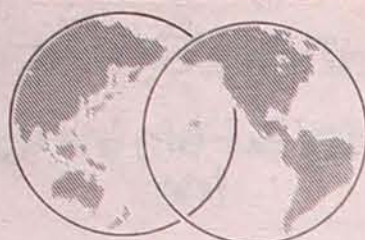


# SPECIAL HOLIDAY ISSUE



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## THE KIBEI

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**TWO PULLOUT SECTIONS ENCLOSED IN THIS ISSUE**

- Section 'A' consists of the Outside 48 pages.
- Section 'B' consists of the Middle 32 pages.
- Section 'C' consists of the Inside 48 pages.



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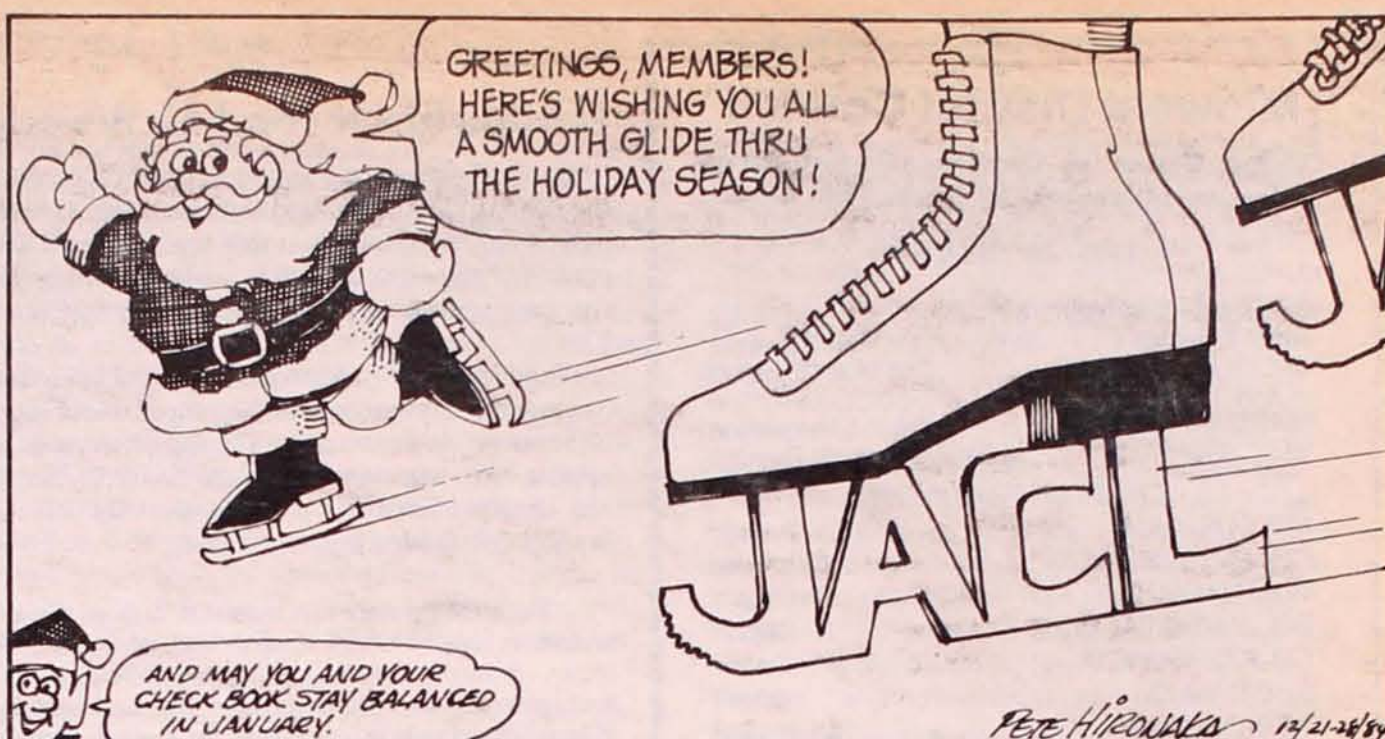
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## About This Issue

We at PC are happy to present the annual holiday edition. Although the equipment failures that have plagued us throughout the year were with us again as we prepared this issue, the job was done thanks to tireless efforts on the part of the staff and a good deal of help from our friends.

Like previous holiday issues, this one illustrates many facets of the Japanese American experience, from early immigration to Hawaii to the Nisei role in the Pacific War to present-day life in the Pacific Northwest. The volume of material we received this year was so great, in fact, that we decided to expand the special New Year's edition to bring you even more articles of interest.

In addition to the contributing writers and artists, we would like to thank our advertisers for making this issue the most successful in PC history in terms of ad revenue.

Among our hard-working staff, Jane Ozawa and Charles Fullert undertook the mammoth job of keeping track of and laying out the advertisements; Tomi Hoshizaki took care of circulation lists and one-line greetings from chapter members; Mitsuko Sakai, Henry Mori and Mark Saito helped with general production; editing and layout of the stories was done by Karen Seriguchi, J.K. Yamamoto, and the newest edition to our staff, Robert Shimabukuro; and Harry Honda oversaw the entire production as well as putting together the special section on the Kibei Nisei. —K.S.

## A Theme Renewed

Our Holiday Issues in the past have had themes such as Evacuation, Resettlement, the Supreme Court wartime cases, Issei local histories, and the Nisei GI. In more recent years, several themes were pursued concurrently in a single issue: the Issei story, Nikkei communities, Nisei profiles in various fields, and the Sansei. Last year, emphasis was on short stories. We've even featured one year in pictures, excerpted JACL testimony before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians and a variety of topics of current interest.

In wake of the strong controversy over "Sanga Moyu" earlier this year on whether to air the Japanese NHK-TV series based on the Toyoko Yamasaki novel, *Futatsu no Sokoku*, (about wartime experiences of the Japanese Americans and centered about a Kibei-Nisei), and discovering an apparent lack of awareness about the Kibei, we felt it timely to renew a central theme in the Holiday Issue by focusing on the Kibei, who they are, how they were perceived by others, etc., and encapsulating as much as possible from the existing literature (and there is certainly much more than what exists in the small PC library) as a way to nurture understanding of this minority of minorities within the Japanese American community. Kibei has almost become an archaic expression—but it shouldn't be for their legacy is part of the history.

## In This Issue

### Section A

- A- 4 Excerpts from "Japanese in the United States," by Yamato Ichihashi
- A- 5 Excerpts from "Americans Betrayed," by Morton Grodzins
- "East Wind," by Bill Marutani
- "President's Corner," by Frank Sato
- A-14 Excerpts from "Concentration Camps," by Roger Daniels
- Excerpts from "Final Report on the Japanese Evacuation," by Gen. John DeWitt
- A-15 "Different Stories of the Kibei," by Bill Hosokawa
- A-21 Excerpts from Dies Committee Report
- A-22 WRA Statistics
- "A Salute to Mitsuye Endo," by Mei Nakano and Marshall Sumida
- A-23 Excerpts from "Final Report on the Japanese Evacuation," by Gen. John DeWitt
- A-26 WRA: Myths and Facts
- A-27 Excerpts from "Special Monograph No. 10" of the Selective Service System
- A-29 Excerpts from "Japanese Americans," by Harry Kitano
- A-34 Two Editorials

### Section B

- B- 1 "Drops of Water," a short story by Ferris Takahashi
- B-28 Excerpts from JACL's "The Case for the Nisei"
- Comments by John Aiso
- B-29 Excerpts from "Heroic Struggles of Japanese Americans," by James Oda
- "The Kibei Psyche," by Bill Marutani

### Section C

- C- 1 "From Aloha to Sayonara, Thanks for the Memories, . . ." by Miki Himeno
- "The Strange Case of Katsu Goto," by Allan Beekman
- C- 5 "Report from the Pacific Southwest," by Harry Kajihara
- C-19 Selected Sources on the Kibei
- C-28 "Matsutake," a short story by Tama Tokuda
- C-30 "Rest in Peace," a short story by Sharon Kusunoki
- C-36 "Operation Magic," by Marshall Sumida

COVER PHOTO: Two senior Japanese-language instructors at the Military Intelligence Service Language School at Camp Savage, Minn., are World War I veterans: John Tanikawa (left) from Honolulu and James Yoshinobu of Gardena, Calif. Both are Kibei. Tanikawa, who had enlisted from Tule Lake, was working on the farms around Sacramento when he and his family were evacuated. He was given the Purple Heart and the Croix

de Guerre for valor from the earlier war, had to beg to go overseas in 1943 for combat duty (though he was over 40 at the time) and was assigned to the 41st Infantry which campaigned in New Guinea and Mindanao. Yoshinobu was sent to the 4th Marines, which invaded Iwojima. For his work interrogating prisoners and translating documents, Yoshinobu holds a Silver Star, a ranking medal for combat duty.



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## SEASON'S GREETINGS From Wisconsin



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## Ichihashi: Second-Generation

Stanford professor Yamato Ichihashi's *Japanese in the United States* (Stanford University Press, 1932) has been a major standard on this topic since its first appearance prewar and again in 1960 as part of the American Immigration Collection initiated by the *New York Times*.

While Ichihashi sticks to a minimum of foreign terms, he could have pioneered in the proper use of Japanese terminology in some cases. The Japanese terms which appear have been inserted by the Pacific Citizen. Here are excerpts from his key chapter (No. 20) on the Second-Generation Japanese [Nisei].

... The term Japanese is here used in its racial connotation to denote persons whose ancestors are of Japanese blood, without regard to citizenship or place of birth. By second-generation Japanese are meant: first, American-born children of Japanese parentage, comprising the two categories, those who have continuously remained in this country except for short temporary visits abroad [Nisei], and those who had been sent to Japan in their early childhood for the purpose of education but later returned to this country [Kibei]; and, second, Japanese who, though born in Japan, were brought here by their parents in their early childhood and educated in American schools [young Issei]; and, finally, Japanese boys and girls born in Japan [Yobiyose] but called here by their parents after having had a certain amount of education in Japan but before having reached their maturity.

Such being the component elements of the second generation, it is perhaps advisable at the outset to elaborate a little the significance of the classification. The children born and reared in this country are American in law and by education, and are Japanese only in blood; but those who had been sent to Japan for education may be culturally Japanese in part, though American in citizenship. The children born in Japan but brought here in their early childhood are Japanese in citizenship and American in education, while the boys and

*Continued on Next Page*

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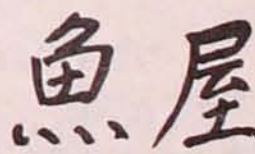
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## Grodzins: Justice Dept. Idea

During the hysteria in wake of E.O. 9066 for ridding Japanese Americans from the West Coast in the spring of 1942, the Justice Department held its cool and was unwilling as early as Jan. 24 to recommend the internment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was confident the dangerous enemy aliens (German, Japanese, etc.) had been arrested and didn't see the need for an internment. But Morton Grodzins (*Americans Betrayed*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949) noted there was a Kibei problem.

Having been subjected to pressure, the Attorney General Biddle showed cognizance of a problem in a memorandum to President Roosevelt on Jan. 30, 1942:

American citizens of the Japanese race present a problem which is particularly difficult if they are subject to any regulation additional to that placed upon other citizens. The Department of Justice and the War Department are conferring on the question whether the military situation is acute enough to require that any action be taken against such citizens. The Department of Justice is also making a study concerning the legal problems involved in taking action against such citizens.

On Feb. 12 the Attorney-General, Mr. Ennis, and Mr. Rowe met with Manchester Boddy, editor and publisher of the *Los Angeles Daily News*, to consider the latter's proposition for the detention of both citizens and aliens. On Feb. 9 Mr. Boddy had written Mr. Biddle, declaring "as emphatically as possible the fact that local white men do not recognize the distinction between Japanese aliens and their sons." Mr. Boddy recommended the forced evacuation of Japanese aliens to a "reservoir point" from which they might be withdrawn for farm labor. For the Nisei, he favored "voluntary" camps, "along the identical lines of the old CCC camps." Mr. Boddy objected to the then current free movement of Japanese aliens from prohibited areas. It resulted, he said, in concentrating Japanese in areas where they made the best targets for vigilante action.

Mr. Boddy was the proprietor of Los Angeles' most liberal newspaper. Officials of the Attorney-General's office therefore accepted his visit as a significant indication of public temperament. Mr. Ennis and Mr. Rowe were certain that there was no real necessity for a program in which American citizens of Japanese ancestry would be treated en masse. Yet they began to explore legal means by which the most dangerous segments of the citizen group might be restricted.

By Feb. 13 Mr. Ennis' ideas were refined to the point that he could inform the Attorney-General that he was considering two possible avenues of approach: In the first place, he was studying a "theory of law under which American-born Japanese who returned to Japan for extended periods (known as *Kibei*, and who have A or B dangerous classifications, might be considered to have expatriated themselves pursuant to the provisions of Section 402 of the Nationality Act of 1940." Second, Mr. Ennis was considering "a theory that the Shinto cult is a form of state worship and that a Shinto worshipper must necessarily have sworn allegiance to the Japanese state." This would "lead to the conclusion . . . that American-born Japanese who were members of the Shinto cult have expatriated themselves. Mr. Ennis wrote J. Edgar Hoover on the same day that he was "studying the uses to which a statute suspending the writ of habeas corpus might be put and the legality of the institution of a pass and permit system applying to citizens and aliens alike."

These considerations looked forward to taking expatriation proceedings against individual citizens of Japanese ancestry and thus making them subject to summary control. It should not be supposed that legal doctrine was lacking for the treatment of the citizen group en masse. In the obvious absence of clear-cut authority for such action, the wide range of undefined war power possessed by both the executive and the legislature might be called into existence. This point was emphasized in an opinion given the Attorney-General by a team of government lawyers headed by Benjamin Cohen.

The Constitution, they wrote, should not be interpreted in time of war to be either unworkable or nonexistent. Considered either as a matter of constitutional law or wise statesmanship, the Japanese situation should be met by action "reasonably calculated to preserve the national safety." The President (the opinion continued) was justified in acting under his war powers without further legislation in view of the urgency of the situation. His authority to prohibit entry by the general public, citizens as well as aliens, into areas of special importance was clear. The legal power to prohibit entry into such an area by a particular class of persons rested upon the reasonableness of the classification. "So long as a classification of persons or citizens is reasonably related to a genuine war need and does not under the guise of national defense discriminate against any class of citizens for a purpose unrelated to the national defense, no constitutional guaranty is infringed."

## ICHIHASHI

Continued from Previous Page

girls born in Japan but called here before reaching their maturity are Japanese subjects culturally hybrid by education. But, of course, these characterizations should not be adhered to too rigidly; they are made merely to suggest that the problem of the second generation is not simple, but rather complex in character. Besides, we have no statistical data to differentiate these categories or to make a comparative study of their peculiar tendencies.

... The outstanding characteristic of these American-born Japanese is the difference in their legal status from that of their parents. As has been made clear, alien Japanese, or first-generation Japanese (*Issei*) as they are now called, are all subjects of Japan and will probably remain so because of the existing naturalization laws of the United States, which permit naturalization only to "free white" persons and "aliens of African nativity or African descent." True, some had been formerly granted citizenship, but in 1922 the Supreme Court of the United States declared that Japanese were ineligible to American citizenship. This fact has been used as the basis for imposing numerous legal disabilities on alien Japanese by states and by the Union.

With American-born Japanese the situation is quite different. Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides, among other things, that "all persons born . . . in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." Because of the inclusive character of the term "all persons," it has been held that even a Japanese, if born in the United States, although a child of parents ineligible to citizenship, is a citizen of the United States. Thus American-born Japanese are free from the legal disabilities imposed on their parents.

In connection with the American citizenship of American-born Japanese, the question of dual nationality had arisen before December 1, 1924, because the Japanese nationality law had been interpreted in accordance with the principle of *jus sanguinis*, which holds that a child born abroad takes the citizenship of its parents, and thus had claimed as its subjects children of Japanese subjects born on American soil. This practice had conflicted with the application, by the United States, of the principle of *jus solis*, which holds that a child born on its soil takes the citizenship of the country of its birth, without regard to the nationality of its parents. In passing it should be said that this country, at the same time, applies the principle of *jus sanguinis* in claiming as its citizens children of American citizens born on foreign soil. In any case, while Japan had adhered to the principle of *jus sanguinis*, the question of dual citizenship was inevitable, working some hardship on those affected by the conflicting claims.

An American-born Japanese subjected to dual nationality could have expatriated himself from Japanese citizenship by going through a specified procedure, which was particularly hard for a male between 17 and 37 years of age, because the Japanese law forbade his expatriation unless he had fulfilled his military service or had been duly exempted from it after an examination. He was, however, absolutely free, after 37, to renounce allegiance to the Japanese flag; this provision had no practical value for American-born children because of their youth.

But the special session of the Japanese Diet in the summer of 1924 amended the Law of Nationality, and the amended law

Continued on Page A-28

EAST WIND: by Bill Marutani

## For My Heart Tells Me So



THE OTHER DAY while driving alone in the automobile, I found myself singing along to a tune playing on the radio. It was one of those lesser-known Christmas carols and while I confess that I did not know every single word to the refrain, I nonetheless was surprised to find that I knew just about all the words. So much surprised that I began to wonder just where I learned the words. As a youngster living in a farming community, I was not given to attending a Christian church. My parents were devout Buddhists so whatever House of God I entered was invariably a Buddhist temple. I do recall once, while I was in grade school, being invited by a classmate to attend Protestant services and first asked my mother if this was alright. She allowed that I surely would not learn anything deleterious and she gave me her blessings, and I went.

But getting back to that Christmas carol.

AS I TURNED the mental time-clock back, I visualized in my mind my grade school days at the Kent Elementary School (Washington) and I pictured the classroom scenes and my teachers at Christmas time. And I suddenly realized that that was where I had learned all those carols. Indeed, I remember a school play in which I played the part of one of the Kings who paid homage to the newborn baby-in-the-manger, bringing frankincense, incense and myhrr—singing "We three Kings of Orient are . . ." I had no idea of what those three treasures were, although as a child I had seen *senko* before the *butsudan*.

To this day, I still remember just about all the words to that song. We had to rehearse it often enough so that the play would be presented with a minimum of glitches.

ALTHOUGH NOT FROM a Christian family, I decided sometime during my high school years that I'd better study up on this religion which was predominant in our society—if nothing else to know reasonably well one facet of what made this society "tick." And in that study course, I can say that I've read the Bible from cover to cover at least twice, and even memorized some of the psalms. However, it was my college years that instilled into me many of the profound teachings contained in the Bible. At the Methodist institution in South Dakota known as "Dakota Wesleyan University," to which I had proceeded from Tule Lake camp, we had to attend chapel services every Wednesday and on most Sundays, along with classmates, I (voluntarily) attended the First Methodist Church.

This isn't to suggest for a moment that all that teaching "took." The best that can be said is that perhaps it kept me from sinking to even a lower level. Perhaps.

MY VIEWS OF religion today are, have been, quite ecumenical. While my own imperfect subscriptions are to the teachings of the Bible, I am comfortable in the firm belief that all good Buddhists, all good Christians, all good Jews, all good Muslims, and so on—will be together in one House in the hereafter; that a compassionate, forgiving, understanding God would not discriminate among His children—and we are all, each of us, His children—any more than an earthly parent would discriminate against his own earthly children. For that is not the way Love operates, particularly that of an omniscient and omnipotent Father of All.

THERE ARE SOME who persist in "religious chauvenism" which they pervert into labelling as "Love." In my mind, that is a totally inconsistent concept. If not my conscience, my "common sense" tells me so.

PRESIDENT'S CORNER: Frank Sato

## Holiday 1984-85

With the approach of the Holiday Season, I would like to extend the greetings of this joyous time to all the JACL members and friends on behalf of the national board and staff.

This time of the year has special meaning with family, loved ones and concern for all people. The purposes of JACL and the sentiments of the holiday season coincide to remind us of our many blessings and the need to revitalize our purpose in being.

The love and concern for Japanese Americans and all Americans is a year-round concern, founded on sound principles established by the JACL 55 years ago. Sometimes appreciation for our work is great. At other times it's meager at best. Only history will judge better than each of us our achievements. But I want you to know that your national organization appreciates everything you've done this past year in support of our noble cause.

June and I join your national board and staff to extend season's greetings and to wish you a Happy New Year.



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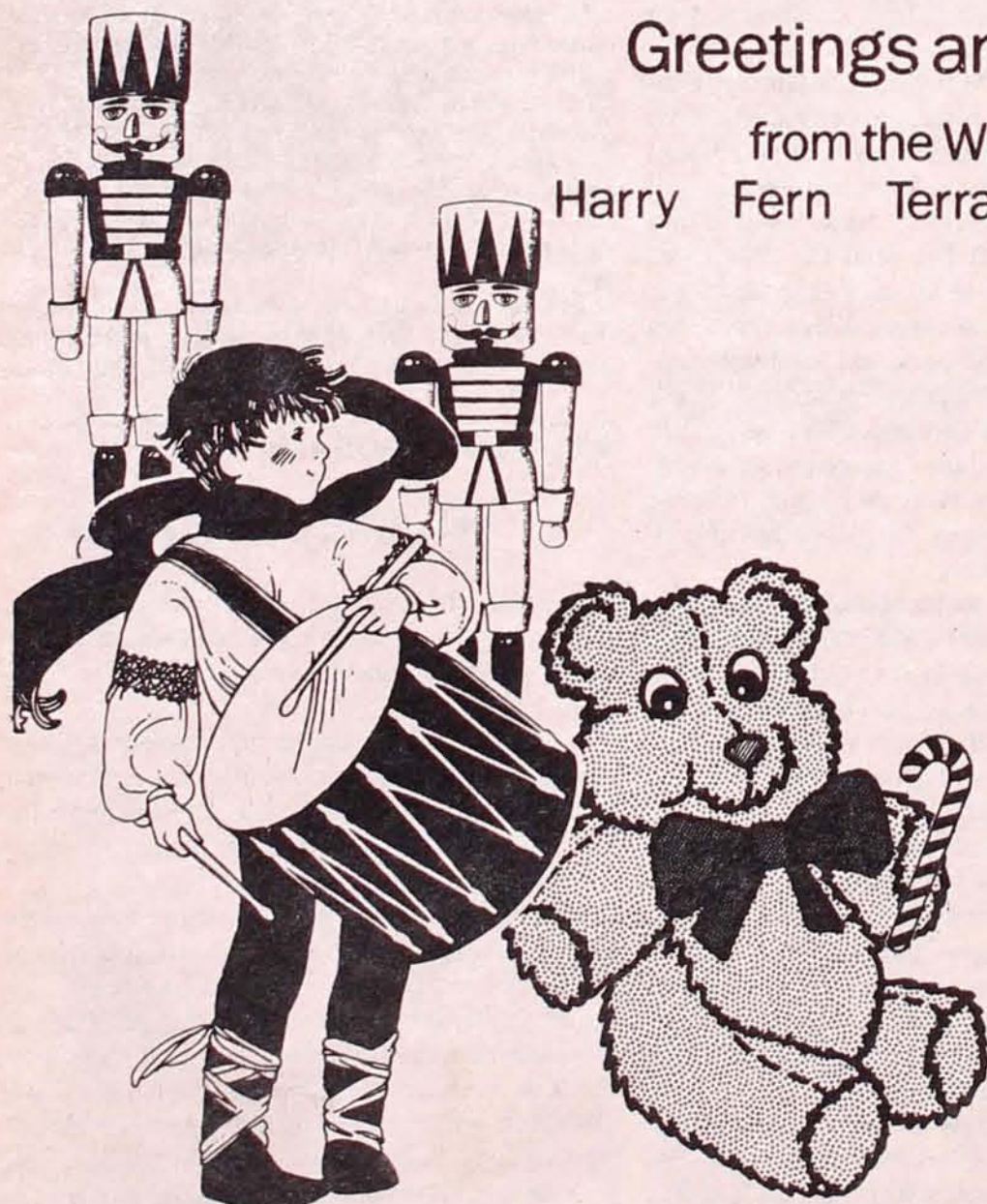
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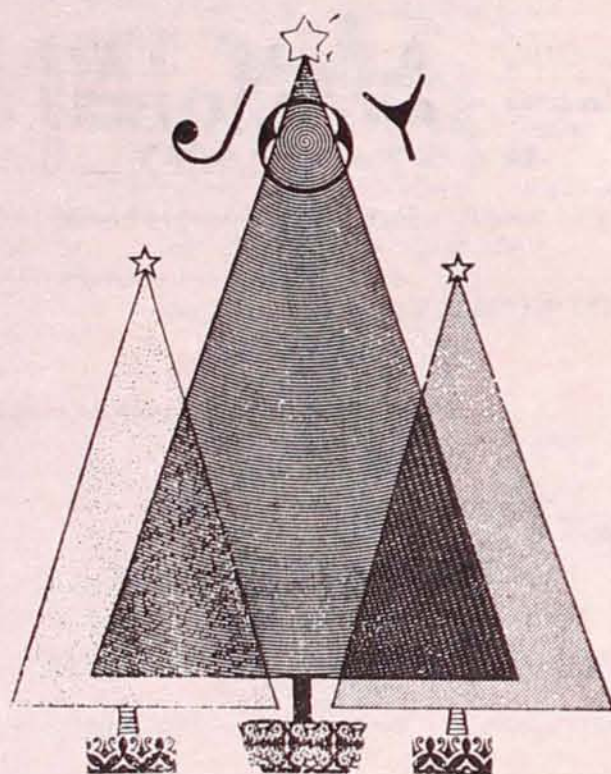


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EBIHARA, Roy/Aiko . . . 13791 Hale Rd, Oberlin 44074  
FUGITA, Steve/Karen; Stephanie . . . 291 Ellen Av, Akron 44305  
FUJIMURA, Cliff/Tsuru; Laura, Martin, Clay . . . 1834 Ridgewick Dr, Wickliffe 44092  
FURUKAWA, Ben, Kiich . . . 6307 Cumberland Dr, Mentor 44060  
HASHIGUCHI, Eva . . . 3099 E Overlook Rd, Cleveland Hts. 44118  
HONDA, Asae . . . 1230 Eastwood, Mayfield Hts 44124  
ICHIDA, May . . . 21430 Priday Av, Euclid 44123  
IGARASHI, Shig/Ruby; Robin . . . 30401 Fairway Blvd, Willowick 44094  
IKUTA, George/Louise . . . 3185 Warren Rd, 44111  
IKUTA, Yoshiko, Cynthia . . . 12900 Lake Rd #724, Lakewood 44107  
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KANNO, Stan/Mae . . . 198 S Green Rd, So Euclid 44121  
KATANO, Dorothy K . . . 1850 Buena Vista Dr, Euclid 44117  
KEREKMAN, Mark/Beverly; David . . . 1398 Wilshire, Lyndhurst 44124  
KOJIMA, Wade/Alissa . . . 34877-A N Turtle Tr, Willoughby 44094  
KOSAI, Frank/Aiko . . . 31602 Royalview Dr, Willowick 44094  
KOYAMA, Roy/Edna . . . 26150 Drakefield Ave, Euclid 44132  
KUNIMOTO, Tak/Yayoi; family . . . 7861 Albion Rd, No Royalton 44133  
KUNUGI, Kaz/Misao . . . 1099 Birch Lane (09)  
KUROKAWA, Kenji/Misao; John, Amy . . . 24341 Hedgewood, Westlake 44145  
MASUOKA, Tak . . . 2190 Indianola Ave, Columbus 43201  
MATSUOKA, Jim/Dassie . . . 8049 McCreery Rd, Brecksville 44141  
NAKAGAWA, May; Jim . . . 1669 Mapledale Rd, Wickliffe 44092  
NAKAJI, George/Mary . . . 32506 Lake Shore Bl, Willowick 44094  
NAKAO, Cindy . . . 6507 Marsol, #745, Mayfield Hts 44124  
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NAKASHIGE, Sam/Sets; Suzy . . . 3071 Marda Dr, Parma 44134  
NAKASHIGE, Tim/Lisa; Seth, Sara 14932 Delaware Ave, Lakewood 44107  
OBATA, Mary . . . 1868 Roxford Rd, E Cleveland 44112  
OCHI, John/Betty; Gary, Dean . . . 868 Lander Rd, Highland Hts 44143  
OGUI, Rev Koshin/Yoko . . . 1573 E. 214th St, Euclid 44117  
OKA, Art/Sakae . . . 22250 Euclid Ave, Apt 201, Euclid 44117  
OMURA, Masayoshi/Sugako . . . 3811 Payne Ave (14)  
OZAKI, Masao . . . 8026 Decker Ave (03)  
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TANJI, Peggy . . . 1786 W 52nd St (02)  
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YAMANE, Tom/Tora . . . 11501 Mayfield Rd (06)  
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HISATOMI, Kay/Keiko ..... 1217 NW DeSpain, Pendleton 97801  
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IKEDA, William, CPA ..... 5150 SW Griffith, Beaverton 97005  
INOUE, Jerry/Grace; Kurtis ..... 2019 NE Morgan (11)  
IRINAGA, Fred/Lily ..... 15035 NW Oakmont Loop, Beaverton 97006  
IRINAGA, Henry/Fumi ..... 6848 SW 12th Dr (19)  
IRINAGA, Michael ..... 400 SW 4th Ave (04)  
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KAGAWA, Henry/Fude ..... 703 NE 68th Ave (13)  
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KOIDA, William/Nami; Family ..... 10750 SE 70th Ave, Milwaukie 97222  
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MATSUSHIMA, Charles/Jane ..... 11605 NW Damascus (29)  
MATSUSHIMA, Yoji/Martha ..... 9920 SE Grant (16)  
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MIYOSHI, Mary ..... 2516 SE 77th Ave (06)  
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### SEATTLE JACL

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OGINO, Rose	7416 Rainier Av S (18)
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## DeWitt: Kibei movement



Gen. DeWitt's *Final Report on the Japanese Evacuation* (1943) epitomizes the harsh life, perceptions and racial stereotypes endured by Japanese Americans on the West Coast. Thoroughly discredited by scholars today as DeWitt's defense for evacuation/detention, the *Pacific Citizen* (Jan. 22, 1944) took issue with the report "because he, unwittingly or not, is playing the game of powerful pressure groups which are carrying on a determined campaign of promoting racial hatred on the West Coast and striving to implement their prejudice with legal and extra-legal restrictions."

When the *Final Report* was released to the public in mid-January, 1944, the 100th Infantry had landed in Salerno and was incurring casualties in the campaign toward Rome. The 442nd RCT was in training at Camp Shelby, Miss.

References concerning the Kibei were part of the front chapter, "Need for Military Control and for Evacuation," where its sweeping conclusions were without factual support—(see p. 216, *Justice at War*, by Peter Irons).

NOTE: The JACL brief filed in the Korematsu Case responds to allegations and so-called evidence cited by General DeWitt in his final report. Many called the brief the best rebuttal to DeWitt's reasons for evacuation.

## Daniels: 'Right-Wing'

Prof. Roger Daniels, Univ. of Cincinnati department of history, pictures Kibei activity as "right-wing" opposition to the JACL at Manzanar in his book, *Concentration Camps: North America Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II* (1981), in the chapter, "A Question of Loyalty."

The author has another opportunity to extol the Kibei contribution in shortening the war in the Pacific as combat interrogators and translators, who are identified as the "Nisei," which is a correct but inadequate term with respect to the Kibei.

The most effective early opposition to the JACL and its deliberate policy of collaboration came not from the older generation but from the Kibei, American-born Japanese who had been sent back to Japan for education or employment. The older Issei generation seemed to feel powerless: they were, after all, enemy aliens, and treatment of them was generally in accord with the Geneva Convention. The partly Americanized Kibei, who were, whatever their loyalties, American citizens, led what might be called the "right-wing" opposition among the evacuee population. Some of them, and many Issei as well, were undoubtedly rooting for Imperial Japan. The bulk of the early active conflict within the internee population was between the Nisei and the Kibei, with the former blaming the latter for everything that went wrong. When, for example, a distinguished artist and University of California professor was brutally assaulted by an unknown assailant, the incident was characterized by JACL-oriented inmates as a "typical Kibei attack from the rear with a lead pipe."

Sometimes these "Kibei" attacks received great support from the camp populations; one of them led to the most serious outbreak of violence in the entire evacuation, the Manzanar riot of December 6, 1942. The previous evening Fred Tayama, a restaurant owner who had been a leading JACL official, was attacked by an unknown group and beaten seriously enough to require hospitalization. Although he could not positively identify his attackers, the WRA authorities arrested several Kibei malcontents for the assault. The chief of these was Harry Ueno, whose major demonstrable offense had been an attempt to organize a Kitchen Workers' Union. He not only agitated for better working conditions but also accused WRA officials of appropriating sugar and meat intended for the evacuees, thus accentuating the food anxieties that are usually prevalent among imprisoned people.

In California alone there were over 248 schools with an aggregate faculty of 454 and a student body of 17,800.

The number of American-born Japanese who had been sent to Japan for education and who were now in the United States could not be overlooked. For more than twenty-five years American-born progeny of alien Japanese had been sent to Japan by their parents for education and indoctrination. There they remained for extended periods, following which they ordinarily returned to the United States. The extent of their influence upon other Nisei Japanese could not be accurately calculated, but it could not be disregarded.

The Kibei Shimin movement was sponsored by the Japanese Association of America. Its objective for many years had been to encourage the return to America from Japan of American-born Japanese. When the movement started it was ascertained that there were about twenty thousand American-born Japanese in Japan. The Japanese Association of America sent representatives to Japan to confer with Prefectural officials on the problems of financing and transportation. The Association also arranged with steamship companies for special rates for groups of ten or more so returning, and requested all Japanese associations to secure employment for returning American-born Japanese.

During 1941 alone more than 1,573 American-born Japanese entered West Coast ports from Japan. Over 1,147 Issei, or alien Japanese, re-entered the United States from Japan during that year.

The 557 male Japanese less than twenty-five years of age who entered West Coast ports from Japan during 1941 had an average age of 18.2 years and had spent an average of 5.2 years in Japan. Of these, 239 had spent more than three years there. This latter group had spent an average of 10.2 years in Japan.

Of the 239 males who spent three years or more abroad, 180 were in the age group 15 to 19 (with an assumed average age of 17.5 years) and had spent 10.7 years abroad. In other words, these 180 Kibei lived, on the average, 6.8 years at the beginning of their life in the United States and the next 10.7 years in Japan. Forty of the 239 who had spent three or more years abroad were in the age group 20 to 24, with an assumed average age 22.5. These were returning to the United States after having lived here, on the average, for their first 13 years and having spent the last 9.5 years in Japan, including one or more years when they were of compulsory (Japanese) military age.

(Referring to a table showing) the nearest relative in Japan for the age groups 15 to 19, and 20 and 24 years of age.

It will be noted that 42.3% of those in the 15 to 19 year group lived with a father or mother in Japan, and that 13.2 lived with a grandparent. In other words, more than 50% of

this group of Kibei had a parent or grandparent in Japan, and it is reasonable to assume that in most instances these Kibei lived with this nearest relative.

One extremely important obstacle in the path of Americanization of the second-generation Japanese was the widespread formation, and increasing importance, of the Japanese language schools in the United States. The purposes and functions of these Japanese language schools are well known. They employed only those textbooks which had been edited by the Department of Education of the Japanese Imperial Government.

In order to assist the Japanization of the second generation, the Zaibei Ikuei Kai (Society for Education of the Second Generation in America) was organized in Los Angeles in April, 1940. "With the grace of the Emperor, the ZAIBEI IKUEI KAI is being organized in commemoration of the 2,600th Anniversary of the Founding of the Japanese Empire to Japanize the second and third generations in this country for the accomplishment of establishing a greater Asia in the future.

(New World Sun, Apr. 13, 1940)

Combining this information with that from the preceding table, it is seen that in the group with an average age of 17.5 years who were returning to the United States after having spent an average of 7.4 years abroad continuously (in other words, from the time they were ten years of age) one-half had lived with their parent or grandparent in Japan. Yet, this group consists entirely of American citizens.

Of the Kibei in Hawaii, Andrew W. Lind, professor of sociology, University of Hawaii, says: "Finally, there is the rather large Kibei group of the second generation who, although citizens of the United States by virtue of birth within the Territory, are frequently more fanatically Japanese in their disposition than their own parents. Many of these individuals have returned from Japan so recently as to be unable to speak the English language and some are unquestionably disappointed by the lack of appreciation manifested for their Japanese education." (American Council Paper No. 5, page 187, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York.)

It was, perforce, a combination of factors and circumstances with which the Commanding General had to deal. Here was a relatively homogenous, unassimilated element bearing a close relationship through ties of race, religion, language, custom, and indoctrination to the enemy.

The mission of the Commanding General was to defend the West Coast from enemy attack, both from within and without. The Japanese were concentrated along the coastal strip. The nature of this area and its relation to the national war effort had to be carefully considered.

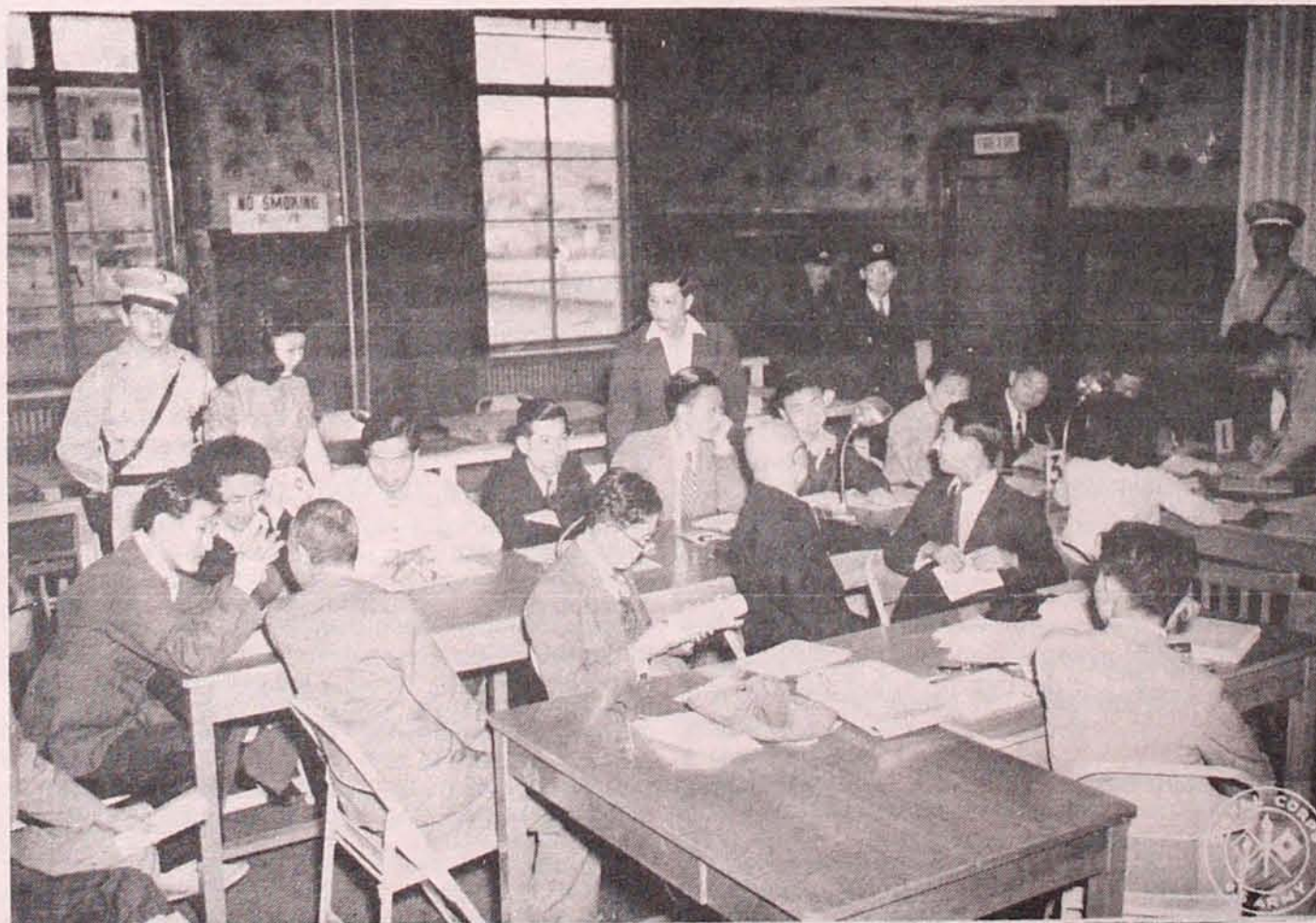


Photo Courtesy: Ishimaru & Teccom Productions, Los Angeles.

A break in the U.S. war crimes trial at Yokohama (1947) shows U.S. military police with sidearms and local police standing in back of the room while seated are some Kibei-Nisei monitors for the U.S. Army.



# Different Stories of the Kibei

By Bill Hosokawa

The only aunt I had in the United States—there were a number of them in Japan—died when I was 5 or 6 years old. That was a long time ago. I remember almost nothing of her, matters such as what she was like, whether she paid any attention to me, whether she was strict or easy-going. I remember only that she died in childbirth in which the infant also died, leaving two young children in the care of her grieving husband and his sister, who was my mother.

The two children were my cousins, of course, and in the interests of protecting their privacy I will not name them. The older one was a girl, about two years younger than I which would have made her 3 or 4 years old, and the other was a boy who was 1 or 2 years old. As I reconstruct the situation today more than 60 years later my uncle, who was trying desperately to make ends meet on a small strawberry farm, was in no shape to care for his children. Nor could my parents, who were in hardly better economic straits, take them in. There were no other relatives. My uncle decided to send his children to Japan to be reared by his late wife's parents.

I cite this small bit of history to illustrate the point that there were many reasons for thousands of American-born children of Issei immigrants to be sent to Japan. Those who came home to the United States after varying lengths of time were called Kibei, in contrast to the Nisei, who were born in the United States and reared here.

Some of these youngsters, like my cousins, were sent to Japan in early childhood because of death in the family. Others were shipped off at an early age for economic reasons; if it was necessary for both father and mother to work, as was often the case, the only way that could be done was for the offspring to go live with relatives in the old country. There they grew up as complete Japanese.

There were other Nisei who went to live in Japan for any of a variety of reasons at a somewhat more advanced age, after they had started school or perhaps after completing the primary grades. Among these were Nisei whose parents had decided to pull up stakes and return to the homeland. If the Nisei were minors they had no choice but to go along.

And there were still others who moved to Japan temporarily after graduation from high school, usually being sent to acquire a Japanese education because their parents thought it would be to their economic or social advantage.

For example, a Nisei fluent in both English and Japanese, which he had great difficulty in learning in the U.S., obviously would have a better chance of finding a job either in the United States or Japan. Among girls, a knowledge of Japanese arts, culture and etiquette often was deemed a desirable antidote to brazen American ways and in the eyes of some parents, a way to improve the chances of making a good marriage.

How much Japanese culture these Nisei acquired depended almost entirely on the age at which they departed the United States. Those like my cousins, who left in early childhood, remembered nothing of America, knew nothing of English, and were Nisei only in a technical sense. They were reared in a Japanese family, usually in the remote little village where their parents had been born, far from any Western influence. They went to Japanese schools and grew up exactly like their native Japanese friends. Those who had some American schooling knew something of English, but how much of it they retained depended on how long they had lived in the United States.

In time, substantial numbers of these Nisei returned to the United States and by that act they became Kibei.

Their American citizenship enabled them to re-enter their native country while Japanese were denied immigration rights. The reasons for their return were widely varied. Perhaps parents in the States had improved themselves economically and felt it was time to reunite the family. In other cases, parents who had expected to return to Japan found that increasingly more difficult as their roots sank more deeply into American soil and felt it wiser to reclaim their children. As I remember, my cousins' grandparents were growing older, found it progressively more difficult to provide adequate care, and decided it was high time their son-in-law accepted responsibility for his offspring.

In any event, my cousins returned as young teenagers, aliens except in a legal sense in their own country. Everything was strange to them—the language, the people, the customs and food, even their own father who had never remarried.

Getting to know their father probably was the easiest part of the adjustment. My cousins enrolled at a public school for foreign youngsters and they set about the difficult job of learning English. Progress was slow and frustrating and I don't think they ever grew comfortable with the language.

Unable to communicate adequately, they found it difficult to make friends among Nisei of their own age. In addition, their interests were different. The cultural barrier was hard to cross. For recreation my cousins spent much of their time reading Japanese magazines instead of joining in social or sports activities.

Their acculturation was hindered even more significantly by the presence of a number of other Kibei facing the same kinds of problems. Inevitably and understandably, they associated with their own kind. They were more comfortable speaking Japanese among themselves about matters of mutual interest. Not many Kibei boys knew anything about football or basketball, but they could play baseball. So they organized an all-Kibei team, named it Ginsei (Silver Stars), and played with commendable skill in the Nisei league. They could compete, but the competition didn't do much for assimilation.

Not that they didn't try. Some of the older Kibei joined the Japanese American Citizens League in an effort to speed their Americanization. They wanted to be Americans. But language proved to be a barrier again, and most JACL social activities left them cold. For a time there was a "Kibei division" of the JACL. Socially and culturally, the Kibei as a group were closer to the Issei which was both a reason for, and the result of, the gap that existed between American-educated Nisei and Japanese-educated Kibei.

Back in the 1930s the Nisei, except for a relatively few activists, were largely apolitical. The older Kibei were more politically aware. Some of them had recognized the insidious growth of militarism in Japan and what it was doing to peasants, factory hands and other ordinary people. Some of them had become interested in liberal causes. In those times anyone in Japanese American communities who spoke up against authority, particularly military authority, was considered "dangerous" by most Issei and branded as a "Red." A few Kibei were indeed members of the Communist party and this knowledge helped open a rift between Kibei liberals and conservative Issei with whom, generally, Kibei enjoyed an excellent rapport.

World War II threw Kibei as a group into an even more difficult situation than the Nisei. For the vast majority of Nisei there was regret but little hesitation in condemning Japan for launching the war. For the Kibei there was an awareness of their American citizenship, but also strong cultural and sentimental ties with the land of their youth that led to mixed feelings.

But it is improper to generalize. Some Kibei, particularly those of liberal bent, saw the war as an opportunity to free the Japanese people from military bondage. Others could not overlook the sentimental

ties and the knowledge that grandparents, cousins and friends were now enemies. Adding to their problem was their incomplete assimilation into American society. Nisei might look like the "enemy," but most of them could speak without an accent. Many Kibei were still more fluent in Japanese than in English and that lay them open to suspicions of disloyalty. Some Kibei who had been drafted into the U.S. Army were confused and angered by arbitrary discharges for the "convenience of the government."

But it was Kibei knowledge of the Japanese language and Japanese psychology that enabled numbers of them to serve the United States in indispensable roles. Kibei were among the faculty in Army and Navy Japanese language schools. Because of their competence in Japanese, they were among the most useful graduates of the Military Intelligence Service Language School that sent thousands of Japanese Americans into the Pacific Theater as translators and interpreters. Kibei worked on American psychological warfare projects and monitored Japanese radio broadcasts for U.S. intelligence agencies.

Ironically, Kibei also were among the agitators in War Relocation Camps that, as a whole, were largely peaceful. As the book "Nisei" points out in recognizing the significant Kibei role in the U.S. war effort, "This is not to say that some Kibei did not become provocateurs under the abnormal conditions of the relocation camps. These almost invariably were Kibei who had been unable to make a cultural adjustment to life in the United States and the indignity of the evacuation stirred their hostilities rather than severed their loyalties."

Strangely enough, changing standards in the post-war years have caused some individuals to praise Kibei for believing strongly enough in justice to lead protests against confinement in the relocation camps, and to criticize Nisei for cooperating with their government in their own incarceration as a demonstration of loyalty.

It is, of course, impossible to categorize Kibei as a group, just as it is impossible to categorize Nisei. Kibei are individuals, as are Nisei, motivated by the total of education, experience and other influences that went into the molding of their individual interests, personalities, abilities and hangups.

The interests of some Kibei today are still more Japanese than American. Other Kibei have become fully integrated into Japanese American, or purely American, society. To put it another way, the Japanese part of their upbringing has been a dominant force in the lives of some Kibei for better or worse; for others it didn't matter.

It is interesting that two Nisei businessmen honored with testimonial dinners in Los Angeles not long ago in tribute to their community service were both Kibei. Masashi Kawaguchi, president of a frozen seafood company which markets its products nationally, was honored for his philanthropies. He and his sister had been sent as young children to grandparents in Japan because their mother had to help support the family. Fred Wada, who had a chain of fresh fruit and vegetables markets before his retirement was honored for world-wide community service and particularly for his service to the health care of elderly Issei. Economic reasons also forced Wada's parents to send him to live with his grandparents when he was 4 years old. Wada was almost 10 when he returned.

Let me close with reference once more to my cousins. When war came, my girl cousin who by then was in her 'twenties and unmarried, asked to go to Japan on an exchange ship. But her brother, who was already in the U.S. Army, asked for a transfer to military intelligence, brushed up on his Japanese at Camp Savage, was shipped off to the Southwest Pacific, and died in the service of his country. He was a Nisei who happened to be a Kibei, and an American.



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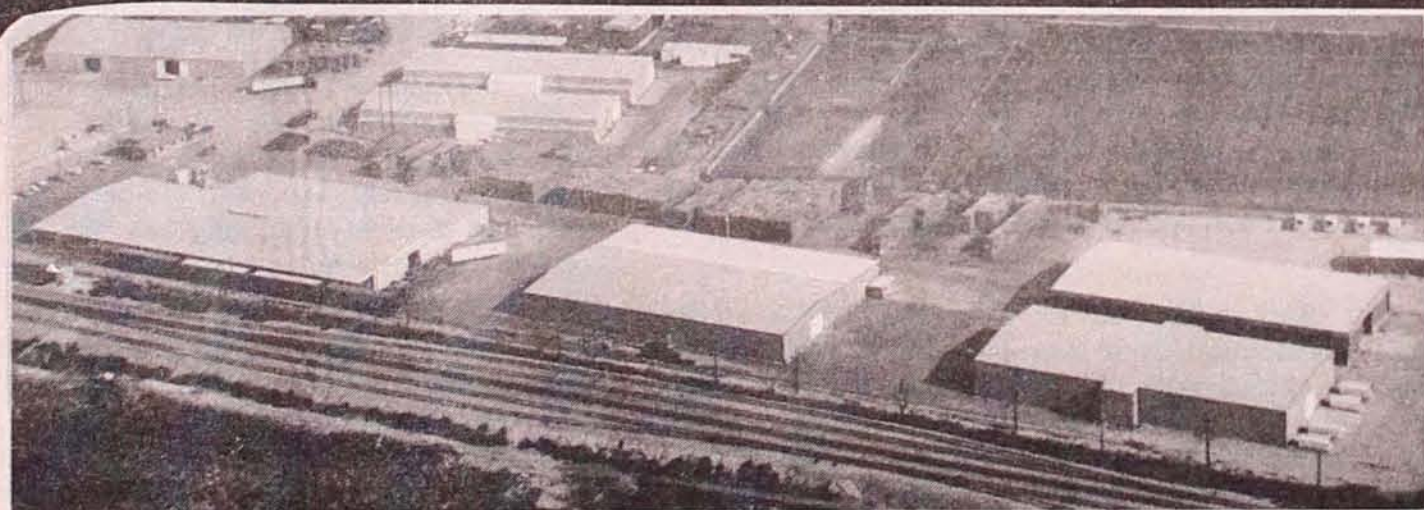
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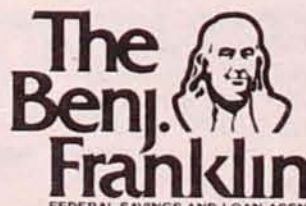
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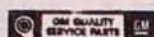
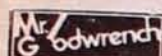
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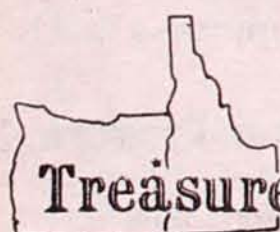
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## Dies: HUAC Excerpts

In May, 1938, Rep. Martin Dies of Texas was made chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which Congress established to investigate organizations of Communist, Fascist, Nazi and of a subversive nature. The Japanese in America did not escape scrutiny and the House Committee even invaded the JACL Washington Office in search of incriminating papers.

In 1942, the Dies Committee issued a stupendous report on un-American propaganda activities. Appendix VI was on Japanese activities (p. 1723-2008). The Kibei are identified as "American-born Japanese who have been educated in Japan and, therefore for the most part, are loyal to Japan and Japanese ideals." This is a myth that the WRA sought to break with its pamphlet released three years later.

Many such mis-statements in the Dies Committee report were exposed and rectified by JACL and the Pacific Citizen during the war years. The Dies Committee charges gained wide circulation through the Hearst chain—which was too much for those few voices on the West Coast attempting to tell the true story.

The Kibei have specific mention in the section dealing with Japanese language schools. By 1940, these schools were alleged to have been financed by the Japanese government to encourage and perpetuate the language and culture among Japanese living in the U.S. The Dies Committee reported 248 such schools were holding classes in California on December, 1941, with 454 teachers and 19,310 pupils.

Almost all the instructors were either Issei or Kibei. The students were encouraged to participate in the Japanese martial arts such as judo, kendo or sumo.

The Dies report further declared (though untrue):

"Many young American-born Japanese children are sent to Japan to be educated there from childhood to maturity. There are about 50,000 of these children in Japan at the present time. Their return to the United States, where they may use their American citizenship for the benefit of Japan, is repeatedly urged by the Japanese Foreign Office. They are, of course, practically alien Japanese when they return here, frequently not even being able to speak English."

### 1943 Hearings

A prewar U.S. customs official, Alfred A. Cohn, testifying on the Kibei before the House committee investigating un-American propaganda activities (popularly known as the Dies Committee), said there were jealousies between various Japanese groups and charged the Kibei were the "most dangerous" because they had been educated in Japan within the past six or seven years before the invasion of Manchuria. Cohn said the Issei were the "least dangerous of the lot."

Cohn, who was also a member of the Los Angeles Police Commission at the time, said he didn't subscribe to the theory that all "Japanese" are bad and added he would vouch for the loyalty of some anywhere.

## Other 'Kibei' Titles

In the course of conversation at various PANA meetings, some mind-set in Nikkei history have been clarified/corrected. For instance:

"Kibei" is generally defined as "a person of Japanese descent born in the U.S., and educated in Japan." The Nikkei who are born in other countries, also educated in Japan, and returning home have vernacular titles (combinations conjured by Japanese journalists), such as:

KI = Returning  
Ki bei (rice) U.S.  
Ki ka (addition) Canada  
Ki boku (India ink) Mexico  
Ki rai (coming) Peru  
Ki aku (wall) Brazil  
Ki a (rank next) Argentina  
—Chuck Kubokawa

## A CHRISTMAS PRAYER

### from the New Mexico JACL Chapter

Heavenly Father, we call you by many names, The Enlightened One, Allah, Jesus. During this holy season we thank you for all the gifts you have given us, for our brothers and sisters who are white, black, brown, red and yellow, many of whom where compassionate and understanding in our times of travail.

We pray that when we suffer from the actions of the few who would dislike us because of our ancestry, you will not let us forget the many who judge us on the content of our hearts and souls. We pray that you will give us the courage to confront and expel the prejudice and selfishness that lies in our own hearts, and replace it with love and understanding for all people. Amen.

Feliz Navidad

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# WRA Statistics

Statistics in various forms fill the 200-page volume. *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (1946), a part of the WRA Final Report. The tables (as they appear—since tables are difficult to set) addressing the Kibei theme are reproduced. Initially, the statistics appeared in various Community Analysis Reports and a selection was gathered for the Final WRA Reports. In subsequent years, scholars were fascinated by the mass of data in their study of the Japanese American evacuation and camp experience. It is presumed a minority of minority will study the figures, a few more will scan the tables from top to bottom and the majority is seeing these for the first time.

The statistics were derived from individual records (WRA Form 26) and interviews based on a 25% sampling. Age of evacuees is tabulated as of Dec. 31, 1942.

"Evacuees to WRA in 1942" refers to the 111,170

evacuees originally transferred or assigned to WRA Centers in 1942; plus 930 from Hawaii who entered the centers in early 1943.

The WRA Final Report notes 120,313 persons of Japanese ancestry had come under jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority (1942-1946). The difference, of course, is due to some 5,900 births (less 1,862 deaths) in the camps, nearly 1,800 in the Dept. of Justice internment camps, nearly 1,300 in institutions; another 1,600 seasonal workers who had been fur-

loughed by the WCCA; some who volunteered into camps, etc.

While the WRA Final Report doesn't mention "Kibei per se, these statistics were the basis of other studies on this subject.

How many of the U.S.-born are Kibei may be ascertained in the WRA tables reproduced in this section. The WRA summarized community analysis section data detailing where and how long the Nisei were educated. The WRA noted 6,509 (20%) of the 31,842 U.S.-born had "completed" education in Japan, 48% had attended school while living in Japan during 1941-42; and that 47% had never been in Japan.

Table 25—Highest School Grade Completed by Country Where Completed, Sex and Nativity: Evacuees to WRA in 1942 Who Had Completed Their Education.

NOTE: Refers to evacuees not attending school during school year (1941-42); excludes those under school age who had not commenced their schooling. Educational levels of elementary, high school and college in Japan are comparable, in general, with those in the United States. For the most part, students enter high school after completing the ordinary 6-year elementary school course; 7th and 8th years of elementary are primarily a continuation for those not going on to high school. High school consists of a 5-year course for boys and a 4-year course for girls. Higher education is provided in a 3-year university preparatory school (which may be entered after 4 years in high school) followed by a 3-year university course. The degree received on completion of the latter is similar to the Master's Degree in the United States.

## A Salute to Mitsuye Endo

by Mei Nakano  
and Marshall Sumida

On Dec. 18, 1944, three years and eleven days after Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered two decisions regarding the "evacuation" and detention of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast. One upheld Public Law 503, finding Fred Korematsu guilty of remaining in a prohibited area, thus ruling his removal a permissible military action; the other held that Mitsuye Endo, an internee, was "entitled to an unconditional release by the War Relocation Authority . . . and should be given her liberty," thus, in effect, ruling the detention illegal.

It would be surprising indeed if the eminent jurists of the highest court of the land had not perceived a patent contradiction in the underlying bases of these two judgments. In fact, three justices—Owen J. Roberts, Robert H. Jackson, and Frank Murphy—wrote strong dissenting opinions in the case of *Korematsu v. U.S.*

Forty years later, a government commission has found that a grave injustice was done to citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or evidence against them were hauled into camps. This military decision, they wrote, was shaped by "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."

Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503 were evasions of constitutional rules governing trials for treason. They imposed punishment without a trial on military orders at a time when civil courts were open. Without emergency conditions warranting the imposition of martial law, the military has no jurisdiction over the civilian population. Clearly, the Japanese on the West Coast were illegally detained by military and political fiat.

Congress is now studying the actions of the government for possible financial redress to the detainees. And, in reference to this issue, it seems particularly instructive to review the Ex Parte Endo case adjudicated by the Supreme Court.

### Unlikely Suspect

Mitsuye Endo was an American citizen, 22 years old, who worked as a typist for the State of California prior to World War II. Her father, who worked in a grocery store, had returned to Japan in 1918 to marry and had not returned since. Her brother, Kuni, was serving in the United States Army. On May 14, 1942, she was ordered to Walerga Assembly Center. From there, she was sent to Tule Lake Relocation Center.

Because of these circumstances in her background, and because she fit a list of criteria of Japanese least likely to be suspected as disloyal, Mitsuye Endo was selected as the best candidate to test the legality of the detention. On July 13, 1942, attorney James Purcell of

Continued on Page A-34

SEX AND HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED	TOTAL				AMERICAN BORN				FOREIGN BORN			
	TOTAL	Completed in U. S.	Completed in Japan	Other	TOTAL	Completed in U. S.	Completed in Japan	Other	TOTAL	Completed in U. S.	Completed in Japan	Other
TOTAL	70,010	27,410	40,647	1,753	31,842	25,195	6,509	138	38,168	2,215	34,338	1,615
No grade completed	1,542	-	-	1,542	95	-	-	95	1,447	-	-	1,447
Elementary school	28,512	2,681	25,831	-	4,834	2,323	2,511	-	23,678	358	23,320	-
1 year	191	50	141	-	38	38	-	-	153	12	141	-
2 years	499	48	451	-	43	33	10	-	456	15	441	-
3 years	1,094	96	998	-	80	75	5	-	1,014	21	993	-
4 years	4,084	114	3,970	-	139	90	49	-	3,945	24	3,921	-
5 years	1,262	163	1,099	-	222	133	89	-	1,040	30	1,010	-
6 years	5,478	355	5,123	-	714	297	417	-	4,764	58	4,706	-
7 years	1,742	307	1,435	-	492	261	231	-	1,250	46	1,204	-
8 years	14,162	1,548	12,614	-	3,106	1,396	1,710	-	11,056	152	10,904	-
High school	33,375	19,676	13,700	-	22,399	18,615	3,784	-	10,977	1,061	9,916	-
1 year	1,899	982	827	-	1,083	882	201	-	726	100	626	-
2 years	4,516	1,607	2,909	-	2,062	1,425	637	-	2,454	182	2,272	-
3 years	3,955	1,538	2,417	-	2,018	1,392	626	-	1,937	146	1,791	-
4 years	20,453	15,549	4,904	-	16,364	14,916	1,448	-	4,089	633	3,456	-
5 years/1	2,643	-	2,643	-	872	-	872	-	1,771	-	1,771	-
College	6,369	5,053	1,316	-	4,471	4,257	214	-	1,898	796	1,102	-
1 year	1,420	1,205	215	-	1,170	1,109	61	-	250	96	154	-
2 years	2,038	1,707	331	-	1,572	1,521	51	-	466	186	280	-
3 years	847	510	337	-	455	397	58	-	392	113	279	-
4 years	1,376	1,090	286	-	901	870	31	-	475	220	255	-
5 years or more	688	541	147	-	373	360	13	-	315	181	134	-
Unknown/2	211	-	-	211	43	-	-	43	168	-	-	168
MALE	39,355	14,460	24,951	844	16,319	12,804	3,426	89	23,036	1,656	20,625	755
No grade completed	727	-	-	727	67	-	-	67	660	-	-	660
Elementary school	16,560	1,386	15,174	-	2,553	1,150	1,403	-	14,007	236	13,771	-
1 year	106	33	73	-	23	23	-	-	83	10	73	-
2 years	295	29	266	-	28	18	10	-	267	11	256	-
3 years	656	59	597	-	47	45	2	-	609	14	595	-
4 years	2,124	59	2,065	-	69	43	26	-	2,055	16	2,039	-
5 years	804	81	723	-	111	63	48	-	693	18	675	-
6 years	2,887	165	2,722	-	354	134	220	-	2,533	31	2,502	-
7 years	1,143	161	982	-	272	130	142	-	871	31	840	-
8 years	8,545	799	7,746	-	1,649	694	955	-	6,896	105	6,791	-
High school	17,799	9,900	7,899	-	11,026	9,161	1,865	-	6,773	739	6,034	-
1 year	1,136	593	543	-	627	508	119	-	509	85	424	-
2 years	2,658	974	1,684	-	1,115	831	284	-	1,543	143	1,400	-
3 years	2,308	879	1,429	-	1,132	772	360	-	1,176	107	1,069	-
4 years	9,645	7,454	2,191	-	7,490	7,050	440	-	2,155	404	1,751	-
5 years/1	2,052	-	2,052	-	662	-	662	-	1,390	-	1,390	-
College	4,152	3,174	978	-	2,651	2,493	158	-	1,501	681	820	-
1 year	814	660	154	-	629	585	44	-	185	75	110	-
2 years	1,201	967	234	-	854	818	36	-	347	149	198	-
3 years	631	372	259	-	320	276	44	-	311	96	215	-
4 years	952	750	202	-	577	554	23	-	375	196	179	-
5 years or more	554	425	129	-	271	260	11	-	283	165	118	-
Unknown/2	117	-	-	117	22	-	-	22	95	-	-	95
FEMALE	30,655	12,950	16,796	909	15,523	12,391	3,083	49	15,132	559	13,713	860
No grade completed	815	-	-	815	28	-	-	28	787	-	-	787
Elementary school	11,952	1,295	10,657	-	2,281	1,173	1,108	-	9,671	122	9,549	-
1 year	85	17	68	-	15	15	-	-	70	2	68	-
2 years	204	19	185	-	15	15	-	-	189	4	185	-
3 years	438	37	401	-	33	30	3	-	405	7	398	-
4 years	1,950	55	1,895	-	70	47	23	-	1,890	4	1,886	-
5 years	458	82	376	-	111	70	41	-	347	12	335	-
6 years	2,591	190	2,401	-	360	163	197	-	2,231	27	2,204	-
7 years	599	146	453	-	220	131	89	-	379	15	364	-
8 years	5,617	749	4,868	-	1,457	702	755	-	4,160	47	4,113	-
High school	15,577	9,776	5,801	-	11,373	9,454	1,919	-	4,204	322	3,882	-
1 year	673	389	284	-	456	374	82	-	217	15	202	-
2 years	1,858	633	1,225	-	947	594	353	-	911	39	872	-
3 years	1,647	659	988	-	886	620	266	-	761	39	722	-
4 years	10,808	8,095	2,713	-	8,874	7,866	1,008	-	1,934	229	1,705	-
5 years/1	591	-	591	-	210	-	210	-	381	-	381	-
College	2,217	1,879	338	-	1,820	1,754	66	-	397	115	282	-
1 year	606	545	61	-	541	524	17	-	55	21	34	-
2 years	837	740	97	-	718	703	15	-	119	37	82	-
3 years	216	138	78	-	135	121	14	-	81	17	64	-
4 years	424	340	84	-	324	316	8	-	100	24	76	-
5 years or more	134	115	18	-	102	100	2	-	32	16	16	-
Unknown/2	94	-	-	94	21	-	-	21	73	-	-	73

1/ Refers to Japan only.

2/ Refers to evacuees for whom highest grade completed is not known; includes 81 evacuees, 33 males and 48 females, who completed their education in countries other than United States or Japan.

Source: Form WRA-26

Continued on Page A-27



## DeWitt: Potential enemies

DeWitt's Final Report concludes there were "along the Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, at large today." He further warns that "there are indications these [enemies] are organized and ready for concerted action at a favorable opportunity. The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken."

Here is DeWitt's reasoning for the above:

"In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become 'Americanized,' the racial strains are undiluted. To conclude otherwise is to expect that children born of white parents on Japanese soil sever all racial affinity and become loyal Japanese subjects, ready to fight and, if necessary, to die for Japan in a war against the nation of their parents. That Japan is allied with Germany and Italy in this struggle is no ground for assuming that any Japanese, barred from assimilation by convention as he is, though born and raised in the United States, will not turn against this nation when the final test of loyalty comes."

DeWitt's report also lumps Japanese "alien" and American citizens of Japanese ancestry when the word "Japanese" is used. This should explain why JACL has eschewed the general use of "Japanese" to mean Issei-Nisei-Sansei. The stigma of DeWitt's Final Report continues to persist on the U.S. mainland.

While the number of Kibei is "undetermined" in DeWitt's report, a 1940 Census table on the age and nativity of the so-called Japanese population in California, Arizona, Washington and Oregon (subtotaled by 20-year groupings) shows:

Ages	No. (%)	U.S.-born (%)	Fgn-born (%)
All ages	112,985	71,896 (63.6)	41,089 (36.4)
19 & under	46,545 (41.2)	46,051	494
20-39	33,154 (29.3)	25,087	8,067
40-59	26,251 (23.2)	709	25,542
Over 60	7,035 (6.2)	49	6,986

One percentage of the Kibei among the U.S.-born Japanese is given at 71.4% in DeWitt's chapter on Repatriation of Japanese. Of the 525 individual requests for repatriation filed in June 1942, by U.S.-born Japanese 18 years of age and older, 375 (71.4%) noted partial or whole education in Japan.

A general impression that many U.S.-born Japanese seeking expatriation might be Kibei was being generated. What had to be remembered in 1942 was the actual numbers involved. Four lists of eligible repatriates were prepared by the State and War Departments:

List 1—539, mostly Japanese nationals (diplomats and merchants) and 34 dependents (41 declined).

List 2—2,803, whose whereabouts was unknown because of the evacuation. The WCCA finally located 778 by Aug. 13.

List 3—1,366 for the next "Gripsholm," most of them internees at Angel Island, Sharp's Park, U.S. Immigration Service, Los Angeles. Twenty were deducted because of duplication or deaths. WCCA received 199 wishes for repatriation by Sept. 10.

List 4—986 from a War Department request, the WCCA locating 657, though the State Dept. gave no assurance repatriation could be made.

□

Repatriation via the SS Gripsholm was to exchange for Americans held in Japan. DeWitt's Final Report doesn't go into this phase except to describe the activities carried out by the WCCA in 1942. (Girdner/Loftis report in their book, *The Great Betrayal*, that the Gripsholm sailed in June 1942, with about 1,500 persons, and again in September 1943, with another 1,500—including 250 Japanese from South America. Repatriation or expatriation for another 2,000 continued after the war on several ships from West Coast ports; two-thirds of them eventually had their U.S. citizenship restored and came back.)

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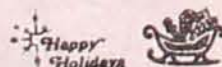
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### WRA: Myths and Facts

In June 1945 (with Allied forces focusing on the war in the Pacific—the hostilities in Europe having ended in early May with Germany surrendering), the War Relocation Authority published a tiny pamphlet: *Myths and Facts About the Japanese Americans*. One of the myths addressed is "Education of Japanese Americans in Japan." No specific mention was made of Kibei. Perhaps the WRA was skirting possible confusion by the general public on the matter of who the Japanese Americans were. In addition, there was the wartime fear and atmosphere with respect to Japanese words.

**MYTH:** It was a common practice among families of Japanese origin to send their children to school in Japan, where they were trained for espionage and sabotage.

**FACT:** Prof. E.K. Strong of Stanford University, who supervised the most thoroughgoing scientific study ever made of the Japanese Americans before the war, wrote in 1934:

"The United States-born have received their education primarily in this country. . . . The fact that only 13 per cent of the second generation have received part or all of their schooling in Japan, coupled with the fact that this preference for Japa-

nese culture is gradually dying out, tends to disprove the contention that 'large numbers of Japanese children . . . return [from Japan] at a later date loyal and ideal Japanese citizens'. " (The Second-Generation Japanese Problem, p. 188).

A WRA study of all American-born citizens of Japanese descent, who were evacuated to relocation centers, showed that 72.7 per cent of them had never been to Japan. Another 14.4 per cent, though they had visited the Orient, had received no schooling there. Only 12.2 per cent had attended school in Japan for three years, or more. (Note agreement with Prof. Strong's percentage.)

These figures clearly show that the practice of sending children to Japan for schooling had almost ceased before the outbreak of the war.

Of the total number of relocation center residents who had studied in Japan for three years or more, 26.8 per cent were 40 years of age, or older. Their Japanese schooling had been received before the military clique gained power by assassinating and otherwise overpowering the liberal leaders who prevailed in the Japanese government prior to 1930.

The study further revealed that many young men returned to America to avoid service in the Japanese army, and that many were serving with the Army of the United States in all theaters from Burma and the Philippines to Italy and the Western Front.

To support the charge that American-born Japanese have aided the enemy, the rumor has been circulated that Japanese airmen, forced down in Hawaii during the attack on Pearl Harbor, were found wearing Hawaiian high school rings and carrying Honolulu street car tokens. This rumor was checked by Robert J. Casey, of the Chicago Daily News, who arrived in Honolulu one week after the attack. He interviewed the Navy surgeon in charge of all enemy wounded, who had examined some eight corpses taken from the plane wreckage. According to Casey's report, the surgeon said, "I've heard that story. But I never saw any rings. I never saw any street cars tokens. None of the pilots had much of anything in his pockets. None wore any jewelry. Only one had a watch."



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## SSS: Monograph #10

In 1953, the Selective Service System (SSS) published a two-volume "Special Monograph No. 10" covering minorities in the armed services during World War II. In the section covering Japanese Americans, there is one page on the Kibei. This summary comes from a military perspective.

### THE KIBEI

The movement of such a large group to concentration points was considered necessary by the Military Establishment because of conditions they felt were peculiar to the Japanese people. A large number of young American citizens of Japanese parentage, Nisei to begin with, had left this country at an early age and gone to Japan. There they received "Gunji Kyoren," or military training, and in consequence were now termed Kibei. Such persons were thought to be a potential danger because of the possibilities of sabotage or espionage.

Through the operation of Japanese law, all children born to Japanese nationals throughout the world prior to December 1, 1924, were subjects of Japan. This created a problem of dual nationality which in the case of Kibei was accentuated by the fact that most of their lives had been spent in Japan.

The Japanese Government attempted to solve this problem of dual citizenship by their Expatriation Law of 1916 which allowed Japanese born abroad under certain conditions to lose Japanese citizenship. But if application for expatriation was not made until after the age of 17, Japanese citizenship could not be terminated without first returning home and performing military service.

An increasing number of Japanese children born in this country in the years following World War I, became expatriated through their guardians before the age of 17. Children born here of Japanese alien parents, and especially those born prior to December 1, 1924, who were registered at the Japanese Consulate, were generally considered by Japan to be her citizens. In 1927, the Japanese Consul General at San Francisco asserted that out of 63,000 American-born children of Japanese parentage on the Pacific Coast, over 51,000 also held Japanese citizenship.

Japanese language schools had been established throughout the Pacific Coast area to which Japanese children were sent after public school hours. Such places were considered centers for Japanese propaganda. Likewise, the Japanese Consulates were deemed sources of propaganda which sought to maintain the influence of their government among the Japanese in this country. Hence, the distrust with which the Japanese American citizen was regarded and the apparent necessity of removing him entirely from strategic areas.

## WRA: Quantitative Description

Continued from Page A-22

Table 30—Length of Residence in Japan by Age at the Time in Japan and Nativity: Evacuees to WRA in 1942.

Note: Length of residence refers to total time spent in Japan including visits as well as actual residence. Age at time in Japan refers to age of evacuee while in Japan and covers all periods of time spent in Japan. For example, of the 5,434 who spent from 5 to 10 years in Japan, 485 were under 10 years of age while in Japan, 494 were in Japan between the ages of 10 and 19 only, 30 were there after the age of 20 only; 1,845 were in Japan while under 10 and also between the ages 10 and 19, etc.

NATIVITY AND RESIDENCE IN JAPAN			AGE AT TIME IN JAPAN										Un- known
	TOTAL		Never in Japan	Under 10 Only	10-19 Only	20 and Over Only	Both Under 10 & 10-19	Both 10-19 & 20 & Over	Both Under 10 & 20 & Over	Under 10, 10-19 & 20 & Over			
	Percent	Number											
TOTAL (Number) (Percent)	100.0	111,170	52,804 47.4	6,290 5.7	3,027 2.7	1,118 1.0	15,675 14.1	983 .9	144 .1	30,670 27.7	459 .4		
Never in Japan	47.4	52,804	52,804	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Less than 6 mos	5.3	5,700	-	2,184	1,013	416	40	43	-	-	4		
6 mos but less than 1 yr	2.5	2,815	-	1,095	542	312	147	98	16	-	4		
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	3.9	4,369	-	1,913	978	358	584	416	70	48	4		
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	5.1	5,454	-	485	494	30	1,845	285	50	245	-		
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	5.1	5,672	-	-	-	-	4,305	153	8	1,226	-		
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	15.7	15,072	-	-	-	-	8,746	8	-	6,506	12		
20 yrs or more	20.6	22,825	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22,825	-		
Unknown	.4	479	-	12	-	4	8	-	-	20	435		
AMERICAN BORN (Number) (Percent)	100.0	72,650	52,742 72.6	5,428 7.5	3,027 4.2	1,118 1.5	7,109 9.7	983 1.4	65 .1	2,059 2.8	119 .2		
Never in Japan	72.6	52,742	52,742	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Less than 6 mos	5.0	5,615	-	2,099	1,013	416	40	43	-	-	4		
6 mos but less than 1 yr	5.7	2,898	-	1,587	542	312	147	98	8	-	4		
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	5.4	5,926	-	1,542	978	358	550	416	56	44	4		
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	4.2	5,041	-	192	494	30	1,802	285	17	221	-		
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	5.5	4,064	-	-	-	-	3,182	153	4	765	-		
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	5.0	2,147	-	-	-	-	1,400	8	-	739	-		
20 yrs or more	.4	274	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	274	-		
Unknown	.2	145	-	8	-	4	8	-	-	16	107		
FOREIGN BORN (Number) (Percent)	100.0	58,520	62 .1	862 2.2	-	-	8,566 22.2	-	79 .2	28,611 74.3	540 .9		
Never in Japan <sup>1/</sup>	.2	62	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Less than 6 mos	.2	85	-	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
6 mos but less than 1 yr	.3	117	-	109	-	-	-	-	8	-	-		
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	1.2	443	-	371	-	-	54	-	34	4	-		
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	1.0	593	-	293	-	-	43	-	53	24	-		
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	4.2	1,608	-	-	-	-	1,143	-	4	461	-		
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	35.6	12,925	-	-	-	-	7,346	-	-	5,567	12		
20 yrs or more	58.4	22,551	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22,551	-		
Unknown	.9	536	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	528		

<sup>1/</sup> Refers to persons born in foreign countries other than Japan who have never been in Japan.

Source: Form WRA-26 (25 percent sample)

Table 32—Length of Residence in Japan by Education in Japan and Nativity: Evacuees to WRA in 1942.

Note: Length of residence refers to total time spent in Japan including visits as well as actual residence. Education in Japan refers to number of years attended school in Japan; number of years attended school tabulated to nearest whole year.

NATIVITY AND RESIDENCE IN JAPAN	EDUCATION IN JAPAN																					Unknown		
	Total	None	1 yr	2 yrs	3 yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	6 yrs	7 yrs	8 yrs	9 yrs	10 yrs	11 yrs	12 yrs	13 yrs	14 yrs	15 yrs	16 yrs	17 yrs	18 yrs	19 yrs		20 yrs	21 yrs
TOTAL	111,170	65,380	382	832	1,205	4,351	1,483	5,701	2,242	12,671	2,723	5,139	3,411	2,663	1,495	571	346	192	114	65	14	8	8	174
Never in Japan	52,804	52,804	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Less than 6 mos	3,700	3,700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	2,815	2,785	1/26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	4,369	3,555	151	265	183	179	1/32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	3,434	774	42	59	114	187	347	539	419	685	202	1/58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	5,672	242	12	8	81	203	165	693	544	1,480	475	934	595	172	39	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	15,072	161	18	77	130	902	220	1,457	628	5,306	1,274	2,202	1,485	787	295	62	24	12	-	-	-	-	-	32
20 yrs or more	22,825	1,205	129	415	693	2,840	707	2,960	647	5,119	764	1,905	1,315	1,684	1,149	494	322	180	114	65	14	8	8	88
Unknown	479	154	4	8	4	40	12	52	4	81	8	40	16	20	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
AMERICAN BORN	72,650	62,840	207	290	322	430	422	937	690	2,513	800	1,557	1,011	395	122	58	28	8	8	-	-	-	-	12
Never in Japan	52,742	52,742	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Less than 6 mos	3,615	3,615	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	2,698	2,672	1/22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	3,926	3,124	147	257	183	179	1/32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	3,041	458	34	29	106	183	347	535	419	670	198	1/58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	4,064	93	4	-	25	49	39	310	246	1,157	433	906	576	172	39	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	2,147	30	-	-	8	15	4	84	25	589	153	505	400	188	79	39	20	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 yrs or more	274	4	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	76	16	84	31	31	4	4	8	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
Unknown	143	102	-	-	-	4	-	4	-	21	-	4	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FOREIGN BORN	38,520	2,540	175	542	883	3,921	1,061	4,764	1,552	10,158	1,923	3,582	2,400	2,268	1,373	513	318	184	106	65	14	8	8	162
Never in Japan <sup>2/</sup>	62	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Less than 6 mos	85	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	117	113	1/4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	443	431	4	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	393	316	8	30	8	4	-	4	-	15	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	1,608	149	8	8	56	154	126	383	298	323	42	28	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	12,925	131	18	77	122	887	216	1,373	603	4,717	1,121	1,697	1,085	599	216	23	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	32
20 yrs or more	22,551	1,201	129	411	693	2,840	707	2,956	647	5,043	748	1,821	1,284	1,653	1,145	490	314	180	106	65	14	8	8	88
Unknown	336	52	4	8	4	36	12	48	4	60	8	36	12	16	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24

<sup>1/</sup> Since the school year is less than twelve months, it is possible to complete a school year without spending the full year in Japan.

<sup>2/</sup> Refers to persons born in foreign countries other than Japan who have never been in Japan.

Source: Form WRA-26 (25 percent sample)

Continued on Page A-46



# ICHIHASHI

Continued from Page A-5

went into force on December 1, 1924. According to this new law, a child born of Japanese parents in the United States, Canada, and certain South American countries which hold to the principle of *jus solis* is not claimed as a subject by the Japanese government unless it declares, within 14 days after birth, through its legal representative, its intention of retaining Japanese nationality. Moreover, even if such a declaration of intention to retain Japanese nationality has been filed, the person may abandon it at any time by making a simple notification. Furthermore, the law is retroactive, providing that even those who were born prior to the adoption of the law, and who consequently possess dual citizenship, may at any time cancel their Japanese citizenship by a mere notification. Thus, Japanese [Nisei] born after December 1, 1924, automatically possess simple American citizenship, and those born prior to December 1, 1924, are enabled to cancel their dual citizenship in favor of simple American citizenship by mere notification. Under the circumstances it may be taken for granted that virtually all American-born Japanese choose American citizenship, for the one reason that, if they wish, they can repatriate or naturalize in Japan at any time and enjoy the privilege of Japanese citizenship in full standing.

But there was an aspect of the American law on citizenship which peculiarly affected citizens born of alien parents who are ineligible to citizenship. Under the *Cable Act of 1922*, it was provided that "any woman citizen who marries an alien ineligible to citizenship shall cease to be a citizen of the United States." It also provided, "No woman whose husband is not eligible to citizenship shall be naturalized under the continuance of the marital status." Under these provisions any woman citizen, whether of Japanese or of white parentage, forfeited her citizenship when she married an alien Japanese, for example. A white woman could regain her American citizenship by naturalization only in case the marital status became dissolved. A woman of the Japanese race [Nisei] who had lost her citizenship by marriage could not regain her American citizenship, because her race precludes her from the privilege of becoming naturalized. To this extent, American citizens of Japanese descent suffered from a legal disability not shared by citizens of the white race. However, this conclusion should not have been understood as final and definitive, because the court decisions on the cases arising under the law in question were conflicting. And March 4, 1931, the *Cable Act* was amended, making it possible for American women who marry aliens ineligible for citizenship to retain their own nationality.

The question of Japanese dual nationality was made another basis of all sorts of sinister attacks, such as, Japanese "come here specifically and professedly for the purpose of colonizing and establishing here permanently the proud Yamato race. They never cease to be Japanese." In this connection, the anti-Japanese agitators pointed out, among other things, that the Japanese "colonists" provided their own schools to inculcate "Mikadoism" in their American-born children, thus interfering with public-school preparation for American citizenship. In order to determine whether or not such an allegation is tenable, we shall examine the facts of the case.

## Ichihashi: Language Schools

The second portion of Chapter 20 in Prof. Ichihashi's book, *The Japanese in the United States* (Stanford University Press, 1932) on the "Second-Generation Japanese," covers the Japanese-language schools and their start at the turn of the 20th century as well as English-language schools for the young Issei in California.

The Japanese-language schools for the young Nisei were observed by Ichihashi to be "supplementary" to the regular school since 1909, when the matter was brought to the attention of the U.S. Immigration Commission surveying the Japanese immigrant problem. H. A. Millis (1915) had observed that "these schools are not intended to perpetuate the traditions and moral concepts of Japan." But the perception of these schools was to change twenty years later—after Ichihashi's book was published. Charges were hurled that the Japanese-language schools were teaching more than language.

...The objects of these schools have not, in the main, changed from those given by the Immigration Commission in 1909, namely, to teach Japanese children born in this country the use of their parents' tongue and to assist children born in Japan in learning English so that they can attend the public schools with less of a handicap. Of course, since the enactment of the exclusion law of 1924, the latter function has become unnecessary, and the schools have become strictly Japanese language-teaching institutions. but the question still arises why such schools have been found desirable or necessary among Japanese residents in America. This query was answered in 1920 before the House Committee as follows:

"It is absolutely necessary from the standpoint of social efficiency and family organization that the children of the second generation be taught the language of their parents. The children have no difficulty in picking up English; they do that readily from their playmates. But they know little Japanese. Alienation from their parents results, for the parents—particularly the mother—know little English. That results or may result in disorganizing the family unit, in lack of parental control and in delinquency such as has been marked in other second-generation immigrant groups. The Japanese parents above all things do not want that for their children. In some communities these schools serve as day nurseries while the parents are both employed. Others serve to give pre-school training in English, employing American teachers to that end."

...An examination of the curriculum shows the character and scope of the work done by these schools—reading, composition, penmanship, memory work, dictation, singing in Japanese. In addition, because the Japanese are a people of manners and social discipline, instruction is given in proper conduct and behavior. Does such a curriculum tend to interfere with the Americanization of the Japanese children?

As early as 1913 the Japanese Educational Association of America gave its attention to this subject; it passed the following resolution:

"The goal to be attained in our education is to bring up children who will live and die in America, and as such, the whole educational system must be founded upon the spirit of the public instruction of America."

Commenting on this resolution a Japanese said before the hearings committee: "Indeed, from the point of view of the Japanese immigrant, they desire that their children shall become not only good citizens of American birth, but also that, being born of Japanese parentage, they shall make a distinct contribution to their American national life by means of some of the finer qualities of their parentage."

How such schools were financed and operated are detailed in the closing section of this chapter. Mention is made of an important test case: *Farrington v. Tokushige*, which invalidated California's Foreign Language School law.

Ichihashi concludes that "these children [Nisei] are American except in race."

...In support of his conclusion, the writer wishes to present the following observations: In the first place, the Japanese language schools have not escaped the usual fate of all attempts at teaching foreign languages—it has been impossible to overcome the fundamental obstacle arising from environment. The mother-tongue of these children is English, which they use every moment of their life in work and play except

Continued on Next Page

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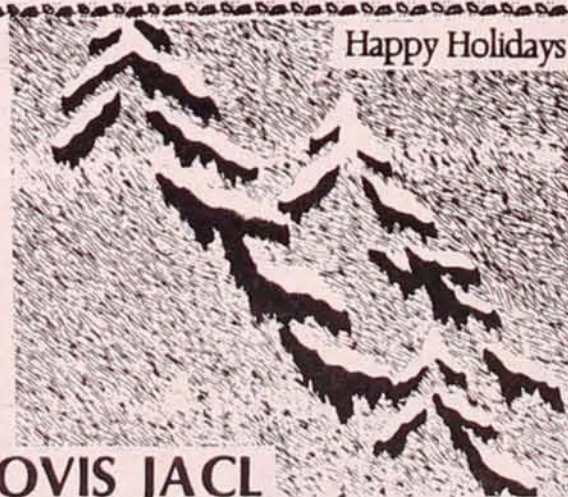


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## Kitano: A complication



Perhaps the most often quoted Japanese American, Dr. Harry H.L. Kitano of UCLA's School of Social Welfare, treats the Kibei in four places in his popular book, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (1976, 2d ed.). It is first explained in a footnote (p. 9):

"The Kibei are technically Nisei—that is, born of Issei parents in the United States. The basic difference lies in their upbringing—these children were sent back ["back" should be excised unless it was a second trip] to Japan at an early age for socialization and schooling. A fuller discussion of this group is presented in Chapter 9 [Social Deviance]."

The same preposition "back" reappears in Kitano's chapter on Current Japanese Family and Community (p. 109): "A former pattern (prior to World War II) of sending children back to Japan for upbringing (the Kibei) has now disappeared. But a substitute pattern—of tourism, of longer visits, and some schooling in Japan—is emerging." He notes that in 1973, 75% of the students at the Univ. of California Tokyo Study Center were of Japanese ancestry.

A footnote tells the reader that "the convenient division of the present Japanese population into relatively homogenous Issei, Nisei, and Sansei groups is complicated by the presence of the Kibei; the postwar influx of Japanese war brides; the arrival of many new Issei immigrants beginning in the 1950s; the entrance of Japanese businessmen, tourists, sojourning students; and a continuous stream of Japanese from Hawaii...."

Kitano's major treatment on the Kibei takes six paragraphs (p. 159-160). His concluding comment may be someone's doctoral research: If one wanted to study prewar Nisei socialization, it would be possible by studying those Kibei who went to Japan prior to 1941 and who never returned—which is comparable to saying that Japanese in Japan who want to study Meiji Era values might consider looking at the Japanese immigrants in Central Valley California.

Here are excerpts:

Within the Japanese system, however, are groups who by definition are marginal. They include the Kibei and some recent new immigrants.

The Kibei are technically Nisei—born in the United States—but differ in having spent their early years in Japan, usually with grandparents. Because members of this group differ in regard to sex, particular experiences in Japan, and length of expatriation, it is difficult to arrive at meaningful generalizations about them.

... Their number was estimated by [Alexander] Leighton to be over 9 percent in one of the evacuation camps, which is probably a typical distribution. Therefore, they are a group of significant size.

The practice of sending at least one child back to Japan to be educated was most popular between 1920 and 1940. This was the period of rampant nationalism and patriotism in Japan.

Therefore, many Kibei returned to the United States with strong pro-Japanese feelings. Here, since their perceptions of Japan were greatly different, they came into inevitable conflict with the Nisei, and even with many Issei. Some of the overt conflicts that arose in the wartime relocation centers were the result of Kibei-Nisei clashes.

Naturally, after the beginning of World War II, no more Japanese Americans were sent back to Japan, and the practice was never resumed. The Kibei population has therefore remained static and is currently indistinguishable from the middle-aged Nisei population. Certain impressions suggest that a higher proportion of them remain in Japanese "cultural activities," such as the judo, kendo, and aikido clubs, and they may not, in general, be as well acculturated as their Nisei peers. The Kibei did face many of the problems associated with marginal populations, especially during and directly after World War II (for example, Tule Lake, the stormiest evacuation camp, was made up of a high proportion of Kibei), but the passage of time and the changing conditions have done much to resolve the major issues.

The "new" interaction has been the increasing volume of visits to Japan by the Nikkei. Chartered tours, education abroad programs, business trips, and visits to relatives have become common, so that many Japanese Americans have a

first-hand, albeit fleeting, experience of the mother country.

Some Sansei have attempted to understand their heritage by spending a longer time in Japan. We sat down with a group of them in Tokyo in 1972 and heard their experiences. We also met with a group of Nisei who had settled down in Japan after World War II, and the question of their identities was a constant issue. The problem was especially acute for their children: should these Sansei be raised as Japanese, Japanese Americans, or Americans, including language, reading material, values, and dating, since the Nisei parents were expecting to return with their families to the United States sometime in the future? We also met individual Kibei who had never returned to the United States, and as an example of fixed roles they probably represented the way that the Nisei in California were socialized in the 1930s. So, if one of the ways of studying Meiji Japanese values is to look at Japanese immigrants in the Central Valley of California, then a way of studying Nisei socialization in California prior to World War II may be to study those Kibei who went to Japan during this period and never returned.

The fourth note on Kibei comes in Kitano's final chapter, Conclusions and Summary, where he discusses assimilation and acculturation. "The Nisei and Sansei are fully acculturated; the Kibei and war brides have partially acculturated, and the Issei have not...."

## LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

Continued from Previous Page

when they are in the classrooms of the language schools and when they are absolutely forced to use Japanese at home or when school facilities are denied them. They receive their general education in the public schools, where their English vocabulary is easily built up, but not their Japanese vocabulary. The children are conscious of their mastery of English, and of their defective knowledge of Japanese; they are intelligent enough to use the language that they know, and have vanity enough to conceal what they are ignorant of, and thus will not use the language of which they have only a defective knowledge. Bilingual success is yet to be at all generally achieved. In the second place, children of immigrant races generally dislike to use their parental tongues, concerning which they hear only derogatory remarks from their American classmates and playmates. Their one desire seems to be to lose their racial, national, or linguistic identities, and to become an integral part of the American people as soon as possible. In the third place, while spoken Japanese is relatively easy, having no complicated sounds, written Japanese is difficult for foreigners to acquire. There are many foreigners who speak Japanese without being able to read or write it. American-born Japanese are foreigners, and they find the foreigner's difficulty in learning Japanese. To those who are familiar with a Western language and with Japanese, it is unnecessary to stress the relative difficulty of the two tongues; the former is written in simple alphabets while the latter employs cumbersome Chinese ideograms. Primary school children of Japan are supposed to acquire from 1,500 to 2,000 of these characters, yet one who is able to read or write Japanese intelligently must possess the command of from 5,000 to 6,000 of them. Again, Japanese calligraphy is an art which requires many years of constant practice before one can execute it acceptably. Such being the characteristics of written Japanese, only the ambitious foreigner is expected to over-

come these difficulties in order to master the language; most of the American-born Japanese children are not able to attend the language school long enough to overcome the attendant difficulties. The relative failure of the Japanese language schools in this country to impart a knowledge of that tongue seems but natural; the achievement of real success by them is a hope beyond realization.

In addition, most of the Japanese dailies published in the country have recently introduced English sections, because they recognize the difficulty of reaching second-generation Japanese with Japanese columns only. Also a number of magazines are published in English for their benefit, and all the organizations among these young Japanese use English as the medium of expression in their conduct and correspondence. Sunday schools and church services for the young Japanese are often held in English. Finally, the writer has experienced in his contact with the second-generation Japanese, including university students, a difficulty in speaking to them in Japanese; he has to speak in English to make himself understood by them; this is particularly true when he speaks to them in groups.

The failure of the language schools is by no means confined to their primary function; the fear that the work of these schools tends to Japanize or to interfere with the process of Americanization has no ground in fact. It has been impossible for these schools to do anything against the training given the children in American public schools. This is equally true of any effort along similar lines that their parents may choose to make. The truth of this statement will become obvious if one takes the trouble to meet in person these American-born Japanese. Of course, this is not done by those who criticize the schools on that score, but if they follow the suggestion their apprehensions will evaporate at once. These children are American except in race.

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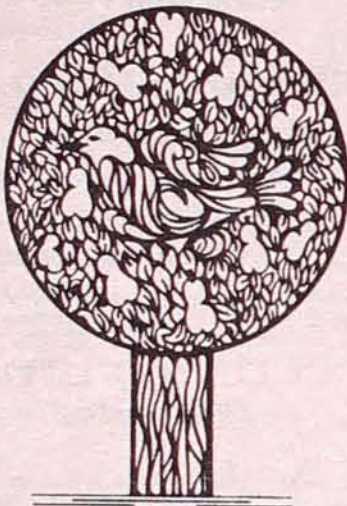
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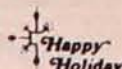
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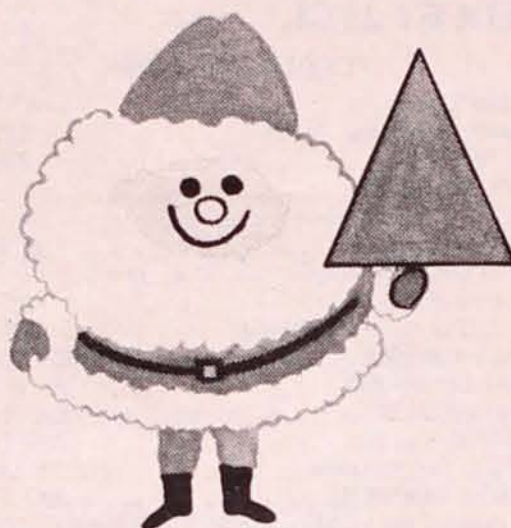
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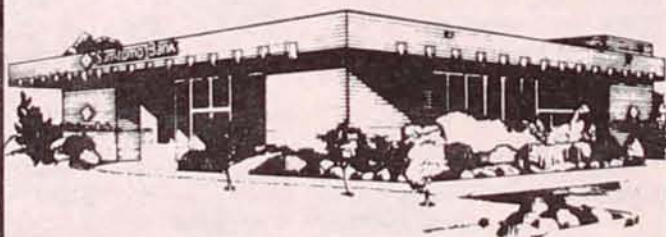
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## MITSUYE ENDO

Continued from Page A-22

San Francisco filed a petition of habeas corpus to release Endo from detention in the Tule Lake center.

A note about Purcell. He had been contacted by Saburo Kido shortly after the outbreak of the war with Japan. Many Nisei employees of the State of California (including Endo) were being fired from their jobs because of their parentage, and Kido wanted to know if something could be done. But before Purcell could do anything, the internment orders were issued. Galled by this action, Purcell, knowing that the military did not have jurisdiction over civilians while the courts were open, determined that he would file a writ of habeas corpus demanding that the government release the Nisei or show cause why not.

In any case, in her petition for freedom, Endo alleged she was a loyal, law-abiding American citizen; that no charges were filed against her; that she was being illegally detained against her will; and that she was confined in the relocation center under armed guard.

Of these developments, Endo says, "It was awfully hard for me. I agreed to do it at the moment, because they said it's for the good of everybody, and so I said, well if that's it, I'll go ahead and do it. I never imagined it would go to the Supreme Court. In fact, I thought it might be thrown out of court because of all that bad sentiment toward us." (Quoted in John Tateishi's *And Justice For All*.)

The petition was filed in the U.S. District Court of Judge Michael J. Roche. Fully a year after hearing the case, Judge Roche denied Endo's petition on grounds that she had not exhausted her administrative remedies, since she had not filed for her release under WRA regulations. In the denial of the writ to her as an individual, the court, at the same time, had doomed thousands of American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry to imprisonment in concentration camps for the duration of the war.

In February 1943, Purcell took the case to the Court of Appeals.

### Delays

Meanwhile, Endo applied for clearance to leave camp, and in August of the same year, she was granted clearance to leave. However, Purcell felt it was necessary for her to remain in camp until the case was decided in the Supreme Court.

"I was anxious to get out," Endo states. "...Purcell needed me to be in camp."

And so she remained for a total of three years behind barbed wires.

After a year passed, in April of 1944, the Circuit Court of Appeals certified the Ex Parte Endo case to the Supreme Court. There, on Dec. 18, Justice William O. Douglas, carefully avoiding addressing the substantive

Continued on Page A-36

## Editorials: MIS GIs

Though the two people cited in editorials published during World War II are not specifically identified as "kibei," Frank Hachiya of Hood River, Oregon, and Kenny Yasui of Los Angeles are Kibei Japanese Americans. Their exploits are symbolic of the wartime contributions of those who fought in the Pacific theater of operations as Military Intelligence Service GIs. Here are the editorials:

### FRANK HACHIYA, AMERICAN

From now on Frank Hachiya won't have to give a damn about what the American Legion post of Hood River, Oregon, thinks, says, or does about him. On Leyte, the Japanese American volunteered to cross a valley under enemy fire to scout their position. As he was doing so, a Japanese bullet stopped the American.

Out in Hood River, Oregon, some of the old-timers who fought for America a quarter of a century ago never did learn, apparently, what they were fighting for. Over the strenuous protests of national Legion officials, they voted to strike the names of 16 Japanese Americans from the county memorial roll. It didn't make any difference to them what General Eisenhower or General MacArthur or General Mark Clark might think of such fellows fighting under their command. Under their definition of Americanism, any man with Japanese blood in his veins was out.

What is an American? We are no race, no color, no creed. The melting pot of all the world was welded together out of a common faith in the equality of man, as best expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution with its Bill of

Continued on Page A-45



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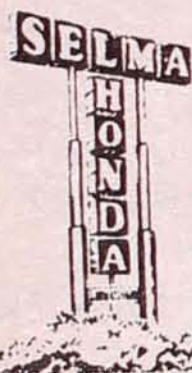
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# MITSUYE ENDO

Continued from Page A-34

constitutional issues, delivered the majority opinion of the court:

Mitsuye Endo is entitled to an unconditional release by the War Relocation Authority...

First. We are of the view that Mitsuye Endo should be given her liberty. In reaching that conclusion, we do not come to the underlying constitutional issues which have been argued...."

Justice Frank Murphy, in a concurring opinion for Endo's release, objected to part of the majority opinion:

I join in the opinion of the Court, but I am of the view that detention in Relocation Centers of persons of Japanese ancestry regardless of loyalty is not only unauthorized by Congress or the Executive, but is another example of the unconstitutional resort to racism inherent in the entire evacuation program.

As stated more fully in my dissenting opinion in the Korematsu case 323 U.S. 215, racial discrimination of this nature bears no reasonable relationship to military necessity and is utterly foreign to ideals and traditions of the American people...."

Justice Owen J. Roberts, though concurring with the opinion for release, could not agree with the reasons stated. He wrote:

The Executive Order did authorize the action that was taken by the WRA, but this action was unconstitutional because an admittedly loyal citizen may not be detained against her will as part of a relocation plan.

But clearly, the majority opinion, holding that "detention" was illegal on grounds that it was not specified in Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503

was a judgment based on "narrow grounds" and designed to avoid the substantive constitutional issues involved.

The Supreme Court could have held the detention illegal on broad substantive violation of Article I, Section 9 of the United States Constitution:

The privilege of a writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed....

The purpose of a writ of habeas corpus is to release a person from unlawful imprisonment. This is the most important of all civil rights protections provided by the Constitution. A denial of the writ of habeas corpus destroys every protection of the individual and can subject anyone to illegal imprisonment and is a denial of due process.

A bill of attainder is any legislative punishment without a court trial. The denial of the writ itself is believed to be a form of "bill of attainder." Public Law 503 was a legislative act causing imprisonment without a trial because of military necessity with habeas corpus being suspended for two and a half years. The military sold Congress a "bill of goods," subjecting civilians to military orders and causing illegal detention—a flagrant violation of the bill of attainder clause in the Constitution.

All American citizens and alien residents forced into concentration camps by Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503 would have a very strong case against the government for violation of Article I, Section 9 of the

Constitution.

Whether or not Mitsuye Endo was aware of these ramifications of her test case, one can imagine it must have been difficult and painful for her to make the commitment that she did. To have one's name bandied around at a time when she was clearly identified with that of an "enemy" could not have been easy. Not to mention the uncertainty of the outcome of her case, which could very well have been negative. With the vagaries of wartime decisions, to remain in camp in order to see her case come to a fruitful conclusion even though her "freedom" to leave was granted, is a sacrifice impossible to measure.

In view of the importance of her case leading to the release of those who remained imprisoned in camp, it is entirely appropriate to salute Mitsuye Endo. Destiny played a role in her life and she made a sacrifice with the purest of motives—to serve "the good of everyone."

Mitsuye Endo, we salute you, and thank you for your help!

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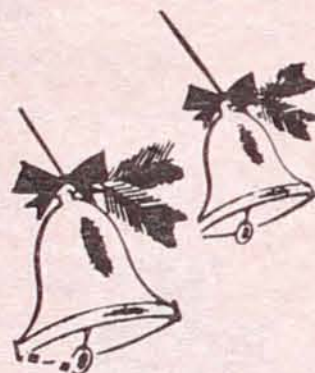
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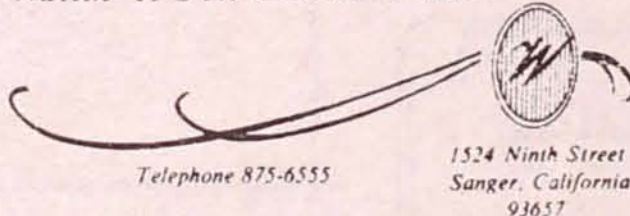


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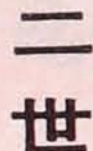
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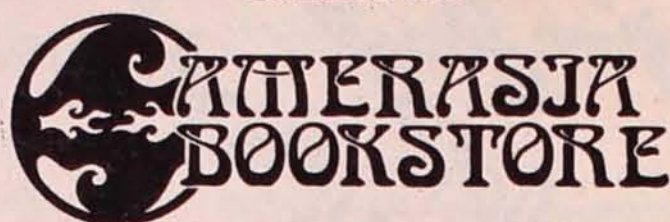
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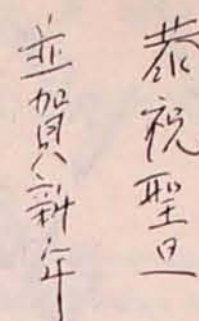
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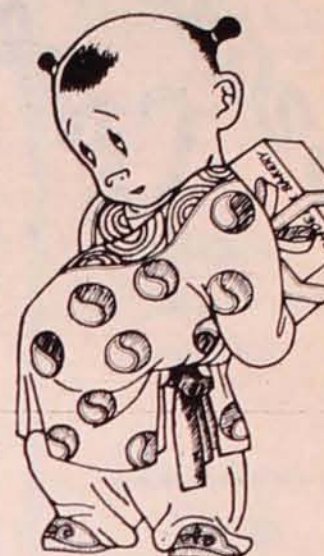
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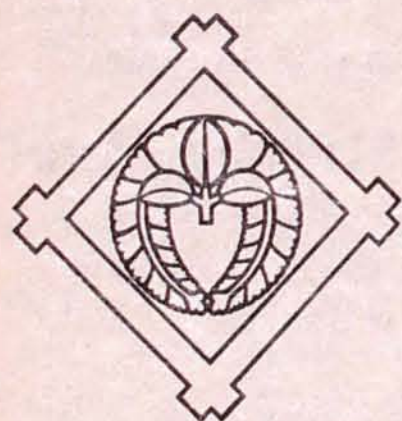
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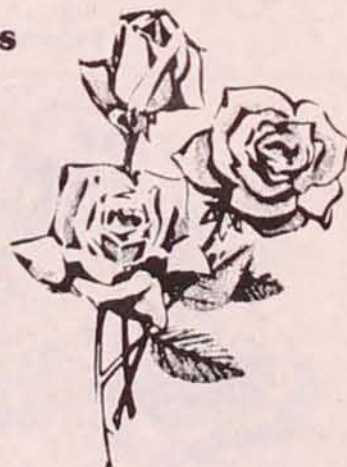
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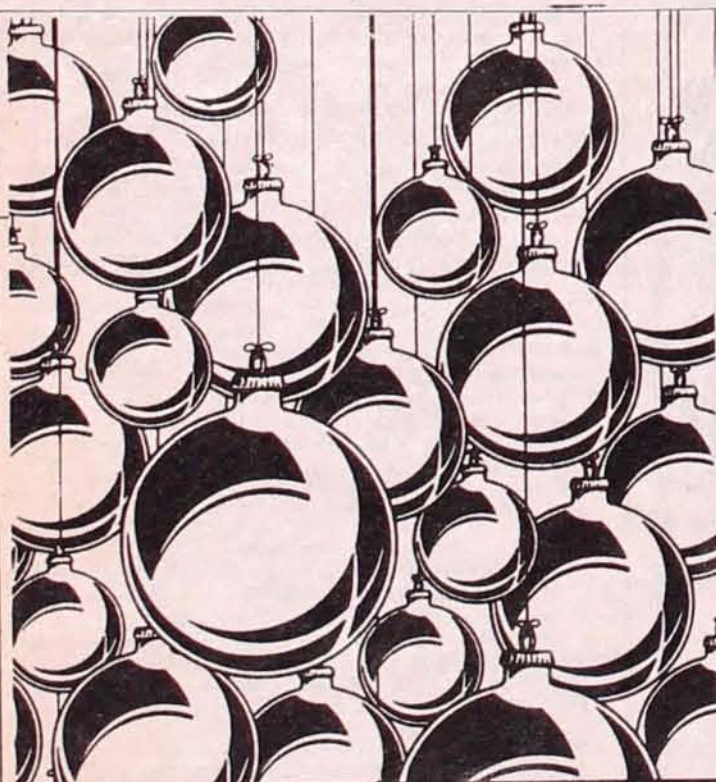
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Senior Nikkei Japan Golf Tour ..... Oct 5 - Oct 25  
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Club-Fuji Course); Atami, Kyoto, Hiroshima (Hiroshima Kokusai Golf  
Club); Beppu, Miyazaki (Phoenix Country Club); Ibusuki (Ibusuki Golf  
Course); Kumamoto/Mt. Aso (Kumamoto Golf Club); Fukuoka.

Hokkaido-Tohoku Holiday Tour ..... Oct 7 - Oct 20  
Tokyo, Sapporo, Lake Akan, Lake Mashu, Sounkyo, Noboribetsu, Lake  
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4—Basic Japan + HK, Bangk. .... May 11-29: Phyllis Murakawa  
5—European Tour ..... June 1-22: Toy Kanegai  
6—Canadian Rockies (Special) ..... Jun 20-24: George Kanegai  
7—Japan Summer Tour ..... Jun 22-Jul 6: Bill Sakurai  
8—Ura-Nihon, HK, Bangk. .... Sep 28-Oct 19: Veronica Ohara  
8A—Izu, Kii Pnsl, Hokkaido, Thoku ..... Sep 28-Oct 19: S Yagi  
9—China & Kyushu Tour ..... Sep 29-Oct 22: Jiro Mochizuki  
10—Ura-Nihon, No, Kyushu Tour ..... Oct 5-26: Bill Sakurai  
11—Mediterranean Cruise ..... Sep 29-Oct 11: Toy Kanegai  
12—Fall Foliage/New Eng. Can. .... Oct 3-11:  
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## EDITORIALS

Continued from Page A-34

Rights, the Gettysburg Address, and, for that matter, the Sermon on the Mount. When any man risks his life for this country on an especially hazardous mission, it is only fair and reasonable to assume that as an American he knew what he was fighting, what he was dying for.

—Pittsburgh Post-Gazette  
February 1945

In the next piece, the editorial writer referred to the enemy Japanese as "Japs," a term avoided by the enlightened media. We are substituting *Japanese*.

### LITTLE KENNY YASUI

For those skeptics who question the sincerity of Japanese American soldiers, here's a little story.

Staff Sgt. Kenny Yasui of Los Angeles, Calif., has distinguished himself as the "Baby Sergeant York" for his heroism on the Burma front. Although he is only five feet two and weighs scarcely more than 120 pounds, he's plenty tough when it comes to fighting Japanese for Uncle Sam.

During mopping up operations after the collapse of organized resistance on the Irrawaddy river, a group of about 17 enemy Japanese was hiding out on an island. There was a call for volunteers and little Kenny was among the first to step out. He and three others stripped and swam the river, with Kenny in charge.

Upon approaching the enemy nest, California-born Kenny Yasui yelled into the brush in the Japanese he learned while a student at Waseda University, Tokyo. He ordered the enemy to come out and surrender.

In their bewilderment, the nips filed out to surrender their arms. Just then, a Japanese officer sprang from a thicket, throwing a hand grenade to blow up Yasui and himself. Yasui jumped into a foxhole and the Japanese officer into another world. Then Kenny drew his sword. Three recalcitrant Japanese were killed by other Americans while Yasui held his ground.

Little Kenny solved the problem of getting the party across the Irrawaddy by having the remaining 13 prisoners swim pushing a raft. On the raft sat Kenny, sword in hand, bringing his prisoners back in the name of Old Glory.

It's a great tribute to those many Japanese Americans who are striving conscientiously to be good citizens of the country of their birth.

—Twin Falls Times News  
October 1944

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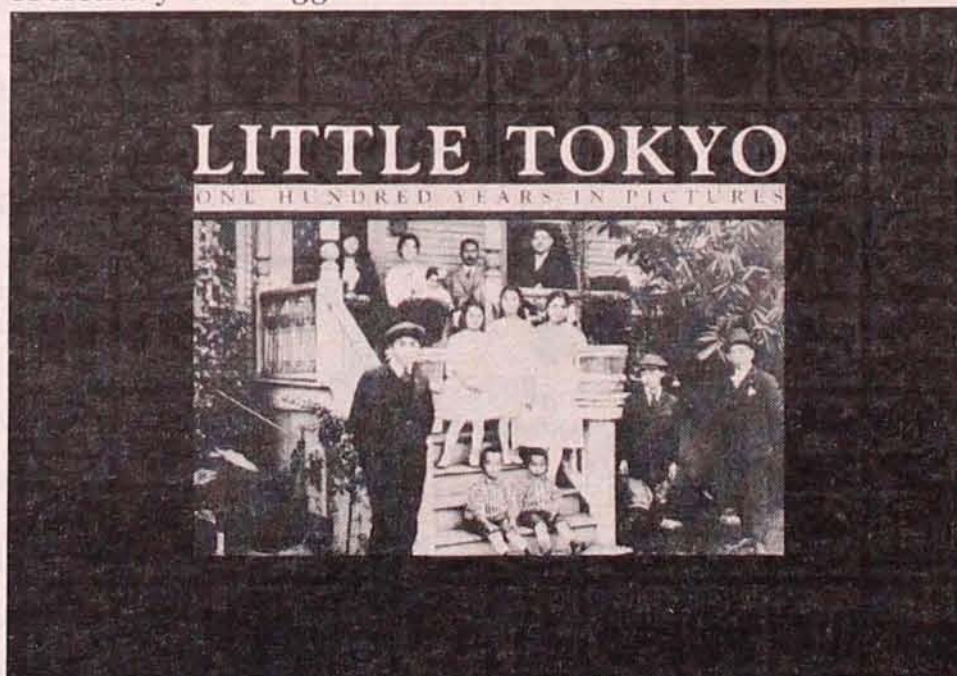


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# WRA: Quantitative Description

Continued from Page A-27

Table 29—Length of Residence in Japan by Number of Times in Japan, Sex, and Nativity: Evacuees to WRA in 1942.

Note: Length of residence refers to total time spent in Japan including visits as well as actual residence. Number of times in Japan refers to all trips for visits and residence; for persons born in Japan period from birthdate to date of first departure from Japan also included.

NATIVITY AND RESIDENCE IN JAPAN	SEX AND NUMBER OF TIMES IN JAPAN																							
	TOTAL								MALE								FEMALE							
	Total		Never in Japan	1	2	3	4 or more times	Unk	Total		Never in Japan	1	2	3	4 or more times	Unk	Total		Never in Japan	1	2	3	4 or more times	Unk
Percent	Number	Percent							Number	Percent							Number							
TOTAL (Number)		111,170	52,804	40,308	14,411	2,892	737	20		60,514	26,746	22,831	8,506	1,896	619	16		50,656	26,058	17,475	5,905	996	218	4
(Percent)	100.0		47.4	36.3	13.0	2.6	.7	*	100.0		44.2	37.7	14.1	3.1	.9	*	100.0		51.4	34.6	11.7	2.0	.4	*
Never in Japan	47.4	52,804	52,804	-	-	-	-	-	44.2	26,746	26,746	-	-	-	-	-	51.4	26,058	26,058	-	-	-	-	-
Less than 6 mos	3.3	3,700	-	3,680	20	-	-	-	3.1	1,857	-	1,845	12	-	-	-	3.6	1,843	-	1,835	8	-	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	2.5	2,815	-	2,636	172	6	1	-	2.2	1,365	-	1,258	93	3	1	-	2.9	1,460	-	1,378	79	3	-	-
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	3.9	4,369	-	3,766	530	65	8	-	3.5	2,101	-	1,820	234	40	7	-	4.5	2,268	-	1,946	296	25	1	-
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	3.1	3,434	-	2,908	457	63	6	-	3.2	1,949	-	1,640	267	40	2	-	2.9	1,485	-	1,268	190	23	4	-
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	5.1	5,672	-	4,504	1,012	133	23	-	6.1	3,694	-	2,818	748	105	23	-	3.9	1,978	-	1,686	264	28	-	-
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	13.7	15,072	-	9,254	4,658	966	193	1	16.9	10,203	-	5,986	3,294	758	164	1	9.6	4,869	-	3,268	1,364	208	29	-
20 yrs or more	20.6	22,825	-	13,217	7,469	1,641	495	3	30.3	12,311	-	7,250	3,803	938	318	2	20.8	10,514	-	5,967	3,666	703	177	1
Unknown	.4	479	-	341	93	18	11	16	.5	298	-	214	55	12	4	13	.4	181	-	127	38	6	7	3
AMERICAN BORN (Number)		72,650	52,742	17,787	1,882	199	36	4		37,303	26,718	9,332	1,089	135	25	4		35,347	26,024	8,455	793	64	11	-
(Percent)	100.0		72.6	24.5	2.6	.3	*	*	100.0		71.6	25.0	2.9	.4	.1	*	100.0		73.7	23.9	2.2	.2	*	*
Never in Japan	72.6	52,742	52,742	-	-	-	-	-	71.6	26,718	26,718	-	-	-	-	-	73.7	26,024	26,024	-	-	-	-	-
Less than 6 mos	5.0	3,615	-	3,595	20	-	-	-	4.8	1,809	-	1,797	12	-	-	-	5.0	1,806	-	1,798	8	-	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	3.7	2,698	-	2,626	165	6	1	-	3.5	1,299	-	1,206	89	3	1	-	4.0	1,399	-	1,320	76	3	-	-
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	5.4	3,926	-	3,404	460	54	8	-	5.1	1,882	-	1,640	200	35	7	-	5.7	2,044	-	1,764	260	19	1	-
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	4.2	3,041	-	2,617	368	52	4	-	4.6	1,716	-	1,466	215	33	2	-	3.8	1,325	-	1,151	153	19	2	-
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	5.5	4,064	-	3,464	541	52	7	-	6.7	2,453	-	2,038	368	40	7	-	4.6	1,611	-	1,426	173	12	-	-
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	3.0	2,147	-	1,842	272	26	7	-	3.2	1,211	-	1,018	168	20	5	-	2.6	936	-	824	104	6	2	-
20 yrs or more	.4	274	-	235	41	6	2	-	.3	126	-	95	27	2	2	-	.4	148	-	130	14	4	-	-
Unknown	.2	143	-	114	15	3	7	4	.2	89	-	72	10	2	1	4	.2	54	-	42	5	1	6	-
FOREIGN BORN (Number)		38,520	62	22,519	12,529	2,693	701	16		23,211	28	13,499	7,417	1,761	494	12		15,309	34	9,020	5,112	932	207	4
(Percent)	100.0		.2	58.5	32.5	7.0	1.8	*	100.0		.1	58.1	32.0	7.6	2.1	.1	100.0		.2	58.9	33.4	6.1	1.4	*
Never in Japan <sup>1/</sup>	.2	62	62	-	-	-	-	-	.1	28	28	-	-	-	-	-	.2	34	34	-	-	-	-	-
Less than 6 mos	.2	85	-	85	-	-	-	-	.2	48	-	48	-	-	-	-	.2	37	-	37	-	-	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	.3	117	-	110	7	-	-	-	.2	56	-	52	4	-	-	-	.4	61	-	58	3	-	-	-
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	1.2	443	-	362	70	11	-	-	.9	219	-	180	34	5	-	-	1.5	224	-	182	36	6	-	-
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	1.0	393	-	291	89	11	2	-	1.0	233	-	174	52	7	-	-	1.0	160	-	117	37	4	2	-
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	4.2	1,608	-	1,040	471	81	16	-	5.3	1,241	-	780	380	65	16	-	2.4	367	-	260	91	16	-	-
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	33.6	12,925	-	7,412	4,386	940	186	1	38.8	8,992	-	4,968	3,126	738	159	1	25.7	3,933	-	2,444	1,260	202	27	-
20 yrs or more	58.4	22,551	-	12,992	7,428	1,636	493	3	52.6	12,185	-	7,155	3,776	936	316	2	67.8	10,366	-	5,837	3,652	699	177	1
Unknown	.9	336	-	227	78	15	4	12	.9	209	-	142	45	10	3	9	.8	127	-	85	33	5	1	3

\* Less than 0.05 percent.

<sup>1/</sup> Refers to persons born in foreign countries other than Japan who have never been in Japan.

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Season's Greetings

Sec. A—46 Pacific Citizen Holiday Issue: Dec. 21, 28, 1984



# The PC People Who Count

This is a continuation of tradition started in 1978 with respect to our Holiday Issue, publishing our own honor list of "People Who Count"—the chapter officers, members and volunteers who help make this mammoth edition possible. This is our way of thanking them for their "come through" spirit for PC.

**Alameda**—Jug Takeshita, Nancy Tajima, Yas Koike.  
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**Boise Valley**—Midori Koyama.  
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**Dayton**—Lea Nakauchi.  
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**Diablo Valley**—Akiko Toriyama.  
**Downtown L.A.**—Bill Watanabe, Patrick Ogawa.  
**East Los Angeles**—Mable Yoshizaki, Robert Obi, Michi Obi, Miki Himeno, Sid Inouye, Sam Furuta.  
**Eden Township**—Janet M. Mitobe.  
**Florin**—Betty Kashiwagi.  
**Fort Lupton**—Sam Koshio.  
**Fowler**—Shig Uchiyama.  
**Fremont**—June Hashimoto.  
**French Camp**—Alan Nishi.  
**Fresno**—Ken Yokota.  
**Gardena Valley**—May Doi, Pam Shimada, Lou Tomita.  
**Gresham-Troutdale**—Kazuma Tamura.  
**Greater L.A. Singles**—Meriko Mori.  
**Hollywood**—Yuki Kamayatsu.  
**Hoosier**—Walter Nakatsukasa.  
**Houston**—Betty Waki.  
**Japan**—Dick Yamashita.  
**Livingston-Merced**—David Kiriara, Kimi Kishi, Ron Otani.

**Lodi**—K. Daijogo.  
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**Milwaukee**—Roy Mukai.  
**Monterey Peninsula**—Aiko Matsuyama, Barton Yoshida, Sam Kawashima, Royal Manaka.  
**Mt. Olympus**—Ken Nodzu.  
**New York**—Michi Nakagama.  
**Olympia**—John Umino.  
**Omaha**—Sharon Ishii Jordan.  
**Orange County**—Betty Oka, Y. Ohta.  
**Pasadena**—Mack Yamaguchi.  
**Philadelphia**—Sim Endo, Jack Ozawa.  
**Placer County**—E. Ken Tokutomi.  
**Pocatello-Blackfoot**—Paul Okamura.  
**Portland**—Rowe Sumida, David Akwai.  
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**Reedley**—Dale Okamura, Stan Hirahara.  
**Reno**—L. Okada, Henry Hattori.  
**Riverside**—Douglas S Urata, Michiko Yoshimura.  
**Sacramento**—Percy Masaki.  
**Saint Louis**—Nikki Hara.  
**Salinas Valley**—Lester Dacus, K. Hirano, Lefty Miyayama, Kenji Yonemitsu, Mark Yamaguchi.  
**Salt Lake City**—Alice Kasai.  
**San Benito County**—Gary K. Maeda.  
**San Diego**—Mas Hironaka, Vern Yoshioka.  
**San Fernando Valley**—Hiroshi Shimizu, Paul Tsuneishi.

**San Francisco**—Greg Marutani, Wm. Kyono.  
**Sanger**—Kazuo Komoto, Dallas Kanagawa.  
**San Jose**—Aiko Nakahara, Tom Yamamoto, Gail Ueyehara.  
**San Mateo**—Hiro Arima.  
**Santa Barbara**—Jane Uyesaka.  
**Seattle**—Gary Matsudaira.  
**Selanoco**—Clarence Nishizu, Jun Fukushima, Evelyn Hanki, Hiroshi Kamei, Ray Hasse, Frances Hachiya, Gary Sakata.  
**Selma**—Tom Kawano, Shin Mukai.  
**Snake River**—Marie Clevenger, Mike Iseri, Richard Mita, Jerry Inouye.  
**Sonoma County**—Dr. Roy Okamoto.  
**Spokane**—Dr. Jim Watanabe.  
**Stockton**—George Matsumoto, George K. Baba, Tosh Ishihara.  
**Tulare County**—Stanley Nagata.  
**Twin Cities**—Bud Nakosone.  
**Venice-Culver**—Dr. Richard Saiki.  
**Ventura County**—Teri Komatsu, Yas Umeda, Janet Kajihara, Yosh Katsurra, Bruce Tokumoto, Ona Shiro-yama, Jim Tsukida.  
**Washington, D.C.**—Kris Ikejiri.  
**Watsonville**—Tom Nakase, Tommy Sakata, Sadao Matsunami, Yoko Umeda, Harry Fukutome, Itaru Nitao, Frank Tsuji, Wally Asato, Paul Hiura.  
**West Los Angeles**—Toy Kanegai, Virginia Tominaga, Walter Isono, A. Nakashima, Veronica Ohara, Steve Yagi.  
**West Valley**—Marti Nakagawa.  
**White River Valley**—Margaret Okitsu.  
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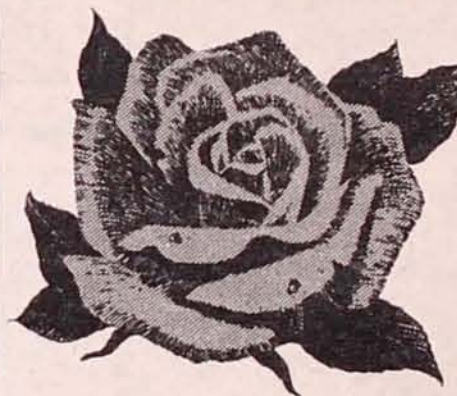
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## Holiday Greetings to Our JACL Friends

**Hank & Juli  
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In lieu of sending Holiday Season cards, these JACLers and PC readers are participating in the HOLIDAY ISSUE PROJECT by sending their greetings to friends in JACL across the world through this special section. The expense involved in sending out cards is contributed to this project, which then turns over the contribution less \$15 to the PC for a unit-space on this page to the JACL-Abe & Esther Hagiwara Student Aid Fund or some other JACL fund to be designated by the contributor.

If wish to join them next year, let us know. We shall send a reminder by the 1st of November.

—PACIFIC CITIZEN, Advertising Dept.

With Thanks to  
'People Who Count'

**Charles  
Fullert**

## Holiday Greetings to Our JACL Friends

**Homer & Miyuki  
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227 SE 52 Ave  
Portland, OR 97215

## Holiday Greetings to Our JACL Friends

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3286 Eichenlaub  
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IKEDA**  
3200 Los Prados  
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San Francisco, CA 94115

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Lillian Morizono**  
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Las Vegas, NV 89109

## Holiday Greetings to Our JACL Friends

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Denver, Colorado 80211

## 1984 HI Boxscore

1983 TOTALS  
Display Ads 7,666  
One-Line Greetings 909  
JACL-HI Project 24 units

1984 DISPLAY ADS  
Dec. 14: 7,860 1/2 (102.5%)

Selanoco JACL stands as No. 1 PC Holiday Issue solicitor with their filing this year of 7 full pages—a record-breaking performance. Just behind them was Snake River Valley (6 pages) and San Fernando Valley (5 pages). • Our gratitude for another outstanding effort from close to three-fourths of the 113 chapters as well providing an opportunity to build up the chapter coffers. Chapters are encouraged to ask how the leaders (those with listed with 168 inches or more) strike it big! The (g) is a cue to 1-line greetings solicited.

Alameda 168  
Arizona 2  
Arkansas Vly 2  
Berkeley 336  
Boise Vly 336  
Carson 9  
Chicago 84  
Cincinnati 6  
Cleveland 8  
Clovis 6  
Coachella Vly 6  
Columbia Bsn 6  
Contra Cos 168  
Cortez 15  
Dayton 15  
Delano 26  
Detroit 21

Diablo Vly 6  
Downtown LA 84  
East LA 196  
Eden Twn 144  
Florn 14  
Fl Lupton 3  
Fowler 6  
Fremont 12  
French Camp 9  
Fresno 168  
Gardena Vly 156  
Gilroy 6  
Golden Gate 6  
Gtr LA Sgl 10  
Gtr Pas Area 10  
Gresh-Tr 9  
Hawaii 9

Hollywood 5  
Hoosier 6  
Houston 4  
Idaho Falls 4  
Imp Vly 6  
Japan 168  
Lake Wash'n 6  
Las Vegas 6  
Latin Amer 6  
Liv-Merced 168  
Lodi 6  
Marin City 6  
Marina 6  
Marysville 105  
Mid-Columbia 18  
Mile-Hi 12  
Milwaukee 9

Mont'y Pnsia 168  
Mt Olympus 6  
New England 9  
New Mexico 9  
New York 68  
No Sn Diego 68  
Oakland 18  
Olympia 6  
Omaha 90  
Orange City 84  
Pacific 6  
Pan-Asian 6  
Parier 6  
Pasadena 25  
Philadelphia 18  
Placer City 9  
Pocatello 9

Portland 168  
Prog W'side 6  
Puyallup Vly 84  
Reedley 168  
Reno 6  
Riverside 168  
Sacramento 168  
Salt Lake 354  
Salt Lake City 116  
San Benito 9  
San Diego 336  
San Fern Vly 420  
San Francisco 236  
San Gab Vly 176  
San Jose 168  
Sn L Obispo 6  
Sn Mateo 6  
Sanger 57  
Sta Barb 9  
Sta Maria Vly 9  
Seattle 168  
Seabrook 672  
Selma 92  
Sequoia 452  
Snake River 15  
Solano City 16  
So Bay 16  
Spokane 9  
Stockton 176  
Torrance 168  
Tri-Valley 6  
Tulare City 36  
Twin Cities 7  
Venice-Culv 9  
Ventura 144  
Wasatch FN 14  
Wash, DC 9  
Watsonville 168  
West L A 168  
West Valley 60  
White Riv Vly 9  
Wilshire 4

CCDC 6  
EDC 6  
Intermountain 8  
Midwest DC 8  
Mtn Plain 14  
NCWAPDC 20  
PNWDC 5  
PSWDC 20  
Ad Dept 412 1/2  
PC Office 258

JACL/HI PROJECT  
20—Student Aid  
—Bldg Fd  
1—JACL Prog'm

7—Redress Fd  
3—Pac Cit Fd  
1—Endow't Fd

(79 of 113 chapters participating)

1-LINE GREETINGS: 835 (91.8%)

Boise Valley 17  
Cincinnati 6  
Cleveland 57  
Cortez 15  
Dayton 22  
Delano 15  
Detroit 34  
Fl Lupton 23  
FLA Singles 24  
Gresh-Tr 96  
Milwaukee 33  
Mt Olympus 12  
Olympia 19  
Pasadena 22  
Philadelphia 29  
Placer City 52  
Poc-Blackfoot 10  
Reno 6  
Riverside 53  
St Louis 31  
Sn Benito 24  
Sia Barbara 15  
Seabrook 15  
Sonoma City 20  
Spokane 20  
Tulare City 24  
Twin Cities 57  
Venice-Culver 13  
Ventura City 30  
Wash, DC 30  
West Vly 21  
White Riv Vly 30  
PC Off 1

## Index to Our Holiday Issue Advertisers

Alameda B14-15  
Arkansas Valley A-7  
Berkeley B8-11  
Beverly's Bonbonnerie A-37  
Blue Shield B-32  
Cal 1st Bank C-38  
Carson C-47  
CCDC A-28  
Chicago A-2  
Churches C-47  
Cincinnati A-26  
Cleveland A-7  
Clovis A-28  
Columbia Basin A-13  
Contra Costa B12-13  
Cortez B-17  
Dayton A-7  
Delano A-28  
Denver A-7  
Detroit A-4  
Diablo Valley B-32

Downtown L.A. C-46  
East L.A. C15-17  
EDC A-26  
Eden Township C-67  
Florin B-32  
Fort Lupton A-21  
Fowler A-28  
Fremont A-29  
French Camp A-29  
Fresno A32-33  
Gardena Valley C20-21  
Gtr. L.A. Singles C-47  
Gresham-Troutdale A-13  
Hedani, C A-37  
Hollywood C-38  
Hoosier A-4  
Houston A-7  
IDC A-23  
I.M. Hairstyling A-37  
Japan B2-3

JACL/PC Staff B-16  
JA Republicans C-47  
JA Travel Club A-37  
Kamiya-Mamiya A-37  
Kodansha Int'l C-15  
Kubota Nikkei Mori'y A-42  
Livingston-Merced B18-19  
Lodi C-7  
Marina A-37  
Marukyo A-42  
Marysville B-16, C-48  
Matsui, Rep. R B-16  
MDC A-4  
Mile-Hi A-7  
Milwaukee A-4  
Mineta, Rep N B-16  
Monterey Peninsula B20-21  
Mt. Olympus A-23  
MPDC A-21  
Near & Far A-37

New Mexico A-21  
New York A-25  
Nichi Bei Bussan C-15  
Nippon Travel C-15  
NCWNPDC B-32  
Olympia A-13  
Omaha A-6  
Orange County C-18  
PC Exchange A-43  
PC Regulars A44-47  
PNWDC A-13  
PSWDC C-45  
PANA A-37  
Pasadena C-45  
People Who Count A-47  
Philadelphia A-26  
Placer County C-7  
Pocatello-Blackfoot A-23  
Portland A8-9  
Puyallup Valley A-12

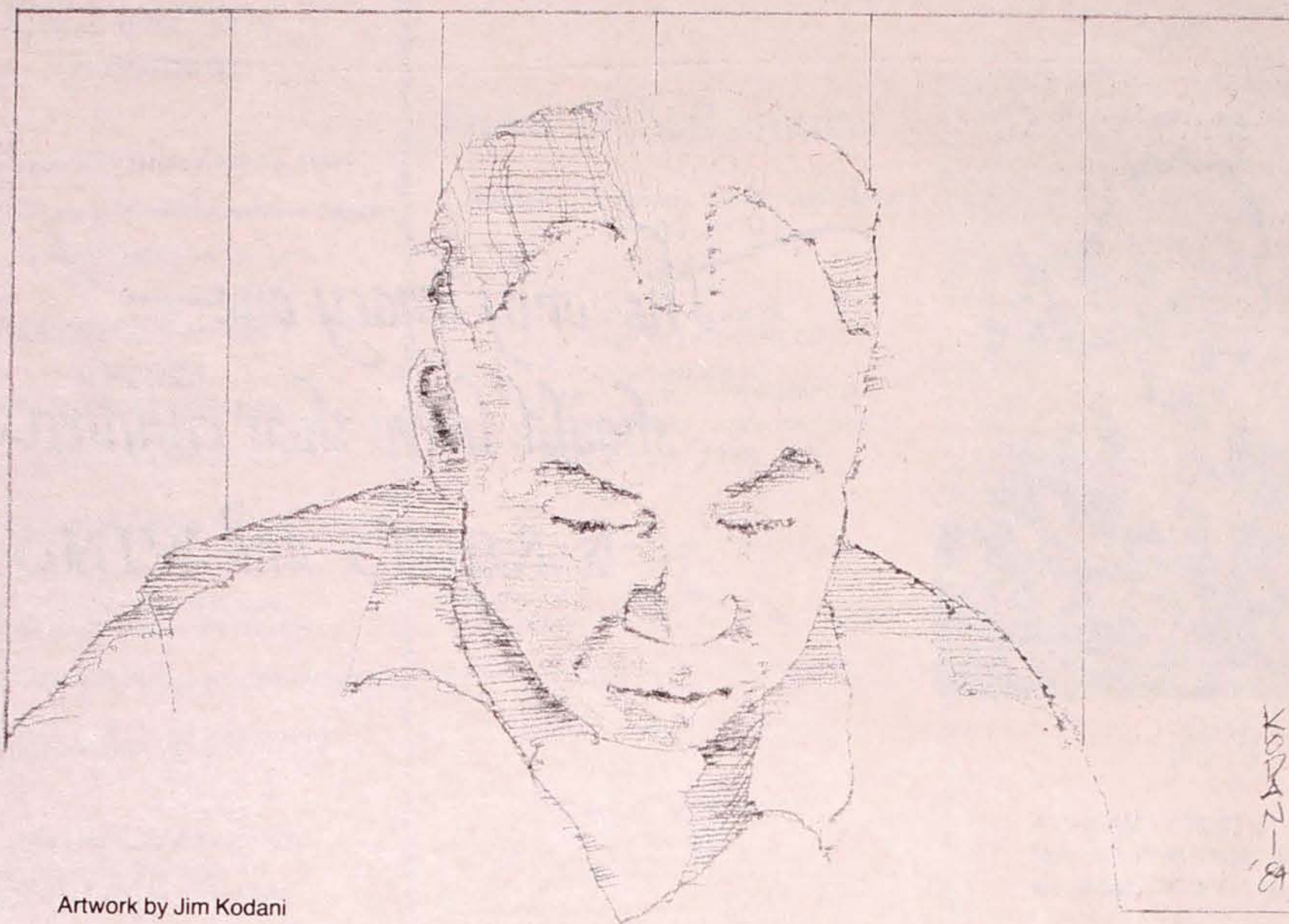
Reedley A30-31  
Reno C-7  
Riverside C-45  
Sacramento B4-5  
St. Louis A-4  
Sakioka Farm A-37  
Salinas Valley B24-27  
Salt Lake City A23-24  
San Benito County B-17  
San Diego C24-27  
San Fernando C40-44  
San Francisco C2-4  
Sanger A-36  
San Jose B22-23  
San Mateo C-4  
Santa Barbara C-47  
Sato, Frank C-4  
Seabrook A-26  
Seattle A10-11  
Selma A34-35

Selanoco C8-14  
Shimizu, 'Sushi' C-15  
Snake River A16-21  
Sonoma County B-32  
Spokane B-13  
Stockton B6-7  
Sumitomo Bank B-29  
Tanaka Travel C-15  
Tanaka, C & Jon A-40  
Tulare County A-34  
Twin Cities A-7  
Uwate, 'Names' A-37  
Venice-Culver C-47  
Ventura C38-39  
Washington, DC A-26  
Watsonville B30-31  
West L.A. C22-23  
West Valley B-17  
White River Valley B-13  
Wilshire C-38  
Yoshioka, Dave C-38



# pacific citizen

Holiday Issue: Dec. 21-28, 1984



Artwork by Jim Kodani

## Drops of Water

By FERRIS TAKAHASHI

Shoes, a pair of shoes! Dirt-grey but whole; unripped jogging shoes. A find of finds, a pair of too-tight shoes, thrown away on a parking lot near Lincoln and Venezia.

He wears them with a sensation that might be called happy, if he had any memory of happiness. They are shoes and they are mates. The ones he last had on his feet were unmatched. He curls his toes into these and will never take them off. Truly, this is one of the lucky days of Search. There are such days, even for the Seekers, the wandering homeless.

Tonight he will settle in a certain entry behind the garbage cans. These are good cans, sometimes full of paper and cartons. Cartons can be ripped into sheets for a pad between cold concrete and poorly fleshed body. Paper can be stuffed as wadding into jacket sleeves and around the neck. Brown wrapping paper is better than newsprint; it wads well, it protects.

It may happen of a night that another Seeker comes upon his retreat. If that Seeker is large and strong, he cannot be denied. To scuttle out of the way is wise. Therefore no bundles or possessions should be carried. All the property he owns is what he can carry on his person for one day's needs.

Among the hard rules of the street, the hardest is this: whatever you have can be taken from you.

—REPORT. RECORDED BY ROBERT HIDEKI, field worker, District K, Asian Placement and Rehabilitation Agency.

—Re: vagrant male, undetermined age, apparent Oriental extraction, ambulatory . . .

Subject was described to me by Miss Elsie Ottway, case worker for CCNY, she having noticed him on the Venice promenade where she was walking. Attention was attracted by subject picking over remnants of picnic lunch on a bench just vacated by family group. Miss Ottway had been commenting to her companions on how, in spite of the city's commendable effort to direct trash to many large, marked containers, a sizable segment of the public persists in failing to make use of these facilities and carelessly strews debris at large instead of placing it directly into its proper repositories.

Miss Ottway further remarked that this man was violating elementary rules of sanitation by eagerly devouring half-eaten remnants of reddish sauce and potato chips and she noticed, as she verbally expressed her distaste at the sight, that the subject's face revealed distinctly Oriental lineaments.

My interest was in turn aroused as to date I have seen little or no individuals of Oriental descent among the city's drifters, bag people, vagrants, alcoholics, etc.

Moreover I saw here an opportunity to extend the work of our agency, which hitherto has been occupied with recognized members of society such as the elderly and disabled.

Some imagine that the Seekers lie about with time on their hands. On the contrary. Much activity is needed to gain shelter and some food without money. A Seeker is usually alone, avoiding the psychos and winos who might be sociable and eventually threatening. The wino often knows companionship and erratic generosity. His life is vivid. He may sleep on sidewalks and construction sites until picked up by Force or semi-sobered. He may sing, shout or talk at length to

his sidewalk neighbor who shared a drink with him yesterday and may try to kill him today.

But Seekers move away from danger. They do not like to lie passive in public places and be picked up by Force. They have no sense of humor, and do not, as petty hoods and punks do, regard a night in jail as a risible interlude. They would rather not go to jail at all. Day for day the sun rises for them, bright or occluded and one has slept or not slept but the seeking goes on. Patient and instinctual as a turtle's plodding, the way is found to sources which have been productive in the past and may be so again . . .

FOLLOW-UP REPORT of Robert Hidemi.

—On February 4th I was able to locate and achieve contact with the mentioned subject albeit briefly. Would like to state that in my talks with Miss Elsie Ottway who is a most concerned and caring young lady, I gave as my opinion that up to now we had not discovered a Japanese or Japanese American among the street populations and that I might, with all due modesty, consider myself a pioneer to some degree in the investigation of Oriental influx into the groups who live outside the established economic and social systems.

To return to the aforementioned subject, he was located at the periphery of the beach, not far from where Miss Ottway has seen him and had his head some of the way down into a trash container, fishing up, no doubt, some rare delicacy. By clearing my throat several times, I got him to turn to me and realized that he was, although much begrimed, undoubtedly an Oriental. Although as a third-generation Japanese American, I speak little or no *Nihongo*, I greeted him with an 'Ohayo gozaimasu' and realized by his expression that I had hit home, so as to speak, although he responded only with a kind of grunting sound. I judge his use of speech to be significantly diminished, either through isolation or mental incapacity . . .

USE OF SPEECH SIGNIFICANTLY DIMINISHED.

. . . It is best to say as little as possible. What he does needs

Continued on Page B-20



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**Dear Friends,**  
Increasingly, the chief pleasure of life has come to mean the planned or the chance encounters with friends or communications with people. With my noncomputerized mind becoming outpaced, I kept on my appointment calendar a haphazard list to remind me of 1984's bounty of fellowship. To those I had the fortune to meet this past year, may I wish a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year as follows:

**In Japan**—Halo Hirose (Haw), Toyoko Yamasaki (Osaka), Yoshihisa Komori (Tok), Eliana Nomura (Brazil), Jack Hirose (SF), Al Doi (Irvine), Ralph Roens (Tex), Dr. Joyce Lebra (Colo), the Chuck Kubokawas (the Americas), Joy Togawa (Can), Kay Hisatomis (Pendleton); Veronica Ohara, Ruby Matsuo, George & Toy Kanegai (LA); Gary Kadani, the Noby Yoshimuras (SF); Dr. Haruyoshi Chikamori (Osaka); Yutaka Yamamoto, Katherine Plummer (Tok); Boye de Mente (Ariz), Sumi Gluck (Kobe).

**While in California**—Lefty Nishimura, George Iseri, J. Hirose, Ron Wakabayashi (SF), Dr. Tak Inouye, (Col) Thomas Sakamoto, (Col) Harry & Terry Fukuhara; the Okamotos: Kay, Marion, Robert, Pearl, Tom and Carol; Luther Ogawa (SJ); Elizabeth Humbargar, Catherine Rovetta; the Saikis: George, Lil, Chiyo, Kay, Misa, Ted, May, Rob and Deb; the Mikasas: Nob, Tad, Emi, Aki and Fumi; the George Babas, Tets Katos, Henry Kusamas, Bingo Kitagawas, Ruth Dobana, Jun Agaris (Stockton); John and Bea Yoshida (Modesto); George & Jennie Mizuno (Tracy).

**At the Honolulu Convention**—Earl Nishimura, Larry Kumabe (forever beaming like a contented Buddha), Ed Hamasu, Marshall Sumida, energetic Eric Saul, the Shig Wakamatsus, Harry Hondas, Karen Seriguchi, Patsy Saiki, Dr. Ronald Takaki (interesting lecture), Pat & Lily Okura (and later in Tokyo), Joe Oyamas, Floyd Shimomuras, Ron Wakabayashis, Ben Ichikawa (interpreting talent), Ed Yamamotos, Cliff Uyedas, Min Yasuis, George Kondos, Dave Nakayama, Frank Sato, Dave Nikaido (great voice), Hideki Hamamoto, Ken Nakano, Mrs. Norman Mineta (thanks for the drink), Yoshio Hottas, Tats Hori,

Don Negi, Roy Nishikawa, Frank Sakamoto, Hon. Robert & Mrs. Matsui (very nice party), Lucy Adachi, Bea Kono, Mary Hamamoto (blackout comrades), Roy Oshima, Dr. & Mrs. Kaname Saruya, Cathy Iseda & Richie, Akiko Kodama, John Tateishi, Makoto Nao, (Col) Hank & Seiko Wakabayashi (and with Lynn in Tok), Sumi Shimizu, Sadao & Ruth Yoshio-akas, Ray & Janet Harada, Kan Tagami, and dozens more. Gov./Mrs. Ariyoshi (everyone enjoyed the open house), Sen. Spark Matsunaga (stirring speech at MIS exhibit opening), Yori Wada (well-deserved recognition of a fellow alumnus).

**Back in Japan**—Ruth Hashimoto (Alb), Rose Ochi, Yuji Ichioka (LA), Susan Sakuma (Pasa), Bill Himel (WDC), Yukio Kawamotos (DC), Mrs. Hiroshi Miura, Mrs. K.K. Sakamoto, Ms. Naomi Sahara (Tok), Peter Okada (Seat), Frank Kasamas (Fremont), Kimiko Motoda, Ken Nakano (Wash), Rev. Michael Yasutake (Chi), Miho Yamaguchi (Nago), Fred Oshima (Salinas), Frank Inamis (Livermore), German Yaki (Sao Paulo), Ted Miyagishimas (SJ), John & Toshiko Toland (Conn), Nisei Week Queen Tamlin Tomita & Shiro Tomitas (LA), George Yasukochi (Berk), George Kitagawas (Stockton), Alan K. Otas (Portland).

**Letters owed and/or persons respected:** Naomi Kashiwabaras (San Diego), George Akimoto, Henry Kuwabaras, Ted Mirikitani, B. Toyodas (LA), Judge and Mrs. Raymond Uno (SLC), Bill Hosokawa (Denv), Mrs. Ayako Nakamura (Seabrook), Dr. Tom Shibutani (UC-Santa Barb), Andrew Kurodas (DC), Teresa Yamamoto (Haw), Judge Bill Marutani (Phila), Gordon Hirabayashi (Can), Tad Fujitas (Berk), Ken Yasuda (Conn), Takeo Usumis (SF), (Col) Spady Koyamas (Spokane), (Col) Lefty Nakanishis, Ray Suzukis (Monterey), Grace Saiki (Pasa), Mrs. Fuji Kunimoto (Ogden).

On the whole, 1984 was a great year and, hopefully, 1985 will be better for everyone, including Redress. Since an aimailed Christmas card from Japan costs 330 yen (\$1.37) each plus the cards while every name listed means an extra dollar for PC—everyone profits. Happy holidays—

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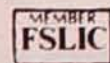


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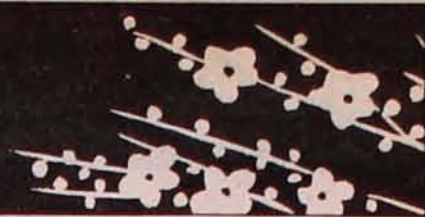
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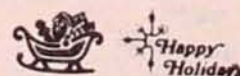


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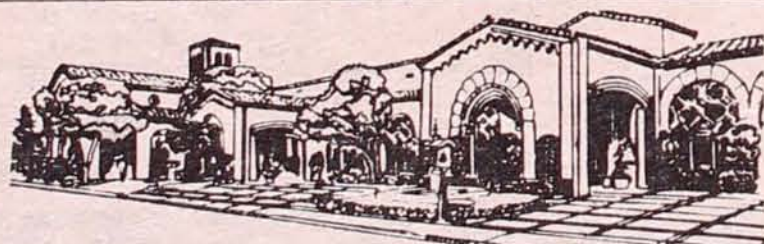


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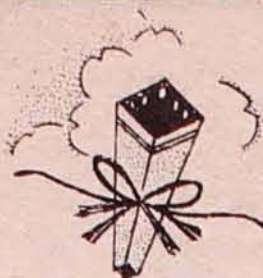
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MIZOKUCHI, Munch/Ets .....311 Beach Rd  
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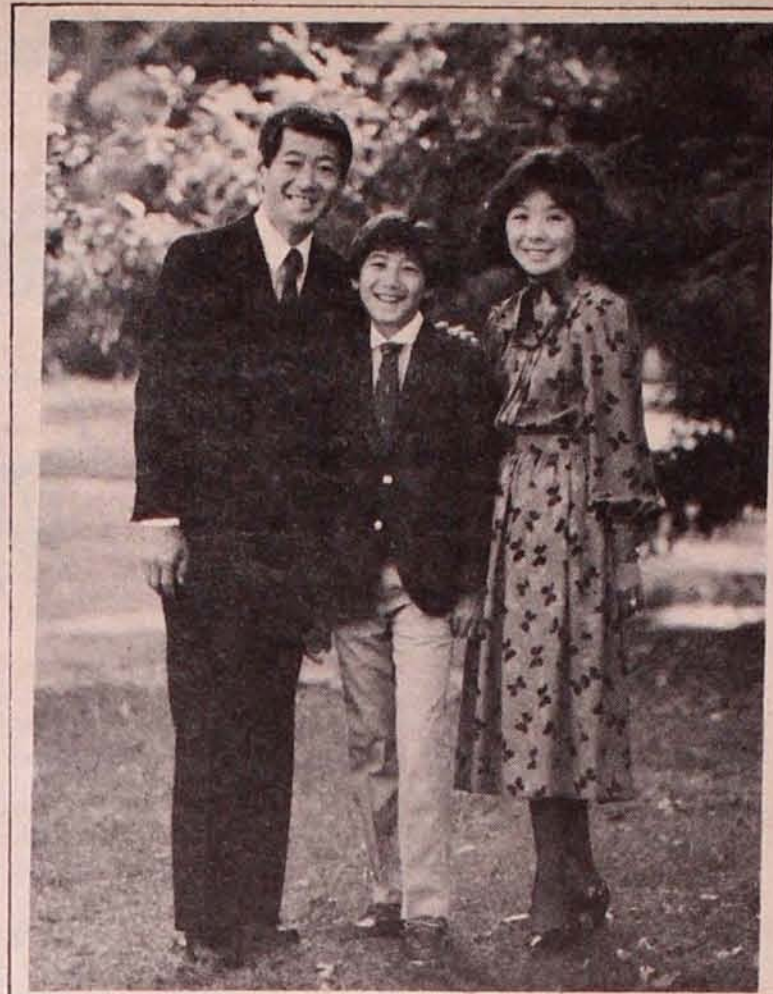
It is a time of the year to extend the Season's Greetings to all of you, and it is a time for us to reflect on and to rededicate ourselves to the principle of a lasting peace.

It is also a time for me to say "thank you" and to count my blessings for all the friends whom I have made during the years in public life.

I look forward with renewed confidence that the spirit with which we enjoy our holidays mirrors our vision for the future for us, our children, and our country.

Sincerely,

NORMAN Y. MINETA  
Member of Congress

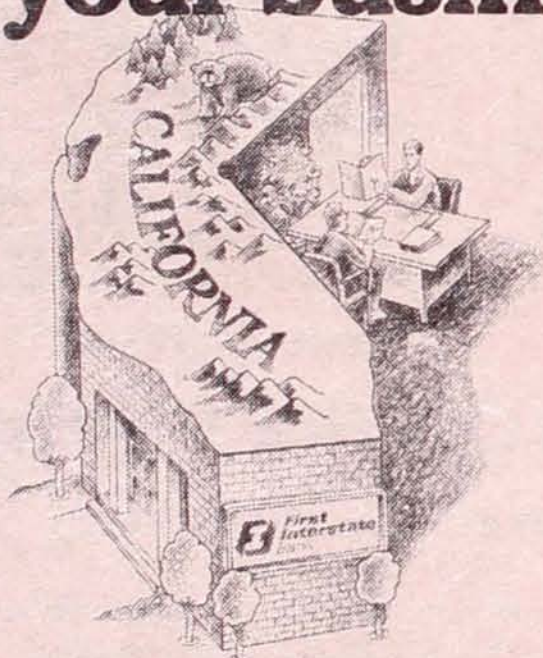


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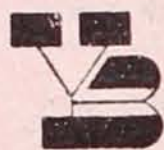
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# DROPS OF WATER

Continued from Page B-1

few words. There are hole-in-the-wall coffee shops where the Black and Puerto Rican dishwashers and pantry boys are not unkind. If he holds out a tin can or a battered plastic container from the shore-line, they will pour him the tailings of last night's coffee, perhaps even some of the strong hot brew they are making in the mornings. He even knows of a Chinese restaurant at whose back door he has cringed on chilly dawns. To the proprietor, up before the sun, he says in his cracked, unused voice:

"Goo' momin', nice-a day."

And the plump proprietor who knows the city well may answer:

"Ah, you again, hey, *ojisan*? Here something for you, nice *tabemono*. *Hao bu hao!*"

His head dips, animal-like, when he recognizes a familiar word. His native language is half-forgotten, is sunk away in the shadow-zone of all the other old, incomprehensible fears. There was a time when it was a bad thing to speak Japanese, to be Japanese. For no reason at all, he and others were suddenly taken away to a place that was a prison and was not a prison. He and others like him had been young recruits to the Hawaiian cane fields from villages in Hiroshima and Kagoshima-ken. They were shipped across the water, grubbed and sweated under a hot sun. Some married, found betterment. Some, like himself, were recruited again to come to America. The monotony of stoop labor did not fresh the mind or the spirit, still less the pocketbook. He was a bachelor yet, when the terror of Evacuation burst upon everyone and swept them off to camps of concentration. Where there was little for an unlearned man to do until field workers were again in demand. After that, everything changed. Field bosses did not seem to want Japanese. He found his way to the city where he was beaten by a gang of punks, cheated by shabby saloons that would take him in as dishwasher or clean-up man, work him and throw him out when he asked for his pay. The flop-house where he stayed was condemned and razed. Without a roof over his head, he found the streets. And after a term of initiation, the streets became as a field whereon were gleanings.

Now, like a fox, he trudges the alleys, the busiest avenues and beach promenades; he shuffles slowly, eyes ever to the ground. There may be the butt end of a candy bar, a soggy cigarette. Dry matches are treasures. He feels a mute contempt for the panhandlers but now and then he is forced to sidle up to a stranger and beg: 'Matchi? Matchi?'

All activities mold themselves to survival: finding, using, eating, avoiding, rejecting; objects held up to the sight and tossed aside, things that were once of service now to his purpose nothing.

He passes by many objects that the bag-people covet. They scavenge compulsively, easing themselves into the comforting myth of possession. Bag people will cherish a broken table radio, wires from a garment bag, garlands of time-chewed Christmas wreaths. Possession of manufactured artifacts, as though anything which had passed through human manipulation brought back dim memories and the value of a fetish.

NON-PRODUCTIVE STATUS. Second report of Robert Hidemi, APRA.

—By a most fortunate coincidence, our agency has been able to take a lease on an older property that was in danger of demolition, said property being several miles inland from the city. We anticipate a growing need of shelter for the homeless and our volunteers have spent long hours cleaning and painting. Any repairs possible within budget have been made and donors have been most generous with household goods no longer in service. Although there have been some questions as to the site of our shelter supposedly in juxtaposition to a former radioactive waste dump, we are assured by the appropriate officials that no danger exists for present and future residents of the shelter, one of whom, I trust, will be the elderly Japanese stray in Venice who persists in refusing to give me his name. We are watching him and it will be easy to pick him up when the time comes . . .

—WE ARE WATCHING . . .

... Cold nights are not necessarily the cruelest. On cold nights, the Force stays in its trim cars, the Owners do not check their sheds and dumpsters. Many dumpsters offer multi-

odored comfort to the human wraiths who slip away before dawn with the rest of night's shadows.

He lives like all the Seekers, in unease and insecurity. No set routine or route is possible. The territory is always changing and so are those who guard it. In the aura of Force live the watched streets of fine homes and estates. Dogs and homeowners protect the miles of neat residential areas whose back gates and waste cans brim with treasure unimaginable. Here only the Strong and the Jail-wise venture in to challenge Force and Security.

There are Strong who come among the Seekers and harry the weak of which he is one. They muscle into the most desirable retreats: abandoned structures, culverts, thickets, the underside of bridges. Often they return to camp in the same place in uneasy truce or vicious encounters until in turn they are driven out by even stronger invaders.

Once, he had been allowed to curl up near the fire of such an encampment and woke up in terror to find his rags set ablaze, his shoes snatched away.

In earlier times, before he had learned to stay alone and apart, he had crept under a dock to escape a night of fierce rain and found the sanctuary already claimed by a grotesque of a human, a maculated scarecrow of shiny pate lashed with streaks of greyness, red of nose; fixed by eyes glaring out of a mass of wrinkles etched in black soil, he heard the challenge: "Ya know one-eye? . . . Ya like one-eye?"

... and managed to skitter out into bone-chilling winds—better than to know what it would be like to be spread, skewered like a split chicken upon the pike of the spotted man.

—RETRIEVAL AND REHABILITATION. Taped conversation of Robert Hidemi and Elsie Ottway.

Bob, I should like to express our appreciation for the work you are doing in this area of the ambulatory homeless and for the extra effort you've put into the case of this Oriental man who will add to our compilation of case histories.

Elsie, I appreciate your expression of appreciation and believe me, it is gratifying—

Although, Bob, we find a serious lacuna and inadequate presentation of your working up this case, inasmuch as we have not even the complete name and vital statistics of this person—

I can explain that. See, even with the help of an interpreter and Dr. Sakura, who speaks Japanese, as clinical psychologist, we could not get him to give his name—

Robert, are you trying to tell me that three of you couldn't—

Elsie, the poor old fellow appeared to be scared half out of his skin. Dr. Sakura felt that, while he doesn't appear to be overtly psychotic, he is certainly confused and withdrawn. . . . But his first name is Jiro, we found that out—

Well, if you found out his first name, you certainly could have found out the last name. What do his papers say?

Elsie, he was put through a cleansing and search procedure and Elsie, you'll hardly believe this but he has no papers, no letters, nothing but the scruffy clothes on his back and shoes too short for him on his feet. In his pockets we found two pennies, a torn baseball cap and a mess of peanuts.

No papers at all? How could he apply for S.S. or W.C. or anything without any identification?

He doesn't seem to have applied for any kind of assistance. Captain Sonstrand of District K had nothing on him; described him as "one of those harmless nuts we got around here."

Now, Robert, you can't expect me to classify him when he has no I.D., no papers of any sort. How do we know he's not in the country illegally? Really, I feel I must put this to Immigration and have him held for further examination—

After what he's been through?

And just what has he been through, pray tell?

It's not a unique history but it's sad enough. This man was orphaned at an early age which wasn't the happiest way to start out life in pre-war Japan. Was sent to work in a broom factory by his foster-parents. Minimal schooling. Was recruited with some others for work in sugar canefields in Hawaii. Worked there till there was a collapse in the sugar market and was induced to sign up as a field worker and brought to the U.S.A. He was taken out of the fields and spent time in one of the concentration camps during the Evacuation. Was released for essential work but got badly beaten by some racist bullies and couldn't do stoop labor anymore. Drifted to L.A. and took menial odd jobs; the cheap hotel he lived in was torn down and he began to wander in the streets. The few contacts he had with the Japanese community avoided him and he avoided them. Now, would there be any sense in subjecting him to any more misery?

I hardly understand your partisan posture, Robert—but then, you people always stick together. There is no point in continuing this dialogue if you can't see the guidelines I'm recommending. . . . I must go now. Goodbye.

—PERSONAL REMINDER IN MEMO FORM. Robert Hidemi to Robert Hidemi.

Elsie's outburst is very disconcerting. For some reason she

Continued on Page B-28

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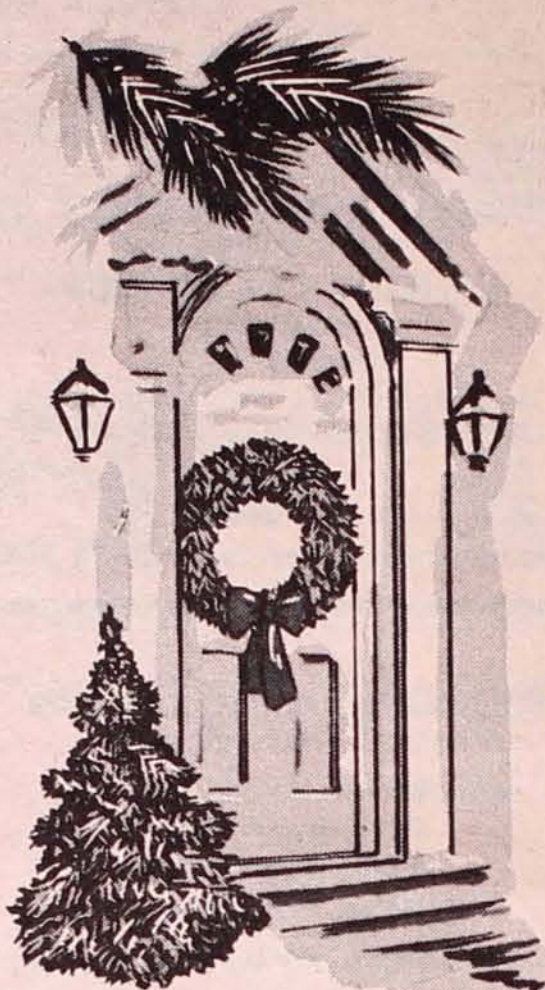
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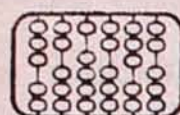


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## JACL: Korematsu Brief

The Korematsu, Yasui and Hirabayashi wartime cases are landmarks in American constitutional jurisprudence. During a war emergency, the U.S. Supreme Court decided, a military commander has authority over civilians without invoking martial law. Moreover, the government has the right to discriminate against citizens based on their ethnic affiliation with the enemy nation.

There are 12 parts in the arguments presented in the JACL brief *The Case for the Nisei*, which contended, "There was no reasonable basis for the military exclusion orders affecting American citizens of Japanese ancestry; and hence they are unconstitutional."

In part 6, the Kibei are cited:

*The Kibei Were a Small Group Whose Members Could Have Been Easily Located and Controlled: Many of Them Are Patriotic Americans Who Have Performed Extraordinary War-Time Services for This Country.*

## DROPS OF WATER

Continued from Page B-20

seems disaffected and hostile. Possible infringement on her leadership posture... Nevertheless, I shall act on my own initiative once more and transport Jiro to our new Shelter for the Homeless this very afternoon.

I am convinced that this is the most constructive act I have achieved to date and that Jiro will find for the first time in years, perhaps the first time in his entire life, a warm, clean bed, nourishing food and a protected environment.

\* \* \*

### A PROTECTED ENVIRONMENT.

He has people around him now who speak in soft voices. He does not follow everything they say. The lady who speaks Japanese uses many unfamiliar words and phrases.

They give him to understand that from now on he will stay in this place and be taken care of. He is in a bare, very big building. It is old. Fresh paint of a rusty yellow color has been splashed on the walls, the steam pipes, everything.

There is not much to do. He has been shown a broom and realizes that he is to sweep when there is something to sweep. He waits for that to happen.

Three times a day food is served from big metal pots in a hall called "cafeteria." Hot food is to be had but he eats little. His stomach is not accustomed to a feeling of fullness.

In a room called "dormitory" where he stays, there are two other men. They do not talk to him nor he to them. He has put a cot by a window at the end, as far from them as possible.

He stands at this window. Its casing has been painted over but the pigment hardly hides the seams in the rotting woodwork.

What is that moving thing? A wasp, a bee? Loud its buzz. Trying to make its way out, it bores at the pane of glass; strikes, retreats, strikes again. Truly, the thing should be struck down. It might sting. But he makes no move.

Now the insect crawls high on the windowpane, now low down. Does it see the trees, the ragged greenery outside, or does it only follow its instinct to move in open air, to sense its wings at play in their proper function?

After a while, the man tries to open the window, coming close to the bee which pays no attention to him, punching its strange mask-like head again and a gain upon the barrier. For the man, the cloud over his consciousness lifts a little and he recalls a saying in his native village:

"Tenteki shi o uatsu" ... have patience, as drops of water will wear away stone."

The window-frame is stuck tight. He tugs, pushes and finally is able to shove it up a bare inch or two. Then it sticks fast. But there is space enough. Softly, with a sibilant murmur that is not like speech, he tries to urge the bee to the opening. It flies more wildly, disturbed, confused. With a pointed finger he tries to direct it. Frightened, the bee flies inward towards the back of the room, makes a wide turn and swoops back, blundering against the windowpane again.

Now, there is a stupidity for you. He has his hand in the pocket of the next-to-new jacket they have given him. He finds there a scrap of foil from a torn gum wrapper. Carefully he rolls it into a fragile tube. Carefully he brings the point close to the insect. Perhaps it is tired now, for it settles, clings. He is able to bring the tube close to the open space above the window sill.

And see! The bee, suddenly alert and aware, shoots out and spins away into the bright air.

He watches—it is out of sight in a second. And something that is not even a conscious thought rejoices him.

One of the "proofs" of the ties with Japan which General DeWitt and his apologists constantly cite in explanation of their decision to evacuate all persons of Japanese ancestry, is the existence of a group of Americans of Japanese ancestry called Kibei, "returned to America," who were educated in Japan. Fantastic figures and proportions relating to the Kibei have been invented in order to justify evacuation. Let us therefore consider the facts as they are revealed in the study undertaken by the War Relocation Authority in 1942 and published January 28, 1944.

Of Americans of Japanese ancestry 72.7% have never been in Japan, much less studied there. Another 14.4%, while they have visited Japan, have had no schooling in that country. In this group fall those who have taken short summer trips to the Orient or who have gone with family members for short periods to see sick or dying relatives for a last time. Only 12.2% have had three or more years of schooling in Japan.

If American citizens of Japanese ancestry who are under twenty years of age are considered we find that 86.8% have never been in Japan. Another 11.1%, though they have had a glimpse of Japan, have had no schooling there. Only 1.8% of the citizens under twenty years of age have had three or more years of schooling in Japan and can by any stretch of the imagination be called Kibei. In other words, the practice of sending children to Japan for schooling had just about ceased, and over 98% of these young Americans could have been automatically and easily cleared of the blanket accusation leveled against them had hearings been held.

Nor does it follow that the 12.2% who have lived and studied in Japan for three years or more have all been subjected to Japanese nationalistic propaganda. Of those who fall in this category, 26.8% are forty years of age or older. Their education in Japan was received during the period before the seizure of power by the military, when rising liberalism was a force in Japan, particularly in educational circles.

The War Relocation Authority study also proves that many Kibei returned to America to avoid (this in the case of dual citizens) service in the Japanese army. These individuals can hardly be considered Japanese patriots or persons upon whom the Japanese government could or would count very strongly. Also, it should be remembered that many of the Kibei volunteered for the United States Army or were drafted. Many more have been sought, because of their special knowledge of Japan and the Japanese language, for posts in our Army and Navy language schools and for strategic services of the most important and confidential type. The Armed Services have depended upon these people at crucial times and places, and the faith placed in them have never been betrayed. It ill becomes General DeWitt, as a representative of the Army, to vilify the Kibei as a group or to use them as an instrument to justify his panicky and unnecessary banishment of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast.

It should be remembered, moreover, that real Kibei are quite conspicuous and easily distinguished. If hearing boards had been established, which was the very least the authorities should have done, young people lately returned from Japan who cannot speak the English language well could have been thoroughly investigated without ruining the lives and fortunes of thousands of American who have had no ties of schooling or residence in Japan whatever.

Moreover, the War Relocation Authority study cited above indicates that many Kibei, recoiling from the lack of freedom and the hardships suffered in Japan, became ardent American patriots upon their return to this country. In fact, the too ready assumption that a person who is sent from the United States to Japan for a few years will inevitably become pro-Japanese reveals much more about those who make the assumption than it does about those who have been in the foreign land. We suggest that the willingness "to sell America short," the belief that those who have experienced conditions in both countries will inevitably favor Japan, betrays an unconscious distrust of democracy and a contempt for the dynamic molding power of our institutions which constitute a more serious threat to our security and unity than any which a small group of Kibei could possibly present.

It is lamentable that this Court took so seriously, in the Hirabayashi case, the alarmist claims concerning the size and character of the Kibei group. There is no reason, on the basis of the evidence, to take for granted, as did General DeWitt, that this country cannot compete successfully for the loyalty and good-will of citizens who have also known life under the harsh conditions of totalitarianism.

Saburo Kido, wartime national JACL president, prepared the JACL brief with assistance of A.L. Wirin, special counsel; and Dr. Morris Opler, WRA anthropologist.

## Aiso: MIS Formula



Retired California appellate court Justice John F. Aiso, who was academic director of the top-secret Army Military Intelligence Service language school during WW2, wants it remembered that the "Nisei most qualified for performing MIS functions were naturally the Kibei—most fluent in the Japanese language (including the regional dialects 'hogen') and most thoroughly versed in Japanese geography, customs, psychology and military terms and training. If they were not fluent in English, they were teamed up with Nisei who were strong in English, but somewhat wanting in their Japanese language command."

The comments appear in his piece on the "Moral Strength of the MIS Nisei" (PC, Mar. 9, 1984), about NHK-TV's "Sanga Moyu" and Toyoko Yamasaki's book *Futatsu no Sokoku*. Aiso goes on to say:

While I am not a typical "kibei," I think my background enables me to speak of them and their experiences with some authority.

Thinking rationally with intellectual honesty, they were convinced that unswerving loyalty to the United States was not only their prime duty, but that honorable discharge of that duty was indispensable to the welfare of all persons of Japanese ancestry in America (including their parents, children, and grandchildren to come). But having been reared by Japanese parents who were products of the Meiji era in Japan, whether "kibei" or not, the elderly Nisei could not so easily shed the values and criteria for proper human conduct drilled into them, such as "Oya-koko" (filial piety), "gimu" or "giri" (duty), "on" (gratitude), "ningenmi" (empathy and consideration for another human's feelings and sufferings), etc.

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## Oda: Inside Manzanar

James Oda's popular book, *Heroic Struggles of Japanese Americans* (1980), has several references to the Kibei—the author being a Kibei himself. He was active with the Kibei division of Seattle JACL in the 1930s before moving to Los Angeles for a newspaper job. Inside Manzanar, he was Japanese-section editor of the camp paper *The Free Press*. The key chapters about the Kibei in Oda's book are titled:

- "Manzanar: Kibei's Anti-U.S. Mass Meeting"
- "Outside World: What Made the Kibei Citizens Act as They Did?"
- "Outside World: Anti-Militarist Elements in Japan"
- "The Case History of a Kibei"

The Holiday Issue focus ought to renew interest in Oda's writings. A second reading while researching the Kibei angle added a new dimension to the entire book. As a Japanese instructor at Camp Savage, Minn., Oda was quick to point out the situation there:

Though we were all Japanese, we were diverse. Particularly among the Kibei elements, there were numerous liberal progressive activists . . . some had been active in the JACL Kibei section striving for Americanization of Kibei and renunciation of dual citizenship . . . some had been active organizing Japanese American workers into the AFL-CIO . . . others were into politics, such as the Young Democrats.

Of immediate interest is the short speech Oda made at Camp Savage, during a public speaking class:

What enlightened me most when we first came to this camp was the existence of a group of Kibei volunteers which made up no small portion of our military strength. This is particularly significant in that it took place at a time when the Kibei were hardly regarded as loyal Americans and the Nisei as a whole were categorically denied the right to join the U.S. armed forces.

What is most significant is the fact that the Kibei, educated in Japan, are denouncing military Japan. This is unmistakably a slap in the face and psychologically a detrimental blow to the

Japanese militarists who, with "all-out support" of their own people, are supposedly championing the cause of all Asiatics. This racial disunity strengthens our speculations on the possibility that the peace-loving people of Japan may be today working for the same end with us, waiting for a moment to strike at the militarism from within.

The role of the Kibei is significant. It is significant, I may say, on a world scale, if evaluated from the standpoint of its political meaning and implication. Our taking part in the fight against military Japan will no doubt add a deeper meaning to the fundamental character of this war—a war, to quote from Henry Wallace, "that is being fought between a free world and a slave world."

Let us not make a wrong interpretation of our task. My friends, we are not here to knock Japan off the map of the world or exterminate every single 'Jap' on earth. Nor are we going to take part in a racial war between white and yellow. We are not fighting that kind of war. We, as citizens of America as well as citizens of the world, are fighting, to quote Henry Wallace again, "to enable everyone to have a quart of milk a day." Yes, we are fighting for the establishment of a new kind of world, in which there will be a still better America and also a new kind of Japan which will be free, democratic, and peaceful . . .

## The Kibei Psyche

by Bill Marutani

AMONG SOME NISEI there may have been a tendency to view the Kibei with a somewhat stand-offish attitude. The Kibei's manners, attitudes, speech, and general life-style were often viewed as "different" and not always compatible with those of the Nisei. As the years passed, however, these "differences," whatever they may have been, were rounded off, diluted and became generally irrelevant—particularly as the Nisei became wiser as (s)he became older.

Which is the way it should have been.

THERE'S A FACET of the Kibei that has been slowly evolving in our mind, an adumbration which becomes clearer as bits of evidence are seen. While this evolution of evaluation continues its process in our mind's eye, we've nonetheless reached some tentative conclusions. We'd like to share them with you, even at the risk of possible disagreements from you.

Which is nothing necessarily new to this column.

THE THESIS IS that there's a portion of the psyche of the Kibei which is independently assertive, that exhibits self-confidence of one's own worth. One can often perceive this once you can see past the formalities of seeming self-restraint—which may come as a contradiction to the Nisei mind. The somewhat provocative, if not disturbing, aspect of this is that many Nisei very often lack this sense of independent assertiveness, of self-confidence of one's own worth.

Even as we write these words, we can hear gnashing of teeth (Nisei's) and groans of protest and disagreement.

Well, we must, and do, concede that generalizations are dangerous in that

they can be found to be untrue in a given situation. And we all know some givens.

HOWEVER, IF ONE will pause, examine with an open mind free of preconceptions and emotions, and then think about it, one might concede that perhaps there's some truth—if not a great deal of truth—in our tentative conclusion. What we are saying, in short, is that very often the Kibei is not hampered with a second-class mentality with which many Nisei are burdened.

Now, this is not to say that some Kibei did not have cultural obstacles to overcome, and others have not fully adjusted to the culture—however one may measure "adjustment." And, frankly, we're not at all sure what criteria one uses to make that judgment.

WE SUBMIT THAT this tentative conclusion (with which you may be violently disagreeing) has support when one looks at other parallel situations. For example, among our Korean acquaintances are those who spent their formative years being raised and educated in "the old country." These folks come to the United States without being saddled with any second-class person mentality. This is not to say that they don't comprehend the many false obstacles that they face, as many minorities continue to face. They do. But mentally they know their own worth, and that's one great difference. And so, "not knowing any better," they proceed to go right ahead and—whadya know—succeed.

IT'S A THOUGHT that's given this writer a great deal of cause for self-introspection. We're still trying to remove the dregs of those formative years that retard us—mentally.



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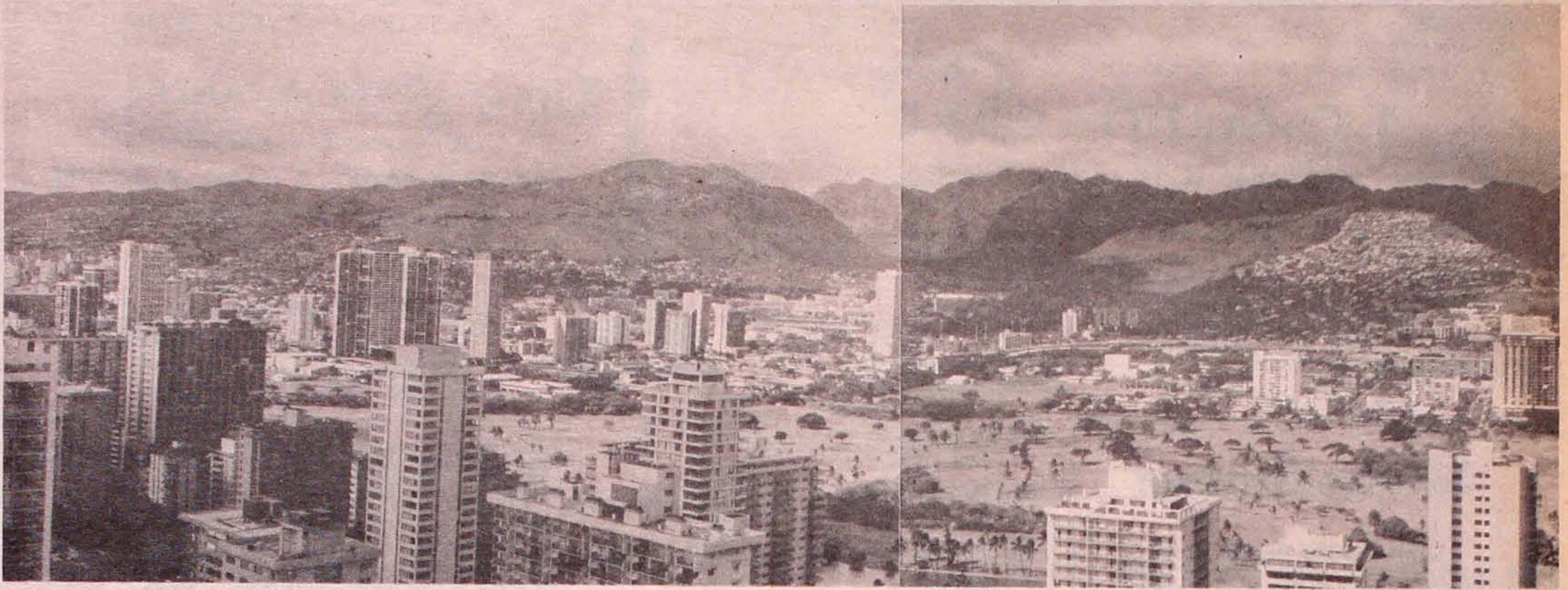
## DIABLO VALLEY

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## From Aloha To Sayonara, Thanks for the Memories . . . .

"It was a fabulous 28th Biennial National Convention!" So began the *JACL News: Hawaii*, published by the Honolulu Chapter and listing nearly 100 names of persons who worked on the various committees for the outstanding JACL convention held Aug. 12-17 in Wai-iki.

And "whatta convention" it was. It broke many records of "firsts" for JACL. To begin with, it was the first held outside the continental U.S. For me, it was going home, but for many it was the first time they stepped foot outside of Mainland, U.S.A. That, in itself, must have been a thrill; but there was also the fact that being Asian was the majority's way of life and rice was an option at fast-food places and one did not need to feel apologetic for being Japanese or Chinese or Pilipino.

And in such a paradise . . . In the casual relaxed manner of the Islands, almost everyone ran around in muumuus or aloha shirts and zoris, and some went jogging across the street, barefoot on the sands of Kuhio Beach in the early morning hours before meetings.

Convention chairman Edgar Hamasu had aligned a talented group of leaders who together arranged for the

by Miki Himeno  
Vice President for Planning and Development

most star-studded convention ever held by JACL. Never had so many local officials participated in a JACL activity before.

Hawaii State Governor George Ariyoshi himself attended several events. He and Jean Ariyoshi graciously hosted the JACL at a reception at Washington Place, the governor's official residence, where they have entertained royalty. Mrs. Ariyoshi recounted the history of the renovations at a brief program emceed by Hawaii Senator Ann Kobayashi. But the crowning honor for JACL was to have officers for the new biennium, wearing orchid leis, installed into office by Governor Ariyoshi himself.

U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye, one of the highest-ranking Democratic leaders in the nation, gave a sobering keynote address on redress for the World War II internment, discussing pride and apology, and JACL's relevance to issues beyond redress.

Never before have we had a lieutenant governor of a state, like John Waihee, serve as emcee. Introducing Sen. Inouye was Congressman Bob Matsui, who spoke at great length of the senator's background and accomplishments without notes.

U.S. Senator Spark Matsunaga addressed more than 500 guests at the Aloha Banquet, one of the best-organized events of this size, where local chairperson Ed Hasegawa had everything timed to the minute and Alvin Onaka collaborated to assign everyone seats with at least one person from Honolulu at each table.

### Wonderful Food

The menus at the Aloha and Sayonara banquets were the most outstanding ever at a convention or any Nikkei function of this sort at the prices charged. The Aloha banquet was what is known as *kaiseki shoku* and featured outstanding sashimi and sushi among many other delicacies served on lacquered trays in beautiful place settings. Servers were in kimono with the head catering staff looking *sugoi* in black formal hakama. In the background were ice sculptures as tall as people.

Continued on Page C-28

## The Strange Case of Katsu Gotō

© By Allan Beekman

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On Feb. 8, 1885, the *City of Tokio* brought 943 Japanese to Honolulu. Most were under contract to work three years on the sugar plantations of Hawaii. Here is the story of one of this first group of contract immigrants, Katsu Gotō. He was destined to become a key figure in the most sensational legal case of the day.

At 11 o'clock on the evening of Saturday, Oct. 19, 1889, at Overend Camp, below the village of Honoka'a, Island of Hawaii, a phone call informed Robert McLain Overend that one of his canefields was ablaze.

Planter Overend, 40, was experiencing difficulties with some of the 65 to 70 Japanese he employed on three-year contracts. He attributed the trouble to Katsu Gotō, 27. Gotō had come from Japan as a contract laborer, but now he ran a store in Honoka'a dealing in general merchandise. Whenever Overend

changed the situation of the laborers or issued a new rule, they would tell him, "Tonight we go see Gotō."

The Japanese had reason to trust Gotō. Those who had recruited the first group of laborers, of which he had been a member, had carefully explained the terms of the three-year contract to them. The laborers were required to work 10 hours a day, 26 days a month. The contracts of the first three lots of immigrants provided that "travel time" to and from work sites be included in the ten-hour work day. But Overend routed out his laborers at daybreak and marched them to a work site two miles west of Honoka'a. There his overseers worked them until nightfall.

The laborers responded to what they considered a breach of contract by turning out reluctantly. Further, according to Overend, they delayed by marching "with measured tread" through Honoka'a to the work site.

Further, some Japanese abstained from work through illness he regarded as feigned.

Continued on Page C-5



Hawaii State Archives Photo

Quarters of Japanese laborers, Island of Hawaii. The housing was primitive and congested. The single laborers slept on boards.



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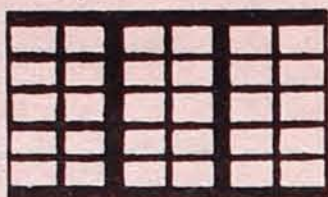
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Dear JACLers and Friends:

On behalf of the national organization, may I express greetings and very best wishes on the Holiday Season.

I have every hope and confidence that we shall enjoy a fruitful and rewarding New Year in furthering the aspirations of our community and nation. The JACL looks forward to sharing this exciting time with you.

Sincerely,

FRANK S. SATO  
JACL NATIONAL PRESIDENT

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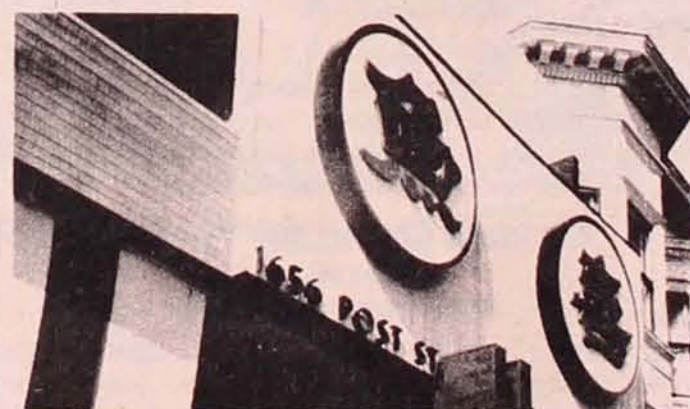
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# Report from the Pacific Southwest

by Harry Kajihara,  
Pacific Southwest District Governor

Season's Greetings to Everyone! My wife, Itsuko, and I have really enjoyed my opportunity to serve as PSWD governor. Our energies are still in abundant supply as we look forward to the second half of my term of office. The best part of our involvement is the widening of our circle of friends and increasing the depth of our friendships by working together on programs and projects of mutual concern.

Thank you, PSWDC officers and board members, advisers, committee chairs, chapter presidents, chapter redress and membership chairs, Regional Director John Saito, secretary Carol Saito, and my predecessor, Cary Nishimoto, for your enthusiasm, guidance, support and cooperation.

## Redress and Membership

At the beginning of my term, I indicated that redress and membership were two top priority items for PSW. How have we fared? The PSW fully met its second-year redress pledge apportionment of \$37,840. Twenty-five of the 33 chapters met their pledge apportionment fully.

The PSW redress committee under its hard-working chair, George Ogawa of South Bay Chapter, has been very active this past year, holding monthly meetings, contacting congresspersons, working on plans and programs for sponsorship with the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR) in the annual Day of Remembrance held in Los Angeles, sponsoring the Community Redress Educational and Fund-raising Program with Rep. Norman Mineta as principal speaker and redress speakers John Tateishi (JACL), Bert Nakano (NCRR), Joyce Okinaka (NCJAR), Lorraine Bannai (*coram nobis* legal team), and Col. Young Kim (veterans). Harry Kawahara of Greater Pasadena Chapter has recently been appointed PSW redress regional coordinator by the national JACL redress director to coordinate the Congressional Contact program.

The PSW membership drive contest, patterned after the National JACL contest, was initiated in early 1984, chaired by Ron Doi of Gardena Valley Chapter. As of October 1984, with two months remaining, Downtown Los Angeles, Greater Pasadena, Las Vegas, Marina, Pan Asian, Pasadena, Progressive Westside, Riverside, Santa Barbara, and West Los Angeles have surpassed

their 1983 membership levels.

PSW was one of the districts that had increased its membership and was a recipient of a monetary rebate in the national membership contest. Each chapter in PSW that increases its membership will receive a monetary sum based on its increase at the upcoming PSW quarterly meeting.

The goal for the biennium is to increase PSW membership to 9,000, a 10% increase over the two years. Under acting membership development chair George Kodama (Marina Chapter), representatives of the Carson, Downtown L.A., East L.A., Greater L.A. Singles, Marina, Pasadena, Riverside, San Fernando Valley, Seleno, Ventura County, West L.A., and Wilshire chapters convened over a two-month period and hammered out a PSW membership development report.

## Women's Concerns

An exciting, relevant women's concerns program was started at the National JACL. PSW was able to make a significant contribution to move this program, in the person of Irene Yasutake Hirano. Under her leadership, and capable workers like Sandi Kawasaki, Marilyn Nakata, Linda Hara, Colleen Konishi, Grace Shiba, and many others, the PSW benefited by a women's concerns workshop—which included the appearance of Tritia Toyota, KNBC news co-anchor, and author Akemi Kikumura—at a PSW quarterly meeting. The district served as a "dry run" location for the committee to prepare workshops and events for the Hawaii convention.

The PSW district provided over a third of the women's concerns committee budget for programs and projects. The PSW committee chair has now been assumed by Sandi Kawasaki and Marilyn Nakata while Irene Hirano continues as national chair. The upcoming PCWNP-CC-PSW Tri-District Conference can look forward to an innovative workshop sponsored by the women's concerns committee.

## Ethnic Concerns

Ethnic concerns is certainly what JACL is all about! For several years, Gary Yano has done yeoman's work in this area. It is high-stress work because each encounter is confrontational. Leslie Furukawa, district legal coun-

sel, accomplished the preliminaries, and J.D. Hokoyama of Downtown Chapter has assumed the chair of the committee. More than 20 individuals have volunteered to serve on the committee. Each has taken on different pursuits. There will be close coordination and liaison with the National JACL Ethnic Concerns Committee and attention will be focused on combating regional prejudicial and discriminatory cases. The PSW ethnic concerns group is planning to sponsor a workshop at the upcoming Tri-District Conference.

Our regional director, John Saito, along with handling the myriad of tasks involved in operating the regional office, has also been a watchdog on prejudicial and discriminatory activities and actions committed by different organizations, companies, and persons running the gamut from an ABC-TV interviewer permitting a racial slur to pass on an Olympics telecast, to a hairdresser company using JAPSS as a company name, to acting as counsel in employment discrimination hearings. His credible work is recognized in the community as attested by his recent appointment to the City of Los Angeles Human Relations Commission. Carol Saito efficiently accomplishes her tasks, patiently handling the many demands made, including the last-minute mailings placed in her hands.

## Singles

The Greater Los Angeles Singles Chapter, formed in 1983, added over 200 members to JACL, donated \$865 to redress in 1983 even though they were not assessed because they had not been officially formed, and were among the early chapters to donate the FY84 redress pledge in full. The founder of the group is dynamo Midori Watanabe-Kamei. She is the National JACL singles concerns chair this year. She is also active in the PSW redress committee, contributing significantly, workwise, on the Community Redress Educational and Fund-raising Event.

The Greater L.A. Singles, under the presidency of Tom Shimazaki, hosted the 1984 National Singles Convention. The chapter continues to hold programs to serve the needs of the singles. Marrieds are also welcome to participate in their programs and even join the chapter. The next national singles convention will be held in San Jose. The Greater L.A. Singles Chapter will undoubtedly be a supportive participant in this upcoming convention, judging by the energies exhibited by their leaders and members.

*Continued on Page C-15*

## STRANGE CASE OF GOTO

*Continued from Page C-1*

Behind this insubordination and malingering, Overend saw the hated face of Gotō. In the burning of his canefield he again suspected the hand of Gotō.

Overend Camp was on the Hamakua coast, the district of the Island of Hawaii that encompasses Honoka'a. The land slopes upward from the camp to where it meets the half-mile distant main road of the village, this road now being known as Mamane St., deriving its name from that of a native tree.

Honoka'a means "rolling bay." On the mountain side of the main road the upward slope of the land continues, at the rate of 500 feet per mile. The rise culminates in Mauna Kea, "white mountain," its name presumably deriving from its peak often being capped with snow.

The plantation village of Honoka'a was built upon the backs of those who toiled in the canefields and on the labor of the mules and horses employed by the planters. Everywhere was evidence of the horse, the smell of his flesh and manure, the thud of his hoofs on the soft dirt roads and the rattling of the wagons he drew.

Overend kept 34 horses in his nearby stable, three for his own riding. He saddled one and rode off to the conflagration.

He rode up the hill toward Honoka'a. He passed the schoolyard on his right, then the cemetery and came out to where the road to

Overend Camp, now Coelho road, intersected the road through the village.

At this point the civic center of the village began. Across the road, and about 50 yards beyond it, was the Lyceum, a building villagers used as a community center. To the west of the Overend Road, on the seaward side of the street, was the courthouse.

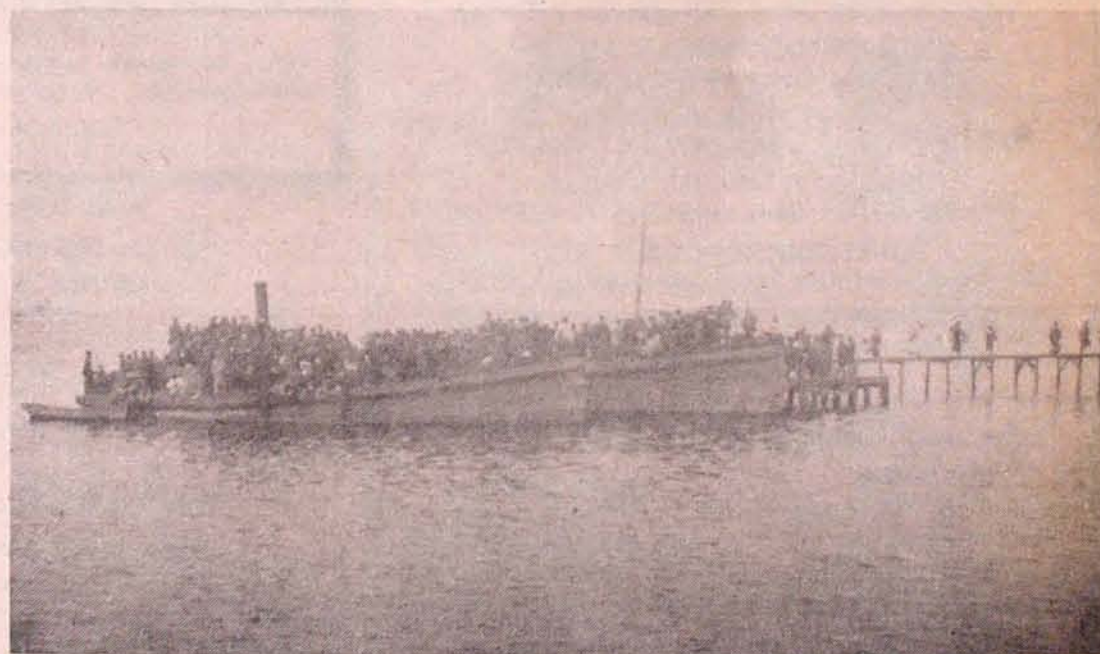
Along the street on the courthouse side was a row of telephone poles. The remote village had been quick to capitalize on this newly introduced means of communication.

Unaware of the soon-to-be-realized sinister portent of the telephone poles, Overend turned his horse east. In the direction of Paauhau he could see the ugly glow of his burning canefield.

The fire had started a little after 9 p.m., attracting nearby residents who were fighting to extinguish it. These included James Murray, stableman on another plantation, and his roommate John Williams, both of whom lived at Honoka'a. Also present was Overend's bookkeeper and head overseer, Thomas C. Steele, and storekeeper Joseph R. Mills of Honoka'a.

## Owners and Bosses

Mills was a man of substance and standing. A native of New York, he had, on Dec. 28, 1868, become a naturalized citizen of the Kingdom of Hawaii. To comply with the



Japanese contract laborers disembarking at Honolulu.

Hawaii State Archives Photo

legal requirement attendant to taking a native wife, he had sworn "true allegiance to His Majesty Kamehameha Fifth, the King." Fluent in the native language, Mills had become special police, notary public, postmaster, poundmaster and auctioneer besides running a store dealing in general merchandise. He had formerly owned part of Honoka'a Plantation. In August 1882, Overend had bought him out for \$35,000.

Overend had been born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on July 2, 1849. Like many of the Americans around him, he had been attracted

to Hawaii by the economic boom inaugurated by the Reciprocity Treaty with Hawaii signed by President Ulysses S. Grant on Aug. 15, 1876. The treaty admitted fifteen Hawaiian products to the U.S. duty free. Of these products, sugar was the most important.

Overend had arrived in Hawaii in 1878, first living on the Island of Maui with his Canadian-born wife, Sophie. Steele, who had worked as a clerk in the eastern United States, had arrived in Hawaii in December 1885.

*Continued on Page C-20*



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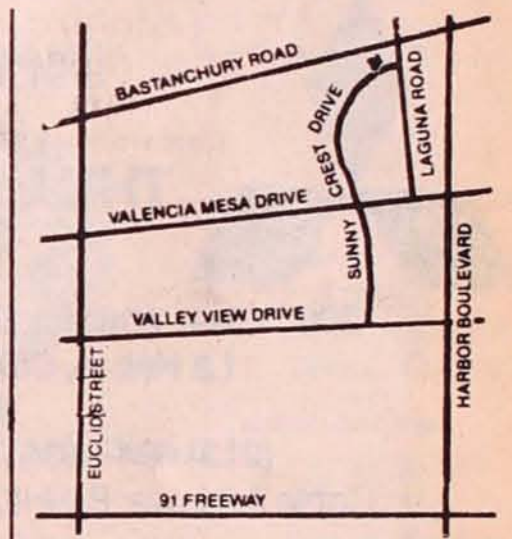
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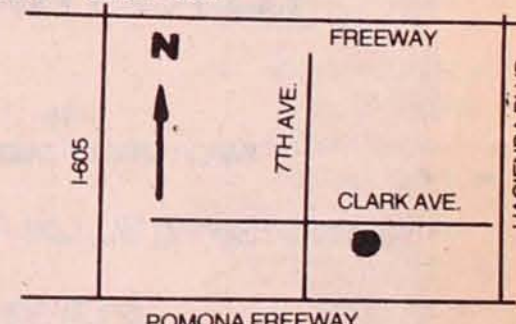
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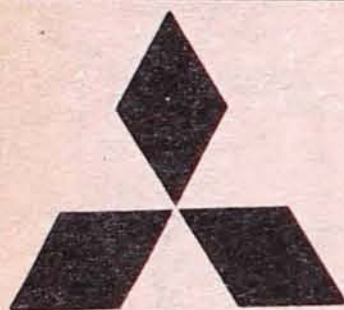
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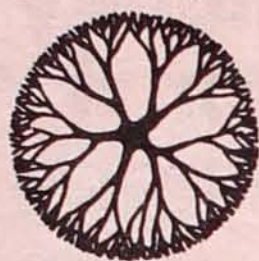
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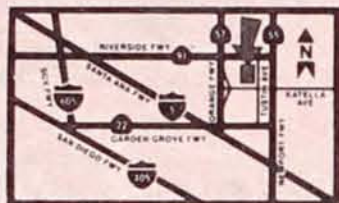


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## PSW REPORT

Continued from Page C-5

### Sansei Leadership Development

In support of the National JACL Sansei leadership development committee, chaired by B.J. Watanabe of New York Chapter, the PSW committee, chaired by Patrick Ogawa of Downtown L.A. Chapter, recently convened a meeting with Watanabe. Over 30 enthusiastic persons attended this first meeting. The PSW Sansei leadership development committee is planning to hold a workshop at the Tri-District Conference in April 1985.

### PSWDC Trust Fund

The PSWDC Trust Fund, under the watchful eye of past national JACL President Roy Nishikawa, continues to provide monetary grants to community organizations that promote the well-being of Japanese- and Asian Americans. Examples of grant recipients are the Little Tokyo Service Center, Visual Communications, National Council of Christians and Jews Brotherhood Camp, Assn. of Asian Pacific American Artists, Generation Films Project, Little Tokyo Strokes Project, "Unfinished Business" film project, and Japanese American Pioneer and Social Services Center.

### Where Does JACL Go After Redress?

I believe the groundwork for where JACL goes after redress has been laid. The preparatory work has already begun. It can even be pursued while the redress campaign is in progress. The groundwork is the formation and activation of Sansei leadership development, women's concerns, and the Legislative Education Committee (LEC)—the Political Action Committee (PAC) of JACL.

National JACL President Frank Sato hit the nail on its head when he said, "We need to develop Japanese Americans for leadership positions in government and industry." Where are the Japanese Americans in decision-making positions in corporations and government? We need more Japanese Americans in the U.S. Congress. How about a Japanese American or two in cabinet posts?

Best Wishes for 1985

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Asians constitute 5% of the population of the State of California. Do we have one Asian in the California Senate or Assembly? Geraldine Ferraro was the first woman vice-presidential candidate in the United States. Time is ripe to prepare Japanese American women for leadership positions. This certainly fits the objective of the JACL women's concerns committee, I believe. The Sansei leadership development committee was just formed. Let's prepare a number of Sansei to assume policy and decision-making positions in industry and government.

LEC must undertake a program to educate Japanese Americans on the importance of becoming involved in the political processes of our country. LEC must become active in political coalition-building, voter registration, and so on. It must raise funds to carry out PAC activities effectively.

Redress and the *coram nobis* cases have provided an opportunity for young Sansei to receive valuable practical training in the U.S. judicial and political processes. The LEC needs to assist these individuals that aspire to pursue a career in the political arena using the knowledge they acquired through these experiences. How about a Sansei attorney general for the State of California in the near future, or the U.S. government, for that matter? I believe JACL has huge and challenging work ahead, now and after redress!

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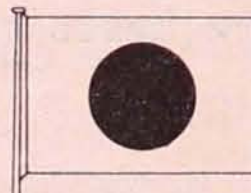
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As we approach the end of 1984, we would like to thank our patrons and friends for their firm support over the years, and we look forward to their continued interest and support on our publication in the coming year.

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## Kibei: Selected Sources

Here are some of the sources which were checked to compile the 1984 PC Holiday Issue special feature on "The Kibei". The several dictionaries in the office were consulted. All listed Kibei except one: a 1927 edition of the New Century Dictionary. The definitions were similar: A U.S.-born Japanese who was educated in Japan and who returned to the U.S.

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## WRA: Quantitative Description

Continued from Page A-46

Table 31—Residences and Education in Japan by Major Classifications, by Sex and Age: American-born Evacuees to WRA in 1942 (Number and Percent.)

SEX AND AGE	NUMBER					PERCENT				
	TOTAL AMERICAN BORN	Never in Japan	Were in Japan			TOTAL AMERICAN BORN	Never in Japan	Were in Japan		
			Total	None or less than 3 yrs school in Japan	3 yrs or more school in Japan			Total	None or less than 3 yrs school in Japan	3 yrs or more school in Japan
<b>TOTAL</b>	72,650	52,742	19,908	10,513	9,395	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5	8,025	7,966	59	59	-	11.0	15.1	.3	.5	-
5 - 9	7,104	6,691	413	413	-	9.7	12.7	2.1	4.0	-
10 - 14	9,418	8,144	1,274	1,224	50	13.0	15.4	6.4	11.7	.6
15 - 19	15,637	12,183	3,454	2,660	794	21.5	23.2	17.4	25.3	8.5
20 - 24	15,866	9,911	5,955	2,910	3,045	21.9	18.8	29.8	27.6	32.4
25 - 29	9,639	4,690	4,949	1,846	3,103	13.3	8.9	24.9	17.6	33.0
30 - 34	4,306	1,924	2,382	819	1,563	6.0	3.6	12.0	7.8	18.6
35 - 39	1,728	807	921	358	563	2.3	1.5	4.6	3.4	6.0
40 - 44	615	289	326	142	184	.9	.6	1.6	1.4	1.9
45 - 49	210	94	116	59	57	.3	.2	.6	.6	.6
50 - 54	71	22	49	17	32	.1	.1	.3	.1	.4
55 - 59	13	8	5	3	2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
60 - 64	5	3	2	1	1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
65 & Over	13	10	3	2	1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
<b>MALE</b>	37,303	26,718	10,585	5,167	5,418	51.3	50.7	53.2	49.1	57.7
Under 5	4,165	4,131	34	34	-	5.7	7.8	.2	.3	-
5 - 9	3,584	3,387	197	197	-	4.9	6.4	1.0	1.9	-
10 - 14	4,764	4,122	642	617	25	6.6	7.8	3.2	5.9	.3
15 - 19	7,904	6,160	1,744	1,257	487	10.8	11.8	8.8	12.0	5.2
20 - 24	7,917	4,797	3,120	1,348	1,772	10.9	9.1	15.7	12.7	18.9
25 - 29	4,871	2,305	2,566	883	1,683	6.7	4.4	12.9	8.4	17.9
30 - 34	2,363	1,054	1,309	435	874	3.3	2.0	6.6	4.1	9.3
35 - 39	1,111	484	627	239	388	1.5	.9	3.1	2.3	4.1
40 - 44	429	203	226	101	125	.6	.4	1.1	1.0	1.3
45 - 49	130	56	74	38	36	.2	.1	.4	.4	.4
50 - 54	50	11	39	14	25	.1	.0	.2	.1	.3
55 - 59	7	3	4	2	2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
60 - 64	4	2	2	1	1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
65 & Over	4	3	1	1	-	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
<b>FEMALE</b>	35,347	26,024	9,323	5,346	3,977	48.7	49.3	46.8	50.9	42.3
Under 5	3,860	3,835	25	25	-	5.3	7.3	.1	.2	-
5 - 9	3,520	3,304	216	216	-	4.8	6.3	1.1	2.1	-
10 - 14	4,654	4,022	632	607	25	6.4	7.6	3.2	5.8	.3
15 - 19	7,733	6,023	1,710	1,403	307	10.7	11.4	8.6	13.3	3.3
20 - 24	7,949	5,114	2,835	1,562	1,273	11.0	9.7	14.1	14.9	13.5
25 - 29	4,768	2,385	2,383	965	1,420	6.6	4.5	12.0	9.2	15.1
30 - 34	1,943	870	1,073	384	689	2.7	1.6	5.4	3.7	7.3
35 - 39	617	323	294	119	175	.8	.6	1.5	1.1	1.9
40 - 44	186	86	100	41	59	.3	.2	.5	.4	.6
45 - 49	80	38	42	21	21	.1	.1	.2	.2	.2
50 - 54	21	11	10	3	7	.0	.0	.1	.0	.1
55 - 59	6	5	1	1	-	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
60 - 64	1	1	-	-	-	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
65 & Over	9	7	2	1	1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0

\* Less than 0.05 percent.

Source: Form WRA-26

Table 28—Length of Residence in Japan by Sex, Nativity, and Nine Age Groups: Evacuees to WRA in 1942.

Note: Length of residence refers to total time spent in Japan including visits as well as actual residence.

NATIVITY AND RESIDENCE IN JAPAN	TOTAL	M										F									
		Total	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	Total	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54
<b>TOTAL</b>	111,170	60,514	12,592	7,972	8,037	5,018	2,666	6,004	5,491	9,201	3,533	50,656	12,122	7,797	8,088	4,897	2,217	5,764	6,618	2,496	657
Never in Japan	52,804	26,746	11,641	6,166	4,802	2,306	1,057	689	73	7	5	26,058	11,162	6,028	5,118	2,386	873	417	57	9	8
Less than 6 mos	3,700	1,857	409	509	453	252	110	104	18	-	2	1,843	385	576	478	241	109	48	6	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	2,815	1,355	278	371	356	174	82	82	11	1	-	1,460	278	404	429	214	91	36	8	-	-
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	4,369	2,101	221	425	615	446	214	151	25	4	-	2,268	249	478	768	495	166	97	12	1	2
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	3,434	1,949	33	234	493	549	313	263	49	10	5	1,485	36	164	466	457	212	122	22	2	4
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	5,672	3,694	5	208	834	822	513	875	282	126	29	1,778	3	116	467	630	371	284	88	14	5
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	15,072	10,203	-	47	458	407	286	3,114	3,082	2,649	160	4,869	-	27	318	373	287	2,514	1,170	165	15
20 yrs or more	22,825	12,311	-	-	6	34	71	683	1,908	6,313	3,296	10,514	-	-	27	86	99	2,208	5,215	2,268	611
Unknown	479	298	5	12	20	28	20	43	43	91	36	181	9	4	17	15	9	38	40	37	12
<b>AMERICAN BORN</b>	72,650	37,303	12,513	7,904	7,917	4,871	2,363	1,540	180	11	4	35,347	12,034	7,733	7,949	4,768	1,943	803	101	7	9
Never in Japan	52,742	26,718	11,640	6,160	4,797	2,305	1,054	687	67	5	3	26,024	11,161	6,023	5,114	2,385	870	407	49	6	7
Less than 6 mos	3,615	1,809	391	498	444	249	108	101	17	-	1	1,806	372	570	465	238	108	47	6	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	2,698	1,299	260	361	339	170	82	77	10	-	-	1,399	262	392	404	211	90	32	8	-	-
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	3,926	1,882	186	397	557	400	199	122	19	2	-	2,044	203	451	698	464	156	65	5	1	1
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	3,041	1,716	27	226	483	503	282	177	17	1	-	1,325	26	155	452	414	197	72	9	-	-
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	4,064	2,453	4	208	825	804	380	202	29	1	-	1,611	3	112	466	615	316	89	9	-	1
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	2,147	1,211	-	43	451	391	207	102	15	2	-	936	-	26	312	367	164	58	9	-	-
20 yrs or more	274	126	-	-	2	34	60	5	-	-	-	148	-	-	23	60	36	23	6	-	-
Unknown	143	89	5	11	19	24	17	12	1	-	-	54	7	4	15	14	6	8	-	-	-
<b>FOREIGN BORN</b>	38,520	23,211	79	68	120	147	303	4,464	5,311	9,190	3,529	15,309	88	64	139	129	274	4,961	6,517	2,489	648
Never in Japan/1	62	28	1	6	5	1	3	2	6	2	2	34	1	5	4	1	3	8	8	3	1
Less than 6 mos	85	48	18	11	9	3	2	3	1	-	1	37	13	6	13	3	1	1	-	-	-
6 mos but less than 1 yr	117	56	18	10	17	4	-	5	1	1	-	61	16	12	25	3	1	4	-	-	-
1 yr " " " 5 yrs	443	219	35	28	58	46	15	29	6	2	-	224	46	27	70	31	10	32	7	-	1
5 yrs " " " 10 yrs	393	233	6	8	10	46	31	86	32	9	5	160	10	9	14	43	15	50	13	2	4
10 yrs " " " 15 yrs	1,608	1,241	1	-	9	18	133	673	253	125	29	367	-	4	1	15	55	195	79	14	4
15 yrs " " " 20 yrs	12,925	8,992	-	4	7	16	79	3,012	3,067	2,647	160	3,933	-	1	6	6	123	2,456	1,161	165	15
20 yrs or more	22,551	12,185	-	-	4	9	37	623	1,903	6,313	3,296	10,366	-	-	4	26	63	2,185	5,209	2,268	611
Unknown	336	209	-	1	1	4	3	31	42	91	36	127	2	-	2	1	3	30	40	37	12

1/ Refers to persons born in foreign countries other than Japan and who have never been in Japan.

Source: Form WRA-26



# STRANGE CASE OF GOTO

Continued from Page C-5

Steele had a letter of introduction to Overend and went directly to him to present it. No position being immediately available for him, Steele worked elsewhere for a time. Then he became overseer for Overend. After three years in this employ, he had become the planter's trusted superintendent. Both were members of the Knights of Pythias. Steele slept in a room behind the Overend office, the office being only 50 yards from Overend's house.

A tall man who took his duties seriously, Steele was always up well before daybreak, mounted on his usual white horse and rounding up his laborers for work.

The work of extinguishing the blaze was already advanced. With the help of the volunteers there, Overend soon put out the blaze. But the exertion, the heat, and the realization of how great his loss might have

been had the fire gone unchecked, made him ill.

Overend fell to the ground. Steele helped him to remount.

As they turned away from the charred canefield, they found two Japanese, the horses, loitering in the road. The two Japanese were from the village of Kukuihaele, about 9 miles west of Honoka'a. Their presence seemed suspicious to Overend. Though he saw the hand of Gotō in the canefire, Overend concluded that the two loitering Japanese must also be involved. He offered a reward of \$25 for information concerning the setting of the fire.

## Investigation Begins

On Monday, Deputy Sheriff Rufus A. Lyman began a formal investigation of the fire. Lyman, 47, was the son of a missionary

couple who had arrived in Honolulu in May 1832 and in Hilo, Island of Hawaii, on July 21, 1835. As we shall see, such missionaries left a mark on the archipelago through the imposition of Western institutions and of progeny who tended to rise to positions of influence. In the store of Mills, about 100 yards west of the courthouse, Lyman, assisted by police officer A.P. Brickwood, began to interrogate the summon Japanese suspects.

William C. Blabon, 34, teamster for Mills, was also in attendance. Born in Santa Clara County, Calif., Blabon had worked for Mills one year.

Too ill to attend the first part of the investigation, Overend was represented by Steele.

Among his employees, Overend had eight prime suspects. He regarded them with particular disfavor because he believed them to be feigning illness to avoid work.

At that time, few Japanese in Hawaii spoke English. The investigators needed an interpreter to interrogate the suspects. Gotō spoke some English. All there knew of Overend's aversion to Gotō, but since Gotō's store was only yards distant from that of Mills, they summoned the Japanese.

Probably Gotō had been born without a surname. At the time of his birth, about 1862, the privilege of having surnames was still withheld from commoners. But the records show that the father of Katsu was Izaemon Kobayakawa. Katsu, the eldest son, was born in the village of Kokufu, Kanagawa Prefecture. Three other boys and two girls would be born to Izaemon.

In school, Katsu performed brilliantly. He worked in the village office. He appears to have learned his English in Yokohama. Unmarried, he apparently acquired his surname of Gotō through adoption.

Continued on Page C-29

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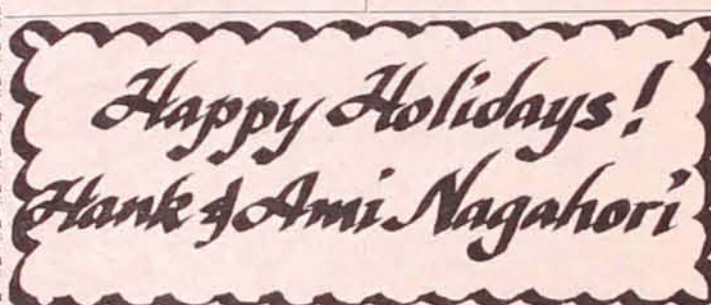
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# Matsutake

By Tama Tokuda

Indian summer brings golden weather but the air has a sharp edge. Some mornings there is frost on the grass and windshields have to be scraped. Now is when the Japanese community in Seattle perks up its ears for the first reports of the pine mushroom, "matsutake." Thus begins the annual ritual of autumn.

"Hear Yamamoto got some matsutake from someone. Must have come from Rainier area. It's only the middle of September," George says when he comes home from visiting a neighbor.

"Oh," I reply but I think to myself that now he won't be able to stay still. Is it going to be this coming weekend? No, we're retired so we can beat the crowd by going Thursday perhaps.

"Let's take a run out there since the weather's so nice," he says.

"Anyone else?" I ask. "I'll call Bob and John," he replies.

Wednesday night I make some rice balls and teriyaki chicken, and George gets his hiking sticks, compass, and a cotton sack for carrying the mushrooms. Thursday morning, Bob and John come by at 7, old men but they are grinning like little boys who know something. Bob's driving, and we load our gear in his old Buick trunk and climb into the back seat.

"Too bad it didn't rain a little more last week. I think it's been too dry. We'll try Crystal Spring. They come out early there."

"You going to take us to your secret spot this year?" George asks Bob. "No use taking secrets like that to the grave."

"I'm taking them," says Bob. They start talking about a neighbor who had a stroke a few days ago. It used to be that so-and-so's wife ran off with someone or see that new barmaid at the Bush, but lately it's talk that isn't so cheerful. Yet I don't feel as upset as I

used to about people getting sick or dying. I guess there isn't time to waste on feeling sorry for those who drop dead when I feel like I'm dodging bullets myself. George has snuggled into the corner of the seat and is dozing off. I feel it's not fair to sleep when Bob has to drive.

"How come Mary didn't come?"

"Someone has to work. She's watching the shop today." I forgot that not everyone has retired.

"Too bad," I say but already I'm yawning and feeling warm. I try valiantly to go on.

"How's your daughter getting along with the new baby?"

Bob starts to describe the baby boy, how it looks Japanese one day and Jewish the next, but by then despite all my efforts I fall asleep.

The car jolts to a stop and both George and I wake up. We seem to have arrived someplace. I glance at my watch and discover it's been an hour and a half ride.

"Remember this place?" John says.

I look out to see a huge mountainside of tree stumps. "Where are we?" I ask.

"It's by Blueberry Creek."

That beautiful forest and all those mushrooms reduced to an expanse of sawed-off stumps. We are silent. It looks like a giant has used his scythe. Every year some former haunt disappears and a familiar place we're looking for is wiped out. Over and over, to become old is to find ourselves strangers in our own world.

"We're not getting any matsutake here," says Bob and he starts up the car. We drive on some bumpy dirt roads past many beautiful creeks and forest. Every place looks good, like a spot we ought to explore.

Suddenly John says, "Hold it. I remember this place. Just a little ways in, I know a place." We tumble out of the car, stiff after nearly two hours of riding. I feel for my com-

pass and whistle in my pocket. Bob has opened the car trunk and we grab our walking sticks and bags. I brought a little basket so the mushrooms won't get ground together with the dirt. The men start drinking tea and I have just a sip, holding back because there are no bathrooms in the forest and I'm with three men. Bob bangs the trunk door down and John is already in the woods. I can see his orange knit cap bobbing up and down as he hurries toward some spot. George stops to wait for me and he shouts to the other two, "Let's meet back here in an hour and a half."

We start trudging toward the forest, stepping over bushes and I think about Christmas. I must have stepped on some fir and it's the fragrance of the holidays floating through the woods. The brush on the edge of the woods disappears and it's easy walking now. I try to keep up with George as he tramps ahead of me. Already he has forgotten me and his head is down, looking for signs of matsutake, trying not to miss any suspicious white cracks in the ground. My eyes are always half on his back, for the idea of being lost in the woods terrifies me and it's the sight of the trees, the woods, the feeling of being embraced in the world of nature that I seek. Once again I feel at home under the quiet trees, apart from the crush of human entanglements. I press on and the outside world drops away. There is only the occasional crack of twigs, the sudden scurrying of a chipmunk, the flash of a bird in flight. George and I are as we were when we first met. I follow in silence and we are suddenly in a clear space covered with bright green moss. Over the moss grow some little white mushrooms. Their caps are white, light, and small. Their thin stems are almost invisible. I feel a sensation of floating. These mushrooms seem to be suspended, motionless, and I understand why fairies are associated with these delicate ethereal mushrooms. I stand for a moment and stare at the lovely sight. I wish my children and parents were here with me now. Eventually the children will enjoy the same trip, some day, but alas these joys are no longer for my parents.

It was on a long ago October day when the autumn skies were gloriously blue and clear

like today when I saw Dad for the last time. George had gone mushrooming the day before and I took two matsutake for him. His wrinkled brown face was all smiles, his eyes brightened and I could feel worlds of past memories unfold in his mind.

"George went to the Cascades yesterday," I said and then rushed outside to pursue some errand. As I started driving off, I saw him waving goodbye from the window. That was the last time I saw him alive. Mom called about 5 o'clock that day and Dad hadn't returned. After I left them, he had taken one of the two matsutake to a friend. He walked to his friend's home but the exhilaration of the matsutake or perhaps the beautiful day must have pushed him on to visit other friends. He walked farther and farther, finally taking a bus to the Public Market where a friend had a flower stall. Was he bidding farewell to everyone? He boarded a bus in the 5 o'clock downtown rush and suffered a heart attack. Do we pick a time to go? I think he did.

Suddenly, as I stand mesmerized by the floating mushroom caps, I see something and I can't believe it. Near my feet there is a crack in the mossy floor and I see that something white is showing under the moss. Hurriedly I lift the dirt and moss, and there is a matsutake. The fragrance is unmistakable as I use the pick of my walking stick to dig it out. I lay it on the green moss and see that this stem is a good inch and a half in diameter and the white shaggy cap, not fully opened, hugs the stem. The first matsutake of the season. It's like seeing an old friend. None other picked or seen later in the season will be as wonderful. Suddenly, I feel alone and I call out for George. There is no answer. I look up and the gently swaying tops of the trees merge together layer after layer into the distance. It is like staring into deep waters. I fumble around for my whistle and realize my throat is dry. Frantically I blow so that anyone for miles around can surely hear me, but there is no answer. I put the mushroom in my basket and tell myself to stay calm. I take out my compass but realize I hadn't taken a reading on the way in. If only I

*Continued on Next Page*



## JACL CONVENTION

*Continued from Page C-1*

The Sayonara banquet, chaired superbly by State Representative Tom Okumura, was one of the most elegant ever to be seen of this size and will long be remembered for the fine attention to detail. Beginning with La Creme de Pomme de Vichy (chilled vichyssoise) followed by a fish course of opakapaka in champagne sauce, followed by hearts of Manoa lettuce, palm, and artichoke, the main entree was filet mignon and lobster tail. Dinner was brought to a grand finale with Les Gateaux Flambes (flaming Baked Alaska) paraded in by the waiters. All this I recoup from a menu printed in gold script on manuscript paper. The Pacific Beach Hotel's banquet food was without peer.

One of the courtesies, unnoticed by most, was the assistance the hotel staff gave a contingent from Southern California who had an early departure for Nisei Week in Los Angeles. They were unobtrusively served dinner even before the head table in some courses. At any other place and time, could such kind consideration have been possible? Mahalo, Ted Inter, Duane Noble, and Ellen Heaston, for looking after all our needs.

### Ceremonies and Workshops

For the first time, Mainland JACLers paid tribute to Nisei soldiers at a moving, memorable memorial service at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific in Punchbowl, thus formally acknowledging our indebtedness to the men who served in the 100th Infantry Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and the U.S. Military Intelligence Service.

To lay the pastel anthurium bouquet before the memorial plaque, veterans affairs committee chair Marshall

*Continued on Page C-29*



## MATSUTAKE

Continued from Previous Page

hadn't stopped. Knowing George's relentless speed, I should have kept up with him. I decide to stay put and keep on blowing my whistle.

Finally I hear a whistle responding but I can't tell which direction it's coming from. "George, George," I keep screaming, repeating, determined not to lose his response. Suddenly I can fathom the direction and I shout, "Don't move," and start trudging in that direction hanging on to my basket and stick. After an interminable mad scramble I catch sight of his red Scottish beret.

"Were you lost?" he asks. He hadn't really missed me. "Got one, huh? That's a beauty," he says. I want to explain to him the terror I had just experienced but he seems to be in a world of his own. Besides, there is no time because he starts pushing ahead, always running this way and that to follow up on all the little clues that seem to beckon him from all over the forest floor. I have my one and I now feel my only interest is not to get lost. It's the first time I got one before he did and I realize his eyesight isn't as sharp as it used to be. He used to have 20/20 vision but lately he's been thinking of

getting glasses. Still, his mushroom sense is sharp, he seems to smell them out, and by the time this trip is over, he'll have far more than I do. He always does.

Sure enough, at that moment he's stooped down and he's yelling for me to hurry. Climbing over a few logs I reach him by the base of a tree and he's found three, no, it turns out to be five as he uproots the first few. "Only reason I saw it, the deer had eaten the cap off of one and it was sitting there completely exposed." He dusts off the brown needles and the bits of dirt. How different from the old days when he just threw it into the bag, dirt and all, rotten ones and all. Now he admires them, takes time to clean each one. Then he pats the dirt down over the disrupted ground and we start out again.

"It's going to be a good year," he says and I notice there are all sorts showing here and there. There are the shiny little orange cups in a line running over the logs. There are the purple ones, and those that look like toasted rounds of bread. The brown velvet caps that remind me of animal backs. Once in a while I skirt around bear and deer droppings, reminding me that we humans are not alone. Sometimes I actually catch the scent of deer but I don't recall ever running into one. They must hear us lumbering through the woods

from long distances away. I glance at my watch and tell George it's time to start back.

"Just that little spot over that log," he says. Sometimes it's harder to get George out of the woods than to find the matsutake.

"No, let's give ourselves at least twenty minutes to find our way back. You know how you hate it when others don't get back in time." So, reluctantly, he pulls out his compass and we start our trek back. But all the while we are walking his eyes keep scouting all over the ground and indeed, he does find a few.

"Isn't it funny, you walk over the same path and you always find some you missed." I agree but I don't find anymore.

When we return, Bob and John are already waiting. The trunk is open and they are looking for the lunch and beer. I find the tea and see their matsutake spread out in two separate wooden crates, carefully arranged on fresh fir boughs. There are seven in one and three in the other. George and I arrange ours in a box together. There are ten, my one and his nine, some only as big as a thumb.

"George, I think its mother must be crying for that one," I say, pointing to the little one.

"Yeh, but look at this one," he says, picking one up that looks as if it must weigh a quarter pound. "I found it next to one eaten by a deer." We all pause to admire it. The cap is shiny, as if sheer silk is drawn over it. Some sunlight must filter in, even into these dense woods to give a sheen to the slightly tan cap. The shaggy stem has bits of thick soft veil clinging to it. There are signs of rich black loam clinging to the upper part of the stem but the base is gray with dry dirt. The twisted stem gives the feeling it has struggled to rise out of the ground and triumphed. I sigh in wonder and George is smiling.

Everyone in the party has found matsutake, a rare and joyous event for a first trip of the season. Of course, we intend to take in a few more spots after a little rest. I think to myself, we all made it again. Together. How nice. I untie the white dishcloth wrapped around our lunch box and pass the rice balls to Bob, John and George.

"Matsutake" won grand prize in a 1983 writing contest sponsored by the Seattle Mayor's Office for Senior Citizens and the Pacific Northwest Writers Conference. It was also given honorable mention in the annual short story contest held by the Institute for Japanese American Literature in Kyoto, Japan.

## CASE OF GOTO

Continued from Page C-20

Twenty-three on arrival in Hawaii, Gotō had been assigned to Ookala Sugar Plantation, Island of Hawaii. Ookala had been established by John Harris Soper, born in England but reared in America, who had come to Hawaii in 1877. All things to which Soper put his hands seemed to prosper. In 1884 the King appointed him marshal of the kingdom. Soper returned to business in 1886; the king recalled him to the post of marshal in 1888. In ways neither could foresee, Soper, as marshal, would take a hand in the fate of his former laborer Katsu Gotō.

Gotō worked three years at Ookala. The contracts under which the first shipload of laborers had come provided the laborer with free steerage passage to Hawaii—and for his wife, if he had one. The planter was to furnish him free lodging, good medical attendance and medicines as well as fuel for cooking. The planter would furnish him with rice at no more than 5 cents a pound. The wage would be \$9 a month for the man, \$6 for the wife, plus a food allowance of \$6 for the man, \$4 for the wife.

If the laborer refused to work, he could be jailed. He could also be jailed for leaving the plantation. Any time he took off for illness could be added to his contract to be fulfilled after the original three-year period expired.

The planters were to turn over 25 percent of the wages to the Japanese consul in Honolulu. The consul would deposit the money in the Hawaiian Government Postal Savings at 5 percent per annum.

Continued on Page C-31



JACLers attempt Hawaiian rhythms at luau.

## JACL CONVENTION

Continued from Previous Page

Sumida and I joined our youth representatives, Alysa Watanabe and Paul Nakasone, to carry further the symbolic tribute into the third generation. Few eyes remained dry through the ceremony, hearing Eric Saul recount stories, listening to the rifle salute and the bugle's taps and watching the the American flag on a beautiful sunny morning in Honolulu.

The luau, some say, was like an oasis after being cloistered in business sessions and workshops. And nature provided a most beautiful sunset just as the buffet lines moved along by the western shores. We will remember Lefty Miyana, Ron Wakabayashi, Dick Yamashita and others shaking things up a bit—on stage!

For the first time ever, members of the State Department and the Japanese ministry had a dialogue without actually dealing with the economics of the two nations. Protocol aside, Minister Michihiko Kunihiro, representing Ambassador Yoshio Okawara and Minister William Clark of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo candidly discussed problems and insights as to what causes frictions and how to promote more cultural exchange in order to improve understanding. The Japan Chapter attended en masse, actively participating in this workshop and several receptions.

It was the first time, too, for women to band together through the vehicle of the women's concerns committee, to focus on issues of leadership and participation and to touch base with one another in three events: reception, breakfast caucus and workshop. Under Irene Hirano's able leadership the status of women has been raised for the first time in JACL.

Was it the impact of our JACL convention that caused that island-wide power failure just as people were saying final farewells at a post-banquet reception? The six-hour blackout left many stranded on lower floors, without flashlights or means to return to their rooms except by dark stairways and unlighted hallways.

### Heroes in the Trenches

In adversity, true heroes emerge to reveal their inner strengths. Such a person was Alvin Onaka. He had spent countless hours with convention registration, computerizing every person as to events, paid or unpaid, with a master list, and lists by events. He could easily have gone home, relieved that the last banquet was over, but he remained only to help during the blackout, bedding down displaced persons, climbing up and down the 37 flights of stairs until 4 a.m. helping people to their rooms.

I met him in the lobby early next morning. He was checking on his "displaced persons" and recounted to me what had occurred while I had slept. A million thanks to Alvin and others like him (Ron Wakabayashi is another) who went to extraordinary lengths to make this convention the best—Numbah One!

Many other kindnesses were extended to us by the Honolulu Chapter, the hotel staff, and the JACL staff, like wines for Sayonara, dinner music gratis, Lia Shigemura's oversight of the convention arrangements. Not least of all was Edgar Hamasu, who, in his quiet calm way, managed to assemble an impressive, capable convention committee, and produced for us a most memorable convention that inspired many a new chapter president and young delegate.

Persons serving on the committees were:

*Aloha Banquet:* Ed Hasegawa, chair; Bonnie Acencio, Jan Amii, Mike Amii, Allysia Arreola, Lucille Brigado, Gene Du-

maran, Cecilia Hoffman, Karen Horita, Les Ihara Jr., Michele Ikeda, Merwyn Jones, Terry Ann Jones, Wendy Jones, Jan Kaneshiro, Joy Lewis, Ivan Mineshima, Mike McElroy, Jimmy Oshiro, Miriam Ryder.

*Sayonara Banquet:* Rep. Tom Okamura, chair; Milton Hirata, Lisa Kanemoto, Carl Takamura, Jeanette Takamura, Scott Saiki, Rene Yoshida.

*Furusato Matsuri:* Teddy Tanaka and Heine Peters, chairs; Nancy Tanaka, Gary Newcomer, Vera Tabe.

*Golf:* Les Ihara Sr. and Heine Peters, chairs; Takeo Okafuji.

*Tennis:* Fuku Tsukiyama, chair; Les Ihara Sr.

*Registration:* Alvin Onaka, Ralston Nagata, and James Kojiro, chairs; Betty Bhagavan, Christine Froechtenigt, Helen Hamasu, Rod Harada, Miki Himeno, May Horio, Les Ihara Sr., Janice Iwatake, Shirley McLaren, Edwin Kaneko, Kay Kaneko, Pauline Nagata, James Ohashi, M. Margaret Osaka, Mary R. Osaka, Tsuneo Tajima, Fuku Tsukiyama, Harold Yanagi.

*Washington Place Reception:* Mark Murakami, chair; Diane Arakaki, Helen Hamasu, Kalei Kaleikini, Sen. Ann Kobayashi, Larry Kumabe, Pauline Nagata, Ralston Nagata, James Ohashi, Yaye Ohashi, Susan Yumi Okamura, Alvin Onaka, Doris Shimizu, Paul Shimizu, Ray Takemura, Lillian Takeshita, Tak Uyeda, Frances Yamada.

*Publicity:* Karleen Chinen, chair; Christine Froechtenigt, Kay Kaneko.

*Tree Planting:* Ray Inafuku, chair; Choki Kanetake, Robert Miyashita, Steven Nagamine, Ralston Nagata, Earl Nishimura, Lillian Takeshita.

*Finance:* Les Ihara Sr., James Ohashi.

*Convention Booklet:* Gary Newcomer, Ron Yokota, Harlan Yuhara.

From Aloha upon arrival to the Islands, to the final Sayonara, the 1984 convention was memorable. Thank you, Larry Kumabe, president; Earl Nishimura, past president; Edgar Hamasu, convention chair, and everyone of the Honolulu Chapter.

More convention photos on pp. 36-38.



# 'REST IN PEACE, for the error shall not be repeated.'

By SHARON M. KUSUNOKI

## I

Lying in my hospital bed in the UCLA Medical Center, I turn to my loving wife of twelve years and wipe the tears flowing freely from her beautiful blue eyes. How I long to assure her that I will be all right, but my strength quickly eludes me and I am forced to remain stationary as memories of my life flash before me. Thirty-seven years have gone by since I was orphaned. Reflecting on my past, I am amazed at the happiness I now enjoy as a citizen of the country that was responsible for my family's death.

On August 6, 1945, I lived in Hiroshima with my mother, who was seven months pregnant, my father, a teacher at Prefectural First Middle School, and my 11-year-old brother, Hiroshi. As a child, I was incessantly asking questions and this particular morning was no exception.

"Otosan, Otosan!" I cried to my father as we emerged from the bomb shelter following the "all clear" signal. "I am so tired of going in and out of the air raid shelter. Can't I just hide beneath a *tsukue* (table) when the alert sounds? Besides, why do the Americans despise us so much?"

"Ken-chan," my father sighed with loving exasperation. "We are at war . . . and while the true meaning of this can never be fully understood, invariably, as the various nations strive for supremacy, they are often blinded by their own ambitions and innocent people are killed."

"But Otosan," I persisted, "Why are we at war? . . . What did we do to deserve such treatment?"

"Individually, we did not do anything. But, a few years ago, our emperor ordered a surprise attack on one of the largest American naval bases. As a result of this attack, some innocent people were killed and war was declared."

I took a deep breath and lifted my head proudly. "One day, I will be emperor and will teach people to love one another, just as you taught me."

"Kenji!" cried Hiroshi. "Hurry up . . . get ready, and stop asking so many questions! We are going to be late for school and Otosan has an early class!"

My father smiled warmly at my brother as he tousled my hair: "Hiroshi, don't condemn your brother for his pure innocence. As young as he is, he is asking serious and relevant questions that even well-educated world leaders have trouble answering."

"Okay, boys, that's enough chatter. Off to school, all of you. Have a good day." I smiled at my mother as she said this and although I felt an urge to run into her arms, I decided that at 8 years old, such outward expressions of love were childish and, instead, I gave her a quick kiss and ran out of the door after my brother and father.

Hiroshi, who always told me humorous stories on the way to school, was preoccupied today. He discussed with father a rumor regarding a new bomb that the Americans might test on Hiroshima. I started to ask Hiroshi what kind of bomb they were going to test and why, but before I could finish, we arrived at school and I ran to join my classmates.

I quickly forgot all thoughts of war as I played ball with my friends. Mako, my best friend, was on my right, and I laughed as he missed a wildly thrown pass.

"Kenji, please get the ball for me!" begged Mako. "I am so tired today and it was thrown so far."

As I ran after the ball, I smiled to myself because somehow, Mako always happened to be too tired to chase the ball after he had missed it. But, I really didn't mind covering for him; after all, we were friends.

As I ran towards the concrete shaft where the ball had landed, I heard the roaring engine of a plane overhead. I momentarily paused to admire the white parachute floating down from the plane.

With a tremendous roar and blinding flash, buildings toppled down and the next thing I knew, I was buried beneath a pile of rubble. I cried out for help, but to no avail. Although most of my body was immobile, I slowly worked one hand free and was able to make an opening wide enough to expose my head.

I lapsed in and out of consciousness as I lost track of time. Gradually, the rubble was lifted off and Hiroshi was calling my name. Unable to move my legs, I looked gratefully up at Hiroshi and cried out in alarm. Hiroshi's skin was hanging like rags from his body and a huge splinter pierced his chest. His face and body were covered with blood and I cried more for his pain than mine.

After Hiroshi managed to free me from beneath the debris, I looked over to the spot where my friends and I had been playing and was horrified to see that they had been burned so badly that the only thing left was their skeletal remains. As I glanced around . . . Hiroshima, my home, was now completely flat.

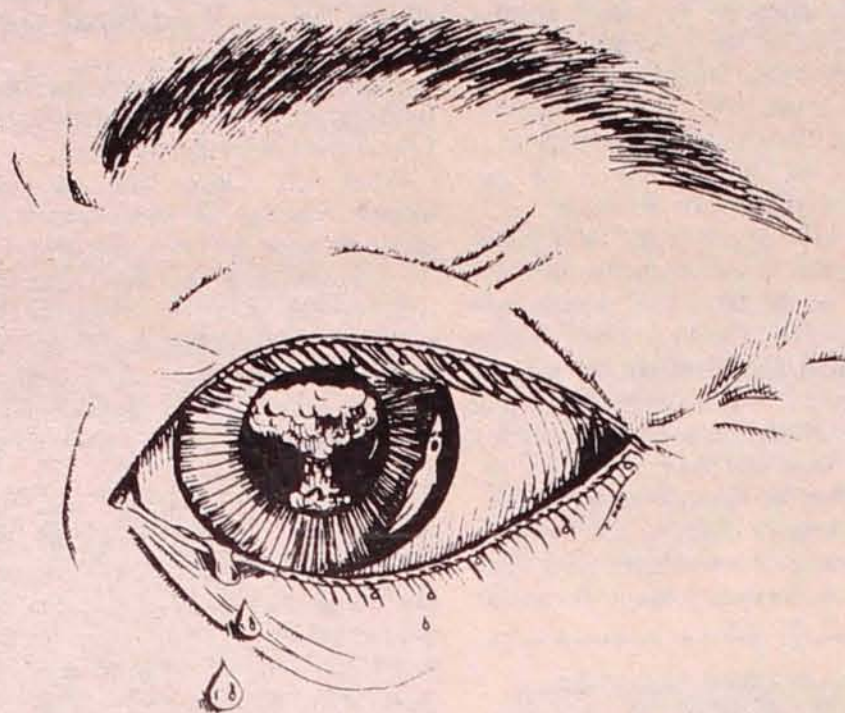
"Please, Kenji," cried Hiroshi. "Climb on my back. We must find Otosan and Okasan. Don't cry, I will get some help for you!"

"But, Hiroshi, you can barely walk. You are hurt and there is a stick in your chest!"

"Ssshhh, don't worry about me. We have to go help our parents!"

Hiroshi stoically carried me on his back and winced in pain with each step. The wooden splinter was still lodged in his chest and although bleeding profusely, he continued to walk. With steadfast determination, Hiroshi slowly and painstakingly made his way toward father's school.

On one occasion, I was violently thrown from Hiroshi's back as he stumbled over a man's head. I quickly closed my eyes, but I could not help but see that this man's lower lip had been completely torn off and his right cheek ripped open. An unearthly silence fell



Artwork by Carol Nomi

over Hiroshima as flames began to consume what remained of the city. All around us fragments of human flesh festered.

I shall never forget the sight of rigid charred bodies frozen while still in flight, nor the people whose faces had been burned away. I screamed in horror as I saw a man holding his eye in the palm of his hand.

Pandemonium finally broke out and from every direction came cries for water and help as children and adults frantically searched for their loved ones. In the distance, the smoky remnant of the bomb mushroomed against the sky. Soon, huge black raindrops began to fall.

Suddenly Hiroshi stopped and gently let me down. Tears streamed down his face as I followed the path of his eyes. There, shielding a group of dead students, lay the remains of our father.

Although I tried to move, my legs felt like mush and I crumpled to the ground crying hysterically. Hiroshi blindly stumbled to the pyramid of corpses and gasped as he saw that my father's ears had melted off. He gathered some of the ashes from the area and placed them in a small container he found amidst the destruction.

As my eyes surveyed the ruins of what was once a school, I saw my father's sterling silver pocket watch on the ground in front of me. I crawled over to the watch dragging my legs behind me, and tightly clenched it in my fist. As Hiroshi came towards me, I begged him to rest a while since his wounds were still bleeding and he was beginning to vomit. But, he insisted on searching for mother and once again, I climbed on his back. Although I longed to walk beside him for support, my right foot was so swollen that I was unable to assist him. As we headed towards our home, we heard someone yelling our names.

"Hiroshi! Ken-chan! Hiroshi! Ken-chan!" Looking up, we watched as our mother desperately called our names as she scrutinized the disfigured faces of each child she passed. "Okasan! Okasan!" we cried as we fell into her arms.

"Where's your father? Have you seen your father?" mother pleaded.

"Otosan is dead," we wept.

Mother composed herself and lifted Hiroshi on her back as she tried to carry me with her one free arm. We shuffled along like

this for miles until we arrived at a relief center. There, Hiroshi's wounds were treated with whatever medical supplies they could find, and my foot was wrapped in a makeshift bandage. Someone gave each of us a rice ball, but mother split hers in two and gave half to Hiroshi and half to me.

Hiroshi said he didn't feel much like eating and asked mother about the baby. Even though she assured us that everything was okay, I could not help but see the trembling of her lips and the tears in her eyes.

"Relax, Hiroshi, go to sleep. I love you!" mother whispered as she murmured gentle assurances to Hiroshi and me. Glancing at Hiroshi, I saw maggots vigorously settling in his open wounds, and promptly became sick to my stomach. Mother, who previously was deathly afraid of insects, frantically brushed the maggots off Hiroshi. However, all around us, maggots and flies continued infesting the wounds of the injured, and keeping them out was impossible.

Wearily, I dropped into a deep sleep in my mother's arms.

"Kenji! Kenji! Wake up!" came Hiroshi's frantic voice.

"NANI? NAN DESU KA?"

"Kenji . . . I am going . . . going to meet Otosan. You are the man of the family now. Be brave and take care of mother and the baby she is going to have!"

"HIROSHI! HIROSHI! Don't leave! Please don't die!" I screamed. With a sudden and violent gasp, Hiroshi left this world. Mother carried his body to be cremated. Together, we knelt before a shrine and prayed to Buddha for the souls of my father and brother.

I clung to mother for fear that she too would die, but after comforting me, she lifted me up and said that we would have to leave Hiroshima as soon as possible. We made our way to the Ota River where we saw hundreds of dead bodies floating in the water. Thousands more were jumping in clamoring for a drink. I too thirsted for a drink from the river, but mother gently reprimanded me and informed me that the water was poisonous and drinking it would mean death.

## II

Mother and I never made it out of Hiroshima together. Two weeks after the bombing, she painfully died while in labor. In many ways, her death was a blessing. I was relieved that my dear mother did not see the effect the bomb had on her unborn child. The lifeless fetus emerged from her womb underdeveloped, joined to her by a rotten umbilical cord. The baby's skin hung loose like a torn sheet and dark purple spots were visible beneath the surface of the skin. I cried and cried for the baby, my mother, my father, and my brave brother, Hiroshi, and held fast to the only thing that remained of our once happy family . . . my father's silver watch.

Following the death of my mother, I was taken to Hiroshima Studorn, an orphanage for A-bomb victims. There I met a Christian missionary from America, the Rev. Ron Wagner, who took me to live in Los Angeles with him and his wife.

## III

"Kenji-san! Welcome to Los Angeles!" I glanced in the direction of the voice and stubbornly refused the outstretched arms. I bitterly cursed the fact that this blond-haired,

*Continued on Next Page*



## REST IN PEACE

Continued from Previous Page

blue-eyed woman had the audacity to think that she could replace my mother, and I abruptly turned my back. I hated America and its people, and blamed them for the death of my family.

"Toire ni ikitai?" I blurted. Reverend Wagner led me to the bathroom where before me stood the awkward object . . . the American toilet. As I turned the lock on the door, I was baffled. Reverend Wagner instructed me to press the lever on the side of the tank. With the sudden and unexpected loud surge of water, I instinctively dropped to the floor of the bathroom and covered my head. Quickly, Reverend Wagner picked me up and carefully explained the American toilet.

After this ordeal, I piled into the car with my foster parents. While the Reverend and his wife conversed, I leaned my head out the window as angry tears welled up in my eyes.

## IV

Approaching the neighborhood I was to call home, my stomach became taut in fearful anticipation. The hills were steep, the roads narrow, and the homes were clustered together as if they were leaning on each other for protection against an unknown foe. I silently reminisced about the times that I too had someone to lean on, but my family was gone, and in my eyes, I was alone.

Stopping in front of an old, white, two-story Spanish structure, I reluctantly left the car and wondered why I had lived when so many had died.

Mrs. Wagner's voice abruptly pierced my thoughts as she opened the door to the house and excitedly led the way to my bedroom. Cautiously stepping into the house, I scrutinized the room and could not help but be impressed with the luxurious dark oak furniture complementing the thick red carpeting.

Nonsensically stumbling in broken Japanese, Mrs. Wagner threw open the door to the room that was to be mine and drew back the dark brown drapes revealing a massive picture window. I watched as the light projected on the white plastered walls aged with cracks and fingerprints.

I anxiously waited for the Wagners to leave and finally fell on the *futon* that had been set out for me.

America . . . what was I doing here? Why was I spared a violent death just because I was chasing after a ball? I reached into my pocket, withdrew my dear Otosan's watch, clutched it in my fists, and cried myself to sleep.

## V

Six years had passed since I first set foot on American soil and although I had learned enough of the English language to survive, I still resisted speaking it and rarely, if ever, spoke directly to the Wagners. I wrestled daily with feelings of guilt for being alive and became paranoid and withdrawn.

"Jap lover! Jap lover!" came the taunting voice of the neighbor's child as Mrs. Wagner and I walked to the car that sunny spring day. Suddenly, without warning, the usually passive Mrs. Wagner turned to the child. With a fury which I had never witnessed before, she chastised the child for her cruelty. She exclaimed that the Lord looks not at the color of a person's skin, eyes, or hair, but rather at each individual, and their sincerity and goodness. I continued to be stunned as Mrs. Wagner pointedly gestured. "Only ignorant people fail to look beyond a person's race," she admonished. "People are not to be categorized, or mimicked, or mocked based on their race or physical appearance. Each person is unique and stands on the same step and lies in the same plane as the next."

As the frightened and confused child ran off to her mother, the weight of Mrs. Wagner's message hit me and I wept for the years of bitterness and resentment I had felt towards the Wagners.

Once again, Mrs. Wagner extended her arms, only this time, I eagerly fell into them and accepted the warm and loving embrace she bestowed upon me.

"Mother, I learned something today," I muttered. "I caused you and dad so much pain and heartache. All along I blamed you for the injustices in life. When the other kids called me a Jap, when the other kids made fun of my limp and scarred legs, you were always there for me, never probing, never pushing, but always eager to offer me the love and protection I needed. All along, I passed judgment on you because you were an American. I always thought you and Reverend Wagner brought me to live with you out of pity and sorrow for the pain you placed in my life. But I can now appreciate all you did, and I especially appreciate the fact that you encouraged me to maintain my culture against the ridicule of your peers. You let me worship in the Buddhist tradition. You encouraged me to go to Japanese school. You even let me sleep on the floor and use chopsticks, never once forcing or expecting me to adapt to the 'American' way of life. I love you, mother!" We both wept, washing away the anguish and pain of the last six years.

## VI

"Itaiyo!" I murmur as the piercing of the nurse's needle brings me back to the present. I look to my wife and marvel that even when the purple spots first appeared on the head of our five-year old son, and the loss of hair and bloody diarrhea began, she never once complained or blamed me for causing his condition and I silently thanked her for the support she provided while helping me adjust to the guilt I felt over my son's death. As I turned these thoughts over in my mind, a feeling of pride came over me.

Three years ago, in 1980, my wife and I adopted two Vietnamese orphans. Dinh and Tuyet are lovable, warm, and accepting of their fates. Father and Mother Wagner enjoy their two new grandchildren immensely and

their youthful innocence and energy remind me of my childhood and my own beloved mother, father, and brother, Hiroshi. Although I still suffer from anxiety at the sound of planes, or the sight of parachutes, I am thankful that my life was spared.

Thank you mother, father, and Hiroshi for the happiness, joy, and love you gave me . . . and thank you Mother and Father Wagner for the patience, understanding, and loving guidance you eternally bestowed on me. Without your support, I would never have experienced the feeling that wells up in my heart, as I proudly call myself an American.

Before the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, I remember once telling my father that I would become a world leader and teach people to love one another. Although my vision of worldly power never materialized, I pray that the proponents of nuclear armament will learn to replace arms with love, and will focus on the horrible reality of the atomic bomb victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and its effect on future generations.

## VII

In the early afternoon of April 10, 1983, as the brilliant sun played on the walls of his hospital room, a sterling silver pocket watch fell from Kenji's clenched fist as he succumbed to leukemia which only recently surfaced, thirty-seven years after the atomic bomb.

On August 6, 1983, two new names were added to the cenotaph in Hiroshima that memorialized the victims of the atomic bomb . . .

**KENJI SATO WAGNER,**

and his son, **HIROSHI RONALD**

**WAGNER**

. . . "Genbakushi . . . killed by the atomic bomb."

. . . "Rest in peace, for the error shall not be repeated."

"Rest in Peace" was the 1984 winner of the American Japanese Literary Award established by James Clavell.

## STRANGE CASE OF GOTO

Continued from Page C-29

Gotō considered the living conditions degrading, the labor arduous in the extreme. Still from his low pay he was able to save a few dollars. In 1887 he sent for his brother, Sekijirō.

Katsu fell in with Bunichirō Onome who had come to Hawaii in 1886 as an official of immigration supervision. Onome had come to Ookaala to recuperate from beriberi and had taken to cultivating coffee.

### Up the Economic Ladder

In the same month, February 1888, in which Gotō would fulfill his three-year contract, the government granted Onome a permit to open a store. Planning to visit Japan, Onome transferred the permit to Gotō. Gotō opened the store, becoming the first Japanese storekeeper in Hawaii.

With faith in himself and his future, Gotō borrowed from a *tanomoshi* (*-kō*), a mutual financing association in which he was involved with 11 other Japanese. He also arranged to buy on credit from two big Honolulu wholesalers.

So he became a person of substance to whom the other Japanese American looked for the counsel and guidance implied in the announcement "Tonight we go see Gotō."

The implication that his orders were subject to the approval of Gotō infuriated Overend. About a year, he had cursed Gotō and forbade him access to Honoka'a Plantation. About eight months before, he had repeated the proscription. Through Steele he repeated it again.

Despite this effort to divide him from his plantation laborer customers, Gotō thrived. At first he had done business from his residence behind the one-story frame building facing the road. Twice he had gone to Honolulu to purchase supplies. Two months previously, when he had returned to Honoka'a the second time, he had opened in the front building.

He did a business of between \$500 and \$600 a month and employed a clerk, S. Isaoka.

When Gotō ran short of supplies, he would buy from Mills. He also arranged with Mills for the delivery of large packages from the landing at the ocean front (unloading freight at Honoka'a). With his team, Blabon would

haul the packages. So Mills received a modest profit from this hauling; altogether he did a business of about \$75 a month with Gotō.

Mills had reason to be pleased with Gotō as a customer, and outwardly their relations were smooth. Nevertheless, he resented him as a competitor.

All the Japanese in the neighborhood traded with Gotō. He gave them credit and collected from them at the end of the month. Whites and Kanakas also came. This kind of patronage especially displeased Mills.

Mills asked a Kanaka, D.W. Keliiaa, "What do you want to go to the Jap's store for?"

"Because," explained Keliiaa, "we get goods cheaper."

This was the situation when the investigators called in Gotō to interpret between them and his customers, all suspects in

the canefire. Gotō came. Soon Lyman and the other interrogators became displeased with his interpreting and attitude.

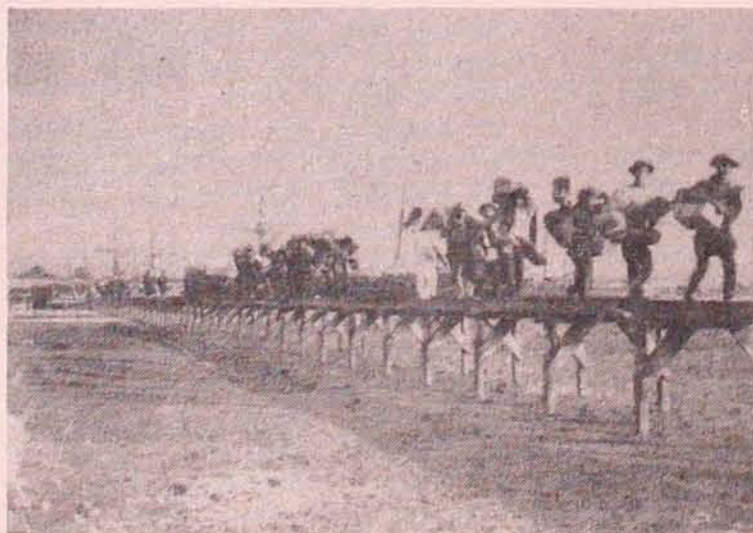
They dismissed Gotō and called for Nakama the watchmaker. With Nakama interpreting, the investigation proceeded smoothly.

Soon Lyman transferred the hearing to the nearby courthouse. There Overend joined the group.

At the courthouse, District Judge Frederick S. Lyman, 52, older brother of Rufus and married to a daughter of missionaries, remanded one suspect to jail. He would remain in jail for a month before being tried and acquitted.

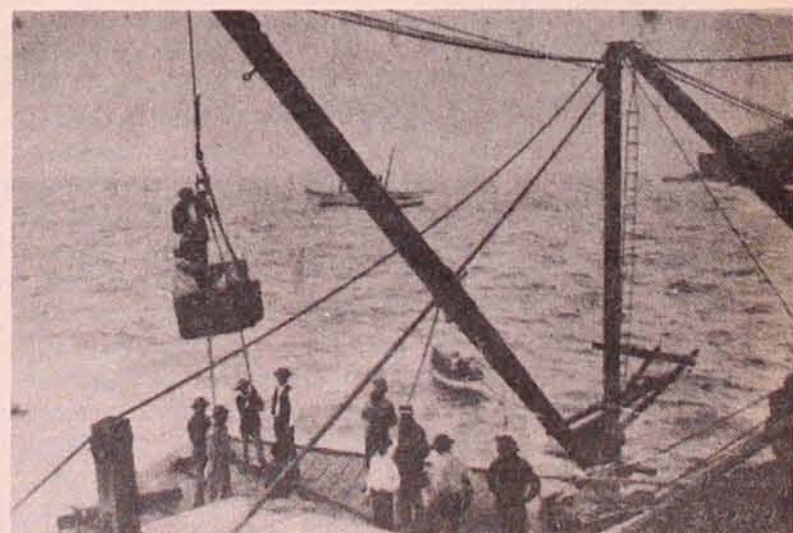
The remanding of only one suspect to jail seemed inadequate to Overend and his lieutenant. Their resentment toward the recalcitrant Japanese increased. Their distrust and dislike of Gotō festered.

Continued on Next Page



Hawaii State Archives Photo

Japanese contract laborers going ashore at Honolulu.



Hawaii State Archives Photo

Unloading freight at Honoka'a. Goto arranged for Mills to deliver large packages from the landing.



# STRANGE CASE OF GOTO

Continued from Previous Page

## Demands for Money

The following Sunday, Oct. 27, Overend talked to Steele about suing the remaining seven suspects for breach of contract—that is, for abstaining from work on pretext of illness. In pursuit of this course, Overend retained a native attorney, Z. Paaiki. When Steele returned from work Monday, Oct. 28, Overend called to him from the office: Paaiki was in the office, too.

Paaiki had gotten out warrants for the remaining suspects. Overend sent Steele to summon them.

Soon the Japanese appeared. Overend demanded \$20 from each of them. To men earning \$9 a month, of which they were permitted to keep only 75 percent, \$20 was an enormous sum. Appalled, they resisted, pleading they had no money. After about 20 minutes, Overend permitted them to leave. But he told Steele to calculate the lost time of the Japanese and to have the information handy.

When the Japanese left the office, darkness had already fallen. It was a windy, clear, moonless night. They retired to their primitive quarters, where they slept on planks, to discuss the situation. Soon six took a lantern and set out for Honoka'a to consult with Gotō.

As they toiled up the hill toward Honoka'a they saw Gotō coming towards them astride a white horse with black markings, a large horse between 14 and 15 hands high, that is, about 5 feet at the withers. Gotō had bought the horse only two days before. Now he was coming to confer with them, bringing his account book in which to enter any orders that might ensue.

The laborers told of their plight and asked him to phone one Igarashi to come and settle the matter of their alleged indebtedness.

"It's too late to phone Igarashi," said Gotō, "I'll phone him in the morning."

In the meantime he would talk to them at length in their quarters at House #4, where the other suspect could participate. So the six—Yokochi Uyeda, Ihei Tamura, Nakani, Tagai, Mukai and Koiga—turned about. With three on each side of Gotō, they began descending the road to Overend Camp.

As they proceeded, a tall man on a white horse drew near. Even in the starlight they recognized the horse as Steele's. There was room for Steele to pass on his side of the road, but as he came near he turned his horse and crossed two yards before them. He seemed to be trying to ascertain the identity of each man.

In the behavior of Steele since the canefire there lies a clue to this maneuver. He conceded that he was a poor hand at making friends, but as the rancor gnawed at him he had felt the need to disburden himself.

## Restless Anger

In reference to Gotō, Steele said to Brickwood, "The Jap is at the bottom of the fire. If you hear of anything happening to the Jap, you needn't say anything about it."

"All right," the policeman said.

Steele's discontent made him so restless he had begun to keep late hours. The preceding evening he had gone to the room of Murray and Williams, though he had never gone there before and was only slightly acquainted with them.

He asked for something to drink. There being only one alcoholic drink available, and he being loath to deprive his hosts of that, he settled for water. He had already thanked them for their help in extinguishing the canefire. Though it appeared irrelevant to the purpose of his visit, he now thanked them again.

"Do you have any idea who set the fire?" asked Williams.

"We don't know."



Hawaii State Archives Photo

Hawaiian Minister to Tokyo Robert W. Irwin and wife. He counselled the planters to treat their Japanese laborers with tact and kindness.

From talk of the fire, he rambled on to talk of "Japs and slugging."

"Where I come from," he said, "slugging means bodily injury."

So keen was his desire for slugging, he feared "nothing for the judge."

He frequented the saloon and billiard parlor of James K. Miller, in which Mills held an interest. Here Steele confided that he believed the Japanese were after him. He asked for a pistol. Miller gave him a loaded pistol.

Sunday morning, Steele had returned the pistol. Today, after talking with Mills, he had bought a pistol from Milt Holmes.

Now after passing the Gotō party on the road, Steele rode on to the plantation office. There he found Overend.

He asked Overend, "Have you thought of offering a further reward for information about the cane fire?"

"I'll give \$200."

In the meantime Gotō and the six laborers had arrived at House #4. They entered. Ten Japanese lived there. More Japanese joined until there were about 15.

Gotō told them that though Overend had threatened him with death if he came there, he was unafraid. Nevertheless the meeting on the road with Steele had seemed ominous. There were other portents to invite foreboding.

Outside a dog began to bark furiously.

Gotō asked, "Whose dog is that? Why is it barking so loudly?"

Kitarō Okamoto went out to ascertain if the barking indicated danger to Gotō's horse. As he came out on the veranda, he saw something white under a tree. He coughed. The white object moved; Okamoto saw it was a tall man wearing a hat.

In height the man resembled Steele. The resemblance seemed stronger because he walked off in the direction of Overend's office.

A little later, Tsuruzō Uyenaka went out to investigate the barking. He saw Steele, on his usual white horse, going toward Overend's. Still later he and Ihei Tamura saw the same white horse passing, this time accompanied by a black horse. The horses were on the road

60 feet away that led upwards to Honoka'a. The Japanese were unable to recognize the riders, but since they recognized the white horse as Steele's they assumed he must be riding it.

Tamura asked of Uyenaka, "Why should Mr. Steele be coming back so late?"

Uyenaka conceded that the situation was unusual.

A little after 10 o'clock, having spent about an hour with the men at House #4, Gotō left them. The seven of whom Overend demanded damages were still upset. They would sleep little that night, if at all.

As Gotō mounted his horse and started back towards Honoka'a, he had reason to reflect on the contrast between the cordiality experienced by the Japanese on their arrival in Hawaii and the rancor that now existed between them and Overend.

The cordiality had sprung from the need of the Hawaii sugar planters for coolie labor, from the resistance of the Japanese government to permitting Japanese going to Hawaii for such a purpose, and from the desire of the present King of Hawaii, Kalakaua, to use the Japanese, whom he considered of a "cognate race," to repeople his realm.

## The First Immigrants

Even before Commodore Matthew G. Perry had opened the gates of Japan to the West in 1854, Hawaii had known Japanese castaways. Some had drifted to Hawaii. Some had been picked up by rescuing Western ships and brought to the archipelago.

Japan not only proscribed emigration, it proscribed the return of any Japanese who had gone abroad. Significant relaxation of this rule occurred in 1868 when the Hawaiian authorities persuaded the Shogunate government to permit a large number of Japanese laborers to come to Hawaii on three-year contracts. The recruited Japanese boarded the ship *Scioto*.

Before the ship could sail, the forces of the Emperor overthrew the Shogunate. The new government repudiated the agreement.

The *Scioto* sailed without official approval. The outraged government concluded that the Emperor's subjects had been kidnapped.

The *Scioto* arrived off Honolulu on June 19, 1868, with 153 Japanese—five of them women. It was the first year of their Emperor's reign. Since the Japanese word for the first year is *gannen*, the passengers would become known to history as *Gannen-mono*, "first-year persons."

Most *Gannen-mono* were assigned to sugar plantations. They were an unlikely lot for the purpose. Recruited from the streets of Yokohama, many were vagabonds unaccustomed to hard work.

Many complained bitterly about the treatment accorded them on the plantations. Their complaints reach Japan.

The sympathetic government sent an embassy to investigate. As a result of the investigation, 43 Japanese returned to Japan. One was an infant born in Hawaii; two were castaways who had arrived before the *Gannen-mono*. Thirty-nine returned after completing their contracts.

The remainder either went on to the United States or stayed in Hawaii. Many in Hawaii today trace their ancestry to *Gannen-mono* who married native women.

The industry and good behavior of the *Gannen-mono* who completed their contracts commended itself to the planters and whetted their appetites for more such laborers. Philosophically at odds with the white element of his kingdom—planters and businessmen—Kalakaua, who ascended the throne in 1874, regarded them as a threat to his rule. On the other hand, he recognized that they were the chief taxpayers whose taxes enabled him to reign in the style he felt necessary. To assist their contribution to the

prosperity of the Kingdom, he lent them support, including significant help in negotiating the Reciprocity Treaty.

## Japan's Change of Heart

When Kalakaua arrived in Japan in 1881, completing the first leg of his journey around the world, the Emperor received him with loyal honors. Both men favorably impressed each other. Among other things, Kalakaua pressed his and the planters' wish for Japanese immigrants.

Changing circumstances changed the official view towards emigration. An economic depression had ruined many farmers in southern Japan. The government came round to the view that emigration might be a form of economic relief; the pinched and dispossessed could recoup their fortunes abroad at the same time that they sent badly needed money back to Japan.

So it had come to pass that at 7 a.m., Feb. 8, 1885, the *City of Tokio* hove to off Honolulu with 943 Japanese aboard, the first contingent of what would increase to a flood of Japanese. There were 676 men, 159 women and 108 children. The number of children had increased by one through an unwanted child being smuggled aboard and abandoned.

These recruits were of a different order from the *Gannen-mono*. The newcomers were sturdy peasants. Unlike the *Gannen-mono* who had had little sense of nationality, the newcomers were imbued with the pride of nation fostered by the new nationalist Japanese government.

Hitherto, for about ten years, a local non-Japanese business had acted as commercial agent in Hawaii for Japan. The *City of Tokio* brought Jirō Nakamura to reside in Honolulu as consul for Japan. It also brought Jōji Nakayama, who would become known to the residents as G.O. Nakayama; he had been appointed to the Bureau of Immigration as inspector of Japanese immigrants. He would listen to the complaints of the laborers and serve as liaison and interpreter between them, their employers and the Bureau.

Also aboard was Robert W. Irwin, Hawaiian Minister to Tokyo. He had labored long to bring about this influx of Japanese. He counselled their prospective employers to treat them with tact and kindness.

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser editorialized: "The arrival of the first installment of the Japanese immigrants is the most important event that has happened to Hawaii for many years... Next to the ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty it must be acknowledged... to be the chief event of the reign of Kalakaua."

Portly and dignified, the pleased Kalakaua presented himself at the immigration station with important personages of his government. There the newcomers put on an exhibition of *sumō* wrestling and *kendō* fencing for his benefit.

The customs and dress of the Japanese struck the residents with the strangeness they might have felt in the presence of an embassy from Mars. But all were pleased with the performance.

The Advertiser reported: "Such people on a plantation would help to make things lively, and there certainly was a fine display of muscle, pluck and good nature."

To further exhibit their skill, Kalakaua invited the fencers to his new palace, Iolani. Pleased with their performance there, he presented each with a silver dollar.

Except for armed guards at the entrances to the palace, the civic center of Honolulu was similar to what it is today. There was Kawaiahao Church; the Judiciary Building, known as Ali'iolani Hale, with the idealized statue of Kamahameha I before it.

The Japanese were permitted to go sight-seeing in groups of 20. Compared with bustling Yokohama, Honolulu was a country town.

Continued on Next Page



# STRANGE CASE OF GOTO

Continued from Previous Page

The whole archipelago had a population of less than 81,000, though this was an increase of 24,000 over what it had been 12 years before. The Island of Oahu on which they had landed owed its primacy not to its size but to its harbor, Honolulu. The Island of Hawaii, to which Gotō would be sent, is so large it could easily accommodate within its borders the other main islands of Oahu, Kauai and Molokai.

Everywhere the Japanese saw confirmation of the local saying that sugar is king. Gotō would find sugar cane growing all along the coasts of the Island of Hawaii.

Now on this fateful night of Oct. 28, 1889, sugar cane lined both sides of the road up which the horse of Gotō toiled towards Honoka'a. Its leaves rustled in the cold breeze that swept down on him from the mountain ahead.

He braced himself against the breeze and steep incline, leaning forward in the saddle, hearing the creak of leather, the panting of his horse and the thud of its hoofs on the dirt and gravel road. When he lifted his head he saw the sky above Honoka'a as a black shroud pierced with tiny holes through which glittered the pinpoints of stars.

Then on his right the cane gave way to the schoolyard and, beyond that, the cemetery where the wind moaned through the branches of the silver oaks along its borders.

The starlight showed shadows below where the branches moved. Then from the schoolyard blobs of shadows moved where there were no branches. He heard the beat of feet as three forms raced toward him.

The horse stopped with a jerk as one of the shadows seized its bridle. He felt the strength of four hands pulling on his right arm. As he began to lose his balance he cried out in the native language, "Pau! Pau!" (No! No!). Head first he crashed to the road, his neck twisting under him.

The horse moved away from the fallen man. The Kanaka who held the bridle saw Gotō lying face up. Gotō groaned.

One of the assailants put a hand under Gotō's head, the other hand over his mouth. Two more men came from the darkness at the edge of the road, one clad in a cloak and wearing a cap that hid his face down to his nose and concealed his ears beneath flaps.

The Kanaka stood in the road holding the horse. The others busied themselves with Gotō. They picked him up and carried him mountainward of the cemetery fence. Unnoticed by the Kanaka, a fifth man emerged from the shadows and followed. They laid Gotō on his face, tied his hands behind his back and tied his knees together. The man in the cloak called in the native language to the Kanaka holding the horse. The Kanaka mounted the horse, went to where a white horse stood nearby and led it to the hitching rack before the Lyceum. There he tied them.

Then he turned and ran away through the canefields. What was being done here was so fearsome he must put distance between himself and it as fast as his feet could carry him.

The main road through Honoka'a is still in darkness. But the dial of the Big Dipper to the north points to daybreak, its handle pointing straight downward to the sea as if to balance the constellation upon it. Yet, though the stars are still visible everywhere, the eastern sky begins to be suffused with a pinkish hue, while northward a wall of sullen clouds emerges floating on the surface of the sea. Along the road the branches of trees become black filaments against the sky.

Likewise, the telephone poles emerge against the dawn, the crosspiece of each, pointing seaward and mountainward, converting them to crucifixes. The village begins to stir; early risers appear on the road. The dim light suggests that the crucifix east of the courthouse may have fulfilled its ominous portent. On the mountainward side of its crosspiece dangles a dark hulk.

The form of the hulk is grotesquely human. Between its head, tilted to one side, and the crosspiece there is a foot of space; there is about eight feet of space between its lower extremity and the ground. If it is human, the hands disappear behind the back. Sightless eyes stare at the lightening east.

Still, can this hulk be what it resembles? Has the life of the village been plundered of dignity? Of purpose? Is this hulk the fearsome obscenity from which the mind recoils?

Over the rampart of the sullen eastern clouds peeps the tip of the sun. Lo, the nature of the hulk is unmistakable. It is the remains of what had been a man.

At 6 a.m. George Tietsen, Overend's overseer for Japanese women, came by. A Portuguese youth pointed at the hulk and asked, "What is this?"

Tietsen looked up and saw the dangling corpse. The Portuguese went his way, imparting the news to those he encountered.

One such was John Richmond, stableman for Overend. Richmond was on his usual morning errand of gathering grass and cane tops for the seven horses that were his particular charge.

As Richmond's wagon drew abreast, the Portuguese called, "Japanee make ('dead') by courthouse."

*Make* is a word of the native language everyone knew and used.

Richmond observed the corpse and drove on to the store of Mills. There he found Mills, Blabon and the store clerk Thomas M.V. Hart clustered around the delivery wagon.

Richmond pointed toward the courthouse. "There's a Jap hanging up there."

"That's only an effigy," said Mills.

Richmond had lived at Overend's for more than a year. Before that he had served in the U.S. Navy. Recently he had been convicted of stealing a watch and had served 30 days in jail. He had acquired a reputation for telling tall tales. It was unremarkable that he was disbelieved. He continued his search for feed.

Then to the scene of the hanging came William D. Watson, head teamster for Overend. Born in California 34 years before, Watson had worked on a farm. He had come to Hawaii seven years before the hanging, moving to the Hamakua area a year after arrival. First he had worked for Mills. Then he had worked four years for Rickard. Three years before, his wife had left him. She now resided in Hilo. Two years before, assuming the post of head teamster from the start, he had begun working for Overend.

As usual in the morning, the team driven by Overend teamster Charles Oleson followed that of Watson. Oleson had lived in Honoka'a two years.

Round the foot of the hanged man, a crowd had begun to gather. The teamsters observed and drove on, Oleson shaken by what he had seen. As they continued on their way, Watson imparted the news to those he met. Since they disbelieved, Oleson confirmed the report.

On his usual white horse, Steele escorted his sullen Japanese workers as they turned into the village road to begin their march of measured tread through Honoka'a. But scarcely had they turned west into the road than they brought up short. There from the telephone pole dangled an unrecognizable corpse.



Hawaii State Archives Photo  
Sheriff Edward G. Hitchcock: "Mills was always eager to know what I had learned about the case."

A clue to the identity of the corpse was the horse of Gotō, still tied to the hitching rack before the Lyceum. Tietsen came and told those there that the hanging man was Gotō. Steele said nothing.

Overend came. At sight of the hanging man, Overend spurred his horse to the nearby jailer's house.

That weekend, John, the jailer, had a special guest, Edwin Thomas. On Sunday, Thomas had come from Waipio to receive his commission as District Judge and Coroner of Hamakua, which he received next day. Monday night he had slept at the jailer's house. This morning he had arisen about five. As he was getting dressed, Overend galloped up and called for John.

Thomas went out.

Overend called, "Come quick! A Jap is trying to hang himself on a telephone pole."

Suspecting Overend of chaffing, Thomas went to the gate of the courtyard. In the breaking day he saw something hanging from the telephone pole.

Calling to the jailer to bring a knife, Thomas went to the telephone pole, noting the spaces between head and crosspiece, feet and ground. Though 5 feet 11 inches tall, Thomas was unable to touch the feet dangling above him.

The rope by which the corpse dangled was new, unsoiled manila. It was unsecured to the crosspiece over which it had been flung. The lower end of the rope was wound around the pole four or five times, about five feet above the ground, and secured with a half-hitch. Finding the half-hitch sufficiently slack to be loosened, Thomas untied it.

Steele was still sitting on his horse. Thomas told him to take hold of the rope and so help Thomas lower the body. Steele complied.

Thomas lowered the body and laid it on its back. The open eyes stared up at him. Blood had oozed from the mouth and clotted the blackened face. The body was cold and rigid. Thomas concluded the man had been dead for several hours.

"If I had known he was dead," said Thomas, "I would not have lowered him."

The end of the rope encircling the dead man's neck was coiled eight times above the loop forming a knot through which the other end of the rope had been inserted to fashion the noose. The knot was strange to the 45 Japanese who stood by watching. Thomas, however, immediately recognized this knot as a hangman's knot.

In formal executions the hangman's knot is adjusted slightly below and immediately back of the left ear of the condemned. Positioned

thus the knot causes a sidewise jerk to break the neck of the condemned as he falls through the trap. The knot was so arranged on the dead man.

Thomas was unable to recognize the dead man. Overend and Steele told him it was Gotō.

Thomas told Steele to bring Mills and retired to the jailer's house to finish dressing. Thereafter he would subpoena a jury for the inquest. While Thomas was dressing, Mills arrived and demanded that the corpse be carried into the courthouse. John relayed this information.

Thomas said, "Don't bring him in until we have the inquest."

Overend appeared. "Mills is mad with you because you won't bring the body in."

"Well, he must get over it. The body will not be brought in until an inquest is to be had and a jury called."

About 7 a.m. when Deputy Sheriff Lyman reached the corpse, he found it being guarded by a policeman. Lyman busied himself picking shreds of clothing from the pole and otherwise searching for clues. By phone he also notified his superior Sheriff Edward G. Hitchcock, who was in Hilo.

While Lyman was performing such tasks, Mills approached him and handed him an account book. Mills said the book had been picked up at a crossroad and given to him. He recognized it as that of Gotō.

After the jury was summoned, rain threatened. Thomas ordered the body brought into the courthouse. The jurors assembled. Thomas appointed Mills clerk.

At first the inquest proceeded smoothly. Then a juror asked Mills a question. Mills neglected to write down what the juror said.

Lyman ordered, "Write that down."

Mills took offense. One word led to another.

Mills said, "I will have nothing to do with the matter."

Mills left. Thomas called a recess. The difference was reconciled. The inquest continued.

In the canefields the white men gossiped about the lynching. Though he had been to sea, in this age of sail, Oleson had never before seen the kind of knot used to hang Gotō. When he mentioned this to Watson, Watson quickly and easily tied a hangman's knot.

Later Oleson would find one of his horses tied down with such a knot. Unable to untie it, he would ask the aid of a Japanese who would untie it for him.

"I wonder who did it," Oleson would ask of the knot he had been unable to untie.

Tietsen had not seen at close range the rope that had hanged Gotō, but word of the hangman's knot had reached him. Watson told him he had seen plenty of those kind of fellows strung up in California. Sometimes they were left hanging for a week or two.

"I wonder who did it," said Tietsen.

"People who'd do such things would keep their mouths shut."

Happening by, Steele observed, "This lynching has raised a little Hell here."

Though it was contrary to his habit to frequent the billiard-saloon so early in the day, he had been so shaken from helping to lower the corpse he had roused his friend Miller and asked for a drink. Steele had explained the unusual request by relating that he had just had the unnerving experience of assisting in lowering the body of a lynch victim.

Thomas had asked Overend to summon Steele to the inquest. Instead Overend had sent Tietsen. Overend later rationalized this substitution on the ground that Tietsen, too, had witnessed the body dangling from the telephone pole. Steele would attend the following day.

Continued on Next Page



# STRANGE CASE OF GOTO

Continued from Previous Page

Many of Steele's subordinate Japanese testified. The preceding night their wakefulness had encouraged the observation of unusual comings and goings.

Uyenaka had not only seen two horsemen riding out before ten, he had seen them returning from Honoka'a about midnight. He recognized the rider of the white horse as Steele. He had been unable to recognize the other rider.

About midnight, Tamura and Uyeda were near the kitchen of their quarters when Tamura pointed out two horses slowly trotting past on the road 60 feet away. The nearer horse was black, the farther one white. The riders were unidentifiable.

Tamura said of the horses, "They are like the Master's—like Overend's and Tom's. It is unusual for horsemen to come in so late at night."

Sukegorō Yamaguchi had heard horses passing about midnight; so had Nakani.

Having been summoned from Hilo that morning, Dr. Robert B. Williams arrived about 8 p.m. to perform the autopsy. He had been graduated from medical school in California in November 1887, had arrived in Hawaii Dec. 10, 1888, and had practiced in Hana, Island of Maui, as government physician. Since he had arrived in Hilo only 19 days before, he was a stranger to those present.

By this time those conducting the inquest had questioned 20 persons. Williams found everything ready for his autopsy. He immediately set to work.

He viewed the features of the corpse and felt the scalp for fractures. He loosened the rope to examine the neck. He turned the body partly over. He cut the ropes without disturbing the knots and removed the clothes.

He found a slight hurt on the forehead and deduced that the livid, swollen face indicated suffocation. On the other hand, the undue mobility of the neck indicated it had been broken.

He continued, examining brain, lungs, heart, liver and stomach. He would send the contents of the stomach to Hilo for chemical analysis, which would reveal no evidence of poisoning. He concluded that the body had been in a healthy state before the assumed attack. He was unable to say whether Gotō died of a broken neck before being hanged or of strangulation afterwards.

The coroner had scheduled Steele for testimony early on the morning of the second day. Before testifying, Steele had the chore of getting his sullen Japanese workers off to work. At the office he found some who had reported sick.

From his horse, Steele asked one, "What's the matter?"

Teizaburō Numata, the man addressed, suffered from a cold. As the English-speaking identify the contraction of this ailment with an idiom, "catching cold," so do the Japanese likewise use an idiom, "drawing the wind." Accordingly Uyenaka, who understood the question, said of Numata that he was "wind sick."

In a phrase that would return to haunt him, Steele said to Numata, "You goddam son-of-a-bitch, by and by you all same Gotō—make."

Steele then went on to the courthouse and testified.

His testimony:

After assisting in the interviewing of the seven Japanese the preceding evening, Oct. 28, he had eaten supper alone. He had washed. At 8 p.m. he had seen Overend in the office. Then Steele had mounted his horse and gone mountainward to meet a "female" with whom he had an engagement. He had seen

Gotō on the road with six other Japanese. Though ordinarily Steele smoked a pipe, he had bought a cigar at Miller's. He had spoken to Mills but had not entered his store. Then he had returned to Miller's. After that he had put his horse in the stable and gone to bed.

On the morning of the 29th, he had seen Overend. He had breakfasted with Overend and two other men. He had gone to the camp and found two or three Japanese sick.

He was unable to recall seeing at the stable a rope as thick as the one that had hanged Gotō. Watson had told Steele that Gotō had been fired from Ookala Plantation for causing trouble. But before viewing the corpse dangling from the telephone pole, Steele had only seen Gotō twice. The first time, meeting him on the road, Steele had simply said, "Good Evening," to Gotō.

Personally, Steele said, he had nothing against Gotō.

After so testifying, Steele went his way.

When Sheriff Hitchcock received the notification of the lynching, he had authorized Lyman to post a \$250 reward for the arrest and conviction of the killers. On Friday of the same week, (Nov. 1) Hitchcock arrived in Hamaku'a to investigate.

His testimony:

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## Hanging at Honoka'a

A correspondent writes to us from Honoka'a under date Oct. 29th (Tuesday last) as follows: "A Japanese storekeeper, K. Gotō, was found dead this morning at 6 o'clock hanging to a cross arm on a telephone pole about one hundred yards from the Honoka'a Jail. A new two-inch rope, evidently purchased for the purpose, was used, and from all appearances no bungling hands performed that work—the dead man's hands and legs were pinioned and a genuine hangman's knot, under his left ear. No particulars are known yet."

November 4, under CORRESPONDENCE, which it preceded with the disclaimer, "We do not hold ourselves responsible for the statements made or opinions expressed by our correspondents," the Advertiser carried more on the case.

## The Honoka'a Hanging Case

Mr. Editor: An inquest was held by coroner Thomas on the 29th and 30th, on the body of the deceased Japanese found hanging to the telephone pole at Honoka'a jail. Some twenty witnesses were examined, but the jury did not succeed in eliciting any evidence of importance. All ended in about the same thing that the unfortunate man left his store about 8 o'clock p.m. and went down to Mr. Overend's camp and stayed there until a little after 10 o'clock, when he started for home and on his way met with such a sad fate. There is a very strong feeling of regret among the foreigners here that such a cruel and barbarous transaction should have been perpetrated in this district, and apart from the guilt and shame of such a crime, it was decidedly bad policy, as retaliation may fall on some innocent parties. Should a suspicion of any party or parties arise in the minds of the Japanese, those parties are liable to suffer be they innocent or guilty, and we sincerely hope that the sheriff may succeed in fixing the crime where it belongs, and every law abiding citizen should help him, for a transaction of this kind reflects on the whole community.

Yours etc.,  
J.R.M.

To the average reader in Honolulu, where the Advertiser was published, the initials J.R.M. may have appeared cryptic. To the residents of Honoka'a, the initials easily deciphered into the name of Joseph R. Mills, who had played so prominent a part in the inquest. He was soon to be deputized to auction off the goods in Gotō's store to meet the demands of creditors.

Hitchcock took down in writing the testimony of some he interviewed. He did not do so with Mills who, like others present at the inquest, had been questioned there.

Like so many prominent men of his generation, Edward Griffin Hitchcock, 53, was the son of missionaries, and the younger brother of Deputy Sheriff David H. Hitchcock. Edward was married to a daughter of missionaries.

Sheriff Hitchcock talked with Mills several times, Mills always being eager to know what Hitchcock had learned about the case. No Japanese could have committed the crime, declared Mills, only white men could have done so. As for the identity of the perpetrators, Hitchcock need not look far. Where was Milt Holmes on the night of the lynching? Where was Miller?

Mills said he did not stock the kind of rope used to hang Gotō. He had had none for two or three months before the hanging. Again he said he had sold the last of that kind of rope three weeks before. As for the killers, they were those two men over on the plantation.

For a time, Hitchcock was absent at Waima. When he returned to Honoka'a, Mills, as usual, was eager for information. Hitchcock told him the evidence pointed toward Overend and Steele.

"I hope whoever did it will be hung," said Mills. He pointed toward Overend's. "Only white men did it."

The next time Hitchcock visited him, Mills told him that when Steele had gone to Miller's for a drink on the morning of the discovery of the lynching, Miller had said to Mills, "For God's sake, don't give it away."

But as Mills perhaps suspected, the reason Hitchcock did not record these observations in writing was because he considered Mills a prime suspect. Bit by bit the evidence was coalescing into a coherent whole.

Though he had been previously denied such substantial credit, a Honoka'a butcher's assistant, a Kanaka known as Lala, though his full name was Kuapalahalaha, had borrowed

\$15 from Mills the day following the discovery of the lynching. Lala was also a cattle herder and horse trainer. Hitchcock summoned him for questioning.

On Oct. 28, Lala had taken some beef for Mills' dog. Mills had told him to go to Miller's billiard-saloon that night. There two men would entertain by putting on a theater. While Lala was in attendance, a Chinese would go to him and summon him to Mills.

Instead of doing as directed, Lala had gone home to sleep. While he slept, someone knocked at his door and called, "Lala! Lala!"

Lala got up and opened the door. There stood Blabon.

Lala accompanied Blabon to Mills' store. There they found Steele, pistol in hand, astride his usual white horse. Tied to the pommel of Steele's saddle was a new Manila rope such as Lala had seen in Mills' store two days previously.

Steele rode off, Blabon and Lala following. As they entered the pasture inside the school-house fence, Lala heard a whistle. Three men sat there. Two he recognized as Steele and Watson. The third, clad in cap and cloak, was unrecognizable. The four talked together in English, a language unintelligible to Lala.

Then the man in cap and cloak said in the native language, "Lala, go on ahead and hold the Jap's horse."

Immediately Lala recognized the speaker as Mills. Mills gave no reason for the request. No one indicated the purpose behind the holding of the horse.

When the men carried Gotō away after pulling him from the horse, Lala remained in the road holding the mount.

Mills called, "Lala, come here!"

Lala went. Mills told him to go after Steele's horse and take both horses to the Lyceum. As we have seen, Lala ran away after tying the horses to the hitching rack at the Lyceum.

Hitchcock arrested Lala and jailed him in Hilo. There in the overfull jail, he found himself sharing a cell with John Richmond. Since neither spoke the other's language, they did not discuss their plight.

Though Lala did not connect Richmond with the lynching of Gotō, Richmond knew of the involvement of Lala. Richmond was the tall man the Japanese had seen loitering near House #4.

When Hitchcock had questioned him, Richmond had explained his presence in the shadows near House #4 as resulting from a request from Steele. Steele had told Richmond to go to the Japanese quarter and look for a Japanese who rode a white horse. For this purpose, Steele had awakened Richmond, dispatching him on the errand without explaining the significance of it.

When he saw Gotō emerge from the house and go to his horse, Richmond walked at top speed to the rendezvous point with Steele at the schoolyard. Having fulfilled his assignment, Richmond said he would return home.

"No," said Steele, "Wait. You might be wanted."

With Richmond following, Steele joined Mills and Watson, Blabon and Lala. Still ignorant of the purpose of the gathering, Richmond lingered with them on the west side of the road up which Gotō would come. He saw the three rush for the horse as Gotō came up, Lala seizing the bridle, Steele and Blabon pulling Gotō from the saddle.

Richmond helped to carry the unresisting man. As they went, Mills told Richmond he was as deeply implicated as the others so must help.

Richmond saw Lala leave with the horses.

It was Steele who had tied Gotō's hands behind his back, Steele and Blabon who had tied the feet together. Then they had picked Gotō and carried him to the mountainward side of the government road and laid him down.

Continued on Next Page



# STRANGE CASE OF GOTO

Continued from Previous Page

Mills told Richmond there was a rope at the foot of the telephone pole across the road and to go and get it. Richmond found the rope at the foot of the second telephone pole east of the courthouse. The rope was coiled, the hangman's knot already made. He brought the rope. Watson took it.

Mills said they would ask Gotō some questions.

The complete lack of resistance by Gotō, however, had aroused doubt of his ability to answer.

One of the assailants said, "My God, I believe the Jap is dead."

Richmond put his hand on Gotō's breast. He felt no heartbeat.

Mills said, "Well, he will not sell any more goods."

Richmond assisting, they took the body across the government road to the same telephone pole where the rope had been concealed. Unassisted, Mills raised the head of Gotō and put the noose around the neck. Watson tried to throw the other end of the rope across the crosspiece. He succeeded on the fourth try.

All five pulled the body upwards to the crossbar. They made the rope firm.

The men stood around observing their handiwork. The original four conspirators warned Richmond not to divulge who had done the deed.

"We will not say anything about it," said Mills.

"We will know nothing about it at all," said Richmond.

The others assented. The group dispersed.

Richmond headed for home. Being on foot, the trip took him 10 or 15 minutes. He arrived about 1:30 a.m.

Though troubled by the events in which he had participated, he was also tired. He went to bed and soon dropped off to sleep. Talking woke him. He kept a light burning in the stable about 50 feet from the window. Looking out, he saw Steele and Watson coming out the stable door.

Steele went toward the office; Watson toward his home.

The guilt involved in stealing a watch and telling tall tales is incommensurable with being an accessory to murder. Richmond, like Lala, seemed to believe his involvement had been involuntary.

"I did not willingly hang the Jap," he testified.

In December Rufus Lyman received a search warrant against Mills for the cloak and cap worn during the lynching. Mrs. Mills gave him the cloak from behind the back door in the store and the cap from the back room. Mills said his wife had been wearing the cloak and had muddled it.

Steele, Mills, Blabon and Watson were arrested. In Hilo, beginning Jan. 8, 1890, Judge Frederick Lyman held an examination for the commitment of the four. Finding reasonable cause for commitment, he scheduled them for trial in May before the Circuit Court in Hilo.

As witnesses for the prosecution, he bound over Richmond and Lala at \$3,000 each; Uyenaka at \$1,000; Nakamura and Isaoka, Gotō's clerk, at \$300 each.

Lynching had caused unrest among the Japanese elsewhere. At the nearby Hakalau Plantation the laborers demonstrated against overtime work without pay and demanded that they be transferred to work out their contracts elsewhere.

To investigate the troubled situation, Acting Japanese Consul General Chūta Torii visited the Island of Hawaii. There he engaged Deputy Sheriff David H. Hitchcock and Deputy Attorney General Paul Neumann to assist in the prosecution of the Gotō case.

The trial began in Hilo on May 8, 1890, before Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Al-

bert Francis Judd. Attorney General Arthur P. Peterson and Deputy Attorney General Charles Creighton headed the prosecution; Francis M. Hatch represented Steele and Watson; J.M. Davidson represented Mills and Blabon.

Judd, 52, was the son of a missionary couple. His father, Gerrit P. Judd, as counselor to Kamehameha III, had virtually ruled the Kingdom between 1842 and 1851. The Chief Justice opened the case by ruling against a defense request for change of venue.

Peterson opened the case for the prosecution with the charge:

"We will show to your satisfaction . . . a little over a week before the lynching a fire occurred in the canefields of Overend, and I hope to show you that it was set by the Japanese on the plantation. There had been some misunderstanding between the men and Mr. Overend in regard to the payment of their wages and the fire was the result . . . We will not show that he (Gotō) was killed by the hanging, but by the pulling from the horse; that he was hung to the telephone post as a mere act of bravado; hung to the pole nearest the courthouse . . .

"We will show that the cause of that murder was the fire in the canefield—that the members of the plantation suspected Gotō as the ring-leader in the matter and that they were going to extort from him the facts and who set fire to the cane.

"This is the most serious case ever tried on these islands . . .

"Under Hawaiian law, a three-quarters vote from the 12-man jury on each count would be necessary for conviction. Peterson said to evidence is enough for conviction, then never mind how much you may think of them as white men against Japs. It is your duty to bring in a verdict against them."

Deputy Sheriff Charles Joseph Stevens introduced photos he had taken for the prosecution: Where Gotō had been pulled from his horse; where he had been hanged, and so forth. Lala and Richmond testified for the prosecution.

Many Japanese, with Jōji Nakayama serving as interpreter, testified as shown. Numata testified that he knew no English, but that he had often heard the epithet "You god-dam son-of-a-bitch" on the plantation. Accordingly when Steele applied the epithet to him, he had inquired about its meaning and committed the epithet to memory. Consequently he was able to use it in his testimony.

The defense concentrated on attacking the credibility of Lala and Richmond.

The trial concluded May 13 with Davidson and Hatch pleading the cause of their clients. Neumann addressed the jury for the prosecution.

In his charge to the jury, Chief Justice Judd said:

"This case commenced on Tuesday last and has occupied your attention for over a week. I may say it is the most important case I have ever had to preside over since I have had the honor to occupy a position on the bench . . . On the one hand we invite the Japanese to come here by the thousand. We must treat him fairly. We must do justice though the heavens fall . . ."

He concluded his remarks at 4:40 p.m. The jury was escorted to the jury room where it deliberated until 11:30. Then it brought in its verdicts:

Mills: Manslaughter in the second degree; three dissenting.

Steele: Manslaughter in the second degree; two dissenting.

Blabon: Manslaughter in the third degree; one dissenting.

Watson: Manslaughter in the third degree; one dissenting.

Judd sentenced Mills and Steele to nine years at hard labor, Blabon to five years and Watson to four. He gave Watson the lighter sentence because he had a family depending on him.

What was the Overend Camp is now overgrown with cane.

The remains of the man with whom the memory of the camp will always be associated repose in the Hamakua Jōdō Mission cemetery five miles to the east. The 100-square-yard cemetery is atop a hill at Paauhau. Up the hill the sugar cane clammers almost to the temple grounds. The cemetery itself is bordered with tall ironwoods that must have been planted soon after the burial of Gotō. The wind plays in the tree tops; the branches sigh and moan.

After the death of Gotō, his brother, Shigejirō Kobayakawa, returned from the mainland and took over management of the store. Later he and his wife adopted the orphan of a friend.

When the child was five, they returned to Japan with her. There she grew up, became a physician, survived the bombing of Hiroshima and, as Dr. Fumiko Kaya, wrote a book about the bombing—*Kinoko-gumo* (Mushroom Cloud).

After an absence of 48 years, she returned to Honoka'a and visited the grave of her foster uncle. She wept when she saw that the grave had deteriorated. Before returning to Japan, she asked Ukichi Kuramitsu to restore the grave.

When news spread of her visit and of her sorrow over the deteriorated condition of the grave, many came to help in the restoration. The round stone marking the grave was replaced with a marble slab.

Before the restored grave, grateful residents, on May 26, 1966, held a memorial service for the man who paid with his life for his assistance to the immigrant Japanese.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I acknowledge my debt to others who have written about this case. John Reinecke introduced me to the subject in a brief article he

wrote about it for the Honolulu Record, Dec. 2, 1948. The 1971 PC Holiday Issue carried an account by Karl Yoneda, who had the privilege, no longer available, of visiting the scene with someone, 86-year-old Kisou Yamamoto, who could give firsthand information.

This article is based primarily on the transcript of the hearing for commitment of the four defendants and the transcript of the trial. These materials, as well as others, including the passenger list of the *City of Tokio* for the first group of Japanese immigrants, was made available to me by the Hawaii State Archives. The State Library of Hawaii supplemented this information through the full coverage of the case carried by The Pacific Commercial Advertiser. Here and there I picked up other points. I also visited the scene and talked to residents of Honoka'a.

At the time of the lynching, the spelling of Japanese names was still unstandardized. Many times I came across different spellings that may have referred to one person or several.

The Bishop Museum furnished me with a Japanese translation of an article on the subject by Gaylord Kubota. I have read brief Japanese-language accounts in the works of Ryūichi Kihara, Yasutarō Soga and Kempu Kawazoe. I had looked forward to reading the report of the Japanese consulate, but this report appears to have been lost or destroyed during the war.

The Japanese accounts tend, without substantiation, to give great credit for the solution of the crime to such persons as Keigorō Katsura, Hawaii's first Japanese lawyer, and Eijirō Tatsumi, a mainland detective who happened to be in Hawaii. If my account slights such persons, I may still have an opportunity to do them justice.

I can envision this article finding its way between the covers of a book along with other articles I have written about the Japanese immigrants or plan to write about them. I shall be glad to learn of anything that might make this future printing more accurate and complete.

My address: Allan Beekman, 1279-203 Ala Kapuna St., Honolulu, HI 96819.

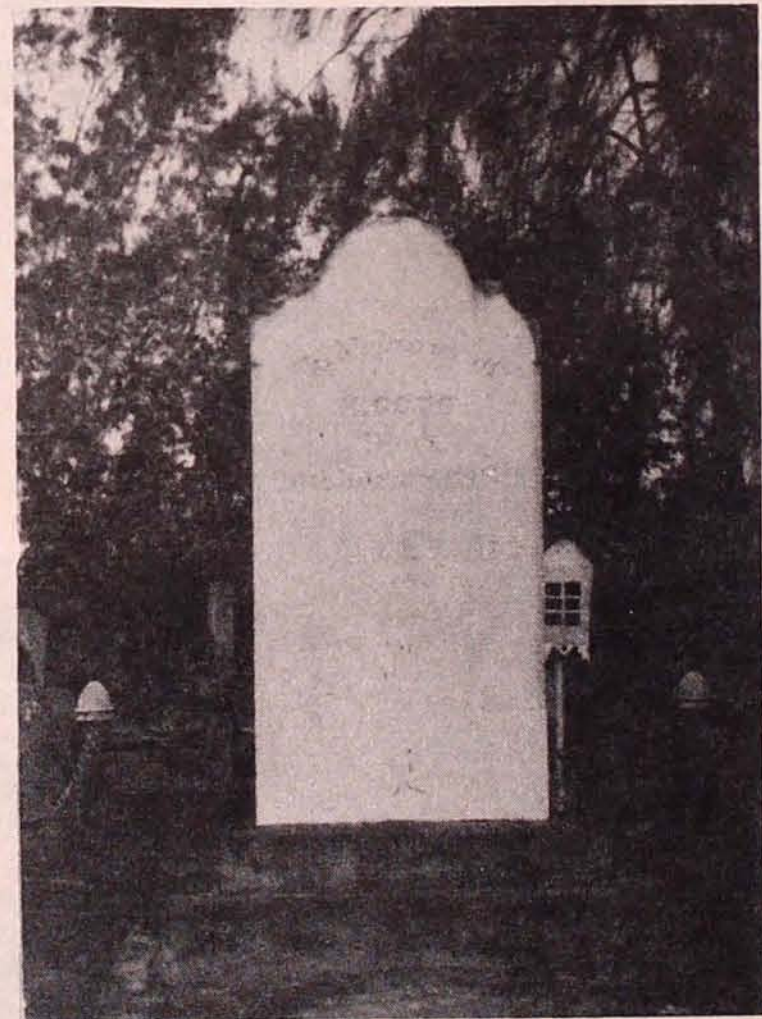


Photo by the author.

Grave of Katsu Goto, Hamakua Jodo Mission, Paauhau. The stone marking the grave was replaced with a marble slab. On May 26, 1966, grateful residents held a memorial service for the man who paid with his life for his assistance to the Japanese immigrants.



# Operation Magic

By MARSHALL SUMIDA

The top secret operation "Magic," the breaking of the Japanese codes prior to Pearl Harbor, sheds a different light on the imprisonment of American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry. U.S. intelligence had been intercepting communications sent in code to the Japanese foreign offices as well as its Army units and Navy fleet. Many American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry were involved in this top-secret deciphering operation, for the complex Japanese language was best unraveled by Japanese American linguists and translators—many of them Kibei.

Strange as it may seem, Gen. John L. DeWitt and Col. Karl Bendetsen of the Western Defense Command at Presidio of San Francisco were not privy to "Magic," a top secret operation during World War II.

Using their Japanese language skills in various capacities prior to the outbreak of the war at Pearl Harbor, it is ironic many American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry were in fact working for U.S. intelligence agencies rather than presumably for the enemy Japanese. But this news was hush-hush during the war for security reasons.

Appointed by the President, Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts chaired the first official inquiry into the Pearl Harbor disaster. To ascertain whether or not Admiral Stark and General Marshall had been warned of the breakdown in diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States, Roberts spent "an entire day" (Dec. 18) in Secretary of State Cordell Hull's office. While the commission did not pass on State Department or presidential policy, Roberts determined that "every time Hull gave them a warning, both Stimson and Knox would repeat it to the Chief of Staff and to the Admiral . . . That is all I was interested in."

General Marshall later disclosed that investigation of the disaster between Dec. 18, 1941 and Jan. 23, 1942 was incomplete because "Operation Magic," the radio intercepts and breaking of the Japanese code were purposely withheld for security reasons. The military was supplying the information from Magic regarding Japanese moves in the Pacific to the State Department rather than, as is popularly assumed, the State Department providing the military with the information.

But the Roberts Commission was aware of "Magic". As Roberts said, "The Navy was rather chary about even telling us about the thing for fear there might be some leak from our commission." Roberts did not ask to see any of the messages. "The Magic was not shown to us. I would not have bothered to read it if it had been shown to us." All that Roberts wanted to know was whether the commanders had been advised of the criticalness of this situation . . . the commission found that they had ample warning and they had orders from headquarters.

In its conclusion issued Jan. 25, 1942, the Roberts Commission never mentioned sabotage, espionage, or fifth column activity in Hawaii being carried out by American citizens or alien residents of Japanese ancestry.

On the other hand, Executive Order 9066 in the opening statement specified that espionage, sabotage and subversive activity made it a "military necessity" that called for the curfew and later evacuation of American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast. The fact was a Supreme Court justice and his colleagues conducting an investigation accepted unsupported testimony of interested parties that Admiral Husband Kimmel and Lt. Gen. Walter Short (the military commanders in Hawaii) were given sufficient warning. They reached their conclusion on basis of unsworn testimony of key witnesses, and not bothering to explore the "best evidence"—Magic. [cf p. 595 "At Dawn We Slept."]

## Code Deciphering Machine

Winston Churchill regarded "Magic", a cipher machine, as his secret weapon. It was used to save Britain in her darkest hours prior to America joining forces after Dec. 7 with the British.

A machine called "Enigma" capable of deciphering Japanese diplomatic and other codes had been built before Dec. 7, 1941 by the Germans. Churchill told President Roosevelt how the cipher machine was stolen from the Germans and how England had been reading Germany's most secret communications for a long time. Japan had bought and used one of the "Enigma" devices from Germany. Thus, Churchill gave Roosevelt the key to Japan's topmost secrets.

The vital key in the Pearl Harbor issue consists of intercepts of coded Japanese diplomatic messages. Prior to Pearl Harbor and over a period of years cryptographic intelligence staff in Washington analyzed the character of the machine the Japanese were using for encoding their secret dispatches. A deciphering machine was built which aided in the unscrambling and cracking the Japanese diplomatic code. Hence, U.S. cryptographers were able to decipher Japanese and German codes.

## Roberts Commission Report on Spying

In the Roberts Commission report, Japanese intelligence activity in Hawaii prior to Pearl Harbor is covered:

"There were, prior to Dec. 7, 1941, Japanese spies on the island of Oahu. Some were Japanese consular agents and others were persons having no open relations with the Japanese foreign service. These spies collected and, through various channels transmitted, information to the Japanese Empire respecting military and naval establishments and dispositions on the island . . .

"It was believed that the center of Japanese espionage in Hawaii was the Japanese consulate at Honolulu. It has been discovered that the Japanese consul sent and received from Tokyo in his own and other names many messages on commercial radio circuits. This activity greatly increased toward Dec. 7, 1941.

"The contents of these messages, if it could have been learned, might have furnished valuable information. In view of the peaceful relations with Japan, and the consequent restrictions on the activities of the investigating agencies, they were unable prior to Dec. 7 to obtain and examine messages transmitted through commercial channels by the Japanese consul, or by persons acting for him. It is now apparent that through their intelligence service the Japanese had complete information."

## 'Magic' Info Suppressed During 1944 Election

With the war still raging, "Operation Magic" was a crucial intelligence source Marshall was trying to protect and withheld information that the Japanese military codes were broken. Marshall alleged the same codes involved in the Pearl Harbor events were still being used in 1944 by Japan. Hence, in the 1944 presidential elections when President Roosevelt was running for an unprecedented fourth term, challenger Tom Dewey's strategy was dissuaded from using the disaster at Pearl Harbor as a campaign issue. In a letter dated Sept. 26, 1944 to Governor Dewey, General Marshall by inference requested that the Pearl Harbor disaster be eliminated from the campaign issue in order to prevent compromising "Magic" and revealing the fact that the Japanese codes were broken.

The Congressional report covering the disaster at Pearl Harbor was also suppressed by Secretary of War Stimson at President Roosevelt's express command because of the 1944 elections. It can be speculated what the public reaction might have been had it been published earlier. This investigation had revealed that a series of 12 diplomatic messages sent from Tokyo to the consul in Honolulu were decoded and translated between Sept. 22 and Dec. 7, 1941. The cables had divided Pearl Harbor into five military zones, and requested specific details regarding berthing of American ships in the harbor. This information directly indicated Pearl Harbor as a prime target for attack. After the attack, maps found in downed aircraft revealed information supplied by Japanese consular agents were the basis for the deadly accuracy of Japanese bombers in sinking the fleet.

Whereas the first investigation a few weeks after the attack, when Supreme Court Justice Roberts had concluded Admiral Kimmel and General Short were in "dereliction of duty" for the Pearl Harbor disaster because he was not fully informed of the details of Magic, the 1944 Army's Board of Inquiry did focus on Magic and pointed at evidence revealed by decoded messages. Unlike earlier probes, the Army Board reported its findings of the Pearl Harbor disaster to Secretary of War Stimson on Oct. 20, 1944. It faulted the War Department as well as General Short. It also criticized Marshall himself for failing to keep Short apprised of the growing tensions with Japan and not sending detailed war alert instructions to Pearl Harbor. Hawaii was not on full alert and inadequately defended, the Army Board noted.

The Army inquiry board determined information available in Washington through Magic as early as the 4th or 5th of December was clearcut indication a Japanese attack within two or three days was imminent, and the War Department was derelict in not sending a full alert warning of immediate dangers to the Hawaiian command.

The first part of Japan's two-part message that was intercepted on Dec. 6 made no reference towards Hawaii. The message of Dec. 7, Declaration of War message and subsequent disaster at Pearl Harbor did not reach General Marshall until it was too late. Unfortunately, Marshall said, the message singling out Hawaii as the target of attack had not reached the War Department in time to take appropriate defensive action.

Continued on Next Page



Eric Saul, Go For Broke exhibit curator, speaks of the Nisei veterans' sacrifices at Punchbowl ceremony.

## At the '84 JACL Convention



Chatting at reception, from left, are Ruthie and Floyd Shimomura, and Lily and Patrick Okura.



Rep. and Mrs. Robert Matsui host reception prior to Sayonara banquet.



Later it was learned that messages decoded and translated in Washington on the morning of the 7th had been relayed to San Francisco, the Panama Canal Zone, and the Philippines. The message to Hawaii via Signal Corps radio did not reach Hawaii due to radio interference. Western Union cable was used as an alternate route for the message for Pearl Harbor. The civilian messenger was approaching Military Headquarters on either a bicycle or motorcycle when the Japanese attack started.

## Naval Operations—"Magic" Success

The retaking of Attu and Kiska in the Aleutians was successful because of intelligence information gained through code intercepts. U.S. submarines were informed about sailing dates and routes of Japanese convoys.

The naval victory in the Coral Sea and Midway was credited to advance information gained by intercepting Japanese radio dispatches. Timely translations had helped put U.S. ships in the right place for the Battle of the Coral Sea, and enabled a naval victory in the Battle of Midway, which was the turning point in the war and made it impossible for the Japanese to advance toward the U.S. mainland.

Admiral Halsey's carrier force raids against Japanese shipping in Manila Bay and elsewhere were also based on intercepting movements of Japanese convoys. Two supply attempts were destroyed in task force attacks.

During the war 10,000 cryptographic specialists including many American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry in uniform and civilians were working around-the-clock trying to decipher and translate the codes into meaningful messages. Their effort is credited with shortening the war by two years and saving millions of lives by General Willoughby, General MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence G-2.

Gen. Bonner Fellers, top assistant to General MacArthur during the war, expressed certainty that Japanese codes were frequently changed. It proved that the J-19 code, used in the messages on ship deployment, was abandoned long before 1944. At the Battle of Midway the Japanese used JN-25, a new version of the code identified by intelligence.

The rescinding of military orders allowing the return of American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry to the West Coast was not made public until after the election in 1944.

## Justice Roberts' Change of Position

By 1944, Justice Roberts realized that his Commission investigation of the disaster at Pearl Harbor released on Jan. 25, 1942 was misleading and indirectly contributed to the evacuation and detention of American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast into concentration camps. The report allowed Secretary of Navy Frank Knox to allege:

"I think the most effective fifth column work of the entire war was done in Hawaii, with the possible exception of Norway." And the Roberts report had affirmed enemy espionage activity: "... some were consular agents and others were persons having no open relations with the Japanese foreign service."

The statements were used by the press as an affirmation that espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity involving American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry contributed to the disaster of Pearl Harbor. On Feb. 19, 1942 Executive Order 9066 had declared protection against espionage, sabotage, and subversive activity as "military necessity" in the opening statement.

As information filtered out about Pearl Harbor and Nisei war exploits, Roberts became aware of the contribution of American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry in the war effort. Many heard of the exploits of the 100/442d Regiment in military action in Europe, but throughout the war the Nisei-Kibei contributions in the Pacific theater were kept "secret" for fear that Japan may learn that the codes were broken and change them.

Roberts became aware the evacuation and detention was a grave mistake that had to be corrected. His report unsupported by facts was being used to perpetrate an injustice. In the Japanese American cases coming before the Supreme Court, he took special pains to study facts carefully and wrote a very strong dissenting opinion in the Korematsu case. In the Endo case, Roberts concurred that Endo should be released, but disagreed with Justice Douglas and reasoned that the Supreme Court was avoiding important substantive constitutional issues. The cases were decided in wartime, and the Magic information was not stated in the court reports.

It is interesting to note, in 1943, in the Hirabayashi case, JACL / ACLU attorney A. L. Wirin had attacked Justice Roberts and his report of the disaster at Pearl Harbor, referring to undocumented inferences of Secretary Navy Knox and the Roberts Commission report that Japanese Americans in Hawaii had committed acts of sabotage and espionage that were labeled as "false and misleading" by both Secretary of War Stimson and Attorney General Biddle.

In 1943, in the Hirabayashi case, five members of the Court—Roberts, Reed, Douglas, Rutledge, and Murphy—voiced serious doubts about the legality of DeWitt's orders and their constitutional basis, but went along with the Chief Justice in showing the Court's support of the efforts to win the war by the Executive, Congressional and military forces.

## The Korematsu and Endo Cases

By 1944 an allied victory was just a matter of time. Wartime political unity waned and adversary politics resurfaced. The Republicans wanted the Pearl Harbor disaster as a campaign issue, and had pushed for Congressional investigation in quest of the truth behind the disaster. The court likewise took a different posture. Unlike the unanimous opinion in the Hirabayashi case, Supreme Court justices were divided in the Korematsu case. Justices Frank Murphy, Robert Jackson and Roberts wrote strong dissenting opinions.

Roberts did not concur, knowing some of the facts were withheld. He wrote a strong dissent and, knowing it was wartime, added a footnote that he would not "preclude judicial inquiry and determination whether an emergency ever existed and whether, if so, it remained at the time of the exclusion order in question." (Whether there was evidence of actual "military necessity" based on espionage, sabotage and fifth column activity in Hawaii or the West Coast?) This was a question that could be delved into after the war was won.

In the Ex parte Endo case, Roberts concurred with the majority in releasing Endo but indicated the broad important questions of constitutional law were avoided by the Supreme Court. He did not agree with Justice William O. Douglas's narrow interpretation that found "detention" was not specified in Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503 and directed attention to War Relocation Authority leave regulations as evidence that *habeas corpus* had not been involved and the government purpose was to relocate people after a loyalty check—rather than detention.

Roberts was aware of the effort of the Solicitor General to make the Endo case moot by granting Endo release without compliance with WRA's leave regulation.

Roberts complained that detention issues were involved since General DeWitt had operated within the authority of Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503. Congress had appropriated funds and \$80,000,000 was spent to carry out evacuation and detention. Long-term detention in concentration camps was part of the plan. To spend the sum of \$80,000,000 was an expensive way for the government to provide temporary housing quarters while loyalty checks were completed, when it was unnecessary to do the same in Hawaii under martial law.

Roberts knew that the courts were obligated to read statutes in their full context of congressional action and executive implementation. Douglas's evasion of basic constitutional law led Roberts to state "such a basis of decision will render easy the evasion of law and violation of constitutional rights." Roberts concluded that "the court is squarely faced with serious constitutional question" of illegal detention—did Endo's detention violate substantive law of the Constitution and "the guarantee of due process of law"?

It can be interpreted that Justice Roberts believed that both Executive Order 9066 and Public Law 503 were unconstitutional. The legislature had passed an illegal bill of attainder, imprisonment by legislature without a trial. There was a de facto suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* until the test case was ruled on by the Supreme Court.

If there was a violation of an illegal bill of attainder and illegal suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, under the First Amendment right to petition for redress of grievances, 120,000 American citizens and alien residents of Japanese ancestry have a grievance that should be aired. The government has the capacity to recognize its errors and make corrections and restitution.

It is interesting to note, that Justice Douglas in his book, "The Court Years," recanted and stated that Justice Roberts was right and that he was wrong. The details of "Magic" were not disclosed until after the Freedom of Information Act was passed in 1974; it was kept secret during the war and many years thereafter. The Kibei played an important part of the military intelligence activity, yet throughout the war they were looked upon with suspicion. Without the Kibei linguists, the MISLS/G2 language teams would have been severely handicapped. They deserve a lot of credit for their forbearance and important contribution to the war effort. Much remains still untold for security reasons.



Frank Sato shovels dirt at tree-planting ceremony.

## Scenes from the '84 JACL Convention



Delegates' feet find comfort in Hawaii.



Sculptor Isamu Noguchi, a Nikkei of the Biennium, accepts honor at Sayonara Banquet.





Cherry Kinoshita of Seattle (left) accepts award as JACLER of the Biennium from Pacific Northwest District Governor Denny Yasuhara.

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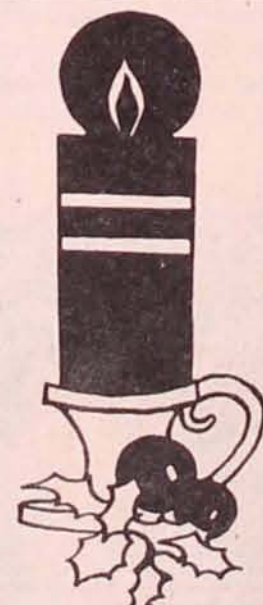


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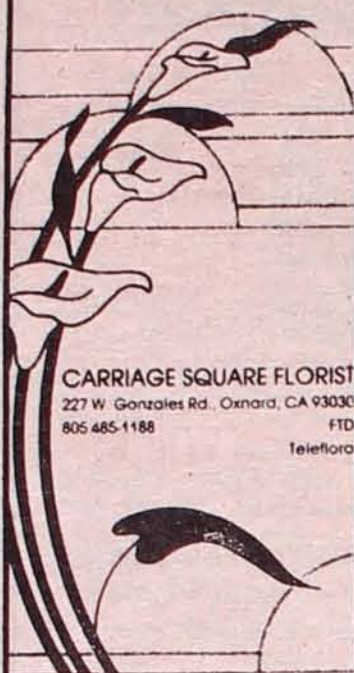
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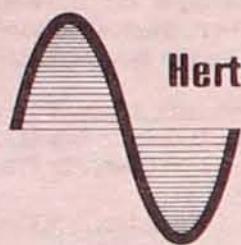
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## San Fernando Valley scholars honored at Awards program

The 25th annual Scholarship Awards Night was held at the Community Center on Saturday, June 2, 1984. The SFV Japanese American Citizens League and SFV Japanese American Community Center have sponsored this program for the past 25 years.

Dr. Bo Sakaguchi presented the Eugene Oda Memorial Scholarship to Kristine Tatsutani and to Tomoko Nakawatase (who was unable to attend).

San Fernando city councilman Jess Margarito presented the Eugene Oda Memorial Scholarships to outstanding Mexican American graduates Angela Arvizu and Carmen Haro.

JACL board member Pat Kubota presented the Leadership Award to Vicki Y. Nakaji; JACL boutique chairperson Mitzi Kushida presented the Boutique Scholarship to Bryan Mayeda; and JACL board member Wally Arakawa presented the SAM Award to Scott Michio Nishizaka.

JACL-JACC Awards were presented to: Wada Arai, Ronald Hom, Jannie Komukai, Julie Ann Koyama, Kathleen Ojio, Michael K. Scott, Yumiko A. Takenoshita, Grace Takimoto and Elmer Yoshida.

Associate Professor Gordon Nakagawa of CSUN shared his thoughts about ethnic forgetfulness. He spoke about the importance of remembering with pride the ethnic ingredient that makes them unique and of the need for a broadly-based liberal education in making the wisest career decision.



## JACL-JACC Scholarship Awards presented

**JACL-JACC SCHOLARSHIP**—The 1984 recipients of scholarship awards from the San Fernando Valley JACL and the SFV Japanese American Community Center are (from left): standing—Bryan Mayeda (Kennedy High), Ronald Hom (North Hollywood), Vicki Nakaji (Canoga Park), Michael Scott (Kennedy), Elmer Yoshida (Granada Hills); seated—Grace Takimoto (Poly), Angela Arvizu (Sylmar), Julie Ann Koyama (Sylmar), Carmen Haro (Sylmar), Jeannie Komukai (Monroe), Kristine Tatsutani (Burroughs).

Nancy Gohata served as evening emcee, and was assisted by: Bob Arnold, Alice Moriya, Sally Hamamoto, Bill Hoshiko, Roy Makino and Fumio Nakama. Wally Arakawa and Bob Arnold co-chaired the awards program. Com-

mittee members were Mariko Arnold, Hiroshi Shimizu, Miye Yoshida and Ron Yoshida.

We thank all advertisers in the San Fernando Valley section of this issue for their support of the scholarship program.

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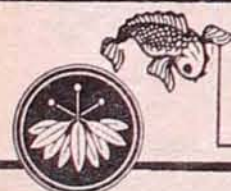


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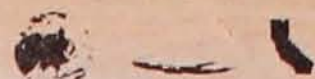


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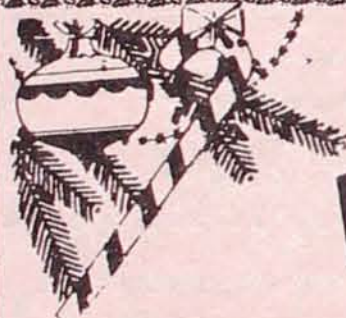


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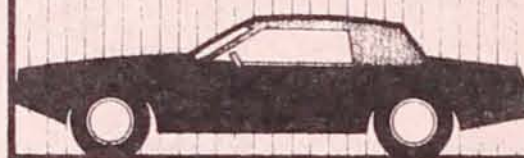
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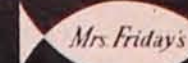
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Canadian Rockies - Victoria (8 days) ..... June 19  
Japan Summer Adventure ..... July 2  
Hokkaido-Tohoku (No. Japan) ..... Sept. 30  
East Coast & Foliage (10 days) ..... Oct. 7  
Japan Autumn Adventure ..... Oct. 15  
Far East (Bangkok, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan) ..... Nov. 1



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SHIMIZU, Hitoshi/Kiyoko ..... 12216 Marshall St  
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KITAGAWA, Frances C ..... 1110 Berkeley Dr  
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Goro/Pat TAKEUCHI ..... 419 Peach Grove Lane (05)  
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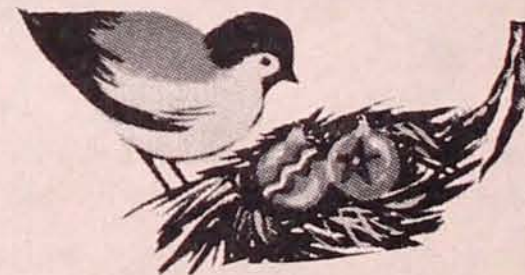


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