From “Jap” to “Hero”: Resettlement, Enlistment, and the Construction of Japanese American Identity during WWII

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On December 7, 1941 Japan staged a massive attack of the Pearl Harbor naval base in Hawai'i. Mainland Americans huddled around their radios listening to the events unfold, while Hawaiians watched the Japanese Imperial Air Force drop bombs over their home. The United States was at war. Young men nationwide, including Lawson Sakai, a Japanese American college student in California, rushed to join the Armed Forces. On December 8, 1941 Lawson and three friends traveled to the nearest recruiting station to commit themselves to the United States Navy. Though his friends were accepted immediately, Sakai was delayed and eventually denied. "They told me I was an enemy alien!," he remembered years later. [1] The recruiting officer's reaction to Sakai's attempted enlistment foreshadowed the intense racial discrimination that he and thousands of other Japanese Americans would face in the coming months.

The Nisei, second-generation Japanese American citizens, viewed themselves as distinctly American. They had no connection to the imperial enemies who bombed their homeland and were determined to support the United States. Growing anti-Japanese sentiment forced many to realize that in order retain a claim to citizenship they had to prove their patriotism and devotion. Charles Kikuchi, a student at the University of California wrote, "We are at war! I don't know what the hell is going to happen to us but we will all be in the army right away…"[2] In another diary entry that predicted events to come, Kikuchi proclaimed, "The next five year determine the future of the Nisei. They are now at the crossroads. Will they be able to take it or will they go under? If we are ever going to prove our Americanism this is the time."[3]

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[1] Bill Yenne, *Rising Sons: The Japanese American GI's Who Fought for the United States,* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007), 11.

[2] Allan W. Austin, *From Concentration Camp to Campus,* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 2004).

[3] Yenne, 13

All Japanese Americans had reason to worry about their futures. One college student displayed a foreboding outlook in a sign posted on his door exclaiming, “WORKING ON THE FINAL TERM PAPER OF MY CAREER. LETS MAKE IT A MASTERPIECE.”[4] After the Pearl Harbor attack many students left school or attempted to complete as much as possible, enduring increasing violence and restrictions because of their race.

From the moment Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, the Nisei generation was determined to prove their “Americanism.” When it became clear that they would be unable to serve their country and instead would be stripped of their citizenship rights, they continued to support the United States to the best of their ability. During relocation, the removal of Japanese Americans from their communities to government-run camps, the Nisei took advantage of government programs to ensure a positive future for their community. Japanese Americans played a considerable role in changing the nation’s harsh and inaccurate perception of their race through participation in student resettlement, their enrollment in colleges and universities from the camps, and the Armed Forces.

Japanese Internment and Relocation was the culmination of anti-Asian sentiment following the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941. Responding to public and government outcry as well as personal sentiment, President Roosevelt issued Executive order 9066, which made it possible to incarcerate Americans, both citizens and aliens alike. “Internment” the separation and imprisonment of resident aliens during wartime, is a legal practice. However, the American government took it to the extreme, essentially removing the citizenship rights of the Japanese population without fully stripping them of citizenship. Thousands of Japanese American’s serving in the military were also discharged as a result of their race. The majority of the internees were West Coast Japanese Americans who were forced out of their homes to live in horse stalls and hastily constructed barracks in desolate locations. It was a time of confusion and uncertainty, for both the American government and Japanese citizens and aliens alike. Despite such hardship, many of the Japanese continued to support the American cause and many citizen Nisei volunteered as defense workers and soldiers in Armed Forces as soon as they were offered the chance. The typical of Japanese internment experience is one of victimization and despair, a collective series of calamities and horrible events. However, in spite of hardship and immense change, many Japanese aliens and citizens found new agency in their own lives, striving overcome the racism, fear, and ignorance surrounding them.

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[4] Ibid, 15.

Traditional internment studies focus on the Japanese American experience as one of helplessness and victimization. The title of Roger Daniels' book, *Prisoners Without Trial,* fully captures the essence of the victimization argument. He describes Japanese Americans as trapped within the camps without any way to affect their own lives. Daniels focuses on the restrictions faced by the Japanese, and their imprisonment by the government. Although he points out a few of the options offered to Japanese Americans, such as student resettlement, he focuses on the ways their ethnicity inhibited them. Daniels and other historians have also referred to internment and relocation centers as American "concentration camps"[5]. In the context of WWII this is a tricky comparison. The experience and fate of the Japanese was vastly different than that of the Jewish population and other "undesirables" in Nazi Germany. Whereas the propaganda and racial profiling of the Japanese and the Jews were similar, there were no death camps in the United States, and the War Relocation Committee did eventually establish a policy of re-assimilation[6]. The government never sought to exterminate the Japanese Americans, though John Dower demonstrates that some extermination rhetoric was certainly used by those fighting the Pacific War[7]. On the home front, fear and racism combined to create an overzealous policy of imprisonment. The internment camps themselves claimed they intended to expedite Japanese American assimilation into American culture[8]. The Japanese were expected to fit the standards of Anglo-American society in order to be trusted, since their Asian appearance immediately distinguished them as outsiders.

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[5] Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993),4.

Their Japanese appearance and connection to "Oriental" culture made their loyalty all the more questionable in the eyes of the American public and government. Earl Warren, the attorney general of California, explained, "We believe that when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods to test them [for loyalty]…but when we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field and cannot form any opinion that we believe to be sound."[9] Italians and German aliens and citizens, despite any ties they may have had to the Fascist or Nazi regimes, were Anglo-American in appearance and thus fundamentally the same as all Anglo-American Americans. Their similarity of appearance negated mass suspicion of their entire population.[10]

The isolation of the Japanese makes it easy for modern historians to view and write about them as victims unable to escape the life altering experience forced upon them by the government. However the internment camps were neither inescapable prisons nor ideal American communities, and did the Japanese did not simply accept their fate. Though they complied with Executive Order 9066, they continuously fought leave the internment camps and regain their inalienable rights, as well as the respect of America. The majority of Japanese Americans saw themselves as Americans, not a group that was separate or inherently different. The Nisei generation in particular used all opportunities given to them to escape internment and act on behalf of their country and their community to establish a place for the Japanese in post-war America.

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[6] Ibid, 48.
[7] John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Rae and Power in the Pacific War*, (United State of America: Pantheon Books, 1986),48
[8] Mae M Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 175
[9] Ibid,176.

[10] Ibid, 178

Japanese Invasion: "The Problem of the Hour" 1890-1940

The attack on Pearl Harbor evoked immediate outcry against the alien Issei populations, first generation Japanese Americans, as well as their Nisei children; legitimate U.S. citizens. Asian discrimination against Chinese and Japanese immigrants was not a new phenomenon, yet the events in Pearl Harbor changed the attitudes of those who had coexisted peacefully with the Japanese for years. Anglo-American citizens as well as immigrant groups who had consistently expressed anti- Japanese sentiment became increasingly aggressive and outspoken. Others, who had not had a prior issue with the Asian minority, were influenced by newspapers and magazines that bashed those of Japanese ancestry with inflammatory articles.

These articles echoed the sentiments of publications written when the Japanese first arrived in the United States in the late 19th century. A small number of Japanese men traveled to California seeking temporary jobs with tentative plans to return home. They followed the wave of Chinese immigrants that crossed the Pacific, lured by the Gold Rush. Americans were wary of the Asian immigrants encroaching on their own economic success, especially since many Japanese stayed to establish homes and communities. Although some of them did return home after earning money to bring back to their families, a majority of young men remained in the

U.S., inviting "picture brides" from Japan to join them. These lonely young men embellished their lives in America, promising wealth and comfortable living to their future wives despite their back-breaking jobs as migrant workers or menial laborers. Michi Nashimura described her adopted parents' arranged marriage as a loveless one. "He was smaller and not as handsome as the man in the photo, and she likewise was, in his view, less attractive then she had been described." [11] These marriages were initiated out of necessity rather then romance, however, the picture brides still dreamed of having a suitable match. Nevertheless, Nami Nashimura and other picture brides remained to work beside their new husbands and establish families and communities throughout the West Coast.

Initially, white citizens in California and the Pacific Northwest paid little attention to the Asian immigrants, but as their numbers, grew so did social and economic discrimination against them. Anglo-American citizens initiated little anti-Japanese legislation; because of Japan's strength President Theodore Roosevelt was wary of antagonizing them in the early 20th century[12]. Nevertheless, white citizens and business owners felt threatened by the intensive work ethic of the Japanese immigrants, who established themselves quickly and successfully in America. For the most part, they performed menial labor on farms or railroads, dealing with barriers white Americans and other immigrants put in their way. White employers often took advantage of Japanese work ethic and cultural passivity. Japanese women were raped by white employers and harassed by single Japanese men desperate for the presence of more women. Labor leaders in the middle and working classes began to form anti-Asiatic groups, and in 1900 the Republicans, Democrats, and Populists in California all included anti- Asiatic immigration policy in their platforms. Threatened economically by Japanese farmers, and encouraged by political parties, public opinion in the West shifted against Japanese immigrants as newspapers published outrageous stories about the “inhuman Japs”.

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[11] David Neiwert, *Strawberry Days: How Internment Destroyed a Japanese Community*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005),25.

[12] Daniels*, Prisoners Without Trial*, 9.

The San Francisco Chronicle published a series of anti Japanese articles in 1905 beginning with the headline “Japanese Invasion: The Problem of the Hour.” The paper spread rumors about the “little brown men” and claimed that every Japanese was a spy and a menace to Anglo women. Other headlines published include “Crime and Poverty Go Hand in Hand with Asiatic Labor”, “Brown Men an Evil in Public Schools” “Brown Men a Menace to White Women” and “Brown Artisans Steal Brains of Whites”[13]. By isolating the Japanese through skin color, the *Chronicle* and other newspapers further racialized and separated them from the white community. These experiences were not so different from that of other immigrant groups, however, the distinctive appearance of the Japanese made it even more difficult for them to blend in.

In 1905 an incident in California became an international crisis. Japanese children were sent to a segregated “Chinese” school, and when newspapers in Tokyo caught wind of the legislation, President Theodore Roosevelt was forced to intervene. Through coercion and wheedling he convinced the school board in California that he would put an end to Japanese immigration if they ended their segregation policy. Through the “Gentlemen’s Agreement,” Roosevelt and Japan agreed that labor immigration would stop; though Japanese families could still move and reunite in the U.S[14]. The compromise created a new set of problems. There would no longer be an influx of young Japanese men to upset the West Coasts economy, but many young Japanese men already in the U.S. were married by proxy to “Picture Brides” planning to move to the West Coast in droves to be united with their husbands. Rumors circulated about Japanese plans to take over the West Coast in an invasion of immigrant families. Americans were particularly disturbed by the idea of the Japanese sending home for a bride, as the Americans viewed it, to procreate and further “overrun” the west with Japanese children. In California, anti-miscegenation laws prevented whites and “Mongolians” (those of Oriental descent) from intermarrying[15]. Ironically, even with such laws on the books, the Japanese were criticized for not wanting to intermarry and assimilate. Additionally, they were not permitted to become citizens.

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[13] Ibid, 10.
[14] Ibid, 11.

Early twentieth- century Naturalization laws included only whites and those of African descent. The children of Japanese immigrants, born in the United States, would be citizens, but their parents would always be considered “foreign aliens”. Issei parents were thus unable to purchase or own land in the U.S and often did so under their children’s names in order to establish themselves as farmers. They were determined to work and live as Americans.

The Japanese Issei generation understood how Americans viewed them, and reminded their children that they would have to work twice as hard to be accepted in school. The Nisei were just as American as any other child, yet they struggled to fit in among their non-Asian classmates. Many of them were outstanding students and hard workers, determined to be well educated and establish successful careers. One young woman remembers her father saying that he would finance any educational endeavor if she thought she would be successful.[16] Often, however, Japanese success only further angered whites, who had begun to see them as the perfect working class. They enjoyed having Japanese maids and laundry services; they did not want them as their doctors and lawyers. Many Nisei who had successfully completed medical school found themselves without jobs, simply because of their ethnicity. Yoshiye Togaski, a young medical student in California recalls,

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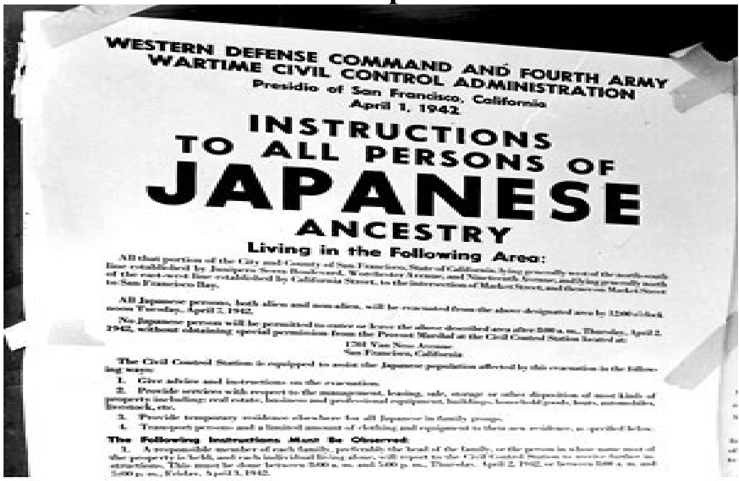
[15] Neiwert, 37.

[16] Brenda L Moore, *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in World War II*, (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

> While I was in Los Angeles in my residency I was taking all kinds of examinations for the State of California, or cities, or counties. I was interested in public health work…I was informed, "Sorry, we would like to employ you, but other members of the staff and the community will not accept you."…The chairman of Maternal and Child Health, State of California, came down to Los Angeles while I was working there at the county hospital to interview me. He said, "Miss Togasaki, would you please take your name off the Civil Service list because we are in the position where we cannot employ another person with your name there[17].

On December 7 1941, this ongoing racism doubled in intensity and spread nationwide.

"JAPS BOMB HAWAII"
Racism and Reactions to the Japanese American Community



WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION
Presidio of San Francisco, California
April 1, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS
TO ALL PERSONS OF
JAPANESE
ANCESTRY
Living in the Following Area:

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

[18]

After Pearl Harbor, the Japanese community was targeted by nearly the entire country. Demonstrating fear and rage, Anglo-Americans attacked Japanese Americans, burning down barns or defacing property. Newspapers and Japanese shopkeepers were forced to shut down their markets as they steadily lost customers. Other Asian immigrants wore stickers or buttons that said "Chinese" or "Korean" in order to differentiate them from the Japanese. Japanese Americans hung signs across storefronts stating, "I AM AN AMERICAN"[19]. Emi Sowakowa recalls, "…People who stopped at our store thought maybe we should close up. For our safety. My husband said, 'There's no need to do that. We're American citizens."…as days went by , it really got worse. When April came along we knew we had to go. So my husband started selling things in the store."[20] National newspapers and magazine printed ways to distinguish between those of Asiatic ancestry, tainting the opinions of those who had never even seen a Japanese American. The Japanese were depicted as ape- like and subhuman in comparison to the friendly Chinese, in posters eerily similar to the ones in Germany, which depicted Aryan versus Jewish features.

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[17] Ibid, 25.
[18] Dorthea Lange, Ukiah, California, 1942.

These posters noted skin color, eye shape, bone structure, and facial hair. The Japanese appeared animalistic, as having 'Yellower skin, a heavy beard, and a shorter broader face." The *Life* magazine article depicted their cheek and jawbones as "massive" and resembling those of an ape. The Japanese were consistently referred to as apes or monkeys, and were often drawn with buckteeth, making them appear even more cartoonish[21]. Published in December 1941, the article demonstrates anti-Japanese sentiment that spread nationwide following Pearl Harbor at the beginning of the Second World War. Another cartoon by Milton Caniff published in 1943 goes even further in distinguishing between the Japanese and other Asians, explaining difference in stance, stride, and even toe separation.[22] The Japanese person is drawn as a hulking stout figure with almost no waistline who shuffles about like a monkey. This wide- ranging "scientific propaganda" only added to the growing racial movement against the Japanese, spreading it throughout the country.

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[19] Dorthea Lange, Oakland California, March 13, 1942 in Ed. Lawson Fusao Inada, *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese Internment Experience.*(Californa, HeyDay Books: 2000) 60.
[20] "How to Tell Japs from the Chinese," *LIFE,* December 22, 1941, in *Only What We Could Carry,* 17.
[21] Dower, 67.

Pearl Harbor left Americans feeling wary and unsafe in their homes. West Coast citizens in particular were concerned about their close proximity to Japan and the lack of defense along the coast. The government had been paying close attention to German activity, expecting an attack from their military as retaliation against American intervention. Tensions between the U.S. and the Axis powers rose, as American planes reported German U-Boat locations and the military participated in the Lend-Lease program with England, supplying them with ammunition and weapons. The Japanese attack shocked the nation, and Americans wanted immediate retaliation. A headline in the *Los Angeles Times* on December 8th 1941 proclaimed, "City Springs to Attention: Los Angeles, Stunned by Sudden War Start turn Wholeheartedly to Defense Task, 'They Started it, We'll Finish It,' motto." [23] The article laid out the defense tactics that the city had begun apparently "only minutes after the attack." It noted that "Little Tokyo" was "enclosed with automobile traffic and a cordon of police…on the lookout for disorder."[24] Regular descriptions of Japanese American pledges of loyalty and an article entitled "Little Tokyo Carries on Business as Usual"[25] detailing the normal activities still occurring in the

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[22] Milton Caniff, "How to Spot a Jap", 1943 in *Only What We Could Carry,* 21.
[23] "City Springs to Attention: Los Angeles, Stunned by Sudden War Start, Turns Wholeheartedly to Defense Task; 'They Started It, We'll Finish It,' Motto." *Los Angeles Times*, December 8,1942.
[24] Ibid.
[25] "Little Tokyo Carries on Business as Usual." *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1942.

Japanese American section of the city. A small article reassures the public that a Japanese O.S.C football player is indeed a citizen[26].

However, within only a few days of Pearl Harbor Japanese racial epithets and conspiracy theories were prevalent, as ordinary citizens began to riot against the Japanese Americans. On December 9th an L.A. *Times* article states “Little Tokyo Banks and Concerns Shut; Even Saloons Padlocked in Japanese District; Extra Police on Duty to Prevent Racial Riots.”[27] With government officials and civilians ganging up against the Japanese- Americans, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, initiating the movement into Internment Camps.

E.O. 9066, issued on February 19, 1942, was not specifically worded for Japanese aliens and citizens, yet it was directed towards them. The order appeared unconstitutional, allowing any American civilian to be interned or restricted from an area regardless of their rights and liberties and without a criminal conviction. For aliens this act was not as extreme because foreign aliens have limited rights in a time of war, but after years in the U.S. many Issei had stopped thinking of themselves as foreign aliens. Nevertheless they understood the troubles they could face after Pearl Harbor, but they hoped their children, who were citizens, would be safe.

Many Japanese citizens incorrectly believed that they would be protected from the restrictions of Executive Order 9066. Although the Nisei were American citizens, many of them born before 1924 also held duel citizenship with Japan. Prior to 1924 laws in Japan required that

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[26] "City Springs to Attention: Los Angeles, Stunned by Sudden War Start, Turns Wholeheartedly to Defense Task; 'They Started It, We'll Finish It,' Motto," 1942.

[27] ""Little Tokyo Banks and Concerns Shut: Even Saloons Padlocked in Japanese District; Extra Police on Duty to Prevent Racial Riots." *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1942.

Japanese parents fill out a form with a consulate in order to prevent dual citizenship, a task few accomplished[28]. Their required dual citizenship colored the government and the public's view of Nisei patriotism. Although no Japanese Americans, outside of those with diplomatic connections, had previous knowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack, their cultural ties placed them under suspicion. The government felt Japanese Americans posed a security risk on the poorly fortified West Coast and therefore arrested and relocated them without due process.

Executive Order 9066 was a result of ongoing racial tensions, combined with an refusal by the American government to distinguish between loyal and non-loyal Japanese Americans or between citizens or Japanese aliens. The government continuously used the justification that "A Jap is a Jap[29]" implying that there was no difference between the "inhumane barbarians" abroad and Japanese American citizens and long term aliens. "Japs" referred to every human of Japanese descent, not just those in imperial Japan. John Dower points out the difference between referring to the evil "Japs", an entire racial group, and the Nazi's, a clear political sector. Order 9066 sought to group everyone of any Japanese descent into one neat file rather then investigating each and every Issei or Nisei. Categorizing the true loyalties of every Japanese descendant would have been a long and nearly impossible process. The Japanese had not become less loyal since the attack, however, civilians, military personal, business, and others had changed the way they wished to view and treat the Japanese Americans. The Executive Order resulted in the incarceration of all Japanese, even though 60 percent of those relocated were American citizens[30].

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[28] Moore, 41.
[29] Dower, 80.
[30] Moore, 72.

Though Japanese incarceration is typically referred to as internment and will be noted as both throughout this paper, it is important to distinguish the difference in meaning. The definition of internment applies specifically to the imprisonment of aliens in war-time, but incarceration is based on ethnic origin rather than citizenship. Government officials reported the majority of the citizen Nisei to be loyal. Their relationship to the Issei, their parents and Japanese aliens, however, was suspicious, and Secretary of War Harry Stimson noted that he believed the Nisei were even less trustworthy then their parents. "Their racial characteristics are such that we cannot understand or trust even the citizen Japanese."[31] Ironically, the Issei remained foreign aliens only because the revised Naturalization Act of 1870 allowed only free white and black persons to become naturalized citizens of the United States. Children born in the U.S. were citizens regardless of their parents' ethnic background.[32]. However, many of them had lived in the U.S. before the 1907 Gentleman's Agreement, when immigration was curtailed, and considered themselves American. All of them had been "resident aliens" since 1924 when immigration from Asia halted entirely. It seems likely that if obtaining citizenship been possible, many Issei would have changed their status after establishing lives in the U.S. They were being punished and relocated for a citizenship status over which they had no control.

Newspapers and government officials supported Executive Order 9066, writing articles and making statements against both Japanese Americans and the imperial Japanese, whom they saw as indistinguishable. Jap and "Nip" (from the Japanese word for Japan, Nippon) were common terms in daily press and even official notices. One *San Francisco Chronicle* article from February 21, 1942, explains that Japanese living in the United States cannot possibly be loyal Americans, but if they are, they will recognize the necessity of incarceration.

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[31] Dower, 82.

[32] Roger Daniels, *Coming to America, A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life,* (New York: Harper Collins Publishing, 2002).

> "Japanese loyalty is primarily to Japan…We would consider it nothing reprehensible if Americans born in Japan and who spent their lives their remained at heart faithful to the United States in a war to the death. …Every American citizen in fact, [is often called] upon to submit to some infringement upon rights…[that] under usual circumstances we would resent and resist…It is principle that persons of Japanese blood who are loyal to the United States and its ideas can show that loyalty by recognizing necessity."

The author turns a discriminatory order into a "necessity" and patriotic duty. Such a strongly written article was sure to draw support from Anglo Americans, although it failed to mention that government investigators from the FBI and the State Department had reported that Japanese Americans were not a threat. FBI agents reported a lack of "5th column activities" among Japanese Americans. Yet another article was published a month later entitled "Not Civil Liberties But Military Necessity"[33]. General DeWitt "declared that the Japanese 'race' was an 'enemy race' and even though 2nd and 3rd generation…had become 'Americanized', the 'racial strains' were undiluted."[34] In 1942 *Time Warner* produced a movie entitled *Little Tokyo, U.S.A.;* the voiceover during the prologue announced that a "vast army of volunteer spies, steeped in the traditions of their homeland" were involved in "mass espionage" of the United States almost a decade before Pearl Harbor[35]. Racist statements made by leaders and the media, as well as ridiculous propaganda, only enhanced anti Japanese American sentiment throughout the U.S.

In the face of such widespread discrimination the Japanese American community did its best to display American loyalty. The Japanese American newspaper *Rafu Shimpo* discussed the patriotic duty of Japanese Americans by encouraging Nisei to do their best to support the war effort, not docilely be interned like the *San Francisco Chronicle* instructed. “Let’s not forget that loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry have definite part to play in the war to defeat Japan.” The newspaper went to the extreme to remind readers to demonstrate their support of the American cause, stating in an article published only three days after Pearl Harbor “We are ready to sacrifice our lives to bring a clear cut victory to the United States…blood ties mean nothing now. We do not hesitate to repudiate and condemn our ancestral country.”[36] The Japanese American citizens league sent a telegram to President Roosevelt as soon as they heard the news regarding Pearl Harbor. It stated, “In this solemn hour we pledge our fullest cooperation to you, Mr. President, and to our country. There cannot be any question. There must be no doubt. We, in our hearts, are Americans-Loyal to America. We must prove that to all of you.”[37]As Japanese families were forced out of their livelihoods and homes, the authors of *Rafu Shimpo* and community leaders realized that Japanese Americans had a war to fight both at home and abroad.

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[33] *San Francisco Chronicle,* "Facts Force America to Stop Pussyfooting," February 21, 1942, *Only What We Could Carry,* 22.

[34] Moore, 14.

[35] Clayton R. Copps and Gregory D. Black, *When Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Propaganda and Profit Shaped World War II Movies.* (London: The Free Press, 1987) 72.

Soon after Executive Order 9066 was published, General DeWitt, the Commander of West Coast Defense operations, set up restricted areas along the coast of Washington, Oregon and California. There were large populations of Japanese along the coast, near San Francisco, and also farther south within Los Angeles and its suburbs. These inhabitants were considered especially dangerous since they had access to the ports and cities along the Pacific. If they were able to gain knowledge of the ports and other important areas the Japanese could potentially transmit the information to the Japanese military, prompting another well planned attack. Subsequently, Public Law No 503 made disobeying exclusion orders from a military area a criminal offense while Public Proclamation No. 3 set curfew and travel restrictions for Japanese in prohibited zones that had been established by the WRA.

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[36] *Rafu Shimpo* “All Out Victory”, December 10, 1941 in *Only What We Could Carry*, 12.
[37] Maisie and Richard Conrat, *Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans* (California: California Historical Society, 1972) 46.

The initial process of removal and relocation was completed on a voluntary basis. Milton Eisenhower, described by Allen Austin as the "reluctant director" of the WRA, hoped that permanent camps would be unnecessary. He spoke to the governors in several different states about accepting an influx of American Japanese in a resettlement program. Japanese communities were also asked to look for other places to live within the interior of the country. Though some Japanese families and individuals found relatives or jobs in other states taking the initiative to blend and assimilate outside of the West Coast, many communities would not allow them. They did not want the Japanese invading their communities so soon after a national attack, a rhetoric that was repeated by the Western governors during their meeting with Eisenhower. In his personal files Eisenhower recalls,

> One governor shouted: "If these people are dangerous on the Pacific coast they will be dangerous here too...Another governor walked close to me, shook his fist in my face and growled through clenched teeth: "If you bring Japanese into my state I promise you they will be hanging from every tree."[38]

Public opinion coupled with the difficulty and slow pace of voluntary relocation paved the way for the planning of a mass government organized removal.

As time went on, more and more restrictions were imposed on Japanese communities, and rumors flew throughout the West Coast about arrests. Japanese and Anglo-Americans alike spoke of a "list" of known enemies, or the possibility that every citizen or non-citizen of

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[38] Daniels*, Prisoners Without Trial*, 46.

Japanese descent would be sent back to Japan. Public Proclamation No. 3 prevented Japanese from leaving their homes between the hours of 8 pm and 6 am, which posed a problem for those who delivered produce and other goods. One woman remembers that she was only allowed on one side of a street but couldn't cross it, and as a result she couldn't attend school and was forced to drop out.[39] Her school was situated at the edge of a restricted military zone, generally defined by their proximity to ports, military bases, or other areas vulnerable to attack. Anti Japanese sentiment grew stronger nationwide and the Issei and Nisei became scapegoats for Americans' revenge on Japan. Henry McLemore a *Hearst* columnist wrote,

> I am for the immediate removal of every Japanese on the West Coast to a point deep in the interior. I don't mean a nice part of the interior either. Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give 'em the inside room in the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry, and dead up against it"[40]

Signs in a barbershops stated " JAPS SHAVED HERE. NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ACCIDENTS," while restaurants posted signs declaring "THIS MANAGEMENT POISONS BOTH RATS AND JAPS."[41] These signs showed up within days and weeks of the Pearl Harbor attack, even in neighborhoods where the Japanese had been previously welcomed. Blatant racism was widely practiced and living as a Japanese American became somewhat akin to living as an African American in the South. Japanese Americans were discriminated against nationwide, and soon additional legislation was passed that would make their lives increasingly difficult yet the Japanese continued to cooperate.

In the spring of 1942, Japanese parents were asked to register their families with the government. They were asked to turn in all radios, cameras, and farm tools and appliances that could be used to aid the enemy. At the time both radios and portable cameras were fairly new technology and the government believed they could be used against them. Short wave radios could be used to transmit coded messages to the Japanese Imperial Military, under the guise of a radio show. Cameras similarly could let the Japanese know the location of various ports or fields in which to land their aircrafts or ships. They could also report what ships or submarines were in the port. Farm tools and kitchen appliances were also viable weapons-the government did not allow any Japanese a knife that was longer than 6 inches.[42]

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[39] Moore, 22.

[40] Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress Rights, "Stand Up for Justice: The Ralph Lazo Story." Accessed January 17, 2012. http://www.ncrr-la.org/news/stand_up_for_justice.html.

[41] Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial,*38.

A majority of Issei and Nisei were produce farmers and their jobs became increasingly tedious and difficult as they attempted to harvest and plant their crops without tools. Scythes and other tools used for harvesting crops had be taken by government officials, so much more work had to be done by hand. Their jobs were already backbreaking and time consuming, especially since many Japanese farmers were forced to clear rocky and tree-ridden land in order to begin farming at all. In Bellevue, Washington, an old logging community, Japanese immigrants had turned acres of stumps into rolling farmland. Tom Matsudo recalls that they used dynamite to loosen the stumps, "Then you'd dig out the roots and cut them with an ax, then you'd get the horse to pull. Boy, that's a lot of hard work."[43] It was a long, intensive process that required the help of families and communities. However, once they had established their land, Japanese American famers were unbelievably successful at using every inch of arable space.

Roger Daniels points out that Japanese farmers supplied 17% of California's produce while making up only 1% of farmers, an incredible statistic because they farmed very small plots and often lost their leases after a 3 to 5 year period when they began the process again[44]. Despite their contributions to the wartime food supply, the government required them to leave their farms, sometimes only days before the harvest. In fact, an entire community outside of Seattle was completely destroyed after the citizens and local farmers were relocated. The widely popular Bellevue Strawberry Festival, which was mainly supported and created by the Issei and Nisei, came to a sudden halt. Other Japanese lost their livelihoods as well. One young woman recalls her father losing his job at the railroad because of his ancestry, "…they made him quit his job…. [We] lived in a house the railroad owned…. But then we had to vacate the house and move away"[45] Japanese shopkeepers left notices in the window, "Many thanks for your patronage. Hope to serve you in the near future. God be with you till we meet again. Mr. and Mrs. Kilseri"[46]In addition to employment termination, most Japanese had lost the ability to access their funds. Although freezing the accounts of aliens is a common and lawful technique during wartime, it certainly added to the hardship the Japanese were facing[47]. Eventually Japanese were allowed to access about 100 dollars a month from their accounts. Job and housing losses, as well as frozen accounts were a direct result of the fear and paranoia that had taken hold of the country following December 7, 1941. Unfortunately, even more harsh treatment was about to unfold.

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[42] Neiwert. 45.
[43] Ibid, 46.

This same fear fueled incorrect rumors about how Japanese citizens were using their crops to signal to the Japanese military and transmit information[48]. Anglo citizens believed that crops planted in a certain pattern had different coded meanings or even that individual crops were planted to signal some sort of message. There was never any evidence that supported such a claim. Descriptions of Japanese planes or subs being spotted along the coastline were both common and invalid. As incorrect information spread, and Japanese found it more difficult to find new homes anywhere in the county, the government planned for mass relocation, stating that they were protecting both American and Japanese American citizens. Despite the silent compliance and flexibility the Japanese had displayed in determination to portray their patriotism, the government still considered them suspicious. Between the hateful slurs made against anyone of Japanese descent and the ongoing worry of infiltration by the Japanese imperial army, large-scale relocation seemed to be the best option. Notices were posted in towns and cities stating the Japanese Americans had to report to various centers with their belongings.

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Moore, 26.
[46] Conrat, 47.
[47] Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 26
[49] Dorthea Lange, "View Of the Barracks," Manzanar Relocation Center, June 30, 1942.

Enduring Relocation: "shikata ga nai"

[49]

Civilian Exclusion Order No. 82 asked that "Evacuees must carry with them to departure for the Assembly Center, the following property: a) Bedding and Linens (no mattresses) for each member of the family; b) Toilet articles for each member of the family c) Extra clothing for each member of the family; d) Essential personal effects for each member of the family."[50]The drawn out process of increasingly harsh restrictions coupled with the extreme prejudice that Japanese Americans experienced on a day-to-day basis changed their lives dramatically, yet they continued to pursue their livelihoods and seek education.

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[49] Dorthea Lange, "View Of the Barracks," Manzanar Relocation Center, June 30, 1942.

Japanese Americans being relocated were not told where they were going, or for how long they would be gone. They were forced to sell their belongings at ridiculously cheap prices, or trust them to Anglo-American neighbors and friends. "Vultures" hung around the Japanese neighborhoods, buying off expensive and personal items for less then bargain prices. One family had a neighbor watch over their house while they were gone and he reported multiple break-in attempts[51]. Tensions were high, and for many Japanese families, it seemed as though everything they had worked for was being stolen. Given only a day or two to prepare, families were overburdened with the stress of packing necessities while deciding what to do with their remaining belongings, hoping that their house wouldn't be pillaged after they left. Many of these decisions were left only to the mother of the household, as many Japanese men, particularly community leaders, were arrested and held as prisoners directly after Pearl Harbor.

The leaders of the Japanese American Citizen League were hauled into questioning about the activities within their communities, particularly the Japanese schools. Although all Japanese American children attended public or private American schools, many Japanese communities often provided Japanese schooling where they could learn the language and culture of their heritage[52]. Although Japanese school was more of a halfhearted chore than something that the students looked forward to, the American government was convinced that these schools were indoctrinating young Japanese Americans to become Japanese nationalists. Rather, the schools were a representation of the Issei's attempt to hang on to their heritage seen as their children became increasingly Americanized. A large portion of the children rebelled, and Fuchida, a Nisei woman, recalls, "We didn't really take [Japanese language school] seriously. We would cut classes. Go to the lake and play around because it didn't mean that much to us. I'm sorry now."[53] The schools were shut down and anyone involved was questioned or imprisoned for their actions. Even in Hawai'I, where internment only occurred for known criminals or disloyal citizens or aliens, Japanese language teachers and Buddhist priests were arrested because of their cultural ties to Japan.

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[50] Evacuation Procedures, Ukiah, California. Wartime Civil Control Administration, May 17, 1942 in *Only What We Could Carry,* 9.
[51] Yoshiko Uchida, "Desert Exile" in *Only What We Could Carry,* 73.
[52] *Daniels, Prisoners Without Trial*,27.

Japanese Americans in a Hawai'i had a vastly different experience than their mainland counterparts. Hawai'i was comprised of minorities and had a wide ethnic variety of Filipinos, Japanese, and Hawaiian natives. Each of these groups largely contributed to Hawai'i's economic success and production on the island would have come to a grinding halt if Japanese Americans had been subject to incarceration. Rather, they were closely watched once it was determined that there were no outright disloyals or anyone engaged in Fifth Column activities. Such actions could have and likely should have taken place on the mainland, rather than mass imprisonment. However the comparatively small proportion of Japanese Americans in the continental U.S. made internment easier to justify.

Once internment was officially underway, Japanese Americans found themselves being shipped off, hundreds or even thousands of miles from home to unknown destinations in the country's most desolate areas. They were piled onto buses and then trains, where they remained traveling for multiple days and nights. An internee recalls that they were let off the train once, in the middle of the desert, surrounded by armed guards so they wouldn't run away. Yet, as she points out, "We were in the middle of the desert, where would be go?"[54] At first many were sent to detainment camps, such as the one created at the Tanforan Assembly Center in California. Families were assigned individual horse stalls that had been hastily cleaned and whitewashed, with thin plywood barriers between each. In some cases they were asked to live in refurbished pigpens. These small crowded living quarters were only temporary, but they were an extreme change and hardly felt like home. Yoshiko Uchida describes her "barrack" as having bugs still visible under the paint with the pervading scent of horse manure and urine slightly masked by potent cleaning products. There was no privacy; Uchida points out "To say that we all became intimately acquainted is an understatement. It was, in fact, communal living with semi-private cubicles provided only for sleeping". [55]

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[53] Moore, 123.

At both the assembly centers and the camps themselves, many bathroom areas were completely open with two back-to-back rows of toilet facilities. Several women found discarded cardboard and used it to make a three-sided barrier so that they could use the bathroom in private. Privacy and modesty were norms in Japanese culture and an open toilet and bathing area was shocking. The older generation was especially affronted by the extreme lack of privacy. Nisei children did their best to ensure the comfort of their parents though Wakatsuki writes that many, like her mother, just learned to endure-in Japanese: "shikata ga nai". She describes the lack of privacy, "The packed sleeping quarters, the communal mess halls, the open toilets-" as an "open insult to that other, private self, a slap in the face you were powerless to challenge."[56]

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[54] Williams, "Time of Fear".
[55] Uchida, "Desert Exile," *Only What We Could Carry*, 73.

The various camps were located in inland areas with extreme weather, vastly different from the mild climates of California and the Northwest. Japanese Americans from Los Angeles found themselves completely unprepared for winter weather as they struggled to survive and adapt to their initial months in Heart Mountain, Wyoming[57]. Other camps were located in desert areas and were constantly subjected to dust and windstorms. Not only were the climates extreme, the living quarters built for the Japanese were hastily constructed of splintered wood that was often riddled with holes. Many Nisei internees remember snow, dust, and rain often blowing straight into their tiny living quarters. Yoschio Uchida's father was relocated to Montana where, she writes, "Soon after the men arrived in Missoula, the temperature plunged to thirty below zero. The men, with their California clothing, were scarcely prepared for this kind of harsh weather and finally after a month the Army issued them some basic winter clothing." [58] The barracks provided little shelter from the cold and wind. The camps were seemingly no more prepared for the Japanese Americans, than they were for the camps, "The evacuation had been so hurriedly planned, the camps to hastily thrown together, nothing was completed when we got there and almost nothing worked,"[59] recalls Houston.

The government was unprepared to construct housing developments for thousands of people in only a few months in the midst of a war. They planned a hasty relocation-one that they originally hoped would not require huge detention centers, but they were also building barracks for new troops preparing for war. All of the living conditions for Japanese and soldiers alike were inhospitable, and the concurrent changes in diet and environment only highlighted the unfortunate conditions. The government estimated they spent roughly 38.12 cents a day on the cheap and starchy food that fed each internees, about 12 cents less than the 50 cents they spent on their soldiers[60]. Despite their meager rations, journalists spread lies that that the government was giving them unlimited qualities of rationed goods, a tale that garnered a hostile response from Mississippi congressman John Rankin, who spoke out against "coddling the Japs."[61] However, the incarcerated Japanese were considered criminals, and, despite the injustice, treatment could have certainly been worse. The camp inmates tried to remedy their diets by planting gardens in nearly every camp, which helped significantly. Under these circumstances, families and individuals did their best to make a new home for themselves and retain their dignity as Americans.

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[56] Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, "Farewell to Manzanar" in *Only What We Could Carry,* 107
[57] Uchida, "Desert Exile," *Only What We Could Carry,* 74.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Houston, "Farewell to Manzanar" in *Only What We Could Carry*, 105

The move to internment camps and temporary relocation centers was not a complacent and simple transition. The Japanese did not comply with internment in a docile manner; rather, it was a confusing and degrading process that they accepted because they felt they had no other choice. Many Nisei believed that they were doing their patriotic duty as citizens, and that a lack of protest would further demonstrate their loyalty to the United States. Early in the incarceration, many Nisei volunteered to be the first citizens to attend the camps to indicate their commitment to the American cause. They would also be the first citizens released from imprisonment to represent their community at universities and in the military.

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[60] Williams, "Time of Fear".

[61] Douglas W. Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp (*Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 58-62

As the camps filled, different cultural breakdowns occurred and various groups formed. In Japanese American culture, the family was the center of life and existence, and children were expected to respect and pay homage to their elders. Japanese families were isolated within their own communities; the first generation of immigrants established "Little Tokyo's" in cities and even in rural farming communities Japanese immigrants remained close. They stayed together for friendship and support in a foreign country, yet in doing so, they isolated themselves from Anglo-American culture. As with most immigrant groups, the older generation remained culturally tied to Japan, while their children were exposed to an American lifestyle at school. A fictional account of the lives of Japanese picture brides describes their experiences of having boisterous, English-speaking children that were infinitely different from themselves[62]. Japanese American children were torn between two different cultures, yet they were predominately exposed to Japanese values at home. One young boy, although he attended a principally Anglo-American school, admits that most of his friendships and activities were tied to the Japanese community. It was not until relocation that a breakdown in traditional family values and a power shift within the leadership of the Japanese community occurred.

Within the camps there were no academic commitments, schools were not immediately established either at the temporary relocation centers, or at the camps themselves. Eleven year old Elizabeth Kikuchi wrote a letter about her fist experiences at the Santa Anita Assembly Center, also called "Santa Japanita," in which she notes the lack of a daily schedule. "We not go school yet but we go to the Recreation park to play games. So all we do is eat, play, and sleep."[63] Whereas children like Elizabeth were able to look on the bright side of having a day full of play and no work, young adults, parents and grandparents felt an enormous sense of loss and a lack of agency. Issei and Nisei parents no longer had the same control over their children because they were no longer providing for their families. Rather, the government provided for their needs.

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[62] Julia Otsuka, *The Buddha in the Attic,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011),112.

[63] Joanne Oppenheim, *Dear Miss. Breed: True Stories of Japanese American Incarceration during WWII and a Librarian Who Made a Difference,* (New York: Scholastic Inc., 2006), 25.

Japanese parents, especially the Issei, were ashamed by the lines, the waiting, and their homes. There were lines for meals for laundry, for bathrooms and showers. "When we eat we always have to get in a long line about three blocks,"[64] recalled one child. Even though many families were not wealthy, the conditions of internment made them feel like beggars with no direction in their lives. The "apartments' in whitewashed horse stalls were particularly disheartening. Described as dangerous and apelike in popular propaganda, the Japanese were now living in animal shelters surrounded by guards and barbed wire. In1981 Emi K. Fuji translated his father's testimony about the camps stating, "I never dreamed I would see my children behind barbed wire. This is a terrible place to raise children."[65] Though many Issei had faced harsh living conditions both in Japan and after their initial immigration, they labored to establish safe and comforting living environments for their children and grandchildren. Internment forcibly removed all of their work. Kaizo Kubo, as a high school senior, wrote, "From the instant I stepped into the barbed wire enclosures of our destination, I felt that queer alienable presence within me. All the brash bravado I had saved for this precise moment vanished like a disembodied soul. So this was imprisonment."[66] They were criminalized because of their race and their innocence made the relocation centers appear even worse. "We were evacuated and imprisoned without cause, without due process. Our rights, as citizens, were violated. The one and only thing against us was our race…"[67]

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[64] Ibid, 32.

[65] Testimony of Emi K. Fuj for her father, Toshio Kimura, Chicago, September 23, 1981

[66] Williams, *Time of Fear.*

Changing Family Roles in the Internment Camps

Mochida
Mochida

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The indignity of their imprisonment haunted internees for the rest of their lives, as is clear from the 1981 testimonies of the Issei and Nisei community. Within the confines of the barracks, the Issei lost their role as providers and realized they no longer had a trade to teach their children. As a result, they lost much of the respect they had come to expect as elders in their families and within the Japanese community as a whole. They felt jilted by the limited self-government that occurred within the camps, in which Nisei were often elected to positions. The Issei, as the elders of the community, felt that they were entitled to make decisions for the group. Some of these issues were resolved when they created a board of advisors that chose the new Nisei leader candidates. [69] However, these leadership positions were important for the Nisei who were finally able to win the community titles they were unable to obtain in Anglo-American society. Though many Nisei were involved in the Japanese Citizens League and other Japanese

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[67] Testimony of Emi K. Fuj for her father, Toshio Kimura.
[68] Lange Dorothea. "Members of the Mochida Family Awaiting Evacuation." May 8, 1942.
[69] Moore, 34.

American organizations, they were never accepted by a the larger Anglo American society. However, living in internment communities changed their status, giving them the power to be involved in larger community decisions, which paved the way for their new lives during resettlement in the post war years.

The younger Nisei also established a new identity for themselves as they became increasingly self-sufficient and their friendships grew more important. Teenage and preteen Nisei were less affected by larger issue of cultural identity and discrimination. Benson Tong notes that young children and adolescents had not yet developed the intellectual schema to articulate or understand abstract concerns. Pearl Harbor and the ensuing restrictions and relocation didn't have the same emotionally detrimental effects it had on the Issei or the older Nisei. One internee who was seven years old when the FBI took his father merely remembers clutching her mother's leg and crying[70]. She was impacted by the immediate experience of her family rather then the nationwide events as a whole, as were most children. They were not old enough to read the news or understand the national discrimination yet they were aware of impending change. Another young Japanese American only knew something was wrong because his parents fought about returning to Japan[71]. Many children also experienced less overt discrimination then their parents. Although they lived in separate communities outside of school, most Japanese students were friendly with their Anglo-American classmates. After Pearl Harbor, students, especially the older ones, became more cautious-one recalls wearing an "I AM A LOYAL CHINESE" button after a sketchy encounter with two Anglo-American teens who questioned her about her ethnicity[72].

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[70] Mori Toshi, "One Happy Family," in *Only What We Could Carry,* 254.

[71] Williams, Sue, "Time of Fear," DVD.

[72] Tong, 18.

Such precautions were often unnecessary inside the classroom, where few Anglo students or teachers treated the Japanese students differently even after the events at Pearl Harbor. American born Japanese children didn't associate themselves with Japan in any sense. Kay Uno, who was nine at the time of Pearl Harbor, remembers thinking, "Oh those Japs, what are they doing that for?"[73] For the most part children were partially sheltered from the full effects of internment and discrimination because of their age and intellectual development. Even during relocation and internment children did not focus on the deeper, racial significance; rather they were concerned with leaving pets and toys, and some were even excited for a new adventure. Children would not be expected to brood upon the racial aspect of internment, but it is surprising how little they seemed to focus upon it at all. Their lives were uprooted and they were moved into enclosed spaces where the only faces they saw were Japanese. This may not have been a change from the communities where they grew up, but the barbed wire and guard towers certainly were. Nevertheless relocation, even at the temporary centers seemed like vacation, where school and household chores existed only in memory.

In an essay she wrote while at the Minidoka internment camp, Rosie Nakamura described the move as the most exciting thing to happen since she was five years old. Other children were enthused about their first train ride. Jim Agaki recalls, "we were going on the train and I had never rode a train before. I thought it was going to be fun."[74] Although the train rides proved mostly monotonous, it was the biggest adventure many children had ever taken in their life. Moving to the internment camps was an exciting change for many young Japanese, and it was an occurrence that would initiate shifts in Japanese American culture, towards "Americanization".

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[73] Ibid.

[74] Williams, "Time of Fear."

At the camps, the Nisei children experienced social freedom and a wider social circle than they ever had at home. The Nisei spent time in groups of children, teens and young adults, rather then in their traditional family groups. Growing up in rural countryside or enclaved communities within the cities, reliance and respect for elders had not yet shifted because the community was not fully exposed to "American values". Most children had a conflicted childhood, torn between American culture and the culture of their parents. Japanese children were given less personal freedoms and girls in particular were restricted to the standards of Japanese culture. Whereas boys were given more freedoms, girls could not attend social events except for clubs approved by their parents[75]. They spent the majority of their time with family or other Japanese Americans. Teenagers in particular recognized that most of their social and extracurricular life was defined by their ethnic community and their family. Within the camps the children social circles did not change ethnically, however, their friendships became more intensive and their freedoms expanded as family life fell by the wayside.

The experiences of teens and adolescents are reinforced in a series of letters written to librarian Clare E. Breed of San Diego. Ms. Breed was a close friend and advocate of many Japanese American families and wrote to many children in Camp III of the Poston Internment Camp in Arizona. Children ages 10 to 22 wrote to Ms. Breed, describing their experiences in the relocation centers and in the camps. They discuss the schooling, clubs, and sports offered to them, many were participating in extracurricular for the first time in their lives. Although Ms. Breed's friends were city children, other Japanese Americans had grown up on farms or in rural areas and had been working as tractor drivers or farmhands since age 7 or 8[76]. Every day after school was devoted to work rather then sports or clubs like other children. In the camps the Nisei had no outside family commitments, nor did they need to rely on their parents to provide for their needs since the government provided food, shelter, and education. There was no required farming after school and children rushed off to meet their friends and play various sports and games. Adults lost the authority they had retained before the relocation.

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[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

Charles Kikuchi wrote in his diary that his adolescent sisters constantly diverged from their parents' expectations of modesty and chastity and insisted on going out, disobeying rules and wearing trendy dresses[77]. Teens were influenced by their peers rather then their families and felt more comfortable expressing themselves since it was easier to escape parents within their new environment. Aside from sports extracurricular, camps provided social events and dances where teens and adolescents could mingle with members of the opposite sex. They were able to experience some facets of normal Anglo American teenage culture even while trapped within the camps. Another internee, a teenager during internment, fondly remembers the camps as one of the best times in his life. He explains that he finally felt like he was part of the majority, though he notes the irony of feeling widely accepted while living behind barbed wire[78].

The experiences of teenage Japanese within the internment camps contrasts greatly with the experiences of the Jews imprisoned in Europe. Although many teenagers felt exiled and trapped by their living situation, they also benefited from the structure of the camp, and going to dances was a far cry from the harsh realities of Jewish labor camps. The social freedoms and facets of normal American teenage life they experienced made their lives all the more enjoyable while consequently making their parents lives more difficult. It is clear from written accounts that older Nisei and Issei felt more imprisoned then their preteen and high school counterparts and were more affected by the racism behind their imprisonment.

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[77] Moore, 22.
[78] Williams, "Time of Fear."

Young Nisei, if not still enrolled in school, found themselves jobs doing nursing, clerical work, farming, and a wide assortment of other odd jobs "The hospital's short all kinds of help…lets go apply."[79] Extracurriculars, and other new opportunities took students minds off of their location and also hastened the process of Americanization. Employment opportunities gave them a sense of freedom and self-sufficiency, even as they were confined to the camp gates and schedules. As paranoia began to wind down in the months following relocation, many Japanese were able to leave the camps to work on farms nearby or even in other states[80]-the first steps towards resettlement. The country was badly in need of skilled labor in all areas, and the interned Japanese represented a considerable portion of the nation's farmers. The private and public sectors of the country were began to realize the value of the hundreds of thousands of people they had interned. Japanese Americans were needed in all areas of the war effort: agriculture, defense, intelligence, and combat. The vague nature of E.O. 9066 became even more confusing when as a number of Japanese Americans began to be released, if only temporarily. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes supported the release, expressing to the *New York Times* in 1942:

> I do not like the idea of loyal citizens, whatever their race or color, being kept in relocation centers any longer than need be…We need competent help very badly and these are highly skilled workers[81].

The first release of 15 internees occurred in May 1942 from the Portland Oregon Temporary Assembly Center. They were sent to thin sugar beets in southeast Oregon. Eventually about ten thousand Japanese Americans were released to do farm work during the war. Most releases were temporary and lasted only until the harvest or season was complete, but some were permanent. Economic historian Leonard Arrington has studied that production of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company and notes that in 1942 100 million supplemental pounds of sugar were produced, largely aided by 3,500 Japanese workers, who, "were among the most industrious and intelligent workmen who ever labored in the region."[82]

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[79] Hisaye Yamamoto, "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara" in *Only What We Could Carry,* 242

[80] Minoru Kiyotoa, "Beyond Loyalty" in *Only What We Could Carry,* 299.

[81] Austin, 15.

The Japanese workers were paid low wages and were more than capable of performing at a higher level. If not for relocation, many of them would have been running their own farms and hiring their own laborers in the Pacific Northwest. However, farming offered them some freedom, and the opportunity to be paid more than the nineteen dollars a month that they would receive within the camps. Reactions to Japanese laborers were harsh in some communities, but the release did not cause major problems. There were no known attempted escapes of Japanese on temporary release. One personal account of a teenage boy mentions vague plans of escape, but he never made any serious attempt to leave his place of work.[83] Taken as a whole, farming was a successful way to move the Japanese out of the camps while benefitting the country's war effort. Their dedicated work ethic also impressed the public and government officials, which, helped bolster the reputation of the Japanese community and opened other opportunities outside of the camps.

"Striving to Create Goodwill" Student Resettlement

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[82] Daniels,*Prisoners Without Trial* 75.
[83] Kiyota, "Beyond Loyalty" in *Only What We Could Carry,* 302.

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Another option of escape from the camps was offered to college students who wished to continue their education. Nisei college students jumped at the chance to leave the camps and participate in the communities as Americans. They never saw themselves as separate or different and were eager to participate in Anglo-American society to prove their worth as citizens. When rumors of internment and relocation began, some motivated Japanese college students attending universities on the West Coast looked into transferring to the Midwest. It was a difficult move and those who accomplished it in early 1942 often had administrative connections at various colleges. Others such as Nobu Hibino, a senior at Berkley, returned second semester in January 1942 but was forced to drop out when government restrictions prevented her from traveling more ten 5 miles from her house. She traveled with her family to the Tanaforn Relocation Center before transferring to Boston University.[85] Others were not as lucky and simply dropped out of school, giving up hope of furthering their education. Many who attempted to remain in school viewed relocation as the termination of their higher education. However, there were those like Hibino, who refused to sacrifice their education because of an unjust federal policy and remained in school often against popular and administrative opinion until they were forced to leave and relocate.

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[84] "Nisei Students," From Confinement to College, Japanese Video Oral Histories of Japanese American Students in WWII. Open Archives: Digital Collection, University of Massachusetts, http://openarchives.umb.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15774coll5, accessed April 20,2012.
[85] Austin, 17.

Gyo Obata was one student who resettled immediately, though he faced many barriers along the way. Obata was an architecture student at the University of California, and told his father, an art professor at Berkeley, that he wished to resettle. His father utilized his colleagues to find Obata a place at St. Louis's Washington University-however, by the time his acceptance came in he was not allowed to travel without army permission. Obata did not give up, contacting yet another friend who worked at DeWitt's headquarters in the judge advocate's section. His case was reconsidered and he was able to purchase a train ticket-with the help of friends since his funds were frozen.[86]

For someone with many connections, Obata struggled to merely transfer colleges during the period after Pearl Harbor. Students lacking any connections faced even more problems, but some college administrators and faculty, as well as religious groups sought to help them. The YMCA and YWCA student groups at different universities stepped forward to support Nisei students and also conducted studies to discern how the Japanese students were feeling about resettlement.[87] These studies also revealed the practical problems of college resettlement. Finding colleges and universities who would accept Japanese students was only half the battle that the Nisei and the organizations aiding them faced. With frozen funds and facing the prospect of out of state tuition, a majority of students knew that that would need financial aid to even consider staying in school. During a period when college was not seen as a necessity, financial aid was not a part of any payment plan. They would have to rely almost completely on the aid of others if they wished to complete their education.

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[86] Ibid, 18

[87] Ibid, 20.

In the months after Pearl Harbor, sporadic attempts at student resettlement occurred, such as in the case of Obata. Religious groups such as the Quaker AFSC and Lincoln Japanese Student Relocation Council, a resettlement committee started by clergy in Lincoln, Nebraska, did their best to help eager Nisei students. In fact the University of Nebraska was one of the only public universities willing to enroll Japanese students, and began to accept FBI cleared students with good academic standing and sufficient funds on March 28, 1942.[88] Their registrar George Rosenlof was highly critical of incarceration and wrote, "[I do not] dare to speak as I feel-suffice it to say that to me it is exceedingly disappointing that the government and the Army officials are not handling this situation as it ought to be handled[89]."

Student resettlement was an opportunity for Nisei students to create an identity for themselves as Americans while they moved into mainstream society. It wasn't an ideal policy for citizens who should have never been imprisoned, however, it was one step closer to normalcy. Regardless, resettlement was a daunting task that clearly needed strong and cohesive support. Mike Masaoka of the Japanese Citizens League had written a letter to Milton Eisenhower in April of 1942, asking for an official program of resettlement.[90] Masaoka, an others understood that higher education was one way to improve the Japanese spirit and also prepare them for a postwar existence. Mike represented the young and progressive Japanese citizens who were looking into the future rather then being weighed down by the impending relocation.

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[88] Ibid, 20
[89] Ibid, 17
[90] Ibid, 25

Paul Taylor, an economics professor from the University of California Berkeley, may have been the first to propose the idea of student resettlement to the government. Taylor argued that placing the Nisei in Midwestern colleges and providing them with financial aid would prove to be far less expensive then putting them into an internment camp.[91] He also appealed to the bureaucratic ego, mentioning that placing the Nisei in schools would lessen the arguments that internment was simply a function of intense racial discrimination. Resettlement would be a positive program for everyone involved.

Taylor and others split their rudimentary committee into 3 sections on the West Coast, choosing a Quaker, Joseph Conrad, as the executive secretary. Conrad was a graduate student of economics at the University of California and was also active in the American Friends Service Committee. Taylor, Conrad unified separate efforts at resettlement that were often conflicting and thus inefficient. They worked with President Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California and Robert O'Brien the faculty advisor to the Japanese Student Club at the University of Washington[92]. Both administrators were working towards resettlement; Sproul focused on initiating a government program while O'Brien facilitated immediate resettlement. They combined their efforts under the command of Conrad. In April 1942 the committee worked tirelessly to ascertain which Nisei students were interested in continuing their education and approached charity groups, churches, and foundations in attempts to raise necessary funds. They also worked to provide housing and find jobs that would offer room and board to Japanese students.[93] The committee hoped to have most students in school by the fall semester of the following year.[94]

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[91] Ibid, 18
[92] Ibid, 20

As they continued to seek aid, Sproul forwarded a plan for resettlement to California Democrat and State Representative John Tolan. Like Matsoaka, Sproul insisted that a government program would convince students "of the justice of the democracy in which they live."[95] He reminded Tolan that although the Nisei and their families had cooperated with the sacrifice the government required, that it would be unnatural if they did not hold some resentment. Allowances made to continue their education would temper their sense of injustice. Tolan supported Sproul's committee and brought his proposal into the discussion that public officials were beginning to have about resettlement. The student relocation committee soon became a "quasi-governmental organization" under the name of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council. Meanwhile Eisenhower searched for a leader to direct the program and tried to determine the best approach for establishing the program while avoiding "widespread public misunderstanding."[96]

Clarence Pickett, another member of the AFSC, was finally chosen to lead government resettlement. The committee approached widespread resettlement with caution, advocating open dialogue with colleges and universities about the problem facing Nisei students but also waiting until they had more information regarding public reaction to the resettlement program. They also attempted to solidify questions of funding before reaching out to individual schools. The NJASRC was aware of the widespread fear and anxiety surrounding the Japanese and expected some backlash regarding resettlement. They published a leaflet explaining incarceration and resettlement, emphasizing that Nisei students had been raised with "American values". The WRA's John Provinse made the case that Nisei students were the best choice for resettlement because they were "native born citizens, American educated, and more like to support American ideals."[97] The Nisei were aware of the burden of resettlement. An article in the *Santa Anita Pacemaker* reminded resettlement candidates, "Upon [the student's] scholarship, their conduct, their thoughts, their sense of humor, their adaptability, will rest the verdict of the rest of the country as to whether Japanese Americans are true Americans."[98] There was a wide range of reactions from other college students, administrators and communities where schools were located. Some wholeheartedly supported the plan, but most considered the Japanese students both suspicious and dangerous. They were still fearful from the Japanese attack and were certainly influenced by widespread anti-Japanese propaganda produced throughout the country.

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[93] Ibid, 27.
[94] Ibid, 24
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid, 34

The National Resettlement committee attempted to quell public fears by placing only students with high academic standing and records of good behavior. They reminded the Japanese students that this was their chance to prove their loyalty and dedication to the country. They would be representing the entire Japanese American community and should comport themselves in the best light possible. This was a heavy burden to place on college students who were focused on academic success and transitioning from teenagers to successful young adults. Not only were they required to remain in excellent academic standing, but they were asked to accomplish this with the reputation of the entire Japanese community resting on their shoulders. Nevertheless, the Nisei embraced the program, eager to continue their education and do their part to help the community as a whole. They wanted to please their parents and become successful adults who lived without negative reactions to their ethnicity.

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[97] Ibid, 49

[98] Ibid, 3.

The reactions at universities varied. The majority of Japanese students were placed in small private colleges, where they were more willing to accept the controversial students. Grinnell College, in Iowa, accepted four Nisei students, the first to be resettled by the committee. Grinnell was highly supportive of social work and believed that accepting the students demonstrated compassion and openness for their plight. They would accept 15 others during the war. Students appreciated the chance to continue in higher education, but many felt, as one student stated, “almost but not quite, a part of the College family.”[99] However, they experienced a much more welcoming reaction than those sent to Moscow, Idaho for resettlement at the University of Idaho. Townspeople protested and the backlash was so tense that two Japanese girls stayed at the jail under protective custody. One wrote “the jailer was talking to someone over the telephone and said a mob will come to lynch us tonight…I'm scared.[100]” The committee attempted to prevent such occurrences by sending a questionnaire to colleges nationwide questioning their reactions to enrolling Nisei students.

Colleges in Evansville and Hiram, Indiana were two that replied negatively. Both explained their reluctance in terms of uncertain military danger during the war. Pikeville College in Kentucky explained their refusal was based upon the President's belief that the appearance of Japanese would cause a local uproar[101]. No one in the town had ever met a person of Japanese descent and racial prejudice was high. This sentiment became clearer when in his refusal he suggested that a segregated college be created solely for the education of the Japanese.

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[99] Ibid, 23.
[100] Ibid, 34.
[101] Ibid, 56

Other colleges and universities were eager to offer places for the Nisei. Oberlin College and Columbia University were two notable examples. Oberlin reached out to one of its own students to recommend potential Japanese American students and had already enrolled ten without the aid of the council when the questionnaire arrived. The Oberlin newspaper had also published an article preparing the surrounding community for the entry of 11 more Japanese students. The editorial stressed that the students were well educated and successful, as well as American born and approved by the FBI and local police. It explained that the Oberlin community wished "for their fellow American citizens an entirely happy and intellectually profitable stay in Oberlin. May their experience here only serve to strengthen their belief, our belief, in the democratic way of living."[102] Columbia University also began to enroll students without government clearance, yet the committee asked them to stop as not to hamper the entire process. Instead, Columbia administrators recommended that potential Japanese students attend a college cleared by the government and then transfer to Columbia[103]. Regardless of whether a college was overenthusiastic or merely willing to enroll the Nisei, the students, for the most part, dedicated themselves to their college experience.

Nisei students believed that education would allow them to aid in the creation of a better American society. They saw themselves as the council viewed them, ambassadors for their communities and families. One Nisei argued that college education would "develop leaders for the group who will be able to act as ambassadors for us and build up true good will in the larger American public."[104] Elder Nisei and Issei, unable to attend college, placed enormous hope on the relocated students and their ability to change the future of Japanese Americans. They were educated side by side with Anglo-American students. Through this alone students were redefining stereotypes and breaking barriers.

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[102] Austin, 59
[103] Ibid, 60
[104] Ibid, 28

Many students resettled without bringing attention to themselves, yet several others chose to speak openly about exile and incarceration. Chiya Asado, a student a Western College in Oxford, Ohio wrote positively about her experiences. She believed that Anglo-American students expected her to wear kimonos or have odd mannerisms, and noted that some even seemed disappointed by her permed hair. They had friendly but stereotyped reactions to her arrival and Asado worked to alter them. When asked to speak about Japan alongside foreign exchange students who were also talking about their countries, Asado chose to speak about California. She explained that she had never even visited Japan and that America was her homeland[105]. Asado and others hoped to continue to enhance a democratic spirit throughout the country in post war years, facilitated by the impression that they created during the war. They wished strengthen the hope of the Japanese in internment camps who had lost faith in America. Masao Sugiyama dreamed that, "[a college education will] strengthen my beliefs in America to the point where I will be able to sway the defeatists to my point of view."[106]

The resettled students represented a group of Nisei who still believed in America. Their faith in the country was clearly strengthened by the resettlement process, but these students wished to become as "American" as possible from the beginning and had faith that they could succeed in post war America. Other students had lost that drive, and believed that higher education would only result in sadness and career failure. One interned high school student wrote an essay that he was learning to "clean my house, iron my shirt and wash my own clothes, so that

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[105] Ibid, 62
[106] Ibid, 61

I can prepare to be a houseboy when I get out."[107] His essay was certainly influenced by his disillusionment with America based on his position behind barbed wire. Resettlement was succeeding in one of its goals of providing some Japanese students with hope for the future by providing them with freedom. A student at the University of Nebraska wrote to the resettlement council "The freedom you have helped me regain, makes me truly ashamed for it is heartrending to think of the 100,000 others who should have the same opportunities I have but are instead being subjected to that environment of mass internment."[108] Such grateful feelings also inspired a zeal to become the best ambassadors possible, which would contribute to the "model minority" stereotype used to describe the Japanese in post war years. While college students "gained a foothold" to "[win] a future after the war,"[109] as stated by one interned high school student, other Nisei were offered the opportunity to contribute to the American cause and they too began to break down stereotypes through military success.

Nisei WACS: "A Testimony to Japanese American Loyalty"

U. S. Army Photograph
Air WACs [110]

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[107] Oppenhiem, 82.
[108] Austin, 92
[109] Ibid, 61
[110] U.S. Army Photograph, Air WACS, in Judith Bellafaire, "Asian-Pacific-American Servicewomen in Defense of a Nation" http://www.womensmemorial.org/Education/APA.html, accessed April 20,2012.

In January 1943 the government announced they would the opportunity for Japanese Americans to participate actively in the military. Previous to Pearl Harbor the military included about 3,000 Japanese American soldiers who were soon discharged. The military and Selective Service committee began to classify them as 4-F, physically or mentally unfit for military life, as an excuse to discharge them. Soon all Japanese soldiers, regardless of citizenship, were classified as 4-C, or "enemy aliens," and discharged.[111] When again given the chance to enlist, their desire to support the American cause was tainted by the "loyalty questionnaire" that was handed out at internment camps.

The government hoped to discern the loyalty of the internees before releasing them, drafting them into the army, or hiring them as defense workers. Although it seems such a questionnaire would be straightforward, it caused tension and uproar in the camps. The backlash stemmed from questions 27 and 28, which placed many Japanese, particularly the Issei, into a difficult position. There were two separate questionnaires issued that were almost identical with the exception of the wording of question 27. The Selective Service System: Statement of United States Citizens of Japanese Ancestry was given to Neisse men of military age, while all Issei and Nisei Women received a form entitled, "War Relocation Authority Applications Leave Clearance."[112] Initially both sexes had been given the same form, which raised fears and questions about Japanese American women being required to serve in combat. Once the bureaucratic blunder was resolved, Question 27 of the Selective Service Form Stated: "27. Are you willing to service in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" On the other form the question was posed:

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[111] Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial,*56.
[112] Moore, 52.

> 27. If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the army nurse corps or the WAAC (Women's Army Auxiliary Corp)?

Number 28 remained the same on both forms:

> 28. Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese emperor or to any other foreign government, power or organization?[113]

Although there doesn't seem to be an issue at first glance, it is apparent that foreign aliens were not considered in the phrasing or that it was worded to test their devotion. Foreign Japanese aliens, the Issei, were prohibited from obtaining U.S. citizenship. They were asked to swear "unqualified allegiance" to a nation that would not even allow them to become citizens. If they forswear any other allegiances they would have no nation to call their own. Asking them to forswear allegiance indicated that they had previously been loyal to Japan. Nisei citizens were also offended by the government's request that they swear allegiance and military duty to the same country that had placed them behind barbed wire.

Many Japanese did not simply answer yes, and instead qualified their answers with statements such as, "Yes if my rights as a citizen are restored."[114] Although their requests were not unreasonable, they were classified as disloyal along with those who had answered no. It was in the best interest of the Japanese to respond Yes/Yes, despite their overall feelings about the questions. Many simply agreed to give the responses the government was looking for so that they could move out of the camps and on with their lives. They believed that serving in the military would offer more opportunities and equal citizenship rights for future Japanese Americans. It was the same idea that many Japanese college students had, to act as ambassadors for their race. Brenda Moore, an African American historian, compares the sentiment to one professed by African American leaders throughout history as they fought to gain equal ground with whites.

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[113] Ibid, 45

[114] Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial,* 69.

A small percent of Japanese fought hard against the questionnaire and military service, causing riots and other trouble in the camps. The majority of the dissenters were Issei parents and Kibei, American born Japanese who had completed at least part of their education in Japan. Issei elders feared that family security would be further jeopardized if their sons went to war. Many were also afraid to return to a potentially hostile society to essentially start a new life. If categorized as disloyal, they would not be allowed to leave the WRA camps.[115] These dissenters, also known as the No/No boys, were sent to the Tule Lake relocation center, which was specified as a camp for the roughly 6,700 "disloyals."

Meanwhile the gradual flow of population out of the camps was beginning, a process that would take almost 4 years. Many college students who had already been resettled were on their way to completing their education, while others toiled away on farms producing food for the nation. The loyalty questionnaire had opened up doors for those who wanted to work for the military, men and women alike. Young Japanese men who were deemed loyal and who held citizenship were entered into the draft, while young women gained the opportunity to enter the armed forces as nurses, defense workers and other jobs.

The military service done by females was part of the Women's Army Corps or WAC, a group that was created in 1942. The first Nisei women were not inducted until September 1943, after their loyalty had been determined by the Leave Clearance questionnaire. While the questionnaire was being distributed, the WAC director requested the WRA conduct a survey to determine the occupational distribution of Nisei woman. They used the 1940 census and discovered the following results:

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[115] Moore,78.

> 2,451 clerical workers, 254 stenographers and typists, 228 teachers, 129 managers, 124 trained nurses, 30 religious workers, 13 editors and reporters, 13 social workers, 12 pharmacists, 8 laboratory technicians, 6 physicians and surgeons, 4 librarians, 4 college professors, 3 optometrists, 1 chemist, 1 dentist, 1 draftsperson, and 1 lawyer.[116]

Nisei women had the adequate experience and education for positions needed in the WAC. Many of them were highly educated, encouraged by their parents to obtain the highest level of education possible to be competitive with other Americans. Several young Japanese women were eager to join the WAAC to serve their country in spite of their Issei parents concerns about the changing status of family life. The majority of the women interested had held jobs before incarceration, and had been enrolled in college. They wanted to put their skills to use and prove their worth to their country. On February 1, 1943, Roosevelt approved a combat team consisting of loyal Nisei men, and soon after sent a interoffice memorandum to the WACC Director that plans should be made for recruiting women.[117]

Recruiting officers were sent out to interview Nisei women and gauge their interest in joining the military. Preliminary interviews shared a similar theme. Nisei women were interested yet would need to gain their families' approval before an official decision was made. Others were ineligible because they were married, and serving in the military conflicted with their values. Some young women were also reluctant to leave their parents, with the knowledge that their male siblings would likely be drafted. Although there had been a breakdown in the most traditional Japanese values, based on the young women's concerns, it was apparent that family was still of the utmost importance to most Japanese Americans. Japanese opposed a segregated WAAC unit and believed that that formation of the all-Japanese combat team was an act of "racial discrimination." They pointed out that racial integration demonstrated democracy, and the country was at war fighting for those same democratic values. White personnel were inclined to agree with the women's statement. At Camp Jerome in Arkansas, white personnel stated that they respected and admired the Japanese and would have no qualms working alongside them.[118]

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[116] Moore, 31.
[117] Ibid.

Despite some qualms, the Japanese were eager and willing to serve. Second Officer Henrietta Horak, a recruiting officer for the WAAC Los Angeles location, traveled among several relocation centers, including Tule Lake and Manzanar. She reported a high level of interest— out of the 217 women she spoke with at Tule Lake, 30 were prepared to enlist immediately. She also described the women at Manzanar as "high level" candidates.[119] Most of them had college training or a full degree and could be enlisted as teachers.

It is clear from the interviews that women were interested in joining the army because they believed they would be better protected from but also, hopefully, respected by non-Japanese civilians. They also were drawn by the assurance a fifty-dollar per month wage. Brenda Moore explains that Nisei women perceived themselves as American citizens who had outgrown traditional Japanese values. Living in internment camps strained their connection with the

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[118] Ibid, 93.

[119] Ibid.

Japanese ways of their parents and they wished to experience true American society on the "outside". Nisei women were almost overzealous in explaining their passion for being loyal American citizens, clearly aware that all interviews were meant to test and discern their devotion to the country. Although the government knew that the Nisei women would be great assets to the WAAC, there was still lingering concern regarding loyalty.

The final investigations into the loyalty of Nisei women as well as their willingness to serve encouraged WAAC Director Hobby to recommend their enlistment. She asked that they be subject to all the rules and regulations regarding Anglo-American women, but did note that special height and weight requirements be imposed for Japanese women. Due to the small stature of their race, most Nisei applicants averaged a height of 4'10, well below the average height of white female applicants. She also honored the request of the hundreds of Japanese women interviewed and requested that they serve in integrated units. Her proposal resulted in a proposal from the Secretary of Defense, which was then approved by the Military Intelligence Division and then the War Department Personnel Division.[120] The Nisei women who had indicated full loyalty underwent a very thorough screening in order to finally meet approval. The voluntary nature differed greatly from the immediacy of the draft, and as a result the process of acceptance was incredibly inconvenient. There were volumes of paperwork to fill out and one WAC recalls waiting from her initial volunteer effort in September 1944 until April 1945 to be officially inducted. Despite the time consuming process, the first group of five Nisei WACS began training at Fort Des Moines Iowa on December 23, 1943. [121]

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[120] Ibid, 94.
[121] Ibid, 95.

As more women began to join, their names and experiences were published in the Japanese American press at various relocation centers. By February 1944 only 13 Nisei had officially enlisted and the Japanese Press encouraged others to join their ranks. The *Pacific Citizen* published an article informing women of the jobs available and the benefits of applying. "The WAC has specialist schools for enlisted women. They include the administrative specialist school, the cooks and bakers school and the motor transport school…start training now for that after war job."[122] Aside from merely providing a good salary, the press reminded that joining the WACS would offer support to husbands and brothers fighting overseas. Furthermore, "The Nisei Wac will be a testimony to the faith and loyalty of all Japanese Americans."[123] The WACS themselves repeated this rhetoric as they asked other women to join, describing their service as highly rewarding. Private Chizuko Shinagawa went to encourage enlistment in Denver in May of 1944. During a press release she explains:

> It's a wonderful opportunity for my people to participate actively in the greatest battle for democracy the world has ever known. By serving in the WAC, I've found the true meaning of democracy-the principle of share and share alike. …. Before I joined up, I felt useless and restless because I wanted to do something for my country. I wouldn't exchange anything for the experience I've gained in the WAC…. If we shirk our plain duty to serve out country in its greatest need, we must be prepared to have our loyalty questioned. Indeed I think it should be questioned.[124]

Sinagawa clearly takes the side of the American government in saying that Japanese loyalty should be questioned, should they fail to serve. There is no mention of the rights that were taken from her community; rather, she is looking toward the future to create a better life for Japanese Americans. Like many Japanese, she does not chastise the American government for its actions and instead praises the fight for democracy. Her political stance is likely related to her role as a recruiting officer but her statement demonstrates how dearly the Japanese wished to be accepted into society. They had accepted their internment fate and moved forward to support the same government that had taken them out of their homes and communities. Another former internee, Kathleen Iseri, explains that she felt lucky that the American government offered her any opportunity. "I have volunteered…because I am proud that I am an American citizen. True, I had to leave my home…But could Hitler or Tojo have given me the opportunity to leave such a camp-to help establish new homes for the Americans of Japanese ancestry…I hardly think so."[125] She reminds others to put their experiences into perspective and understand that if they want democracy at home, they must support its fight abroad. The statements of Iseri and Sinagawa exemplify the "super patriotism" that many Nisei developed during the war.

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[122] Ibid, 97.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid, 115

Once in the training camps the Nisei women were fully integrated among their Anglo-American counterparts. Their biggest complaints were not ones regarding racial discrimination; many of them complained about the difficulty of the physical aspects of military training. One woman proclaimed that "death was sweeter then the complete dip." Beyond physical training, many Nisei WACS were enjoying their busy schedules and were making solid friendships within their units. Although she was the only Asian in her unit, Irene Nishikaichi explains, "I didn't notice any difference. I didn't feel any animosity or hostility or anything. I was the only Japanese American in my company."[126] Hawaiian Grace Kutka describes her fellow WACs as sisters and also remembers "…one of the C.O's said she never did see any group of girls who cooperated better."[127] The Japanese American women themselves also seemed to get along despite being from different locations and backgrounds. Some had been interned while others had not, and although the majority of Japanese Americans lived on the West Cost, some had grown up in the Midwest or the East. Others were from Hawai'i, which seemed to almost be another nation. They primarily expressed a desire to join the WACS so that they could support the war effort, but also to get a chance to see the continental United States.

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[125] Ibid, 110

[126] Ibid, 108

[127] Johnson, Laurie. "I'm Coming Back is the Message of the Island WAC." *The Pacific Citizen*, April 18, 1945.

Although there were a variety of positions available in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps, the War Department requested that Nisei women be assigned primarily to clerical positions. On January 30 1945 a memorandum published stated, "Japanese American Women…will be encouraged to enlist ….in the clerical field in order that Military Intelligence may have full opportunity to utilize their services in Japanese Language work."[128] Women were not to apply to the medical department unless they already had the required qualifications. Harada, a WAC assigned to Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, was disappointed that she wouldn't be able to fulfill her dreams of becoming a nurse. "I thought that if I went into the military they might train me enough so that I could do work in the medical field. But since I already had some typing, clerical, bookkeeping and shorthand in high school, [The War Department], naturally put me into clerical work."[129] Clerical work proved to be immensely unappealing for many Nisei WACs. Fuchida was assigned to do clerical work for a doctor at Dugaway. It was ninety miles into the desert, and was used to test weapons and gas masks because the environment mimicked the battlefront at Okinawa. Although she recalls meeting good people, she hated the location and soon transferred to The Military Intelligence Service Language School. Ruth Fuji also disliked her assignment at Camp Hood, Texas. The colonel she worked for seemed to intentionally use large and complicated words that "the other secretaries wouldn't understand." After recording it all she typed his report and turned it in. The colonel later called her into his office and asked, "Where did you learn English?"[130] He failed to realize that English was the primary language in Hawaiian schools and assumed that Fuji was unqualified for her position.

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[128] Moore, 121

[129] Ibid, 122.

She applied to transfer to overseas work and was soon sent to the Southwest Pacific Area where she worked for the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, with about nine other girls. "It was a small outfit they used to call MAGIC-Military Advisory Group in China…I was secretary to four colonels."[131] Fuji enjoyed her time overseas, as her experience was the opposite of the imprisonment she had experienced at home. "Everybody took precautions and made sure that I had an escort wherever I went."[132] She was protected with a bodyguard at all times to ensure her safety in the Philippines, where locals were incredibly hostile to the Japanese. Other women sent overseas had generally completed time at the Military Intelligence Service Language School where they studied the Japanese language.

Originally several Japanese men worked at the language school, but once WACS were enlisted, they quickly replaced the men, who were sent overseas. The incoming WACS were forced to deal with the animosity of the men who remained and felt that it was inappropriate for women to be joining the military. Animosity was not the only hardship they faced. Although many of the Nisei had grown up speaking Japanese with their parents, or attending language school during their childhood, the MISLS curriculum was incredibly difficult. They learned to read, write, translate, and interpret *heigo,* which is the language for Japanese military and technical terms. There were also lessons in culture, geography, reading, battle order, and sosho, which is Japanese cursive writing. Even those who had deemed themselves fluent in Japanese were overwhelmed by the amount of work and studying required, almost no one knew military terms or the geography of naval bases, necessary knowledge for translators. Lt. Col. Marion Nestor, the former WAC commander at the MISLS, was incredibly impressed with the Nisei WACs. She recalled in an interview, “The Japanese Americans were in a terrible position; their whole families were in concentration camps. And…not only that, but the women had to fight the Japanese male macho…I was their commanding officer for not quite two years, and I never had a disciplinary problem.”[133] Due to the amount of studying and work required, it is unlikely that the Japanese American women had much time to get into trouble.

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[130] Ibid, 125.
[131] Ibid,122.
[132] Ibid.

The Nisei women did enjoy themselves in spite of the chores and studying. Many went out both on dates and in groups. “There was a club where we could go in the evenings for dancing and to socialize. That’s where I met my husband,”[134] one woman recalls. It was difficult to meet men since they fraternized mainly with military members who were soon shipped off to war. Similarly the WACS themselves were moved throughout the country or overseas once they completed the MISLS curriculum. Some went to the Pacific Military Intelligence Research Section and later to Washington, D.C. to translate journals, manuals and books with other translators from Allied countries. Three women from the graduating class in November 1945 remained to teach at the MISLS, and for the first time at the school, WACs began to teach Japanese to male soldiers.

In January of 1946, after the war, 13 Nisei women who had graduated from MISLS were sent to Japan, where they would be discharged from the army and would begin work as civilians.

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[133] Ibid,123.
[134] Ibid, 121.

The young women viewed the deployment as yet another opportunity to act as ambassadors for democracy. Yet instead of spreading and uplifting democratic values to Japanese Americans, they were now sharing them with the Japanese. Given their appearance the women believed that it would be easier to portray the attractive cloak of democracy since they looked Japanese, yet acted American. An excerpt from the article "Nisei to be Mannequins of Democracy," published in the St. Paul Dispatch, quotes a Japanese American woman saying, "We have Japanese faces, but we are Americans…By our example we will have to show them [the Japanese] what a woman of Japanese background can be like—how she acts— when she has lived in a democratic country and had the advantages offered by such a country. It's going to be a big job."[135] These young women were going to the nation of their ancestors to proclaim the benefits of living in a country that had just bombed their homeland. Despite their experience about being ambassadors, all of the women spent the majority of their stay in an American military office doing clerical or translating work. They worked in a secluded area and spent very little time around the native Japanese in Tokyo. When they did interact it was mostly with wealthy families who invited them to their homes or with begging children on the street. All of the women carried small pieces of candy or other snacks in their pockets to offer to the hungry children. Grace Harada remembers, "It was right after the war, and it is just so hard to describe. They didn't have food, and everything was so war-torn that it was just a pathetic sight."[136] Most of them women only remained in the Japan for their one-year contract, although Harada remained with her husband and witnessed the beginnings of reconstruction in Japan.

The WACs returned home just as their families were finally being resettled throughout the country. These young women were also learning how to fit into civilian society after their experiences in internment and in the military. Most looked forward to finding stable jobs, and worked diligently when given the opportunity for employment. Some remained active in the military and continued their positions in the WAAC. Like most other young American women in the years after the war, they were also beginning to start families. Many of them had gotten married during the war to male officers they met through the military. The Nisei WACs were well on their ay to becoming fully respected members of society. They were accepted and admired in most military circles, had received excellent education and job experience and had thoroughly proved their patriotism and loyalty to the country. They made educational, social and political advances, not only for the Japanese American community, but also for women of all races.

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[135] "Nisei to be Mannequins of Democracy." *St. Paul Dispatch,* June 1945.
[136] Moore, 147.

"Go For Broke!" Fighting for Dignity and Freedom

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[137] France, November 12, 1944 in "Fighting For Democracy."

In 1943, President Roosevelt approved the 442nd, a segregated combat unit of Japanese Americans, a few months before Nisei women were inducted into the WAAC. On February 1, nearly a year after signing the Executive Order 9066, he officially authorized a segregated Japanese combat team. He was not restoring all the citizenship rights that had been taken, instead he was giving all draft-aged men a chance to serve and possibly die for their country. He wrote:

> The proposal to organize a combat team consisting of loyal American citizens of Japanese descent has my full approval…. This is a natural and logical step toward the reinstitution procedures, which…were disrupted by the evacuation. No loyal citizen should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and the heart; Americanism is not and never was, a matter of race or ancestry[138].

With those words Roosevelt effectively disregarded the E.O 9066 that he himself had signed. Only a year earlier, Americanism had been a matter of race. Even though the order was issued out of fear and post- attack security responses, race played a major role. Even as he made his statement, there was no clarification of how to qualify "loyal U.S. citizens," so thousands of Japanese continued to live in concentration camps. It is clear from his statement that Roosevelt was sending a message to imperial Japan, whose propaganda used the incarceration as proof that American was waging a racist war.

After the war, the WRA also made a few revealing comments in their final report. They recognized the irony of enlisting Japanese Americans for intelligence and language positions, so soon after internment began. They focused on the Kibei, a group of Japanese Americans who had attended school in imperial Japan. They should have been the ultimate targets of disloyalty accusations and often were, but they were also ideal military intelligence candidates since they understood both the language and culture of Japan. The WRA also acknowledged that President

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[138] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Presidential Statement" February 1, 1943 in *Only What We Could Carry,* 341.

Roosevelt's approval of a Japanese combat unit offered the Nisei a chance to demonstrate their loyalty to the public. The report states, "their accomplishments could be most effectively spotlighted and brought to the attention of the American public if they served in an all-Nisei unit."[139] S.L.A Marshall, the man who planned the execution of the program and draft for Japanese Americans explains that they made military service an incentive by offering other benefits, such as granting citizenship to the Issei after the war. Besides coercing the Nisei men into service, Marshall also had to gain government approval for almost all his actions and win the support of the nation press.

When the 442nd was being recruited and drafted, another all Japanese American unit, the 100th Infantry Battalion from Hawai'i, was already in existence. These young men were not rounded up from internment camps, but had joined the military in Hawai'i and were some of the few soldiers of Japanese descent who had not been classified as enemy aliens. The 442nd joined this group of Hawaiian Japanese who had little knowledge of internment in the continental U.S. This was not the only difference they encountered upon their initial meeting. The Hawaiians seemed to speak an entirely different language, called pidgin. It is mix of Japanese, English, Chinese, Portuguese, Filipino and Hawaiian, reflecting the varied ethnicity of the island. Pidgin, in linguistics, means a simplified speech used to enable communication among different language groups. To the mainlanders, it was simply gibberish. Asahina points out that the use of Pidgin was an indication that Japanese Hawaiians were becoming "Americanized" and moving beyond their parent's norms. All of the soldiers, like the WACs, had grown up under very different circumstances in disparate environments. They were connected solely by their ethnicity and appearance rather then common values or experiences. Unlike the WACs, they were not spread among integrated units and thus the differences between them were obvious and initially a major point of discontent.

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[139] Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How the Japanese Americans Won a War at Home and Abroad-The Story of the 100th Battalion/ 442d Regimental Combat Team in World War Two.* (New York: Gotham Books, 2006),3.

Hawaii's islands were comprised of different ethnicities, primarily Japanese, Filipinos, and Hawaiian natives, with only a few Anglo-Americans. The Japanese Americans who lived there were still very connected to Japanese society and had traditions and beliefs that were influenced by the Hawaiian natives. Hawai'i was barely part of the United States in terms of cultural influence and the Hawaiian Japanese were highly disdainful of the mainland Nisei. They also never experienced internment like the mainlanders. Emmons had the power to intern the Japanese if he had wished, but he recognized the major flaws in carrying out imprisonment in a place where most of the population was Japanese. The 100th Infantry Battalion was comprised of Japanese soldiers reorganized from he 289th and 299th Infantry Regiments in Hawai'i. On May 28th of 1942, the Hawaiian Japanese soldiers were asked to turn in their arms and report to the mainland. They were not being discharged as they initially thought, nor accused of disloyalty. "We were given orders to turn in all our arms and ammunition those of us of Japanese ancestry. It was an emotional jerker for me to be forced into turning in my sidearms…after having stood ready to defend my country."[140] They were turning in their arms for transportation and were sent to Wisconsin to train under Anglo-American officers, and eventually a Korean American officer by the name of Kim.

Kim had grown up in a Japanese neighborhood in California and was friends with many interned Nisei. He was not Japanese but because of his Asian appearance he was often discriminated against, even in his military apparel. Despite his skill at marksmanship and other combat roles, after basic training he was told to become a cook or a mechanic. After many months working as a mechanic he rose to the grade of Sergeant and was sent to Officer Candidate School in the summer of 1942. After graduating he was given the rank of officer, but no orders. When the request for a Japanese American regiment was initiated he was sent to Camp Shelby, Mississippi to join a group of young Nisei men, where he encountered the 100th Battalion.[141] They had been moved to join the newly formed 442nd and appeared to have made no progress after months of training.

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[140] Ibid, 40.

Anglo-American officers had made requests to be transferred after learning that the soldiers they would train were a segregated Japanese unit, but Kim accepted his orders immediately. He stated, "They're Americans, I'm American, and we're going to fight for America,"[142] when the commanding officer mentioned concern over tensions betweens Koreans and the Japanese. Neither Kim nor the 100th Infantry had a very positive first impression. Kim was appalled with their appearance and lackadaisical training, while they nicknamed him G.I for "Government Issue Kim", a name not meant to be complimentary. In time they learned to respect each other. Kim recognized their fierce determination to prove themselves for the sake of Hawai'i and their race, and they realized that he was on their side, fighting against discrimination through achievements in combat.

The Hawaiians' initial reaction to Kim was quite similar to the negative response they had to their mainland comrades. It was a mutual dislike— the mainland Nisei couldn't understand them, and the Hawaiians found the mainlanders to be uptight and somber. The Hawaiians, or "Buddaheads" as the mainlanders referred to them— a reference to their Buddhist religion and the word for pig, *buta*, in Japanese.[143] The "Buddaheads" did not have the face the same hardship and disapproval the Nisei had faced. Signing Yes/Yes on the loyalty questionnaire was only the beginning. Once agreeing to each poorly worded question, the Nisei had to make the decision to actually enlist. This generally meant going against the wishes of their Issei parents, who were shaken at the thought of their sons leaving, possibly never to return. Although this was a sentiment shared by all American families, the Nisei were in a particularly difficult situation. In an ironic twist, they had, unlike any other draft-age male, been given a choice about their enlistment. Both decisions came with a price, they were either sent to war or labeled disloyal, yet they still had a decision to make. It was a choice that would affect not only themselves and their families, but also the community as a whole.

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[141] Ibid, 22.
[142] Ibid, 15

Tom Kagawachi, who enlisted from the Topaz Relocation Center, personally witnessed the tension. "There were friends fighting against friends. There were brothers fighting against brothers and it was terrible. And people asked, 'Why do you want to volunteer?' I just said, ' I don't understand what the argument is. Our country is being attacked and I want to defend it. It's that simple."[144] It wasn't merely a choice of supporting Japan or the United States; it was the decision to defend a country that had essentially disowned them. Parents, who felt that they had lost everything, could not understand any willingness to enlist. However Takashi Senzaki remembers his father saying, "This is your country, so you do what you think is right. Whatever you do, don't bring shame to the family name."[145] Many Issei who had once felt like Americans, no longer saw themselves as part of the country. Their sons felt differently, though they recognized the coercion behind creating an all-Japanese unit. Don Matsuda believed that enlistment "was the only way we could keep from getting kicked out and sent to Japan."[146]

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[143] Ibid, 26.
[144] Yenne, 40.
[145] Asahina, 53

Enlistment felt like a desperate act for many mainland Nisei, yet they continued to use hyper patriotic language. Mike Masouka, the leader of the Japanese American Citizens league defined the Japanese American Creed:

> Because I believe in America and I trust she believes in me, an because I have received innumerable benefits from her, I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and in all places; to support her Constitution; to obey her laws; to respect the flag; to defend her against all enemies, foreign or domestic; to actively assume my duties and obligations as a citizen, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in greater America.

It was quite a statement to be made by a group that had many of their rights taken from them. However, they were citizens and believed it was their obligation to defend the country, no matter how unfair such a request might be. In light of the circumstances on the mainland, it is unsurprising that the number of volunteers from Hawai'i far exceeded the number on the mainland.

The Hawaiians were never forced to register their families or relocate halfway across the country; they simply desired retaliation for the attack on their homeland. The islands had been specifically targeted by Japan and the ramifications were far more personal then they were on the mainland. Many of the ten thousand Hawaiian Japanese who responded to enlistment had seen the Japanese planes flying overhead and the smoke rising from the attack. The Japanese Americans not already part of the 100th Battalion often enlisted, coming from poor families on sugar or pineapple plantations. Their lives were simple but they believed in their race and the

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[146] Ibid.

United States. As Barney Harjiro commented, “If you don’t go, you lose face.”[147] One of four enlisted brothers, Robert Kuroda, was underage, yet so eager to join that he got his parents’ permission to enter military service. The Hawaiian volunteers were sent off to Mississippi with a large farewell party of 15,000 spectators and an official ceremony at Iolani Palace. The soldiers were given flowered leis by “young ladies dressed in hula attire.”[148] Many received gifts, which usually translated to envelopes full of money. The men enjoyed themselves as they set off to the mainland, where their future comrades were experiencing a different farewell experience.

Although some mainland Nisei did receive gifts or packages from family and friends, there were no official ceremonies or celebrations. Many volunteers left alone, or in the middle of the night, to avoid harassment from those who had signed “no/no” on the loyalty questionnaire. One volunteer arrived at the camp and was directed to a table in the mess hall where a single bone lay. A sign stated, “Dogs eat here.”[149] As the mainlanders began to arrive at Camp Shelby, Marshall received reports of conflict between the Japanese and Negro regiments, and also issues at USO dances or in the town. There were instances of Anglo-American landowners refusing to rent to the Japanese soldiers, and Anglo-American girls refusing to dance with them at USO events.[150] However, these were expected conflicts. The clash between the Hawaiians and the mainlanders came as much more of a surprise.

Aside from differences in reactions and experiences in post Pearl Harbor America, the Hawaiians and the mainlanders came from drastically different cultures. The Hawaiians were from the islands, and exemplified Polynesian culture rather than Asian. They had not grown up in isolated "Japan Towns" like many of the mainlanders, and instead intermingled with Native Hawaiians, Filipinos and others. In a territory with few Anglo-Americans, they were not subject to the same discrimination faced by their mainland peers. Furthermore, many of them came from poorer families and didn't recognize shame in making a living as a farmer or sharecropper. Conversely, the mainland Japanese had been consistently taught and encouraged to work hard and study hard in order to advance.

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[147] Yenne, 33.

[148] Asahina, 28.

[149] Minoru Masuda, ed. Hana Masuda and Dianne Bridgeman, *Letters from the 442nd: The World War II Correspondence of a Japanese American Medic,* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 12.

[150] Ibid,24.

The Hawaiians had the confidence of coming from an area where they were the majority, yet in the states, Japanese were very much a minority. The Hawaiians considered mainlanders to be aloof and serious, referring to them as "boy scouts". They appeared reserved in comparison to the rowdy, barefoot islanders who did indeed wear un-tucked, brightly printed shirts and played ukuleles. Jajiro, a Hawaiian recruit, described his group by saying, "Hawai'i guys make lots of trouble and drink beer," they were "happy go-lucky", and would always be the first to buy a round of drinks upon entering the bar. They were clannish to the mainlanders who didn't understand either pidgin or the nicknames they seemed to use for everyone. Some pidgin phrases used included, "Cool head main ting" which meant "no big deal, and "no talk stink" which meant, "don't speak badly of someone behind their back."[151] Christopher Keegan, who was assigned to the 442nd in command of heavy weapons, remembers, "[The Hawaiians had] weird names that didn't fit the guys. The guy called 'Big Boy' wasn't big."[152] Consequently, the Hawaiians thought that the mainlanders' proper English made them sound as if they were superior to the Hawaiians. The began calling them *kotunks,* which was meant to represent the sound of coconuts splitting open and also the mainlanders' heads hitting the ground. As Hana Masuda, the wife of Minoru Masuda, a medic for the 442nd, recollects, " At first some Japanese

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[151] Ibid,33.
[152] Ibid, 34.

American Hawaiians and some mainlanders didn't understand one another. Later, especially during the months in Europe, they came to accept and respect one another. Many lifelong friendships were formed." [153] In one letter Minoru wrote, he discussed a positive interaction with an islander in which they realized they had mutual friends. After finding common ground they quickly became friends. Similarly, many of the islanders and mainlanders began to find understanding after a trip to the internment camps in Arkansas.

Each company sent ten men, all from the islands, to visit the relocation centers for a dinner and dance. They brought along their ukuleles and guitars for entertainment and planned on performing a hula upon arrival. Although the incarcerated Japanese welcomed them with open arms, setting aside extra rations and offering places to stay in the barracks, the islanders were completely unprepared for what they encountered. Daniel Inouye remembers that on the way home, "the mood in the trucks was different. No one sang. There was no conversation..."[154]

> It was all mindboggling …the thing that went through my mind constantly was: "I wonder what I would have done. Would I have volunteered?" We [Hawaiians] volunteered from a community that was generous, we weren't herded away. But these guys were herded into camps like this, and they volunteered.[155]

The Hawaiians finally understood the hardship that the mainlanders had faced. Their aloof and serious nature made infinitely more sense. They were required to be studious and serious in order to succeed, and the bigotry that they faced made them all the more somber. They weren't too cheap or disinterested to buy rounds of beer; they just simply couldn't afford it. Whereas the Hawaiians were crapshooters and gamblers who had been offered envelopes of money upon their departure, the mainlanders were often sending all of their income to parents making only 14 dollars per month. The trip to Jerome and Rowher was a wake up call, one that initiated irreversible friendships and trust between the two groups. They had reached the point of “unit cohesion” and as Tom Kawagauchi recalls, “ We kind of felt like brothers…there was an unspoken trust between us that was evident constantly.”[156] It was merely the beginning of a camaraderie that would be strengthened by the unforeseen challenges they had yet to face in Europe.

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[153] Minoru, 16.
[154] Asahina, 63.
[155] Ibid.

Prior to shipping overseas, a Anglo-American officer overheard an interview with a young Hawaiian Nisei soldier. He was asked what surprised and impressed him most about his training at Camp Shelby. He replied, “They’re teaching us how to survive.”[157] He was honestly surprised that they were expected to live through the upcoming combat. This was a new concept for many Hawaiians who had grown up in rural areas or enclaved Japanese communities where they still prescribed to the “old ways” of Imperial Japan. There it was expected that at least one son would be “given” to the emperor, and that he would likely not return. However, the American army expected this segregated unit to fight well and bravely, and to return to tell the tale. Once they reached Europe it became clear that they would accomplish their goal. By concentrating all of the Japanese Americans into one unit, the Army had unknowingly crafted a highly skilled and almost elite fighting force. They were fiercely determined to prove their loyalty, and nearly all of them had some sort of higher education.[158] They were also born workers and many had previously experienced hardship. It was a special team of people and they knew that in working together they would prove their worth to the American people. “We had a chance in our unit to prove something," Kashino stated. "Individually, I don't think we could have made a name for ourselves."[159]

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[156] Ibid, 64.
[157] Ibid, 50.
[158] Ibid, 38.

Before shipping out, both the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regiment developed mottos. The Army chosen saying for the 100th Infantry Unit was "Be Of Good Cheer" and the emblem was a red dagger. This was hardly representative of the rowdy yet devoted Hawaiians, who thought the motto was ridiculous. Instead, they settled on "Remember Pearl Harbor," and created an emblem with the helmet of a Hawaiian chieftain and a leaf that traditionally was meant to ward off evil spirits.[160]

The original motto and emblem of the 442nd were even more absurd. The quartermaster had offered a design that depicted a yellow arm holding a white bloody sword with red and white bombs bursting the background. The regiment immediately rejected it. The Army had failed to see the potential racist interpretation of a Japanese arm holding a bloody dagger with bombs possibly representing Pearl Harbor exploding in the background. They instead chose traditionally American colors- a blue torch of liberty on a background of red and white stripes. Fred Hamashi suggested the motto "Go For Broke" which reminded him of his parents saying "makate katsu" or "win in losing."[161] This was entirely more appropriate for a segregated company who were putting their lives on the line for the sake of their country and also their entire ethnic community.

Once engaged in combat, the 100th Battalion and the 442nd proved themselves time and time again. Although the 100th Battalion was separate from the 442nd and shipped out first, they eventually joined the 442nd Regiment. Kim was admired for his bravery and excellent leadership of the band of Hawaiians. Both he and Sakae Takahashi, his buddy from Camp Shelby inspired the group with their daring actions. The 100th Battalion was part of the Fifth Army, led by Lt. Gen. Mark Clark, who was both inspired and impressed with the Japanese American unit and became one of their foremost supporters. He described Kim as an "able and hardboiled" fighter and also noted that they were "one of the most valuable units in the Fifth Army."[162] They demonstrated their commitment and fighting spirit in some of the bloodiest battles of the war as their worked their way through the Italian front from the fall of 1943 until the summer of '44. On November 20th 1943, there were multiple instances of extreme bravery and grim determination. Private Shizyu Hayashi made a single man attack under fire from "grenade, rifle, and machine gun" He overtook an enemy machine gun position and killed nine Germans. When another German unit, equipped with the feared 88 mm anti-aircraft gun, attacked his platoon, he "single-handedly killed another nine Germans, took four prisoners, and forced the remaining troops to retreat."[163] It was an impressive accomplishment and by December the 100th was aptly nicknamed the "Purple Heart Battalion" for bravery and the casualties, which had reduced the unit, by half. New recruits from the 442nd and the 1st Battalion began to slowly join the infantry division, continuing to prove themselves as the war turned in the Allies' favor.

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[159] Ibid, 40.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.

Heroism and Terrorism: Re-Assimilation into Anglo-American Society

Japanese Americans at home continued to volunteer their military services, and were added to the draft in 1944. The government was ready to accept them as citizens, at least from a military point of view, and they could join, evade, or decline and accept the consequences. In some way, the Japanese American draftees had less of a choice then the original volunteers.

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[162] Ibid, 46.
[163] Ibid, 48.

Many of them were still incarcerated, and had seen no overt change in status outside of their new military classification. Their parents still remained "enemy aliens" and discrimination still existed. The government claimed they were still discerning loyalties, but were actively drafting soldiers out of incarceration camps, and many classified "disloyals" became draftees. It made less sense than ever, and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes suggested that the relocation centers be shut down. The West Coast's military status had been changed to 1A, which essentially meant that it would have limited defense zones since a foreign or domestic attack was highly improbable. Many of the restricted areas set up directly after Pearl Harbor would no longer be exclusive to the military. The Western Defense Command's new leader Lt. Gen. Boonsteel wrote a memo to end the exclusions of the Japanese Americans, reminding Army General Marshall, "It is hard to conceive of any possible action on the part of Japanese military and naval forces, and that of the Japanese in the United States which can seriously change the final outcome of the war."[164] It was becoming increasingly clear that the Japanese were highly loyal citizens between their bravery and dedication in battle and their exemplary academic success and involvement at various colleges. The Nisei, and particularly the soldiers, clearly saw themselves as American.

Ted Tsukimya, who had grown up in Hawai'i, remembered, "I was not specifically conscious that I was Japanese. I'm not a Japanese living in America, I'm an American who happens to be of Japanese Ancestry[165]." This echoes the feelings of many volunteer soldiers who exercised their right to be patriotic citizens for a government who refused to recognize them as such. They had a goal to become full Americans, in spite of opposition from their families and peers. At the army camps and on the battlefield most Anglo-American officers treated them as equals, fellow soldiers fighting for democracy. A serviceman wrote, "As a U.S. Marine I am not in the habit of begging for anything, but there is one thing I will beg for. I beg my fellow citizens to give the loyal Japanese Americans their God- given right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that I sincerely hope, is guaranteed by our Constitution."[166] The military and even the WRA was on the side of the Japanese American. A press statement released by Harold Ickes in April 1944 specifically stated:

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[164] Asahina, 83.
[165] Yenne, 90.

> The major emphasis of the War Relocation Authority operations is now on restoring the people of all WRA centers except Tule Lake as rapidly as possible to a private life.[167]

Ickes and others understood there would still be some public resistance; anti-Japanese sentiment was still strong in many areas, yet the WRA understood that public opinion could be swayed. They had been successfully resettling students and farm workers with minimal outcry for years. Nevertheless the initial proposals met with resistance from the President himself.

When Harold Ickes suggested the initiation of closing the internment camps, he explained:

> All of the Japanese Americans who were evacuated from the West Coast have undergone and are undergoing a most intensive investigation. Those concerning whom there is any basis whatever for suspicion of disloyalty have been send to internment camps or are being segregated at Tule Lake…and the thousands of Japanese Americans who remain at the other centers age, by all reasonable tests, loyal American citizens or law abiding allies, They are entitled to be treated at such…. All of us recognize that, in a time of war, we are subject to orders and restraints which would be intolerable in time of peace…But when military necessity does no require it, not one of us who is an American citizen or loyal alien can be deprived of his rights under the law. [168]

"The more I think of this problem suddenly ending the orders excluding Japanese Americans from the West Coast, the more I think it would be a mistake to do anything drastic or sudden," wrote Roosevelt, less than a week after D-Day.[169] He was reluctant to recall E.O. 9066 completely, even after approving the draft and informing the public that race was not a factor or reason for discrimination in the United States. He offered a quiet and gradual approach to resettlement, writing:

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[166] Asahina, 120.
[167] Ibid, 82
[168] Harold Ickes, Department of the Interior Release, April 13,1944.

> I have been speaking to a number of people from the Coast and they are all in agreement that the Coast would be wiling to receive back a portion of the Japanese who were formally there-nothing sudden and not in too great quantities at any one time. Also, in talking to people from the Middle West, the East, and the south, I am sure that there would be no bitterness if they were distributed-one or two families to each county as a start. Dissemination and distribution constitute and great method of avoiding public outcry. Why not proceed seriously along the above line- for a while at least? [170]

The President was wheedling the WRA and Ickes to reintroduce the Japanese into the United States slowly and quietly, spreading them out as if they had never truly existed in large numbers. His wife Eleanor also stated, "We should never have allowed any groups to settle as groups where…they did not melt into our general community pattern."[171] However, enclaves of Germans and Italians had been living in New York City and throughout the country for years, with no backlash or disturbance from the government. Even when a ring of German spies was discovered and U-Boats landed on the East Coast in New York and Florida, Germans were never rounded up and imprisoned.[172] Although there were several "little Tokyos'" on the West Coast, the majority of the Japanese community was naturally spread apart on farms rather than concentrated in the cities. Forty five percent of Japanese had farming occupations and eighteen percent had jobs that were somehow related to it, in distribution or other fields. They were economically competitive despite their small numbers, and it is likely the California and other

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[169] Asahina, 77.

[170] Asahina,78.

[171] Eleanor Roosevelt, "A Challenge to American Sportsmanship," *Collier's,* October 16, 1943 in *Only What We Could Carry,* 426.

[172] Ibid, 83

West Coast states were reluctant to experience a resurgence of successful Japanese farmers, which would hinder the economic success of those who had replaced them. The Assistant Secretary of War demonstrated this in a phone conversation. “[The president] was surrounded at that moment by his political advisors and they were harping hard that this would stir up the boy in California, and California, I guess, is an important state.” [173] Roosevelt was likely more concerned for his West Coast support in the upcoming election than for the Japanese still stuck in barracks in desolate locations. Many of them were aliens who could not vote, and the Japanese community was too small to have much impact on the election. The West Coast remained full of anti Japanese sentiment. As the 442nd was busy fighting for democracy, “the American Legion in Hood River Oregon erased the names of sixteen Japanese American soldiers from a memorial honoring servicemen from the area.”[174] These Nisei men had fought and died for their country, yet this American institution refused to recognize them at all. The Secretary of War rightfully commended them and a host of reporters, columnists, and radio hosts followed their example. Other citizens also spoke out in favor of resettlement, criticizing relocation more and more as the war waged on and the Japanese units demonstrated bravery and intelligence. Army lieutenant James Corning asked, “Why don’t our American racists demand the internment of all Japanese Americans in uniform? And why don’t they apply the same rule to all Americans of German decent which would include General Eisenhower…?”[175]

More and more citizens were recognizing the injustice of the incarceration and the value of the American Japanese, yet the Nisei soldiers would still face hardship as they returned from the war. The 442nd working with the diminished 100th Battalion, continued to prove themselves in the invasion of southern France, rescuing the “lost” Texas Battalion, which was trapped in the Vosges Mountains. All of the members of the 442nd today have been named honorary citizens of Texas in commendation of their heroism. Members of the Japanese American units were also the first to discover and liberate the satellite camps of Dachau, the oldest German concentration camp, outside of Munich.

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[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid, 81.
[175] Ibid, 90.

Sus Ito, Yuk Minaga, and George Oiye were three mainlanders who were decorated for their heroism in rescuing the “Lost Battalion” only months earlier when they came across “many lumps in the snow” with Tahaw Sugita, another soldier[176]. These lumps were in fact, Jewish German prisoners who were starving and nearly frozen, many of them naked or in flimsy striped uniforms. The German soldiers had abandoned the camp, leaving the half-dead prisoners behind. Dachau was the “model concentration camp” where medical experiments took place on prisoners and an SS training camp was established. Many prisoners were still standing and blindfolded, waiting to be shot to death by a firing squad. Yanina Cywinska was one who was blindfolded and she recalls, “Suddenly someone was tugging at my blindfold…I saw him and I thought, ‘Oh, now the Japanese are going to kill us.’”[177]. It was, of course an American soldier and he managed to convince Cywinska that she was free. Another young man remembers being scooped up by another Japanese solider with an emblem on his shoulder, “blue- with a white hand and a white torch.”[178] It was a member of the 442nd. The Japanese Americans were heroes to the imprisoned Jews and to their fellow Anglo-American comrades, yet racism in the U.S. perpetuated.

Many of the 442nd, wounded and facing various operations and rehabilitation, were returning to the States or had at least left the battlefield. After being shot in the stomach, Daniel

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[176] Ibid, 111.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.

Inouye, currently the Senior U.S. Senator from Hawaii underwent multiple blood transfusions, several operations and painful rehabilitation. However, he was not able to contact his family because the war with Japan had not yet ended and resident aliens in Hawai'i could not make or receive long distance telephone calls. Inouye was a returning soldier who was injured while trying to rescue his white comrades, and yet he could not even speak with his parents. When he finally made his way home in 1947, he was informed by a barber in San Francisco, "You're a Jap, and we don't cut Jap hair."[179] The internment camps were being emptied and families and veterans slowly began to return home, where they were often met with resistance and violence—or occasionally, thankfulness.

The prejudice on the West coast was still extreme in some areas. Shing Doi, a soldier who risked his life during the rescue of the Lost Battalion, discovered that his family had been the target of terrorism while he was at war. After returning home from the Amache prison camp, neighbors shot at them to force them inside their house, and also set their shed on fire. His father managed to put out the flames, but inside the shed, police discovered sticks of dynamite.[180] Doi was from Placer County, California, which was known to be racist, however, he and his family had sacrificed just as much if not more than the Anglo-American families in the neighborhood. Another family from the same neighborhood, the Makabes, had their home set on fire only hours after the closing of the camps was publicly announced. Mary Masuda, who returned home to Orange County before her parents, was nearly terrorized into leaving her home, despite the fact that four of her brothers had served in the war.[181]

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[179] Ibid, 115.
[180] Ibid,117.
[181] Moore, 112.

On the East Coast and throughout much of the country, military personnel and citizens staunchly defended the Japanese. Commander Joseph Stillwell, Commander in Chief of the China-India-Burma theatre of war, was highly supportive of the Nisei, and had harshly criticized General DeWitt earlier in the war for his relocation policy. He stated:

> You're damn right those Nisei boys have a place in the American heart, now and forever…. They bought an awful hunk of America with their blood. Anytime we see a barfly commando picking on these kids or discriminating against them, we ought to bang him over the head with a pickax."[182]

Stillwell understood that the Japanese Americans had gone above and beyond in serving their country, even when their families remained imprisoned. They had experienced all of the grisly aspects of war with determination and bravery. They were models for America and for their community, having fully demonstrated their worth on and off the battlefield.

Japanese Americans in nearly every sector of society spent the war years trying to prove their worth and loyalty to the rest of the county. However, there had been real dissenters. The "no/no boys" and those who repatriated to Japan were unwilling to make what they saw as a futile and unfair effort to prove themselves to a country where they already possessed citizenship. Those who repatriated did not necessarily view themselves as Japanese loyalists, as many of them had never even traveled to the country of their ancestry. Rather, they traveled to Japan in the hope that they would be more accepted in Japanese society more than they seemed to be in America. Many repatriates were of the Nisei generation and full American citizens. The majority of them were from the Tule Lake Relocation Camp, where most of the "disloyal" (as determined by the loyalty questionnaire) citizens were sent. An article published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* stated, "About 1500 Japanese repatriates, most of them American-born, were aboard ship en route to Japan last night after release from U.S. internment camps. Frank J. Hennessy, United States Attorney here, was so notified yesterday by Washington, which added that 428 of the total were from the Tule Lake camp. The rest are from Fort Lincoln, North Dakota. Many of the repatriates had renounced United States citizenship."[183]

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[182] Asahina, 120.

Unfortunately they were not accepted with open arms into Japanese society. They were attempting to assimilate into a society that was still at war with the country they had grown up in. Japan was out of supplies and resources, unable to embrace 1500 immigrants of Japanese descent. It is interesting, however, based on the way Japanese Americans were treated, that only a little over one thousand chose to return to their ancestral country. This is a testament to the Japanese American spirit and determination to prove themselves to Anglo-Americans. Despite the racism and in some cases terrorism that many soldiers and internees returned to on the West Coast, within only a few years racial stereotypes were beginning to change.

In 1947, a bill in California incorporating the Alien Land Law into the state constitution was defeated. The Alien Land Law prevented members of the Issei generation ("those ineligible for citizenship") from owning land. The defeat of this proposal marked a distinct change in Anti-Asian sentiment on the West Coast. Japanese Americans had suffered imprisonment, relocation, harassment, violence and even death before they slowly became recognized as American citizens. The dedicated efforts of the Nisei generation and their ongoing hope of a positive future for Japanese Americans influenced America's dwindling racism in the years after the war.

Nisei soldiers and internees, particularly in California, came home to violence and terrorism. They banded together with local organizations and the media, and even wrote letters to

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[183] Conrat, 70.

Congress to fight back against the ongoing racism. The newspaper published by the Japanese American Citizens League, *The Pacific Citizen,* published articles on numerous accounts of violence in the first 6 months of 1945. Nightriders fired shots into Japanese American homes and acts of arson were reported in several counties. In San Jose in March 1945, arsonists set fire to a Japanese American home and then shot the evacuees when they attempted to put out the flames.[184] Newspapers and media throughout the country condemned the violence-taking place in California. Two Nisei soldiers wrote letters to Harold Ickes, who was horrified by the violent turn of events, and compared the terrorists and their actions to those of Nazi storm troopers.[185] The Nisei had more then done more than their part to assimilate themselves in American society and the combination of their heroic actions and the horror at racial purification after WWII brought awareness to their cause.

Many Anglo-Americans saw the inherent problems of Japanese imprisonment during the war, but still failed to notice their own underlying racism in the anti-Asian sentiment in American society. The outright violence that took place in California, however, garnered their attention; they were able to recognize racism through atrocity. Arson and murder were far too similar to the racial purification that took place in Germany, and American citizens refused to follow in the footsteps of those they had deemed evil. Even the staunchly anti-Japanese newspaper, *The Fresno Bee* cautioned against expressing dislike of the Japanese in a hateful manner.[186] The heroic actions of the Japanese Americans during the war came to the forefront as the media took the side of Ickes and spoke out on behalf of the Japanese American community—

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[184] Kevin Allen Leonard, ""Is This What We Fought For?" Japanese Americans and Racism in California, The Impact of World War II," *Western Historical Quarterly, Utah State University*, 21, no. 4 (1990): 463-482, http://0-www.jstor.org.tiger.coloradocollege.edu/sta (accessed March 15, 2012).

[185] Leonard 467.

[186] *The Fresno Bee*, February 14, 1945, B-6 in "Is That What We Fought For?", 469.

whom they had racialized and slurred only years earlier. Even so, several Californians still seemed unable to distinguish between Japanese American citizens and the imperial Japanese. Even as the Nisei were rescuing the Texas "Lost Battalion" and liberating Dachau, some American citizens still considered them to be the same Japanese committing atrocities against American soldiers in the Pacific. "H. J. McClatchy, the driving force behind the notoriously anti-Japanese California Joint Immigration Committee, insisted in a letter to the *Bee* that opponents of Proposition 15 were asking voters to 'love the men who perpetrated the death march at Bataan.'"[187] Their race hatred was so ingrained they insisted the Proposition 15 (inclusion of the Alien Land Law into the California constitution) was a necessary step. Americans were jubilant at the surrender of Japan in September 1945, however they still associated Japanese Americans with their enemies. In West Coast minds, however, the Issei and Nisei returning from the camps were endangering the safety and peace America had finally achieved. They were as determined to work against the Japanese Americans as the Nisei were to prove their worth.

Nisei ex-Sergeant Iguawama wrote an angry letter that he sent to newspapers throughout the country, in which he asked, "Don't Purple Hearts and Presidential Unit Citations mean anything? [The Japanese Americans who died in combat] might have been the lucky guys, they're not coming home to face this kind of pushing around."[188] Political cartoons, newspapers, and religious organizations backed up Iguawama's statement, as well as the outcries of many other Japanese Americans. One cartoon published in the *Pacific Citizen* depicts a wounded Japanese American solider in uniform trying to make a purchase at a convenience store. The cashier points to the window where the sign still hangs, “No Japs Allowed” and questions, “Can’t ya read?”[189] The opponents of proposition 15 did not have the financial support of its supporters but through letters, newspaper articles and speeches, both Japanese Americans and Anglo-Americans alike spread the word about the underlying racism of the Alien Land Law. Masuoka stated, "As an American soldier of Japanese ancestry who fought overseas, I believe that Proposition 15 negates everything for which so many Americans of all nationalities fought on the battlefront of World War II." The ballot measure, he said, "smacks of Hitlerism and the kind of fascism which so many of us fought to destroy…it gives legal license to discriminate against one people solely on the basis of race.”[190] Nisei citizens and the JACL made emotional appeals recounting their service, while California newspapers spoke from a legal point of view rather than mentioning the history of racism on the West Coast. Their combined tactics were successful. however, and the Proposition was defeated by a wide margin. War workers and those who had fought alongside the Japanese Americans understood the sentiment of the JACL and the Nisei, and voted in their favor. The war and the emotional and physical hardship it brought to the country as a whole lessened the overall feeling of racism. Many Americans had a patriotic sense of unity as Americans, a country that had faced and defeated the evils of Fascism and Nazism. They were reluctant to revert to hypocrisy and display overt racism against the Japanese Americans.

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[187] Leonard, 470.

[188] Yenne, 130.

The Nisei had served their country and proved themselves both well-educated and willing to fight for their ethnicity. Americans throughout the country praised their hard work and intelligence and ability to overcome racism and adversity, seemingly forgetting they had once been the adversity the Nisei needed to overcome. Images of death camps and starving peoples caused Americans to pause and question their own race beliefs. Underlying Asian racism still existed throughout the country, but Japanese Americans were no longer construed as evil Japanese imperial spies. Slowly, more jobs became available to Japanese citizens. Their economic status began to rise, though in West Coast states it still remained lower than that of Anglo-American citizens.[191] In the decades after the war Japanese Americans were hailed as a model minority, one that had risen to Anglo-American standards of success and education. The Nisei had successfully expedited the process of American assimilation for their ethnicity. Anglo-Americans slowly began to view the Japanese as the Americans they had always been. Post-internment reactions to the Japanese community would surely have been more racist and reluctant had student resettlement and Japanese involvement in the Armed forces never taken place. The Nisei may not have managed to conquer racism entirely, but they did their best to assimilate while still remaining proud of their Japanese heritage. It was impossible to fit in without conforming to standards of "Americanism," but their persistence and dedication to the country in face of violence and imprisonment speaks to their strength of character and belief in the United States. Nisei agency in the construction of Japanese American identity in post-war America has been downplayed in history. Although they were often at the mercy of government organizations and educational institutions, Nisei citizens played a crucial role in creating a positive and hopeful future for the Japanese American community.

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[189] Muadlin, “Willie and Joe”, *The Pacific Citizen,* September 22, 1945.

[190] Leonard, 475

Relocation Camps

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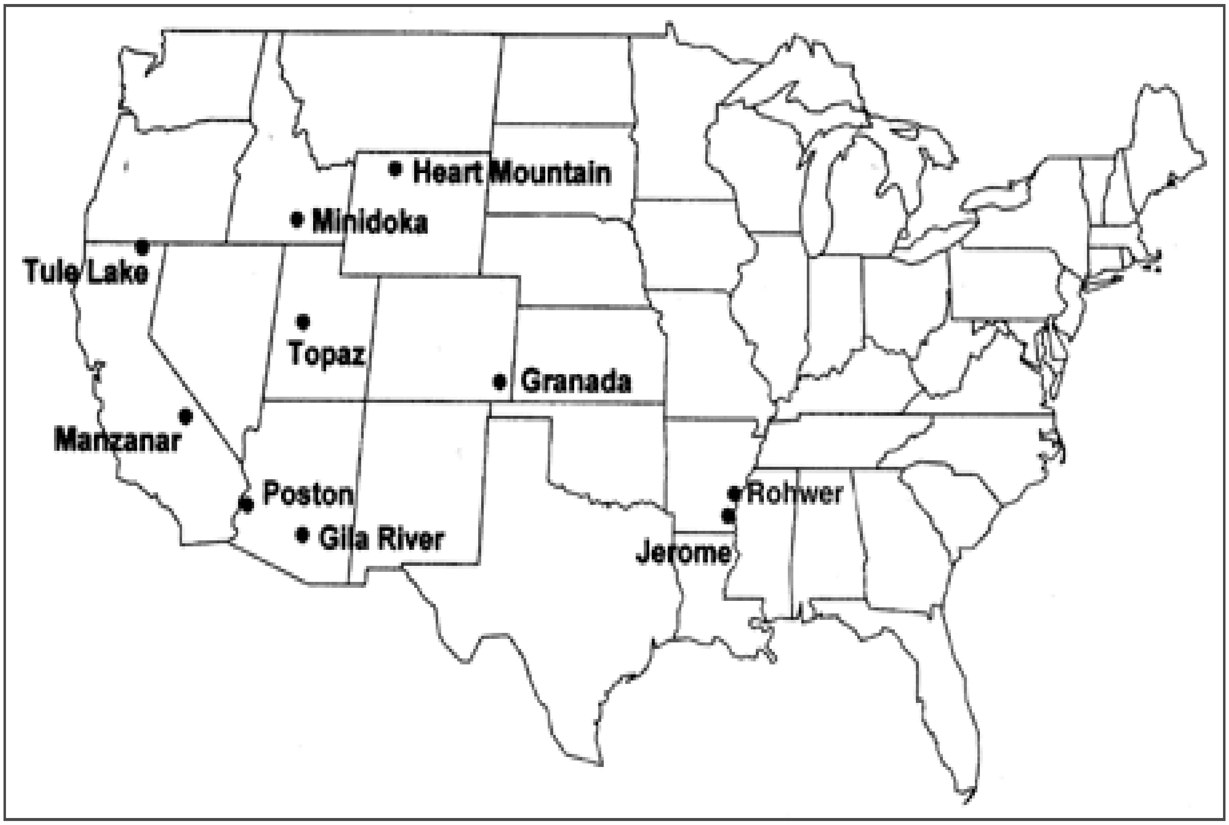
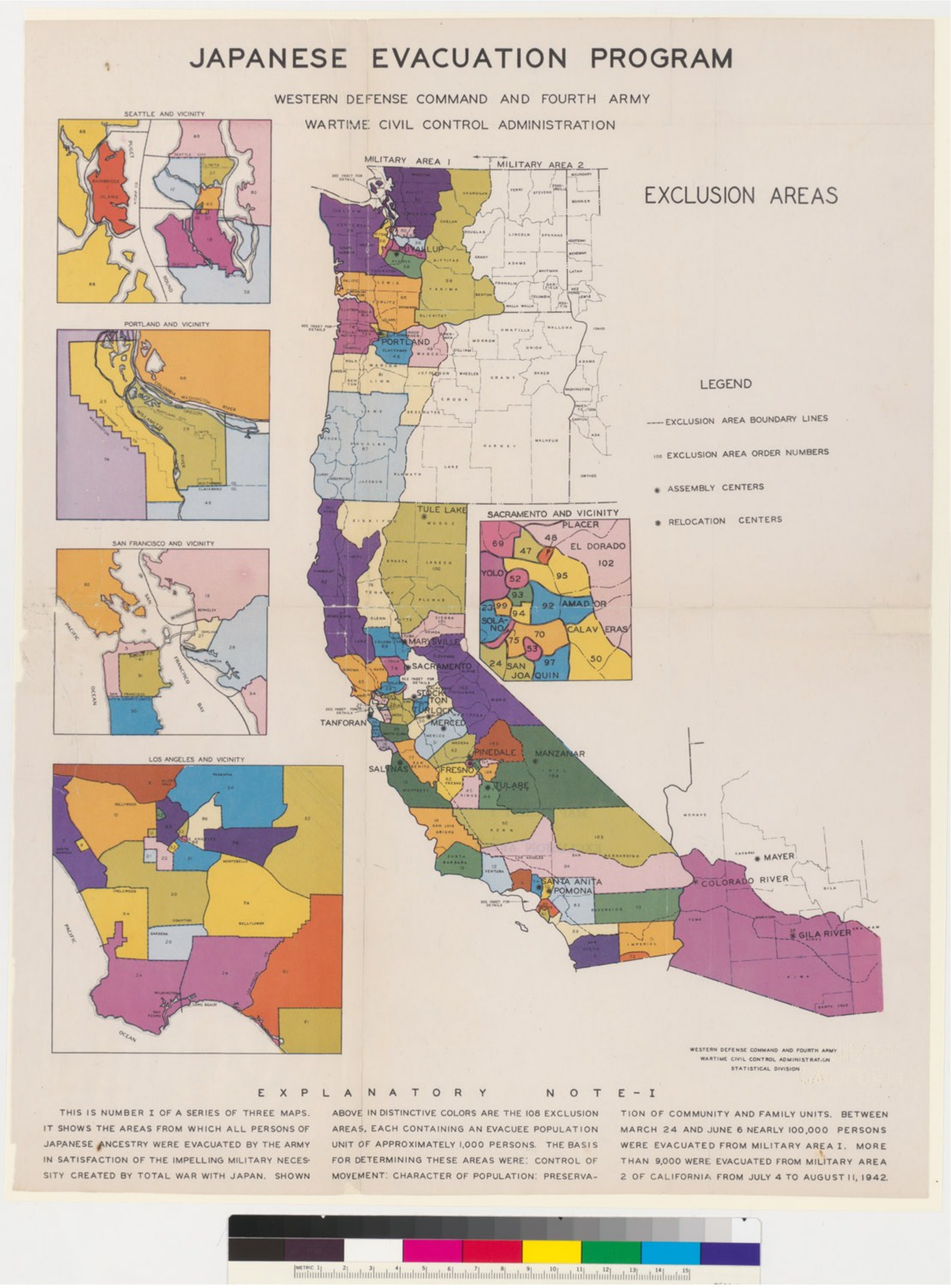
[191] Leonard, 481


Heart Mountain
Minidoka
Tule Lake
Topaz
Granada
Manzanar
Poston
Gila River
Rohwer
Jerome

National Parks Service: U.S. Department of the Interior.

Assembly Centers and Evacuation Plans


JAPANESE EVACUATION PROGRAM
WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION
EXCLUSION AREAS
MILITARY AREA 1
MILITARY AREA 2
SEATTLE AND VICINITY
PORTLAND AND VICINITY
SAN FRANCISCO AND VICINITY
LOS ANGELES AND VICINITY
SACRAMENTO AND VICINITY
LEGEND
EXCLUSION AREA BOUNDARY LINES
EXCLUSION AREA ORDER NUMBERS
ASSEMBLY CENTERS
RELOCATION CENTERS
PUYALLUP
PORTLAND
TULE LAKE
MARYSVILLE
SACRAMENTO
STOCKTON
TURLOCK
MERCED
TANFORAN
SALINAS
PINEDALE
FRESNO
MANZANAR
TULARE
SANTA ANITA
POMONA
MAYER
COLORADO RIVER
GILA RIVER
PLACER
EL DORADO
YOLO
SOLANO
AMADOR
CALAVERAS
SAN JOAQUIN
WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION
STATISTICAL DIVISION

EXPLANATORY NOTE-I

THIS IS NUMBER I OF A SERIES OF THREE MAPS. IT SHOWS THE AREAS FROM WHICH ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY WERE EVACUATED BY THE ARMY IN SATISFACTION OF THE IMPELLING MILITARY NECESSITY CREATED BY TOTAL WAR WITH JAPAN. SHOWN ABOVE IN DISTINCTIVE COLORS ARE THE 108 EXCLUSION AREAS, EACH CONTAINING AN EVACUEE POPULATION UNIT OF APPROXIMATELY 1,000 PERSONS. THE BASIS FOR DETERMINING THESE AREAS WERE: CONTROL OF MOVEMENT: CHARACTER OF POPULATION: PRESERVATION OF COMMUNITY AND FAMILY UNITS. BETWEEN MARCH 24 AND JUNE 6 NEARLY 100,000 PERSONS WERE EVACUATED FROM MILITARY AREA I. MORE THAN 9,000 WERE EVACUATED FROM MILITARY AREA 2 OF CALIFORNIA FROM JULY 4 TO AUGUST 11, 1942.

Western Defense Command and Fourth Army Final Report, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast.

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