancestry." [30] Biddle, although he regarded himself as a protector of the rights of Japanese Americans and, at the eleventh hour protested ineffectively against mass incarceration, in practice allowed the rights of citizens of Japanese ancestry to be violated with impunity. Under pressure from the War Department and, according to his memoir, somewhat overawed by the elder cabinet colleague who headed it, Henry L. Stimson, the attorney general agreed, in memoranda exchanged between the departments on January 6, 1942, that, in effect, the Fourth Amendment rights of American citizens of Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast to "be secure . . . against unreasonable searches and seizures" were null and void. The memoranda agreed that Department of Justice agents would make warrantless searches merely on verbal requests from military authorities. One short paragraph began by stating that "The term 'mass raid' will not be employed by the Attorney General" but ended with the statement "all of the alien enemy premises in a given area can be searched at the same moment." A prior paragraph recognized that there were "mixed occupancy dwellings" inhabited by native-born citizens and their alien parents or other relatives and treated these as "alien enemy's premises." [31] Although Biddle and his deputy, Assistant Attorney General James J. Rowe, who signed the memorandum, would never say —as Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy did—that the Constitution was "just a scrap of paper," what they agreed to, despite their protestations, effectively nullified it. [32]

Executive Order 9066, drafted in the War Department sometime after February 11 when Roosevelt gave Stimson "carte blanche," and signed in the White House on February 19, is a wonderful example of Aesopian language. It has neither ethnic nor geographic specificity, and were it to be discovered in the year 3001 without other documents giving its context, the future historian might reasonably conclude that it was a relief measure. Its official title, almost never used, is "AUTHORIZING THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO PRESCRIBE MILITARY AREAS." After authorizing the Secretary of War and "Military Commanders" he might designate to create "military areas . . . from which any or all persons may be excluded," it further authorized the secretary "to provide for residents . . . such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary . . . until other arrangements are made."

We now know the whole chain of events which this order set off. A second executive order, 9106, established the War Relocation Authority on March 18, 1942, and ordered its director to "formulate and effectuate a program for the removal . . . of the persons or classes of persons [designated under Executive Order 9066] and for their relocation, maintenance, and supervision." He was further ordered to "provide for the relocation of

such persons in appropriate places, . . . provide for their needs [and] for the employment of such persons at useful work in industry, commerce, agriculture, or public projects. . . ." Other parts of Executive Order 9106 authorized the use of the United States Employment Service and established a War Relocation Work Corps in which persons would be "enlisted." The work corps proved to be a phantom that was never activated. [33] These words misled the first director of the War Relocation Authority, Milton S. Eisenhower, into believing, until he met with western governors at Salt Lake City on April 7, that the "relocation centers" [34] could evolve into something more like the New Deal's subsistence homesteads and less like the concentration camps that they became. (It must be remembered that the mass expulsion and incarceration started only at the end of March.)

Even as the mass round-up of West Coast Nikkei began, with an isolated group on Bainbridge Island, a short ferry ride from Seattle, the government's wordsmiths were inventing new language. A "Civilian Exclusion Order" dated March 24, 1942, signed by Gen. John L. DeWitt and ominously numbered "No. 1," directed all "Japanese persons, both alien and nonalien" to report to the ferryboat landing on March 30 for "temporary residence in a reception center elsewhere," bringing with them only what they could carry, including "blankets and linens . . . toilet articles . . . clothing . . . knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls, and cups for each member of the family." [35] Unlike most later orders, which moved persons first to neighboring, temporary enclosures called "Assembly Centers," the 257 Bainbridge Islanders were sent by train to Manzanar in southern California, as no camp in the Pacific Northwest was ready for occupancy.[36]

Thus began the wartime incarceration of the West Coast Japanese Americans, an incarceration that would last, for some, almost four years. Begun under military auspices and subject to some military control throughout its existence, the incarcerated people whom I have called prisoners without trial were, during the course of the spring and summer of 1942, turned over to the civilian War Relocation Authority. The WRA was staffed at the top and in most of its middle management by persons who would not have instituted the kind of repressive program that they were called upon to execute. Its second and last director, Dillon S. Myer, who was less liberal than many of his staffers, wrote in his memoir that:

> I believed, and still believe, that a selective evacuation of people of Japanese descent from the West Coast military area may have been justified and feasible in early 1943 [*sic* —he surely meant 1942], but I do not believe that a mass evacuation was ever justified; furthermore I believe that there was no valid argument for the continuation of the exclusion orders beyond the spring of 1943, as indicated by our letter to Secretary Stimson in March of 1943.[37]

The WRA accepted the army's nomenclature and generally tried to put the best possible face on what it did. The captive Japanese had been "evacuated," a word associated with

rescue. The people who were in "relocation centers" were "residents," not inmates. Like other government agencies, it conducted a public relations campaign that tried to emphasize the positive aspects of what it did. Its photographs show "happy campers"; its press releases hailed military volunteers and ignored, as much as possible, the protesters and especially the draft resisters. So relatively successful was this wartime government propaganda that, as late as 1969, two liberal authors thoroughly opposed to the incarceration and exile could identify Heart Mountain, where the draft resistance began, as a "happy camp." [38] The WRA and its administrators particularly resisted the notion that they were in charge of "concentration camps."

The first WRA director, Milton Eisenhower, in his 1974 memoir, is explicit about this. A specialist in "information"—his next assignment would be to the Office of War Information—he wrote:

> We called the relocation centers "evacuation centers." Never did we refer to them as concentration camps.[39]

Similarly, his successor, Dillon S. Myer, like Eisenhower, also from the Department of Agriculture, wrote in his 1971 memoir that:

> Relocation centers were called "concentration camps" by many writers and commentators, but they were very different from the normal concept of what a concentration camp is like.[40]

Lower down in the WRA hierarchy the same kinds of postwar views existed. One of the most determined literary attacks on the notion that Japanese Americans were placed in concentration camps came from Harold S. Jacoby, a member of the sociology faculty at the College of the Pacific who, in March 1942, concerned by what he saw as unjust treatment of Japanese Americans, sought and achieved employment with the WRA, first at Tule Lake and then in Chicago as assistant supervisor of resettlement there. He was clearly one of what psychiatrist Alexander Leighton called approvingly the "people-minded" WRA administrators.[41] In his 1996 memoir he attacked vigorously the notion that the WRA establishments were concentration camps. Part of his argument was that the concentration camps of the Nazis and the Soviets were much worse places. Another is that only the books published after 1967 called them concentration camps. And, finally, he argued that inmates were sometimes allowed to leave for work.[42] (He might have added that others were allowed to leave the camps to go shopping in nearby towns, etc.)

Language usage was not just a postwar concern of WRA leaders. Thomas Bodine, a Quaker activist who was an important and effective staff member of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, remembered in May 2000 that during the war "we couldn't use the [term concentration camps] during the work we did or the Government might have cut off granting leaves to the students we were helping." [43]

But higher up in the government hierarchy there were people who were willing to call a spade a bloody shovel. Franklin Roosevelt himself called the camps for Japanese concentration camps on more than one public occasion, [44] and Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts, dissenting in the Korematsu case, which, in effect, said the incarceration of American citizens was constitutional, insisted that:

> This is not a case of keeping people off the streets at night as was *Hirabayashi* . . . . It is a case of convicting a citizen . . . for not submitting to imprisonment in a concentration camp solely because of his ancestry. . . .[45]

More prosaically, an anonymous cataloguer at the Library of Congress established the subject heading "Concentration Camps— United States of America" which, so far, contains only items about the wartime incarceration of the Japanese Americans and its sequelae.[46]

But the general practice, especially after the liberation of the Nazi death camps, was to avoid the blunt term. Before the spring of 1945 the term concentration camp was not synonymous with death camp. The term was first applied to camps set up for noncombatants—as opposed to prisoners of war—by the British during the Boer War of 1899–1902.[47] The reason that Eisenhower, Myer, Jacoby, and others associated with administering the camps reacted so strongly against using the term concentration camps is that such usage made them, by extension, concentration camp keepers and seemed to put them in the same category as notorious Nazis and Japanese, and, eventually, Adolf Eichmann.[48]

Incarcerated people themselves sometimes used the term concentration camp while they were in confinement, especially while protesting against aspects of government policy. For example, in a meeting at Heart Mountain in February 1943 during the "registration crisis," one speaker said:

> Although we have yellow skins, we too are Americans. We have an American upbringing, therefore we believe in fair play. Our firm conviction is that we would be useless Americans if we did not assert our constitutional rights now; for, unless our status as citizens is cleared and we are really fighting for the perpetuation of democracy, especially when our fathers, mothers, and families are in concentration camps, even though they are not charged with any crimes.[49]

I suspect that the term was not commonly used, but since the major sources for contemporary inmate perceptions, the camp newspapers, were published under the watchful eyes of WRA staffers, its nonuse there is not significant. I have read a large number of letters written from the camps. My distinct impression is that the term was not much used in them, but since the question of nomenclature had not yet become significant to me when I was reading them in various archives, I did not keep track of its occurrence.

What is clear is that once the war was over and for decades afterwards the prevailing term among the mainland Nisei was "camp," although "evacuation," "relocation," and, to a lesser degree, "internment" were all used more or less interchangeably. When two Nisei met for the first time, an all but inevitable question was "What camp were you in?" When the past was discussed, two parameters were constant: "before the war" and "after camp." The ambiguity of the word "camp" makes it possible to argue that it was short for "concentration camp," but I am certain, but cannot demonstrate, that in the vast majority of cases it was short for "relocation camp" or "evacuation camp." In nearly a thousand interviews and conversations with Nikkei before the redress campaign began, I can remember only a few instances in which the term "concentration camp" was used by a community member. On the other hand the only Nikkei I can remember complaining about my use of the term was Mike Masaoka in 1971 or 1972. On several occasions Caucasian Holocaust survivors similarly complained. This ambiguity, plus the notorious reluctance of the Nisei to talk about their wartime experiences with their children and grandchildren, led more than one Sansei to believe that "camp" stood for some kind of summer vacation that their parents used to go on.[50]

When one examines the postwar printed record, whether memoirs by former inmates and officials or accounts by scholars and others, the result is pretty much the same. The terminology used by the government—evacuation and relocation—prevails, plus, for almost all the Nikkei authors and some scholars, the ambiguous "camp." Nothing better exemplifies the difference between expressed Nikkei attitudes just after the war and three to four decades later than successive editions of two outstanding Nisei memoirs.

The first, Miné Okubo's pioneering 1946 illustrated text, *Citizen 13660,* dealt only with wartime and told of evacuation from Berkeley and confinement at Tanforan—in a horse stall—and at Topaz. The soon-to-be ubiquitous "camp" was the most common term, but otherwise standard government terminology—including relocation and evacuation—was used. Identical words punctuate the preface to the first reprint edition, dated May 1, 1978, but by the time of the second reprint edition just five years later, Okubo had testified before the CWRIC, and her preface speaks of "Americans and Alaskan Aleuts who had been forcibly removed from their homes and incarcerated in concentration camps" (xi), but in the rest of the new text reverts to the old standard language. In addition, the word "internment" and the phrase "internment camp" have been added to her vocabulary in describing what she endured, whereas in the original such language had been reserved for the process undergone by many Issei, as in "Father had been whisked away to an internment camp" (11).[51]

A similar pattern may be discerned in the two editions of Monica Sone's 1953 memoir, *Nisei Daughter,* which deals with a Seattle girlhood and devotes its final two-fifths to

uprooting from Seattle, life in the Puyallup Assembly Center and the Minidoka Relocation Center, and resettlement in Chicago and at an Indiana college. Its text uses only terminology that the WRA would have approved. But in her preface to the 1979 edition, the second, one-sentence paragraph shows clearly that consciousness-raising had taken place:

> The ten concentration camps, which received 120,000 of us in 1942, were finally closed in 1946. (xv)[52]

Since I have reviewed the first three decades of scholarly literature about the wartime incarceration elsewhere, it will not be repeated here.[53] By that time (1975) the broad outlines of what can be called a "master narrative" had emerged. Most scholars had generally agreed that the wartime incarceration was needless and would have endorsed the 1982 CWRIC conclusion cited above. Even earlier, in 1967, when Harry Kitano and I organized the first academic conference devoted to the wartime experience of the Nikkei, held at UCLA, we found it impossible to find *anyone* willing to defend the actions of 1942.

But that early scholarly consensus that the incarceration of the Japanese Americans had been wrong did not mean that historians paid much attention to it. In what was perhaps the outstanding American history textbook of the immediate postwar decades—and certainly the most liberal—Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron in a text of 758 pages could say only this in their section on "Civilian Mobilization" in what was not yet the "Good War":

> Since almost no one doubted the necessity for the war, there was much less intolerance than there had been in World War I, although large numbers of Japanese-Americans were put into internment camps under circumstances that many Americans were later to judge unfair or worse.[54]

Note that the term "internment camp" has somehow, as they say, crept into the language, where it has remained.

This down-playing of the negative aspects of the wartime experience was a corollary of what can be called American secular triumphalism, which affected people on the left as well as those who liked Ike and were wild about Harry. Even today, the topic of conscientious objection, for example, is little discussed.[55] It is not an accident that the first scholarly critique of the rationale for the incarceration, the courageous essays by Eugene V. Rostow, wrote off the event as a "mistake" rather than as a logical outgrowth of centuries of racism.[56] And, as late as the mid-1970s, I could lecture about the wartime incarceration at an elite college, such as Hobart and William Smith, and have students ask me afterwards if that "really happened."

By that time, two books about the incarceration had appeared that used the term concentration camps in their titles.[57] These works gave an increased credibility to the use of the

term, a credibility, as we have seen, that was challenged not only by persons like McCloy, Eisenhower, and Myer, who had been accessories to the incarceration, either before or after the fact, but also by three other categories of persons:

> (1) A whole spectrum of conservatives and self-styled patriots who were simply appalled that such a dreadful term could be applied to their country. The reactions of this group ranged from mild annoyance to absolute frenzy on the part of a few zealots, such as the incarceration denier Lillian Baker.[58]
>
> (2) A sizable number of Holocaust survivors and their supporters who resented deeply the term being used for anything as "mild" as the American incarceration. Some clearly felt that the term belonged to them. The most celebrated instance of this occurred in 1998, when a protest by some Jews against the use of the term "concentration camp" in the title of an exhibition from the Japanese American National Museum, scheduled to open on Ellis Island, caused such a controversy that the National Park Service superintendent in charge cancelled the exhibition until her superiors intervened.[59]
>
> (3) And finally, there are those, such as historian Alice Yang Murray, who, while fully understanding the arguments for using the term, nevertheless feel that:

while I agree that places like Manzanar and Tule Lake fulfill the dictionary definition of a "concentration camp," I personally can't accept the designation. The term "concentration camp" may once have been a euphemism for a Nazi "extermination camp," but I think that over time the two kinds of camps have become inextricably linked in the popular imagination. In other words, I believe the meaning of the term "concentration camp" has changed over time. During World War II, officials and commentators could say Japanese Americans were confined in concentration camps without evoking images of Nazi atrocities. I don't think that this is true today.[60]

Given this widespread resistance, it is clearly unrealistic to expect everyone to agree to use the contested term concentration camp, even though I believe that it is the most appropriate term.

But it seems equally clear to me that it is not unreasonable to expect scholars to cease using both the incorrect prevalent term "internment camp" and the stock phrase "the internment of the Japanese Americans." There are two very good reasons to suggest this. In the first place, while there were surely injustices involved in the internment process, as there always are when compulsion is involved, it did follow the forms of law and was a recognized legal procedure dating back in American law to the War of 1812. The eleven thousand or so persons who were interned in the United States during World War II have not, until quite recently, been the subject of much historical scrutiny. What has to be remembered is that those persons were taken into custody because of their status:

all were alien nationals of a nation against which the United States was at war, each was seized for reasons supposedly based on his or her behavior, and each was entitled to an individual hearing before a board. No one who reads the fine study by Louis Fiset of the internment process as it affected Iwao Matsushita can conflate his circumstances with those of Japanese Americans incarcerated under authority of Executive Order 9066.[61]
In the second place, the conflation of the two processes has allowed some authors to write as if what happened to a tiny minority of unnaturalized Italian and German residents was somehow equivalent to the mass incarceration of some eighty-thousand American citizens of Japanese ancestry and some forty-thousand Japanese nationals who were barred from naturalization by race.[62]
As I have tried to show, there has been a long history of using euphemistic language about the wartime atrocity that was wreaked upon the Japanese Americans of the West Coast during and after World War II. Begun with malice aforethought by government officials, politicians, and journalists, it has been continued, largely in thoughtless innocence, by scholars. As we are in the seventh decade after the promulgation of Executive Order 9066, it is high time that scholars begin to call things by their right names. Let us hear no more about the "internment of the Japanese Americans." [63]

Notes:

I wish to thank the editors, the anonymous reader for the press, and, above all, Max Paul Friedman for thoughtful and intelligent suggestions which have, I think, improved this essay.

1. Unfortunately, I have no contemporary record of that call. I have dated it by referring to Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H. L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold, *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
2. I also had—and have—objections to the term "relocation." "Exile" is more appropriate.
3. See Roger Daniels, "The Internment of Japanese Nationals in the United States During World War II," Halcyon 17 (1995): 66-75; "L'Internamento di 'Alien Enemies' negli Stati Uniti durante la seconda guerra mondiale," *Ácoma: Rivista Internazionale di Studi Nordamericani* (Rome; Estate autunno 1997): 39-49; and Kay Saunders and Roger Daniels, eds., *Alien Justice: Wartime Internment in Australia and North America* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2000).
4. Aliens Act of June 24, 1798 (1 *Stat* . 570). The lack of a declared war prevented any internment—or treason trials—during the Korean and Vietnam Wars or in such shorter actions as Desert Storm.
5. See Jörg Nagler, "Internment of German Enemy Aliens in the United States during the First and Second World Wars," in *Alien Justice* , ed. Saunders and Daniels, 66-79. For those who read German, his massive *Nationale Minoritäten im Krieg: "Feindliche Ausländer" und die amerikanische Heimatfront während des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000) is a must for an understanding of the roots of the modern internment of alien enemies by the United States. Two scholarly publications about American World War I internment camps are Raymond K. Cunningham, Jr., *Prisoners at Fort Douglas: War Prison Barracks Three and the Enemy Aliens, 1917-1920* (Salt Lake City: Fort Douglas Military Museum, 1983) and William B. Glidden, "Casualties of Caution: Alien Enemies in America, 1917-1919" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970).

6. John Joel Culley, "A Troublesome Presence: World War II Internment of German Sailors in New Mexico," *Prologue* 28 (winter 1996): 279-95, and Carol Van Valkenburg, *An Alien Place: The Fort Missoula, Montana Detention Camp, 1941-1944* (Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1995).
7. The act, also known as the Smith Act, was 54 *Stat* . 670. It had three titles, the first of which dealt with "interference with the military or naval forces of the United States," the second with "additional deportable classes of aliens," and only the third with the "registration and fingerprinting" of aliens. Title I was used in the Cold War era to convict many leaders of the American Communist Party. For an illuminating discussion of Titles II and III, see Richard W. Steele, "The War on Intolerance: The Reformulation of American Nationalism, 1939-1943," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 9 (fall 1989): 9-35. The registration provisions, unenforced for decades, were applied selectively after 9/11 by the Department of Justice to deport a variety of immigrants, mostly Muslims.
8. Except for a handful of World War I veterans, Japanese were not eligible for naturalization until the law was changed in 1952. Anyone, regardless of race or ethnicity, born in the United States is a citizen thanks to the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1868.
9. Proclamation No. 2525, December 7, 1941, and Proclamations No. 2526 and No. 2527, December 8, 1941. Similar control over Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian aliens was covered by Proclamation No. 2563 of July 17, 1942; the handful of aliens interned under the last are ignored in the remainder of this essay.
10. For some of the uses to which Koreans were put during the war, see Hyung-Ju Ahn, *Between Two Adversaries: Korean Interpreters at Japanese Alien Enemy Detention Centers during World War II* (Fullerton: Oral History Program, California State University,2002).
11. One of Biddle's wartime speeches, for example, was titled "Identification of Enemy Aliens: Let Us Not Persecute These People." *Vital Speeches of the Day* 8 (February 15, 1942): 279-80. For Britain in World War II, see Peter and Leni Gillman, *Collar the Lot!: How Britain Interned and Expelled Its Wartime Refugees* (London & New York: Quartet Books, 1980), and A. W. Brian Simpson, *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention without Trial in Wartime Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). For a historical survey, see Colin Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities in Britain* (London: Faber, 1991).
12. The organizations creating the lists were primarily the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice, the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), and the Intelligence Branch (G-2) of the army. Obviously, the lists were only as good as the persons compiling them. They were filled with errors of omission and commission, particularly with regard to Japanese aliens, as, to the best of my knowledge, only one American naval intelligence official, Lt. Comdr. Kenneth D. Ringle, could read Japanese. For his activities, see my *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 183, 210-13. The controversial Ellis Mark Zacharias, who was fluent in Japanese, was out of favor and not involved in intelligence work at the outbreak of war. The best single work dealing with any part of the U.S. intelligence apparatus before and during the war is Jeffrey M. Dorwart, *Conflict of Duty: The U.S. Navy's Intelligence Dilemma, 1919-1945* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1983). See also Marc Gallicchio, "Zacharias, Ellis Mark," *American National Biography Online* , February 2000, at http://www.anb.org/articles/07/07-00340.html
13. J. Edgar Hoover, "Alien Enemy Control," *Iowa Law Review* 29 (1941): 396-408, at 403. Other commonly cited figures are: "by February 16, 1942, the Justice Department had interned 2,192 Japanese, 1,393 Germans, and 264 Italians," from a Justice Department press release cited in Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1983), 284; and "the total number [taken into custody] has not exceeded fifteen thousand. . . . fewer than ten thousand 'alien

enemies' have been in custody at any one time, . . ." from Earl G. Harrison, "Civilian Internment — American Way," *Survey Graphic* 33 (May 1944): 229-33, 270 at 229-30. Harrison was commissioner general of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). A government history of the INS reports 9,920 enemy aliens in custody in mid-1943 and 7,364 in mid-1945. Congressional Research Service, *History of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1980), 49-50.

14. In Tennessee, for example, "some 'civilian aliens,' mostly Japanese immigrants, were interned at Camp Forrest until May 1943, when they were transferred to North Dakota." James A. Crutchfield. *Tennesseeans at War: Volunteers and Patriots in Defense of Liberty* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1987), 145. See also Ann Toplovich, "The Tennesseean's War: Life on the Home Front," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 51 (1992): 19-50, at 48 n. 30.

15. C. Harvey Gardiner, "The Latin American Japanese and World War II," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* , ed. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 142-45; and Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981). See also Thomas Connell, *America's Japanese Hostages: The World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002). An important book, Max Paul Friedman's *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), is the source for the precise numbers. Seiichi Higashide's *Adios to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps* , 2nd ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), is the best personal account available in English.

16. The best published accounts of wartime internment camps generally are in essays by John Joel Culley: "World War II and a Western Town: The Internment of Japanese Railroad Workers in Clovis, New Mexico," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (1982): 42-63; "Trouble at the Lordsburg Internment Camp," *New Mexico Historical Review* 60 (1985): 225-48; "The Santa Fe Internment Camp and the Justice Department Program for Enemy Aliens," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* , ed. Daniels et al., 51-71; and "Enemy Alien Control in the United States during World War II: A Survey," in *Alien Justice* , ed. Saunders and Daniels,138-51. The essay on Lordsburg describes homicides committed by guards. Culley is engaged on a major work provisionally titled "Interned for the Duration: Alien Enemy Internment and the Japanese during World War II."

17. For the State Department's concern for Americans in enemy countries, see P. Scott Corbett, *Quiet Passages: The Exchange of Civilians between the United States and Japan during the Second World War* , (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1987).

18. Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 239.

19. Press release cited in CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied* , 284.

20. Jerre Mangione, *An Ethnic at Large: A Memoir of America in the Thirties and Forties* (New York: Putnam, 1978), 344-45.

21. Many of those brought by the government from Latin America were in family units. Karen L. Riley, *Schools Behind Barbed Wire: The Untold Story of Wartime Internment and the Children of Arrested Enemy Aliens* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), describes the INS family camp at Crystal City, Texas. Roger Daniels, "Educating Youth in American's Wartime Detention Camps," *History of Education Quarterly* 41 (spring 2003): 92-103, reviews the literature on education in WRA and INS camps.

22. Incarcerated Japanese Americans had no such recourse as they were incarcerated not for suspected subversion or memberships, but because of their ethnicity. There were, however, government programs that enabled many Japanese Americans to leave the camps for work, military service, and education.

23. Louis Fiset, "Wartime Communication: Red Cross Key to U.S. -Japan Mails," *American Philatelist* 104 (1990): 228-34; Fiset, "Censored!: U.S. Censors and Internment Camp Mail in World War II," in *Guilt by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment, and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West* , ed. Mike Mackey (Powell, Wyo.: Western History Publications, 2001) 69-100; and Fiset, "Return to Sender: U.S. Censorship of Enemy Alien Mail in World War II," *Prologue* 33 (spring 2001): 21-35.
24. Willi am L. Neuman, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and Japan, 1913-1933," *Pacific Historical Review* 22 (1953): 143-53, at 148. FDR's essay was published as "Shall We Trust Japan?" Asia 23 (1923): 475-78, 526, 528, and was sanguine about future relationships.
25. The *Life* version is first. Both are dated December 22, 1941, but were on the newsstands and in the mail the previous week. Despite prompt refutation, e.g., "No Certain Way to Tell Japanese from Chinese," *Science News Letter* (December 20, 1941), this nonsense was widely believed.
26. This cartoon was, I believe, first republished in Paul Milkman, *PM: A New Deal in Journalism, 1940-1948* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997). For some two hundred of Geisel's *PM* cartoons, see Richard H. Minear, *Dr. Suess Goes to War* (New York: The New Press, 1999). Those and two hundred others may be seen on a University of California, San Diego website: http://orpheus.ucsd.edu/speccoll/dspolitic/Frame.htm UCSD has a "Dr. Suess Collection" in its Mandeville Special Collections Library. The only book-length study of Geisel's work, Ruth K. MacDonald's Dr. Suess (Boston: Twayne, 1988), mentions his *PM* career in passing, noting only "his most notable contribution being his anti -Nazi cartoons ridiculing Hitler" (8).
27. See, for example, Dennis Ogawa, *From Japs to Japanese: The Evolution of Japanese American Stereotypes* (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1971).
28. Charles W. Carey, Jr., "Geisel, Theodor Suess," *American National Biography Online* , February 2000 (published by Oxford University Press), at: http://www.anb.org/articles/16/16-03303.html
29. CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied* , 18. A 1997 University of Washington Press reprint is definitive as it contains important materials, including specific recommendations for redress, that were issued by the commission in 1983 and thus not included in the original. CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press and the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, 1997).
30. Proclamations 2525, 2526, 2527. They may be conveniently consulted in Roger Daniels, ed., *American Concentration Camps* , vol. 1 (New York: Garland, 1989). Biddle's comments on the internment process are in his autobiographical *In Brief Authority* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1962), 207-9. Although he distinguishes between the selective internment and the program under E.O. 9066, he calls the latter "mass internment." His statistical data are erroneous.
31. The memoranda may be found conveniently in United States. War Department. *Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943), 4-6.
32. For McCloy, see Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 55-56.
33. Both executive orders are reprinted in Daniels, *American Concentration Camps* , vol. 1.
34. It is not clear who dreamed up that innocuous term or its predecessor, assembly center, but the most likely suspects are Col. Karl Robin Bendetsen, the army lawyer who managed the expulsion of the Nikkei from the West Coast, and/or a Census Bureau bureaucrat, Dr. Calvert L. Dedrick. For the latter, see Roger Daniels, "The Bureau of the Census and the Relocation of the Japanese Americans: A Note and a Document," *Amerasia Journal* 9 (#1 1982): 101-5. Work in progress by demographer William Seltzer and Margo Anderson, the leading historical authority on the census, will throw more light on Dedrick. See William Seltzer and Margo Anderson, "After Pearl Harbor: The Proper Role of Population Data Systems in Time of War" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Los

Angeles, March 2000), and Seltzer and Anderson, "The Dark Side of Numbers: The Role of Population Data Systems in Human Rights Abuses," *Social Research* 68:2 (summer 2001): 481-513. The former is summarized in Steven A. Holmes, "Report Says Census Bureau Helped Relocate Japanese," *New York Times* , 17 March 2000.

35. Civilian Exclusion Order No. 1 and accompanying instructions are reprinted in Daniels, *American Concentration Camps* , vol. 1.

36. War Department. *Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942* . Table 47, 363. One additional Bainbridge Islander is reported as being sent to an unspecified relocation center.

37. Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), 285-86.

38. Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans during World War II* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 247. For the best account of Heart Mountain, see Douglas W. Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The Story of an American Concentration Camp* (Madison: Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1976). Eric Muller's *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), is a fine legal history. See also the 2000 video "Conscience and the Constitution" by filmmaker Frank Abe. Its web site is:
http://www.resisters.com

39. Milton S. Eisenhower, *The President Is Calling* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), 122.

40. Myer, *Uprooted Americans* , 291. The WRA photographs used in Myer's book illustrate nicely the comment about "happy campers" in the text above.

41. Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), 81-88.

42. Harold S. Jacoby, *Tule Lake: From Relocation to Segregation* (Grass Valley, Calif.: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1996), xii, 9, 54-57, 60-61.

43. Thomas Bodine to Allan W. Austin, 17 May 2000. Austin shared this letter with me. A revised version of his excellent doctoral dissertation, "From Concentration Camp to Campus: A History of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, 1942-1946" (University of Cincinnati, 2001), is forthcoming from the University of Illinois Press.

44. See, for example, Press Conference 982, November 21, 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

45. *Korematsu v U.S.* , 323 U.S. 214.

46. There is also what the Library of Congress calls a "narrower heading": "Japanese Americans Evacuation and Relocation, 1942-45."

47. Both the *Oxford English Dictionary* , 2nd edition, and the *Merriam Webster 10th Collegiate Dictionary* give 1901 as the first usage. But utilization of a digitalized database of the *New York Times* to examine all issues during 1898 produced eleven "hits" for the phrase "concentration camps." All, however, were without pejorative implication and described camps in which various U.S. Army units were concentrated before deployment overseas. One such example, on June 1 began: "The Quartermaster General's Department, in response to the complaints coming from the various concentration camps of the delay in securing supplies and equipment. . . ." For the latest scholarship on the South African concentration camps, see the essays by Shula Marks and Elizabeth van Heyningen in Greg Cuthbertson et al., *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002).

48. It may well be that Dillon Myer's negative reaction to being so characterized in Richard Drinnon's *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), drove him into the arms of Lillian Baker, a vociferous opponent of any kind of amelioration for the wartime and postwar injuries that Japanese Americans endured. Too ill to appear at the

CWRIC's Washington hearings, Myer authorized Baker to read a statement opposing the idea of an apology. For Baker, see her *Dishonoring America: The Falsification of World War II History* (Medford, Oreg.: Webb Research Group, 1994).

49. As quoted in Myer, *Uprooted Americans* , 73, no source given, but probably from government surveillance of the speaker (Kiyoshi Okamoto?).

50. A book by Prof. Alice Yang Murray, which is to be published soon, reveals that internal WRA memoranda warned against the use of the term "camp."

51. Miné Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946; 2nd ed., New York: Arno Press, 1978; 1st pbk. ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983).

52. Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953; 2nd ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), xv (page citation is to the 1979 edition). (Actually, all but one of the camps, Tule Lake, had closed before 1946).

53. Roger Daniels, "American Historians and East Asian Immigrants," in *The Asian American: The Historical Experience* , ed. Norris Hundley (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio Press, 1976), 1-25

54. Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, *The United States: The History of a Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), 694. There is no index reference to either Japanese Americans or internment.

55. I have commented on this general phenomenon in "Bad News from the Good War: Democracy at Home during World War II," in *The Home-Front War: World War II and American Society* , ed. K. P. O'Brien & L. H. Parsons (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1995), 157-71.

56. Eugene V. Rostow, "The Japanese American Cases—A Disaster," *Yale Law Journal* 54 (July 1945): 489-533, and Rostow, "Our Worst Wartime Mistake," *Harper's* 191 (August 1945): 193-201.

57. Allan R. Bosworth, *America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Norton, 1967), and Daniels, *Concentration Camps, USA* .

58. I am in the process of writing an essay about Baker and the relatively rare phenomenon of denial that any kind of punitive detention of Japanese Americans took place. I went to the Baker manuscripts at the Hoover Institute thinking that I might find links between her and the California-based group of Holocaust deniers centered around the so-called Institute for Historical Research. I found only negative connections. Baker affirmed the Holocaust, and I have mused that if there had been gas chambers at the American camps, she might have stopped complaining about what she liked to call "The Concentration Camp Conspiracy."

59. The controversy is treated in the following sources, which include an editorial and letters to the editor, all from the *New York Times* : Somini Sengupta, "What Is a Concentration Camp? Ellis Island Exhibit Prompts a Debate," 8 March 1998; "Debate on Camps Goes Back to War; Japanese Atrocities," 10 March 1998; Somini Sengupta, "Accord on Term 'Concentration Camp'," 10 March 1998; "Words for Suffering," 10 March 1998; "Exhibition on Camps," 13 March 1998; and Clyde Haberman, "Defending Jews' Lexicon Of Anguish," 13 March 1988. For a scholarly review of the exhibit, see David K. Yoo, "Captivating Memories: Museology, Concentration Camps, and Japanese American History," *American Quarterly* 48 (1996): 680-99.

60. From a book by Alice Yang Murray which is to be published soon. Used with permission.

61. Louis Fiset, *Imprisoned Apart: The World War II Correspondence of an Issei Couple* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

62. Examples of this unfortunate genre include: Stephen Fox, *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of the Relocation of Italian Americans during World War II* (Boston: Twayne, 1990); Fox, *America's Invisible Gulag: A Biography of German American Internment & Exclusion in World War II* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000.); Timothy J. Holian, *The German-Americans and World War II: An Ethnic Experience*

(New York: Peter Lang, 1996); Arthur Jacobs, *The Prison Called Hohenasperg* (Parkland, Fla.: Universal Publishers, 1999); and Lawrence DiStasi, ed., *Una Storia Segreta: The Secret History of Italian American Evacuation during World War II* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 2001).

63. There seems to be a slight lessening in the use of "internment." Greg Robinson, who wrote *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of the Japanese Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), writes in the April 2003 *American Historical Review* of "mass incarceration without trial of American citizens of Japanese ancestry (to which the phrase 'wartime internment' is universally, if inaccurately, held to refer)." *American Historical Review* 108 (April 2003): 541.

* *Roger Daniels, "Words Do Matter: A Note on Inappropriate Terminology and the Incarceration of the Japanese Americans." in Louis Fiset and Gail Nomura, eds.* Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century. *Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005, pp. 183-207.*



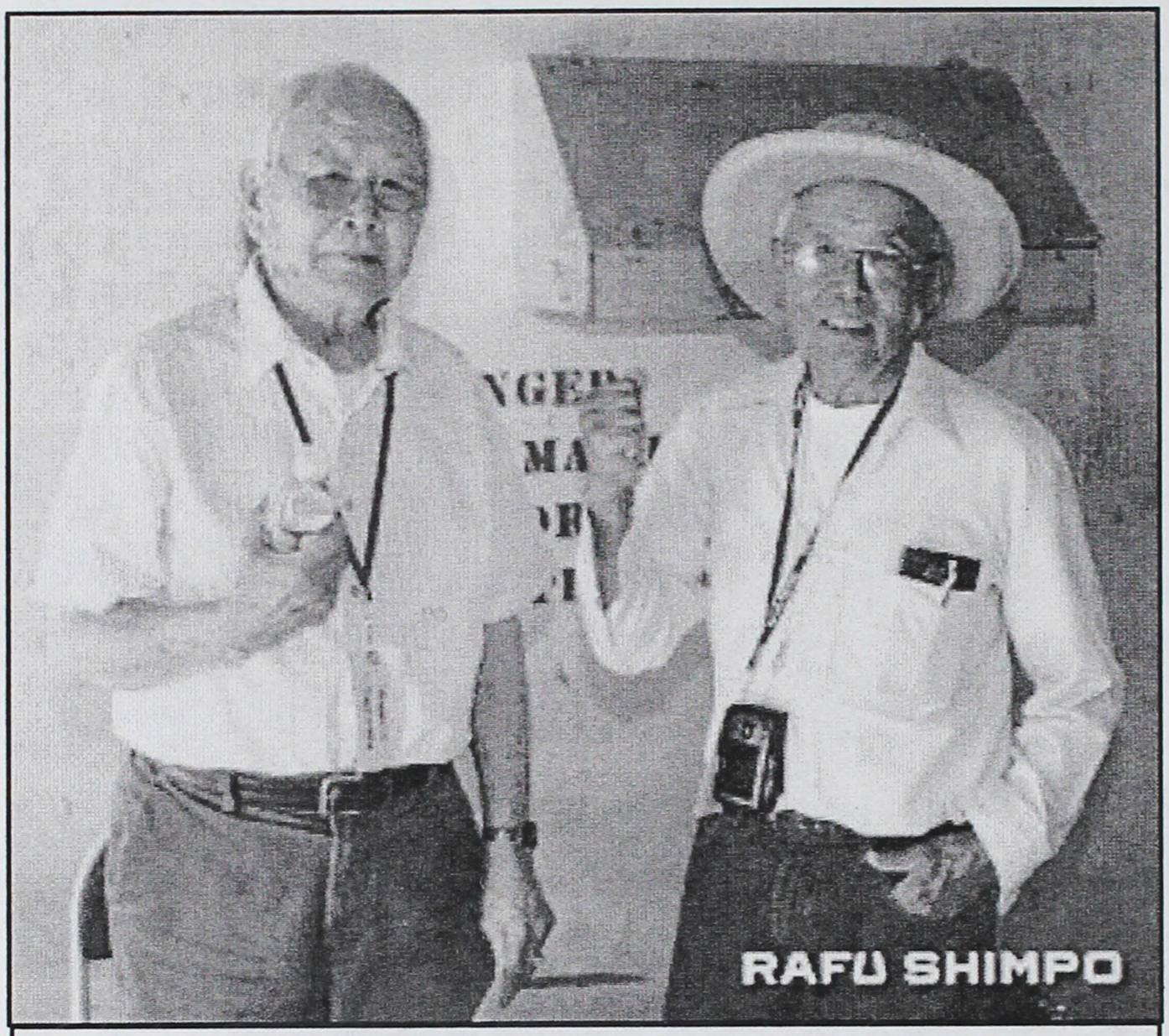




TAKING A STAND: Block 42

By Martha Nakagawa

(Note—Tule Lake is spelled with two words when referring to the WRA camp, but one word, "Tulelake" when referring to the city or the CCC camp.) This article originally appeared in the Rafu Shimpo.



The Tanimoto brothers returned to Tule Lake during the 2009 pilgrimage. They were among 35 Nisei who were sent to Klamath Falls jail after they answered no, no on the so-called loyalty questionnaire. (By MARTHA NAKAGAWA)

Before the draft resistance movement started in the 10 War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps during World War II, a different kind of protest occurred at Tule Lake.

The year was 1943. The War Department and the WRA had just issued two separate but similar loyalty questionnaires that were poorly worded. The War Department's goal was to identify alleged "loyal" Nisei males in hopes of drafting them. The WRA's goal was to release the alleged "loyals" from the camps. The War Department form was given to Nisei men and was titled, "Statement of United States Citizens of Japanese Ancestry," DDS Form 304-A. Answering this form was voluntary. The WRA form was given to everyone and titled, "Application for Leave Clearance," Form WRA-126. Answering this was compulsory.

Brothers Mamoru "Mori" and Jim Tanimoto lived in Block 42 in Tule Lake. They, separately, came to the conclusion that they were not going to answer the questionnaire.

"My reason for not answering was because I didn't do anything to be put into Tule Lake," said younger brother Jim. "I never broke any laws. I was never tried for anything. I wasn't guilty of anything. I told them send me home. Then I'll sign your papers. I will be a 'yes, yes.' I will serve and do whatever I can to support the United States government because I'm an American citizen."

Older brother Mori did not answer the questionnaire because he felt the camp in general was a violation of their constitutional rights.

Relations between the inmates and the administration rapidly deteriorated when the administration failed to adequately provide information to basic questions posed to them such as why the inmates had to register and what they were registering for.

Tensions continued to mount when the project director announced via the camp newspaper, *the Tulean Dispatch*, that those who interfered with registration would be fined up to $10,000 and/or

imprisoned up to 20 years under the Espionage Act. The Tule Lake administration followed the announcement by making an example of Block 42, which had a high number of Nisei men refusing to register.

"They (WRA) came back time and time and time again, trying to make us sign, but we said, 'No, we won't sign,'" said Mori. "Then, for this, the Army came and arrested us."

Younger brother Jim continued Mori's thoughts. "After we refused to answer, then one evening a bunch of soldiers, carrying rifles and bayonets, surrounded our block," said Jim. "It was after dinner and we were coming out of the mess hall. One soldier sorted us into groups. Once the mess hall was empty, he said, 'Okay, you guys count off one, two, one two.'"

About 35 Nisei men from Block 42 were rounded up on the evening of Feb. 21, 1943. The Tanimoto brothers' group was sent to the Klamath Falls jail and the second group ended up at the Alturas jail. Both groups were held in jail for about seven days with no charges, no hearing or trial.

Meanwhile, Tule Lake became a bedlam of activity. The public arrest of the Block 42 men terrified some Tuleans into registering, while it galvanized others to become more defiant. Although the inmate-organized Planning Board and Community Council urged the Tule Lake administration to release the Block 42 men and proposed new registration procedures, the administration took a hard line and refused to compromise.

After about a week later, the two groups were reunited at an old Civilian Conservation Corp camp named Camp Tulelake, located 10 miles from the Tule Lake WRA camp.

According to Angela Sutton with the National Park Service, Camp Tulelake had been built in 1933 when President Franklin Roosevelt established various programs to lift the country out of the Great Depression.

"The purpose of the CCC camp was pretty much to boost the economy and to get men, ages 17 -25, into jobs and some vocational training," said Sutton.

"The projects that they worked on were on National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service and state park sites. At Camp Tulelake, their main job was to work with Fish and Wildlife, and building and creating the Klamath Reclamation water project.

"The men were paid $1 a day, which wasn't a high wage, but it also included all the room, board, medical, education and everything else, so you wanted to be in the CCC back in those days, because others might be paying $1 a day but they didn't include all the extras."

Once the war broke out, most of the CCC employees signed up for the military and Camp Tulelake was closed, said Sutton. However, when the government built the Tule Lake WRA/ Segregation camp nearby, Camp Tulelake was utilized to house Japanese Americans. The first Japanese American group was the Block 42 men.

"One day at the jail, they tell us they're going to move us over to the CCC camp," said Jim. "When we came here (to Camp Tulelake), I think the other group from Alturas arrived about the same time, so the Block 42 young men were together again. Then our truck driver says, 'Your guards aren't here yet so don't run away.' He says we should clean up the mess hall and the barracks because we're going to use them that night so we started to do that.

"Eventually, the guards showed up. We had done quite a bit of cleaning by then. But once they showed up, everything came to a halt. We couldn't even go to the bathroom without their permission."

The Block 42 men were held at Camp Tulelake for about a month. During that time, the Tanimoto brothers recalled one fearful incident.

"We was sleeping one night and the soldiers come charging through the barrack," said Jim. "They says, 'Get your ass out of bed. Get outside!' This is the middle of the night. When we got out there, we lined up. It was pitch black. All of a sudden, they put on flood lights. We could see that there were about eight or 10 soldiers on one side of a machine gun and 10 or so soldiers on the other side. The soldiers were loading their rifles, and we're only about 15 yards apart. It was very close between my chest and the end of the rifle barrel. My thought at that time was that this is a firing squad. This is going to be our end."

The incident ended with no one getting hurt, but neither of the brothers knew why they had been roused out of bed. It could be speculated that the soldiers did this to scare the men into answering the questionnaire because later informal hearings were held.

"There were several Caucasians, and they handed me this piece of loyalty question paper," Jim recalled of his hearing. "They says, 'Will you sign this now?'

And I says, 'No. The only time I'll sign this is when I get home to Gridley.' So he says to me, 'You guys were influenced by your older brothers or older people.'"

Shortly after the informal hearings, the Block 42 men were returned to Tule Lake. When asked if they had ended up answering the questionnaire, Mori said, "Absolutely not!"

Unbeknownst to the Tuleans, the Tule Lake administration had no legal authority to arrest the Block 42 men. The administration had been informed by the War Department and FBI that refusing to answer the questionnaire was not a violation of the Selective Service Act and did not carry a $10,000 fine and/or 20 years in jail. This information was never made public to the camp inmates, and the administration continued to pressure Tuleans into answering the questionnaire.

The Tule Lake administration's hardline approach towards the Tuleans contributed towards the administration's dismal failure in administering the questionnaire properly. According to "The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description" by the WRA, there were 77,842 inmates eligible to register for the questionnaire from all the 10 WRA camps. Of the 77,842 eligible, 3,254 did not register from all the 10 camps. Of the 3,254 who did not register, 3,218 were from Tule Lake.

Meanwhile, Camp Tulelake was utilized again later that year in 1943.

"When Tule Lake was converted into a segregation center, the farm workers in the camp went on strike, refusing to harvest the crops," said Sutton.

"So internees from other camps were sent to Tule Lake to break in the harvest because they needed to send the harvest to the other camps. They brought in 243 internees from other camps. And because they were paid higher wages and because Tule Lake was on strike, they said, 'Well, we'll house them at Camp Tulelake for your protection.'"

After the Japanese Americans inmates from other camps harvested Tule Lake's crops, they were returned to their respective camps.

Although the Tule Lake crop was harvested, the nearby City of Tulelake was also facing a farm labor shortage with so many of their people in the Army. As a result, the City of Tulelake petitioned the government for aid, and the government sent 150 Italian prisoners of war. The Italian POWs were used to bring in the harvest and to convert Camp Tulelake into a POW camp that would eventually house 800 German POWs.

"The main function of the 800 German POWs was to work for the local farmers, bringing in the crops, planting crops, anything they needed to keep the community going," said Sutton. "There were strict rules for the farmers to follow if they were going to have POWs working for them. They had to pick them up right at 8 a.m. They were to bring them back at lunchtime if their farm was close enough. Otherwise, they were to get the mess hall to make them a bag lunch. They were to bring them back here by 5 p.m. every night.

"If they requested nine or less POWs, they didn't have to have an armed guard with them, so there are all kinds of stories in the Basin, of kids remembering these POWs at the farm, and only being three of them and never seeing an Army, so the thinking was they must never have been a threat because there was never an Army around.

"And there were other rules like they couldn't be treated to soda and beer and candy or anything that was a wartime kind of treat, but there are also tons of stories of the local farmers' wives, coming down at lunchtime with a cooler full of soft drinks and beer and a fresh baked pie for them, so their treatment was much different than what it should have been for that time period."

Currently, there is an effort to preserve the Camp Tulelake campsite. Sutton said the Friends of the Fish and Wildlife Refuge received a grant in 2006, as part of the Preserve America program. The money is enough to rehabilitee a portion of one building.

As for the Tanimoto brothers, Mori was held at Tule Lake until the end of the war, but for reasons unknown to the brothers, Jim was released early. Jim returned home to Gridley, Calif., on Feb. 26, 1944, a year before the war ended.

Jim tried to resume his former farming life in Gridley but it wasn't easy.

"Gridley is a small community of about 3,000 people," said Jim. "So you either went to school with their kids or you shopped at their stores or you knew them personally. When we got back, they didn't want no Japs. *And these were your friends*. But there was another group there. They were new people so we didn't know them. They were the conscientious objectors, and they said, 'Welcome back.'"

One particular incident stuck with Jim. Shortly after his return, Jim bumped into his former high school coach and physical education teacher whom he had had for four years and whom Mori had had as well.

"I walked up to him and extended my hand," said Jim. "I says to him, 'I'm home. I haven't seen you in a long time. How have you been?' He told me I was on the wrong side, turned his back on me and walked away."

Years later, the teacher became a peach farmer like the Tanimoto's and they met again at an agricultural meeting.

Jim recalled that the man came over to him but he didn't have the heart to reconcile with him.

"I says to him, 'Forget it. Get out of my face. I'm not shaking your hand. Get the hell out of here,'" recalled Jim. "Then I turned my back and walked away.

"Several other things like that happened. In Gridley, the feeling isn't the same no more. Before the war, I could count on my friends, but it's not like that anymore.

(*The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* by the War Relocation Authority; *Years of Infamy* by Michi Nishiura Weglyn; *Native American Aliens: Disloyalty and the Renunciation of Citizenship by Japanese Americans During World War II* by Donald Collins contributed to this article.)





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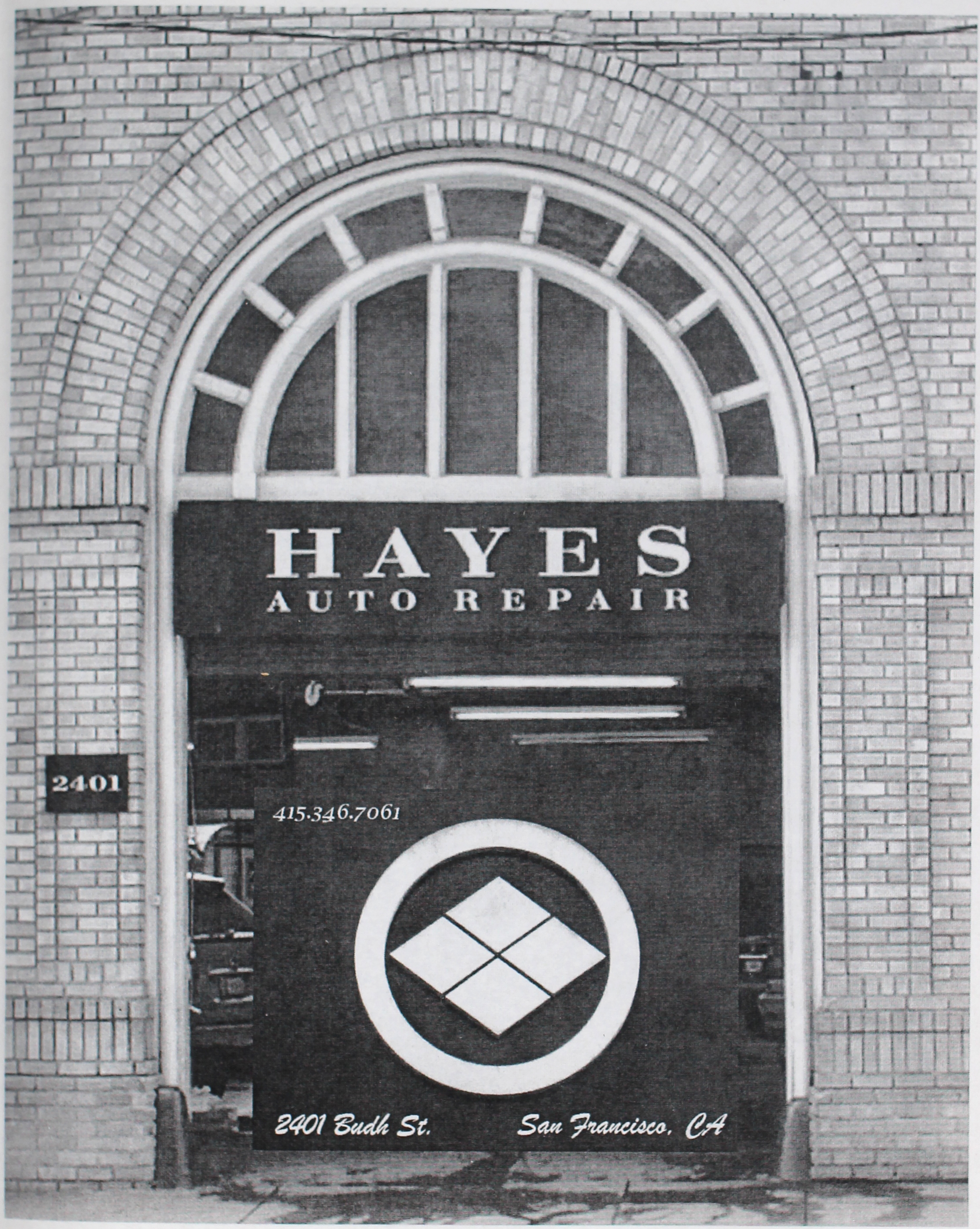
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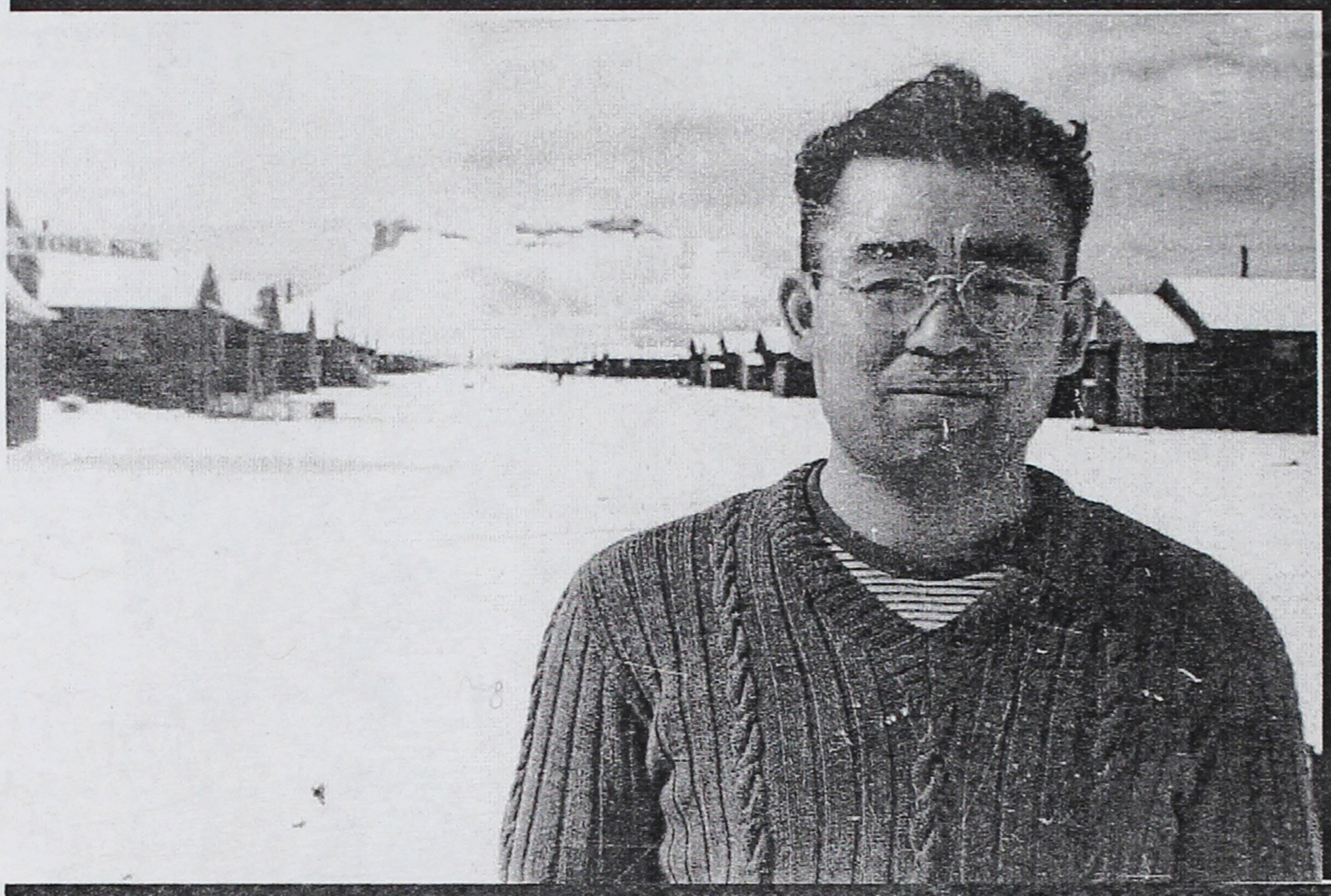


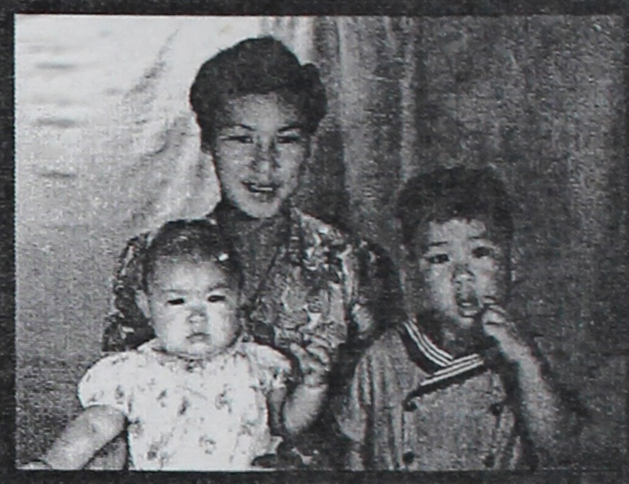





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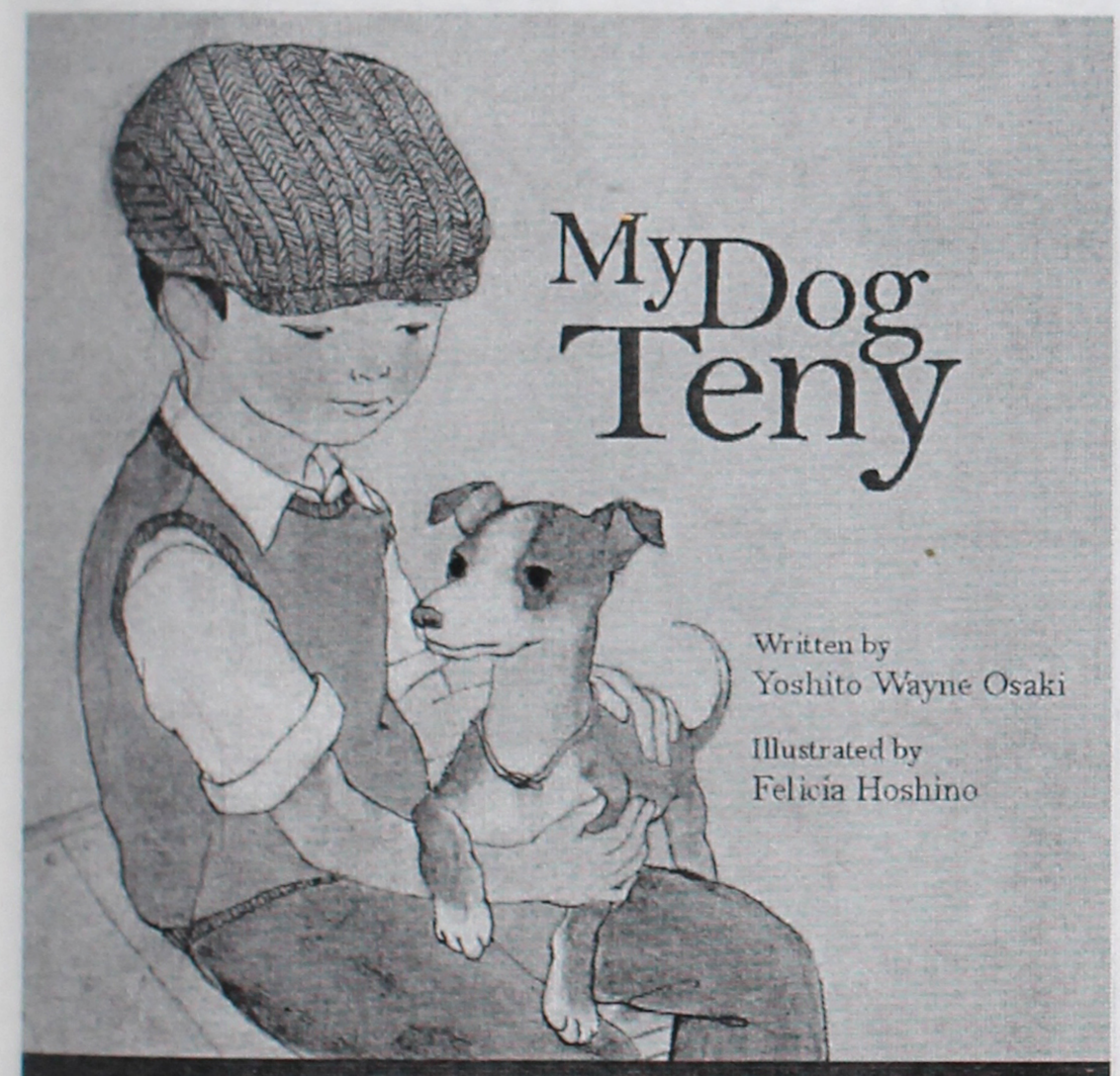
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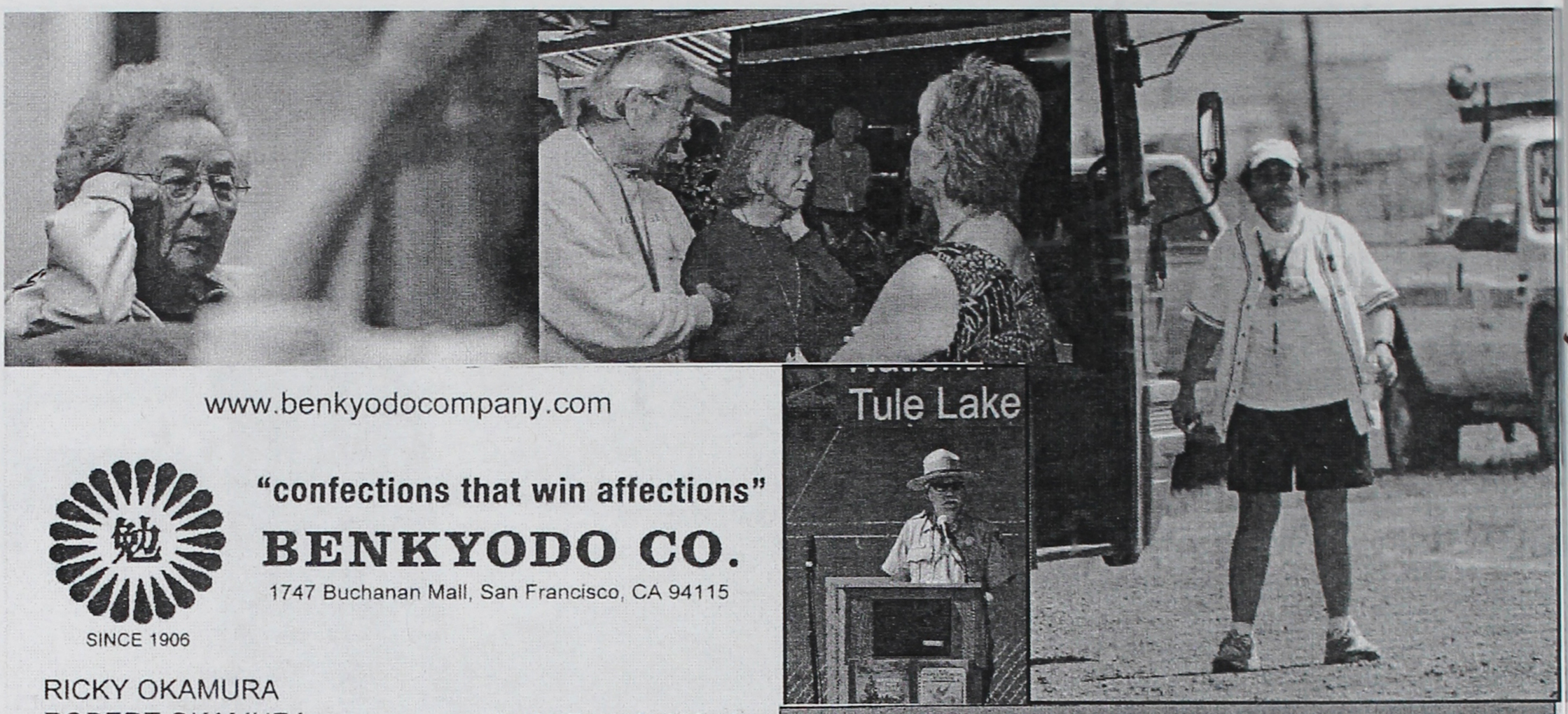
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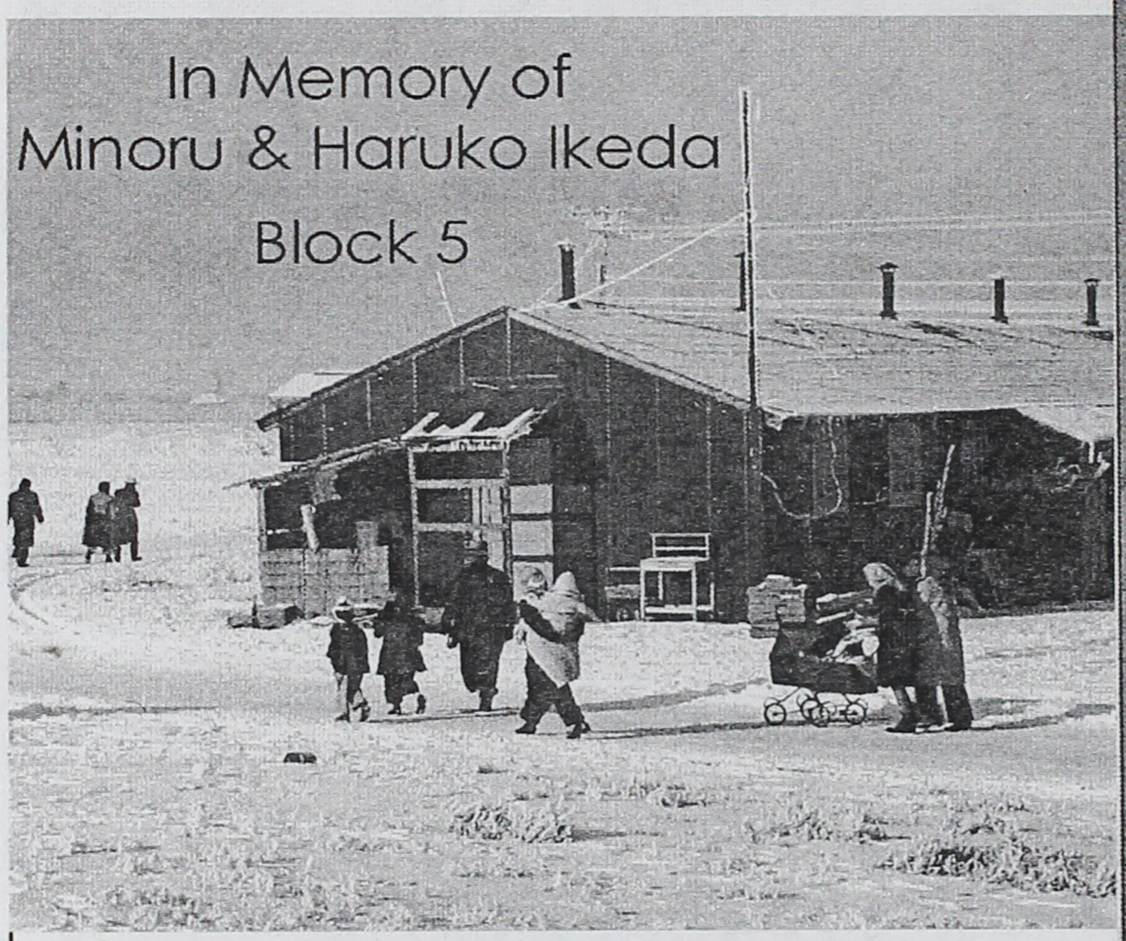
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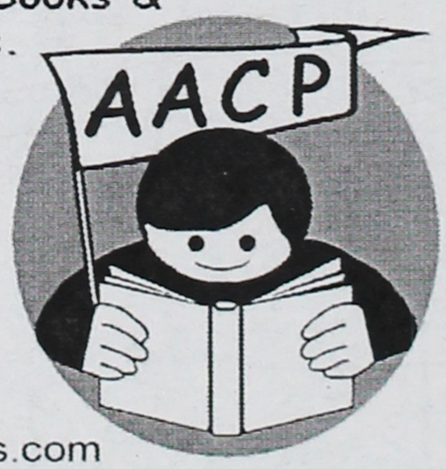


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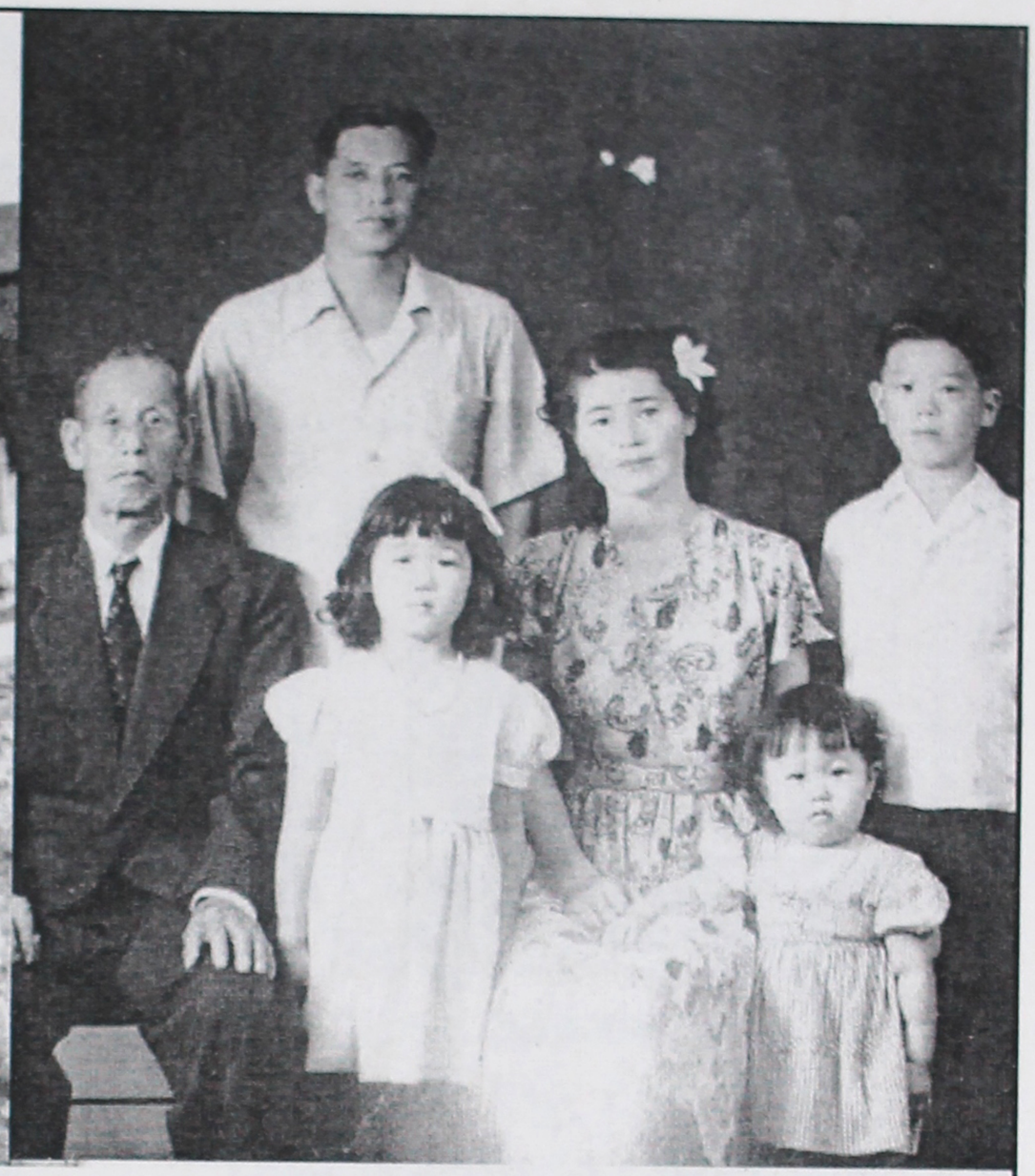
If you recognize and remember my parents Kimiyo & Hozumi Mitsuda from our years in Tule Lake please contact me and tell me whatever you can remember. I know so little of what my parents went through at Tule Lake that any remembrance would be greatly appreciated.

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The Mitsuda Family at Tule Lake
Kimiyo & Hozumi with me, Yayoi and my brother Osamu



The Mitsuda Family
With Grandfather Yaichi

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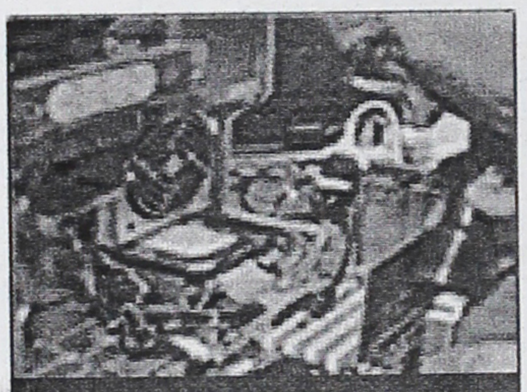
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