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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

A monetary sum and words alone cannot restore lost years or erase painful memories; neither can they fully convey our Nation's resolve to rectify injustice and to uphold the rights of individuals. We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can take a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustices were done to Japanese Americans during World War II.

In enacting a law calling for restitution and offering a sincere apology, your fellow Americans have, in a very real sense, renewed their traditional commitment to the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice. You and your family have our best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

George Bush

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Extracts: CWRIC Hearings

■ This being an issue devoted to the Japanese American redress theme, extracts of testimonies before the CWRIC, the U.S. government Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilian, which culminated in the first presentation of a Letter of Apology signed by President Bush (above) and a $20,000 check, were called for this year's Holiday Issue. We found the testimonies continue to grip the human imagination.

■ **Lorraine Bannai** for the Bay Area Attorneys for Redress, comments on the Munson Report with Exhibits. ..... B - 1

■ 3 Testimonies ..... A - 17

Hugh Anderson describes the $250,000 San Francisco Japanese Tea Garden claim. **Thomas Kinaga** volunteers for the Army from Heart Mountain. **Monica Sone,** author of *Nisei Daughter*, assesses her wartime hurt as a clinical psychologist.

■ **Jim Tsujimura** of Portland, Ore., cites the murder of eight wartime Japanese American internees by the "jail keepers" (the army) in daring expose in an attempt to show the evacuees were not that free to leave the camps at will F-17

■ **" Against All Odds: The Japanese American's Campaign for Redress"** was used as a case study by the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard this year. Permission was granted to reprint the report in full plus footnotes. ..... A-3, Sec. B-14 et al.

■ **Allan Beekman** writes another chapter as it were of the Japanese in Hawaii—this time about the drifters who landed in Hawaii in 1899 and duly noted for the record there and in Japan as a personal narrative. With photos D-1

■ **Naomi Kashibuwara** of San Diego spins another short story .. D-7

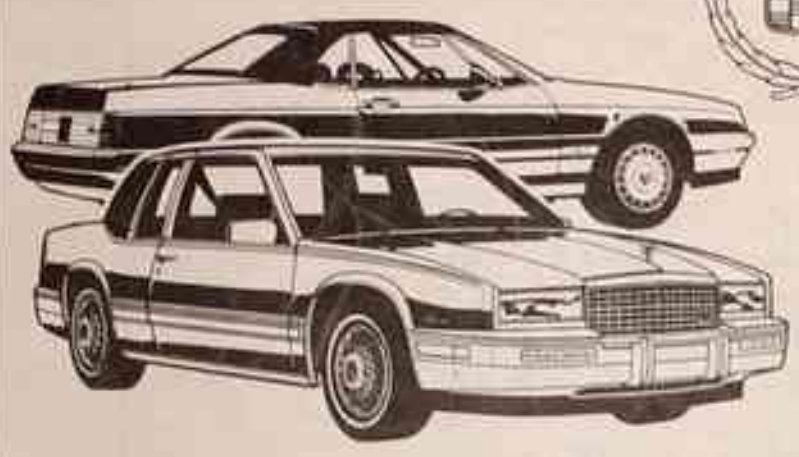
■ **Ambrose Uchiyamada** of Bangor, Maine, reminisces about his prewar days growing up in Los Angeles and in the Midwest and East where he continues to live. E-1

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EDITORIAL OF THE PACIFIC CITIZEN

'Against All Odds'

Given the frailities, conceits and egos of human nature, it is not surprising that many have scurried forward to claim credit for having made Redress possible. That signal victory for justice against overwhelming odds involved many players, some of whose contributions were more significant than those of others. But perhaps it is inevitable that a few, moved by an exaggerated sense of self-importance or even for political gain, have claimed greater credit for their contribution than the facts justify.

There is, of course, glory enough for all. Redress was won, first because it was right, and second, because the Japanese American community gave the key players overwhelming support. That support began, not with the launching of the campaign a decade or so ago, but from the very origin of the issue in 1942 when the people accepted their government's orders—unjust as it was—to leave their homes because of military necessity.

However, the apology and the solatium of Redress would not have been realized without the campaign that began, falteringly it is true, when a decision to proceed was made by delegates at JACL's national convention in Salt Lake City in 1978. It took funds, strategic planning, access to high level contacts and knowledge about how to use them, broad public support, and above all indomitable persistence to drive the effort to ultimate success.

Those who participated directly in the Redress campaign are not the best judges for evaluating the importance and significance of their roles. That evaluation must come from the long view of history, or from the findings of impartial investigators.

Fortunately there has been such an investigation. It was conducted by a team of scholars from the prestigious Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University as a case study in public policy. Their report is published in full, with permission, in this Holiday Issue of Pacific Citizen as a matter of historical record and interest.

The study provides fascinating behind-the-scenes insights into JACL-LEC strategies, based on thorough knowledge of Washington politics, that were used to win the support of reluctant members of Congress. It reveals how Justice Department officials, some of whom were photographed recently as they smilingly distributed checks to elderly recipients, were strongly opposed to Redress. It tells of the decision to try to neutralize the White House when it became obvious White House support for Redress was unlikely, and finally the strategy used to win over President Reagan. It was a campaign conducted with a combination of emotionalism, cold logic and sophisticated knowledge of the American political system. The Harvard study makes it obvious that noisy Li'l Tokyo street rallies with their shouted slogans, if they were noticed at all, made little impression in Washington.

Unfortunately the study ends with the passage of the Redress bill and the Reagan signing ceremony. The report was concluded before the stirring final chapter in which Senator Dan Inouye, angry that Redress was not being funded and prodded by his fellow combat vets, led the charge to make it a three-year entitlement. If there is another shortcoming, it is that Representative Robert Matsui is not accorded credit comparable to other Nisei members of Congress.

Be that as it may, the Kennedy School of Government case history, "Against All Odds: The Japanese Americans' Campaign for Redress," provides an authoritative and objective account of a stirring piece of history about democracy in action. It has no axes to grind, no credit to claim. It puts the Redress story in perspective. The Pacific Citizen commends it for your reading.

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FROM THE FRYING PAN

BILL HOSOKAWA

The Pearl Harbor Connection

Last December 7 I wrote out a check for the JACL Legacy Fund, slipped it into an envelope and dropped it into a mailbox. The amount was modest compared to some of the contributions being made, but as the saying goes every bit counts. I wish it could have been more; I have faith the money will be put to good and necessary use.

The date on the check carried a significant and, I think, an appropriate irony.

As all of us know only too well, December 7 is a historical anniversary that will not soon be forgotten. What happened on that day 49 years ago launched a series of earth-shaking events. The genealogy of JACL's effort to create the $10 million Legacy Fund leads back to Dec. 7, 1941.

The linkage is inevitable. Yet, where the first was evil, the latest action is noble.

So many words have been tossed around to explain the Legacy Fund that some may find them tiresome. Still, it is necessary to state the goals one more time. No one has expressed them better than Cherry Kinoshita, who chaired the National JACL Redress effort. She let her feelings be known in a recent Pacific Citizen column and this in part is what she said about the need to fund JACL and its future:

". . . We need to build a firm financial foundation, we need professional staff, we need a strong visible presence in the nation's capital. JACL cannot push for civil rights, help to eliminate racial violence, help to stem the Japan-bashing impact on Japanese Americans, fight against racism in the workplace, in housing and in institutions without the means to survive.

"We owe to our Issei parents the obligation to carry on the legacy of their struggles to achieve the American Dream; we owe to the Nisei generation the obligation to preserve the legacy of honor and loyalty they won with their spilled blood, and we owe to the future generations — Sansei and Yonsei — a legacy of assurance that they will never have to experience the injustices which their parents and grandparents went through."

In essence, this is what JACL has been attempting to do on a shoestring. Without adequate funding there is no assurance that the work can continue on any level.

Long ago I thought JACL would work itself out of a job and said it would be a great day when that happened. But as Kinoshita points out, it hasn't happened.

The chain of events that began at Pearl Harbor let loose, in addition to the terrible flow of blood—and the injustice of the Evacuation—a surging movement to recognize human rights and realize democratic ideals. That movement is still under way. What has been achieved so far is encouraging but incomplete and imperfect.

There are two key needs. The movement must continue to go forward. And it must not be allowed to backslide.

A small share of Redress checks diverted to the Legacy Fund will help JACL to go on with its work.

Pearl Harbor day seemed to be a very appropriate time to contribute to that effort.

C-16-90-1006.0 - Case Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Against All Odds:

The Japanese American's Campaign for Redress

For most Americans who lived through it, World War II was a period of trial and triumph, a time when the nation united to defeat a common enemy: the forces of fascism. As events from the war reached significant anniversaries in the 1980s, they were commemorated in stories in the news media and in ceremonies—such as the 1984 observance, attended by President Ronald Reagan, of the 40th anniversary of D-Day—that underscored the heroism and suffering of soldiers and citizens alike. But at the same time that the nation was honoring those who had fought in "the good war," a small group of citizens was trying to call attention to a darker chapter in the history of that conflict. They were Japanese Americans from the West Coast states who had been evacuated from their homes and interned in "relocation centers" or camps in the months following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and had remained there for most of the war, forced to sell or abandon their property and placed under a cloud of suspicion as potential traitors to the nation.

Outside the West Coast, the internment had attracted relatively little public attention or comment; and in the years following the war, aided by the reticence of the internees, many of whom remembered it as a time of shame and humiliation, the relocation faded from the minds of most Americans. Even in the Japanese American community, the bitter memories did not recede. In the late 1970s, there was a surge of interest among many Japanese Americans in seeking legal redress for what they saw as a grievous abridgement of their constitutional rights justified in the name of national security but at its base motivated by racism. Redress for the internees meant not just an acknowledgement of the wrong that had been done, and not just an apology from the government, although both were important: redress also meant monetary compensation for the loss of their freedom.

To get that redress, the Japanese Americans would need an act of Congress and, given the formidable obstacles they faced, some would say an act of God. The Japanese American community was tiny, representing less than one-half of one percent of the total population of the United States; never a particularly active force in the political arena, it had little clout to wield in Congress. Most Americans—including most members of Congress—remained ignorant of the internment and the circumstances surrounding it, and more than a few of those who did remember continued to confuse Japanese American citizens with the Japanese aggressors in World War II. Moreover, developments in the early 1980s seemed to conspire to make a tough battle tougher: the election of a conservative administration suspicious of discrimination claims; a skyrocketing federal deficit that put Congress and the nation in a cost-cutting mood; and a growing trade imbalance with Japan that would add to the confused hostility with which some Americans regarded their fellow citizens of Japanese descent.

These were among the concerns of a small group of Japanese Americans who gathered in Washington in 1979 to map out a strategy for a redress campaign. Their number included grassroots lobbyists from the West Coast and the four Japanese American members of Congress, among them two of

Continued on Section B, Page 14

■ *This case was written by Calvin Naito and Esther Scott, based on an idea by Naito, under supervision of Professor Steven Kelman for use at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. This case was made possible by funds from the Parker Gilbert Montgomery Endowment for Public Policy, 1990.*

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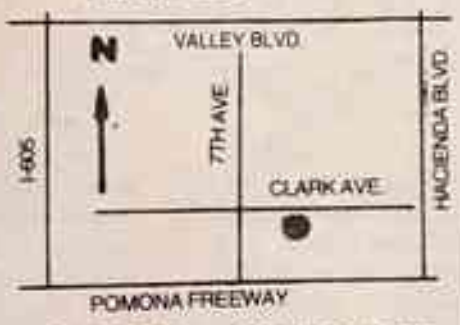
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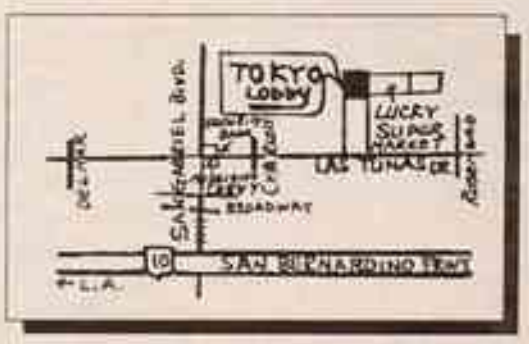
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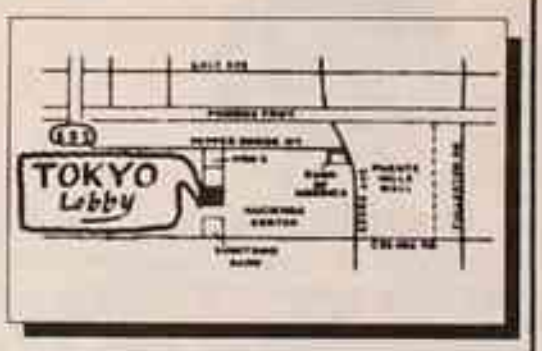
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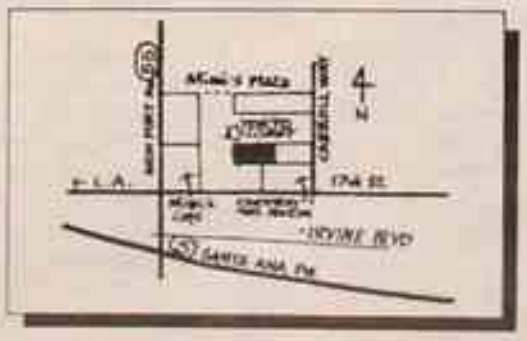


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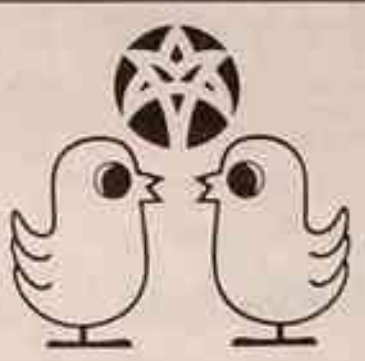
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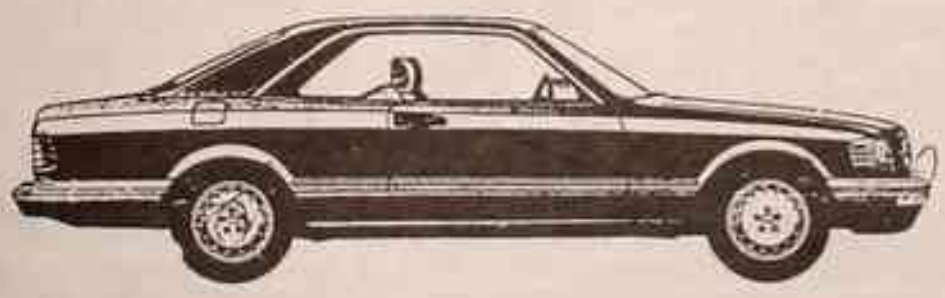
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SECTION B

THE C.B. MUNSON REPORT:

Loyalty of Japanese Americans Surveyed for FDR in October '41; Sees 'No Problem'

Lorraine K. Bannai, Esq.
Bay Area Attorneys for Redress,
c/o Minami, Tomine & Law, Oakland, Calif.

■ **SUMMARY:** *In response to a specific question raised by the CWRIC as to whether the Munson report was considered by President Roosevelt before issuing EO 9066, the BAAR concluded he had read the one-page summary from John Franklin Carter rather than the 17-page Munson report. Michi Weglyn, who uncovered the report during her research for her work,* Years of Infamy *(1976), raised the question whether the document was deliberately suppressed to justify the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.*

This is perhaps the first time the historic Munson Report is appearing in public print.

MEMORANDUM:
From the Bay Area Attorneys for Redress:

San Francisco, July 11, 1981

In October, 1941, Curtis B. Munson was designated as a Special Representative of the State Department to investigate the loyalty of Japanese residing on the West Coast of the United States and in Hawaii (*Weglyn*, 701, p. 34). Completed in November, 1941, the Munson Report determined that the Japanese on the West Coast were loyal to the United States. Although the content of the Munson Report is now well-known, the question arises as to why it wasn't effective in convincing the President from issuing Executive Order 9066.

It appears that Munson's Report was sent to the President after it had been analyzed by an individual named John Franklin Carter. According to Professor Roger Daniels, Carter was a journalist friend of Roosevelt's, appointed by the president as a semi-official clearinghouse for all intelligence reports commissioned by the Executive branch. Professor Daniels also states that it is known that Carter was virulently racist against Asians.



Carter attached a one-page summary of Munson's Report dated November 7, 1941, to the copy sent to the President (*See* Exhibit A). Points 2 and 4 of the summary recap Munson's primary assertion that the Japanese on the West Coast were loyal. However, points 1, part of 2, 3 and 5 of the summary stress a very small part of Munson's report, that of the "odd case" of sabotage and the fact that some strategic points on the West Coast (harbors, dams, etc.) were not being securely guarded.

Carter's summary is significant because point 5 is stressed by President Roosevelt in his November 8, 1941 memorandum to Secretary of War Stimson concerning the Munson Report (Exhibit B). Given the one-day lapse between the time that Carter sent the Munson Report to Roosevelt, and Roosevelt passed the Report on to Stimson, it is not inconceivable that Roosevelt read only Carter's summary rather than the full Munson Report. Prof. Daniels also believes this to be possible (Roger Daniels, *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, p.9).

Possibly because of such a cursory review, Roosevelt dismissed Munson's examination of the loyalty of Japanese on the West Coast as "nothing much new." Stimson in turn, in a memorandum to President Roosevelt dated February 5, 1942, one week before the Executive Order was issued, explains to the President that precautions are being taken to secure strategic points and installations. From there, it is unclear what happened to the Munson Report, although Professor Daniels has stated that Stimson put it in his file and it was never re-opened, and Michi Weglyn questions whether the document was deliberately suppressed (*Weglyn*, p. 34).

Nevertheless, it would appear that the Munson Report's description of Japanese loyalty was subject to the anti-Japanese political climate of the time, ignored in favor of points and reports "justifying" incarceration of Japanese Americans.

• Throughout this Holiday Issue and in subsequent weeks of the Pacific Citizen, extracts from individual testimonies presented at the 1981 hearings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians will be published. Some substantial papers, such as the Munson Report which the Bay Area Attorneys for Redress attached to its testimony, was a welcome find for this year's Holiday Issue theme.—Editor.

(Exhibit A) THE CARTER MEMORANDUM:

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER
(Jay Franklin)
1210 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
Washington, D.C.

November 7, 1941

Attached herewith is the report, with supplementary reports on Lower California and British Columbia. The report, though lengthy, is worth reading in its entirety. Salient passages are:

1) "There are still Japanese in the United States who will tie dynamite around their waist and make a human bomb out of themselves . . . but today they are few".

2) "There is no Japanese 'problem' on the coast. There will be no armed uprising of Japanese. There will be undoubtedly some sabotage financed by Japan and executed largely by imported agents. There will be the odd case of fanatical sabotage by some Japanese 'crackpot' ".

3) "The dangerous part of their espionage is that they would be very effective as far as movement of supplies, movement of troops and movement of ships . . . is concerned."

4) "For the most part the local Japanese are loyal to the United States or, at worst, hope that by remaining quiet they can avoid concentration camps or irresponsible mobs."

5) "Your reporter . . . is horrified to note that dams, bridges, harbors, power stations, etc. are wholly unguarded everywhere. The harbor of San Pedro could be razed by fire completely by four men with hand grenades and a little study in one night. Dams could be blown up and half of lower California might actually die of thirst . . . One railway bridge at the exit from the mountains in some cases could tie up three or four main railroads." J.F.C.

(Exhibit B) THE F.D.R. NOTE:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1941
MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF WAR

Please read this and let me have it back. There is nothing much new in the first four paragraphs on Page No. 1 but paragraph five relating to the guarding of key points should be examined into

F.D.R.

(War Dept. date stamp: Nov 10, 1941)

THE STIMSON MEMORANDUM:

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1942

Dear Mr. President:

In response to your memorandum of November 8, the Department gave careful study and consideration to the matters reported by Mr. C. B. Munson in his memorandum covering the "Japanese situation on the West Coast."

Since you are generally aware of the radical steps which have been taken since December 7 to control the situation on the West Coast and particularly the guarding of the key points in that area by Federal troops, I see little need of commenting on the report I have before me. The California state authorities are still somewhat confused as to the steps they wish to take to form units to guard local property generally, but I understand a number of interests are endeavoring to reach some solution of the problem. In the meantime, General DeWitt's forces continue to guard many of the more important strategic points and installations.

We have worked out with the Attorney General a more expeditious legal method than formerly prevailed in the Western theatre of operations in connection with the *search and seizure* of enemy aliens and their property.

I may add that our officials have consulted with Mr. Munson on the matter of the defense of the West Coast against *enemy agents*.

As requested in your memorandum, I am returning Mr. Munson's report.

/s/Henry H. Stimson
Secretary of War

Japanese on The West Coast
(C.B. Munson)

GROUND COVER:

In reporting on the Japanese 'problem' on the West Coast the facts are, on the whole, fairly clear and opinion toward the problem exceedingly uniform. In reporting, the main difficulty is to know where to leave off and what to leave out. One could gather data for fifteen years with fifteen men and still in the position of the "Walrus and the Carpenter":

If seven maids with seven mops
Swept it for half a year—
Do you suppose, the Walrus said,
That they could get it clear?

Whisking up the grains of sand is the wrong approach, yet when your reporter declares there is a sea and a shore and some sand, and that he has sampled the general quality of sand in many varying beaches, do not be too hard in your judgment for him if he has stopped far short of sorting out each layer or tint or even each beach. You have to feel this problem—not figure it out with your pencil. We only cite the sand that our reader may never forget the complexities of even a shovel full of sand.

The Extent of Munson's Survey

Your reporter spent about a week each in the 11th, 12th and 13th Naval Districts with the full cooperation of the Naval and Army Intelligences and the F.B.I. Some mention should also be made of the assistance rendered from time to time by the British Intelligence. Our Navy has done by far the most work on this problem, having given it intense consideration for the last ten or fifteen years.

Your reporter commenced in the 12th Naval District, which covers Northern California, from thence to the 13th, covering Washington and Oregon, winding up his observations in the 11th Naval District, covering Southern California, where to his mind the whole 'problem' finally focuses. Your reporter also turned the corner into British Columbia through a member of the R.C.M.P. and the corner into Mexico through a conference with our Consul at Tijuana.

Opinions of the various services were obtained, also of business, employees, universities, fellow white workers, students, fish packers, lettuce packers, farmers, religious groups, etc. etc. The opinion expressed with minor differences was uniform. Select Japanese in all groups were sampled. To mix indiscriminately with the Japanese was not considered advisable chiefly because the opinions of many loyal white Americans who had made this their life work for the last fifteen years were available and it was foolish to suppose your reporter could add to the sum of knowledge in three weeks by running through the topmost twigs of a forest.

BACKGROUND:

Unless familiar with the religious and family background of the Japanese, this rough background summary should be skimmed over as it has a bearing on the Japanese question. If the reader is familiar with the Japanese background, it may be omitted.

An American wit once said, "You cannot tell the truth about Japan without lying." This same witticism might be made with reference to the Japanese people, but, like all generalizations, it needs a corrective explanation. A study of Japan is a study in the category of social fully as much as of political science. The study of the Japanese people is one of absorbing interest.

'The Most Mixed Race of People'

Who are the Japanese people? From whence did they come and what emotional concepts did they bring with them? While there might not be unanimity of opinion as to the various strains that go to make up the Japanese of today, one leading anthropologist, Dr. Fredrick Star of the University of Chicago, a number of years ago said to the writer, "the Japanese are the most mixed race of people that I have ever studied."

The Malay strain is pronounced in the Japanese, especially in the Province of Kumamoto. The Mongol is very pronounced in the upper middle as well as in the so-called higher brackets of society. Then there is the Aryan strain still to be seen in its unmixed form in the 17,000 and more Ainu who inhabit portions of Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands. These latter are related to the Aryan group in physiognomy and in language. These three strains have produced the Japanese of today.

The Ainu, in so far as we know, was the aboriginal. His social status was changed from time to time as conquering groups drove him farther and farther to the North. These conquering groups came from China via Korea.

Japanese history begins with the conqueror Jimmu Tenno, who arrived on a 'Floating Bridge of Heaven'—a poetical expression for his coming to Japan by boat. He found a tribal people with a primitive animistic faith of nature worship. He told the conquered people that their reverence for the tribal chief was a true reverence and that he also revered the head of his clan which was the Sun Goddess, whose beneficent rule was seen in her health-giving rays. Thus began what is known as 'Shinto' ('the Way of the Gods') as we know it today.

From the days of Jimmu (the first Japanese Emperor) to the present, all Japanese have revered the Emperor as a descendant of the Sun Goddess, whose appearance in Japanese mythology is too complicated to be discussed here.

Another cultural element in Japanese life stems from the introduction of Buddhism in Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries. Buddhism is a foreign religion and made little prog-

Continued on Section B, Page 24

Season's Greetings



SAN DIEGO JACL

San Diego, CA 921—

AHI, Joe (19)
ABON, Lodovico (36)
AMANO, Mitsuru (23)
AMEMIYA, Eiji (07)
ARAKAWA, John (06)
ARAKI, Jack S/Della F (06)
ASAKAWA, Glen H (17)
ASAKAWA, Larry (08)
ASAKAWA, Masato Bruce/Dorothy (22)
ASAKAWA, Moto (17)
ASHIDA, James/Evelyn (28)
CARDINEZ, Shirley (39)
CHEW, Anna K (10)
DAMMER, Terru (07)
DAVIES, Tsuneko (17)
DOI, Jim (17)
DOI, Michael M (17)
DORSEY, Hideko (03)
ERJIMA, Mary (28)
ESTES, Donald H (04)
FORD, Helen J (10)
FUJIMOTO, Doris H (23)
FUJIMOTO, Frank Hd (54)
FUJIMOTO, Lynn Miya (33)
FUJIMOTO, Walter (03)
FURUOKA, Dennis (20)
FURUOKA, Satoru/Haruko (40)
FUKUYA, George (06)
GERRISH, Mrs Sue S (17)
GILBERTSON, Lisa/Jan (28)
HAGIO, Lee (17)
HARA, Dr Shigeru/Connie (32)
HASHIGUCHI, Fred (15)
HASHIGUCHI, Henry S/Millie (06)
HASHIGUCHI, John (11)
HASHIGUCHI, Lee E/Taye (29)
HASHIMOTO, Carolyn H (24)
HATA, Masanobu/Faye M (54)
HAYASHI, Jane (30)
HICKMAN, Gilbert (06)
HIBI, Mabel (13)
HIRONAKA, Masaaki (13)
HONDA, Ben (23)
HONDA John L (27)
HORIYE, Charles M (17)
HORIYE, Handy (04)
HOSAKA, Fumi (14)
HUNTER, Kenneth (04)
IKEMURA, Harold/Sumi (07)
IMOTO, Chiz A (21)
INOUYE, John W (02)
ISHIBASHI, Roy N (20)
ISHIHARA, Mitsuo/Sally (17)
ISHII, Kazi (17)
ITAMI, M/M Masami (54)
ITO, George T/Carol (14)
ITO, Martin L/Emiko (14)
ITO, Michael A (14)
ITO, Robert (14)
ITO, Walter R (14)
JACKSON, Masako (39)
JORDAN, Ronald Sean (02)
KAIHATSU, Arthur S/Lillian E (17)
KAINO, Harry H (15)
KANESHIRO, Hon Gale Eiko (24)
KASAI, Gregory/Cindy C (22)
KASHIMA, Tetsuyu (31)
KASHIWABARA, Naomi (17)
KASUBUCHI, James (14)
KAWAHARA, Marleen S (22)
KAWAMOTO, David/Carol (20)
KAWAMOTO, Harry/Umeko (15)

San Diego, CA 921—

KAWAMOTO, Yukio (15)
KAWASAKI, Mrs Misao (02)
KIDA, Aiko (14)
KIDA, James Shuichi (54)
KIKUTA, Thomas (23)
KIMURA, Dr James (09)
KIMURA, Robyn (09)
KIYOI, Guy/Toshi (15)
KOBA, Haruki (07)
KOBAYASHI, Hideo (14)
KOBAYASHI, Ronald M, MD (23)
LAWSON, Betty Y (10)
LORANG, Sally Mariko (22)
MATSUI, Fumiko (05)
MATSUI, George S (28)
MATSUI, Taro (05)
MATSUMOTO, Ken/Alice (19)
MATSUURA, Arthur/Fumi (17)
MIYAHARA, Fred/Patricia (15)
MIYASHIRO, Clarence S (04)
MOMITA, Gary/Pat (16)
MOMITA, Fumiko (14)
MORIKAWA, Kazuhiko/Toshiko (17)
MORIMOTO, Lucy (07)
MORIMOTO, Dr Masato (14)
MORIMOTO, Sandra (30)
MOSUOKA, Sharon (11)
MORIYAMA, Chieko L (34)
MORIYAMA, Shigeru/Mimo (14)
NAITOH, Dr Paul/Masako S (07)
NAKAMAKI, Kenji/Teri (10)
NAKAMURA, Isamu S (25)
NAKAMURA, Kiyoshi (14)
NAKAMURA, Minoru (14)
NAKAMURA, Wendy C (03)
NAKAMURA, Yasushi (14)
NAKANO, Takashi (06)
NAKASHIMA, Esther (09)
NAKASHIMA, George/June (17)
NARATA, Ben Tsutomu (13)
NAMBA, Richard K (15)
NEGORO, Glen (20)
NINOMIYA, Eiichiro (06)
NINOMIYA, Ethel Masaye (09)
NINOMIYA, Melvin M/Haruko (22)
NISHIDA, Terry (19)
NISHIOKA, Arthur (04)
NIWA, Wendy Jo (04)
OBAYASHI, Edward S/Yuriko (24)
OBAYASHI, Emiko (06)
OCHI, Kosaburo (13)
OJIRI, Sandra (25)
OKAMOTO, Kiyoshi (54)
OKAMURA, Melvin/Amy (22)
OMORI, Shirley Y (16)
OYAMA, Rodney T (17)
PHILLIPS, Artemia C (14)
PHILLIPS, Shawny (17)
POWELL, Kenneth (39)
QUON, Rollie (54)
SAITO, Albert I (07)
SAKAMOTO, Minoru/Asayo A (14)
SAKATA, Hajime (02)
SASAKI, Takeo (20)
SATO, Stephen (21)
SEKITO, June (11)
SENAHA, Damon M (11)
SHIGEHARA, Wilbur (31)
SHIGEMAGA, Wendy (10)
SHIMA, Amy (16)
SHIMAMOTO, Robert K (24)
SHIMATSU, Masaki (11)
SHINMOTO, Saruo (02)

San Diego, CA 921—

SHINZAKI, George/Karen (29)
SHINZAKI, Yasuo (24)
SHIRAISHI, Dr Joseph Shigeru (17)
SHIRAISHI, Toru (17)
STEARNS, Kuniniasu (19)
STEARD, Masako (54)
SUGITA, Faye I (09)
SUYENAGA, Mary (17)
TACHIKI, Harry/Yasue (19)
TAKAHASHI, Janis (26)
TAKAHATA, Saburo (29)
TAKASAKI, Mary M (15)
TAKEHARA, Sumio/Betty (20)
TAKESHITA, Jane (11)
TANAKA, Laurence K, MD (03)
TANAKA, Mitsue (14)
TANAKA, Miyo (11)
TANAKA, Yoko (28)
TANIDA, John Vernon (11)
TANIGUCHI, Norman Y (07)
TANIGUCHI, Yuko/Nellie (07)
TAYAMA, Haruo (20)
TERUSAKI, George Hideo (14)
TETER, Yoshimi (15)
THORNTON, Wendy Lee (20)
TOMITA, Dr Mitsuo (19)
UENO, Florence (11)
UMEKUBO, Dr Peter (32)
URABE, Jean K (17)
UYEDA, Kenneth (17)
VOORHIES, Clifton L/Ruth U (32)
WAKABAYASHI, Fred/Mary (20)
WALDECKER, Deborah G (11)
WATANABE, Jiro/Shizu (15)
WHEELER, Betty (01)
WILBER, Linda M (26)
YAGI, Chiye (14)
YAMADA, Eugene (02)
YAMAGUCHI, Dr Sieto (14)
YAMAMOTO, Sachio (22)
YAMANO, Robert Shiro (17)
YAMASHITA, Shigeru (10)
YAMAUCHI, Shigeru/Chun (17)
YAMAUCHI, Yutaka/Terri (07)
YANAGIHARA, Tom/Sumi (15)
YANO, Toshiro/Betty T (04)
YASUDA, Mitzi (17)
YOKOGAWA, Jiro/Tsuruko (20)
YONEMITSU, Michael K/Dorothy M (09)
YOSHIOKA, Vernon T/Shizuko (19)

Bonita, CA 919—

ASAKAWA, Bruce Moto (02)
AZUMA, Takeo (02)
FUJIKAWA, Frank D/Suye (02)
FUJIMOTO, Fusatoshi/Mary S (02)
HATASHITA, Fred/Becky (02)
HATASHITA, Fred Jr (02)
HATASHITA, Kent (02)
HATASHITA, Mrs Mary (02)
HATASHITA, Merri (02)
HAYASHI, Yukio (02)
KAWASAKI, Trace (02)
LLANES, Wanona L (02)
OWASHI, Aiko (02)
OWASHI, Joseph/Alyce (02)
OZAKI, Tom M/Elizabeth A (02)
SANTOHIGASHI, Masao (02)
SEGAWA, Ben S/Katherine (02)
TAKASHIMA, Kalsumi James (02)
TANAKA, Dr Francis I/Pat (02)
TSUJI, Haruo/Mary (02)
YAMAMOTO, Dr/Mrs John (02)

Bonsall, CA 920—

ITO, Kei (03)

Cardiff by the Sea, CA 920—

IIDA, Paloma C/Emmanuel (07)
NAKAGAWA, Fred K/Fuje (07)
YAMASHITA, Hiroshi/Taeko (07)

Carlsbad, CA 920—

KUBOTA, Jack Paki (06)
MAKITA, Alvin/Rose (09)
MIZUTANI, Dr Wesley (06)
ORMOND, Lorenzo (06)
SAWADA, Chiho (09)
SHIMOMIYA, Dr Susan (08)
TANI, Karen (09)

Chula Vista, CA

ARAKI, Elwood M (91911)
AUSTIN, Taeko (92011)
DATE, Shoji (91911)
DATE, Tsutomu (91911)
FUJIKAWA, David F (91913)
FUJITO, Mrs Toru (91911)
HASHIMOTO, Elsie (92011)
HASHIMOTO, Mary Nani (91911)
HIBI, Arthur/Judith (91911)
HIRAKAWA, Hiroshi (91910)
HIRATA, Tom/Katsuko (91910)
HONDA, Masami (91911)
HONDA, Tom/Yo (91910)
HORIYE, Shimo N (91911)
IGUCHI, Charles/Louise (91910)
IGUCHI, Isao (91910)
IGUCHI, Kenji H/Yoshiko (91910)
IGUCHI, Ned (91910)
IGUCHI, Ronald J (91910)
ITO, Satoshi (11)
IWASHITA, M Charles/Margaret (91910)
IWASHITA, Howard O (91910)
IWASHITA, Walter J (91910)
KANEDA, Yuri (91915)
KARAMOTO, Joe (91911)
KATSUMATA, Fred N/Mary Jane R (91910)
KAWAMOTO, Nobuo (91911)
KIYAMA, M/M Glen I (91910)
KIYAN, Luis (91911)
KOBA, Katherine (91911)
MARUYAMA, M/M Hideo Tom (91911)
MASUMOTO, George/Chiyoko (91911)
MATSUEDA, Jack M/Alyce (92011)
MURAOKA, Haruko (91911)
NAKAMOTO, Josephine (91911)
NOMURA, Teruto (91911)
OGINO, Charles S/Jane (91911)
OKUMA, Michael/Laurie (91911)
RICHARD, Charles L (91911)
RUECKERT, Donald N/Tome Yuko (91910)
SAKATA, Teruo/Mary (91910)
SATO, Kenji/Satoko (91910)
SEKITO, Kimiyo (91910)
SUGIYAMA, Mariko (91911)
SUZUKI, Fusako (91911)
TABATA, Takako (91910)
TACHIKI, George (91911)
TACHIKI, Kimi (91911)
TACHIKI, Mitsuko (91910)
TAKAKI, Haruko (91911)
TAKAMOTO, Robert/Fumiye (91911)
TAKASHIMA, Lisa (91910)
TAKASHIMA, Noboru/Lily (91911)
TAKASHIMA, Sandra (91910)
TAKASHIMA, Russell (91910)
TAKASHIMA, Ryan (91910)
TAKEGUCHI, J Masashige (91911)
TANAKA, Terry T/Naomi (91910)
TOKITA, Yuzo M (91910)
TOMIYAMA, Mary Sayoko (91913)
TORIO, Charley/Betty (91910)
TORIO, Glenn (91911)
TOKUMARU, Richard H (91911)
TSUNEYOSHI, Motoe (91911)
UDA, George/Shimako (91910)
WATAMURA, Rose Y (91910)
YAMADA, George (91910)
YAMADA, Dr Henry/Mary (91913)
YAMADA, Suzy S (91911)
YAMAGUCHI, Daniel H/Mary (91910)
YAMAGUCHI, Ellen Diane (91910)
YAMAGUCHI, Karen Dawn (91910)
YAMAMOTO, Fugene Sakuro (91910)
YAMAMOTO, George (91911)
YAMAMOTO, Noboru (91911)
YAMAMOTO, Paul/Mitsuye (91910)
YAMATE, James M/Yuriko (91910)
YONEKURA, Glenn T (91910)
YOSHIOKA, Joe/Mitsuko (91911)

El Cajon, CA 920—

DO, Ada O (19)
HIRAHARA, Kevin M (21)
KATAOKA, Richard W/Sherry (20)
KITO, Noboru/Margie (21)
NAGETA, Fred F (20)
OKA, Noboru/Jane (19)
PANG, Valerie (20)
PENROSE, Margaret Iwanaga (20)
SMITH, Jeannie (19)

Encinitas, CA 920—

CORRAGI, Suzanne (24)
FUJIMOTO, Marion (24)
GOTO, Eisamu S/T Helen (24)
HAYASHI, Kazuo (24)
HIRASE, Kiyo/Akiko (24)
KIRA, Mr Michiyo (24)
MINAMIDE, Thomas T (24)
MITSUNAGA, Tracy/Alice (24)
TSUKUSHI, Mary (24)

Escondido, CA 920—

KINOSHITA, Teruo T/Miyeko (25)
SUGIYAMA, Rose (27)
TAKASUGI, Sarah (29)
TAKATA, Fumiko (26)
YAMADA, Ema J (26)

Imperial Beach, CA 919—

SHIRONAKA, Harold H (32)
SUGIOKA, Tom T (32)

La Jolla, CA 920—

FUJIMOTO, Mary Y (37)
FUKUHARA, Sachiko (36)
ITANO, Dr Harvey A/Rose N (37)
NAKAMURA, Hiroi/Marie S (37)
SAKAWARA, Dr Gary T (37)
YAMADA, Joseph/Elizabeth (37)

La Mesa, CA 919—

ANAKAWA, Roy E (41)
HORIYE, Ben S (42)
ISHIKAWA, Wesley (42)
KANEYUKI, Paul T (41)
KOUKE, Terry/Risa (41)
MATSUMOTO, Kiyoko (41)
MATSUSHIMA, Albert (41)
NISHIUYE, Yoshiro (42)
SEGAWA, Tom (41)
TERADA, Margaret (41)
TSUDA, Masaharu (41)
UDA, Kiyo (41)
YOKOYAMA, Robert A/Ethel F (41)

Lemon Grove, CA 919—

BRAUNSCHWEIG, Mitsuko (45)
FUKUSHIMA, Fred (45)
GILMER, Hanae (45)
HOSAKA, John/June (45)
JOHNSON, Kimie (45)
KANEKO, Kakuzaki (45)
KIDA, Jeffrey Thomas (45)
KIDA, Tom/Fumiko (45)
KUSUMOTO, Y S (45)
NOJIMA, Ryohei/Toko (45)
PENOLO, Gene (45)
TAKEHARA, Samantha C (45)

National City, CA

BORDWELL, Shizue (91950)
DAVEY, Sumiko M (91950)
KITAGAWA, M/M George (91950)
MASUMOTO, Fred S (91950)
NAKAGAWA, George (91950)
NAKAGAWA, Mrs Kow (98950)
OKUMA, Kenzuke (91950)
STEWART, Kaye S (91950)
SUGIYAMA, Yasuyuki/Yukiko (91950)
TANAKA, Mrs Cecilia (91950)
TANI, Katherine (91950)
THIRI, Lucy S (91950)
TSUBAKIHARA, George (91950)
UYEJI, Magotsugu K (91950)
UYEJI, Sakuro (91950)

Oceanside, CA 920—

OVERTURF, J Richard/Naomi (56)

Poway, CA 920—

HOLZMAN, Marie Sumi (64)
OTSUBO, Lee (64)
WATANABE, Jeralyn (64)

San Marcos, CA 920—

IMAIZUMI, Betty (69)
IMAIZUMI, Robert M (69)

Santee, CA 920—

HOLT, Mia S (71)

Solana Beach, CA 920—

MAMIYA, Takuzo/Hanayo (76)

Spring Valley, CA

HANDA, Sam I/Ruth S (91977)
ITO, Frank (91977)
KIDA, Satoshi (91977)
KOUDI, Marie N (91977)
LOWE, June (91977)
MORINAKA, Roy T/Asako (91977)
MUKAI, Tom/Hatsuno (91977)
NAKAMURA, Susumu (91977)
OTSUKA, Nobuo/Yoshiko (91977)
TAKAHASHI, Howard (91977)
TAKAHASHI, Howard Jr (91977)
TAKAHASHI, Kikuo/Benko (91978)
TSUIDA, Glenn (91977)
UYEDA, Raymond (91978)
WADA, Frank M/Jean G (91977)

Vista, CA 920—

GRACE, Kazuye Y (83)
MISONO, Shinzo (83)

Elsewhere in California

GARDEN GROVE, CA
OKA, Gary (92640)

LOMA LINDA, CA
SUGITA, Eugene I (92354)

LOS ANGELES, CA
TANAKA, Miyo M (90020)

MARINA DEL REY, CA
KODAMA, Gary Yukio (90292)

SAN CLEMENTE, CA
GARDNER, Rosemary (92672)

SANTA ANA, CA
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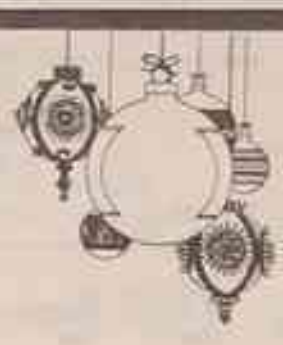
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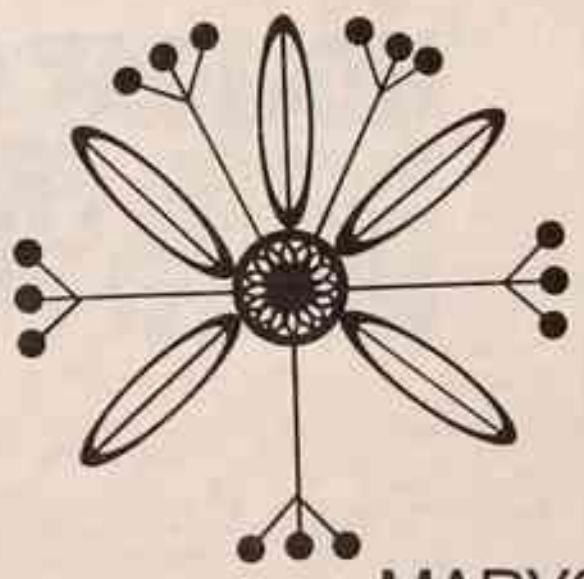
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Against All Odds:
The Japanese American's Campaign for Redress

SECTION C

Continued from Section B, Page 14

1942, Japanese Americans were being subservient, and they said, 'Well, okay, if I do this [acquiesce to the internment], then I'll prove my Americanism. But I think that thinking has changed. ... People know [now] that they have rights, and if they're maligned, then they deserve an apology."[2]

Even so, it was not easy for the Japanese American community to unite around the notion of redress. The issue first arose in 1970, when a resolution in support of redress was placed before the biennial national convention of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), a civic and patriotic organization founded in 1930 that claimed 27,000 members in 114 chapters nationwide. Although the convention approved the resolution in 1970, and similar ones in 1972 and 1974, little was done to put flesh on an otherwise vague principle, largely due to divisions within JACL, and in the larger Japanese American community, as to the wisdom of seeking redress. Memories of the internment were painful and humiliating, and many had little desire to revisit them. There were concerns, moreover, that an effort to bring up past wrongs would only backfire. Many felt, in the words of one, that "we don't want to rake these coals, because if we do, there's going to be a white backlash."

Divisions over redress intensified when activist members of the Seattle chapter of the JACL, frustrated with the national organization's lack of progress on the issue, developed a concrete proposal for redress which included, for the first time, monetary compensation for individual internees. The concept did not, however, inspire immediate consensus. John Tateishi, who chaired JACL's National Committee for Redress from 1978–85, recalls many who felt that " it really demeans the whole idea of liberty and freedom to put a price tag on it."

While the Seattle plan languished in the national JACL organization, members of the Seattle chapter were successful in their efforts to persuade the White House to revoke Executive Order 9066 which, it turned out, had never been formally rescinded. On February 19, 1976, President Gerald Ford signed a proclamation officially terminating the order. Terming the exclusion "a national mistake," Ford wrote, "We now know what we should have known then—not only was that evacuation wrong, but Japanese-Americans were and are loyal Americans." But by this time, the Japanese American community had become interested in more concrete signs of apology. A 1976 poll of JACL board members throughout the nation, conducted by the Seattle group, indicated that over 94 percent of those polled were willing to lend support to legislation mandating payments to individual internees.[3]

By 1978, the push for redress had gathered enough momentum within the leadership of the Japanese American community to prompt the JACL's National Committee for Redress to propose a plan that included provisions for monetary compensation. The plan, presented at the organization's national convention in July of that year, called for a flat payment of $25,000 per internee, as well as the establishment of a $100 million trust fund to be used for the benefit of Japanese American community organizations. Total cost of such a program was put at $3 billion. Although the JACL convention adopted the plan and agreed to make redress the top priority in the organization's activities in the coming two years, the action was still controversial and provoked an angry response from then-US Senator S.I. Hayakawa (R-Calif.) who argued that a demand for monetary compensation was "absurd and ridiculous"[4] and "not Japanese."

But even among those who had supported redress there was controversy, in this instance about how to press their case for compensation. As they considered their next move, disagreement arose among redress advocates over the best means to the end they sought: the courts, redress legislation submitted to Congress, or a special commission.

A Meeting in Washington

After the 1978 biennial convention, John Tateishi, newly appointed chair of the JACL's National Committee for Redress, set two goals for his group: a campaign to educate the American public on the internment, and the drafting of redress legislation that would be introduced in Congress. The latter began with a meeting with four of the five Japanese American members of Congress: Representatives Norman Mineta and Robert Matsui, both Democrats from California, and Senators Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga, Democrats of Hawaii.[5]

Tateishi and his committee had asked for the meeting, which took place on January 30, 1979 in Inouye's chamber office, to discuss redress and "try to develop a legislative strategy." By this time, Tateishi had already sought the opinions of the heads of national civil rights organizations and Washington lobbyists, and the advice he had gotten was somewhat disheartening. "There was an absolute consistency among all of them," he recalls. "They said, 'You know, no one knows about this issue, and those who do think you guys are guilty anyway. You're never going to get this kind of legislation introduced, let alone passed, in Congress.' And every single one of them suggested that we consider creating a federal commission to investigate." Tateishi's instincts took him in the opposite direction:

> In my gut, what I really wanted to do was take this thing straight up. Go in with an appropriation bill ... make an honest fight of it and see what we could do in a battle in the Congress. And if we lost, then we would lose it in an honest fight, and we would have it over with. I knew the commission route would be long and ... difficult and that it wouldn't be popular at all [with Japanese Americans].

Still, Tateishi felt that if Inouye—the Japanese American senior member in Congress—recommended the formation of a commission, "we [would be] really tied to it." As they waited outside Inouye's office for the meeting to begin, Tateishi turned to a redress committee member and remarked, "The one thing I hope Inouye doesn't say in this meeting is 'a commission.'"

At first, in fact, Inouye said little. The JACL delegation presented two proposals for redress: the original Seattle plan and the guidelines approved in the 1978 JACL convention. After that, Matsunaga and Mineta did most of the talking (Matsui, a freshman representative, had been in the House for just a few weeks), laying out the difficulties of getting a redress bill through Congress. Congressional attitudes, they said, were little different from those in the general public and were colored



Grant Ujifusa, JACL-LEC strategy chair, and David Louie (right), business editor at KGO-TV, San Francisco, at an Asian American award ceremony last Sept. 17 in Washington. At left is co-emcee Virginia Cha.

by racism, ignorance of the issue, and a belief that this was mere special interest legislation calling for a large appropriation for a small group. Moreover, logical supporters of the legislation—such as civil rights advocates—were little-versed in the issue, as well. During a lull in this bleak discussion, Inouye, who had remained largely silent, finally spoke up. "He said," Tateishi remembers, "'Maybe what you fellows ought to think about is considering legislation that would establish a federal commission.'" "Frankly," says Tateishi, "my heart sank. ... At that point, we went silent on our side of the table, because I don't think anyone's heart on our side was to go that route." But Inouye pressed his point, arguing that a commission would generate publicity and establish an official record of government wrongdoing. Mineta supported the idea as well, telling the JACL delegation that a commission, as Tateishi puts it, "would really help a lot. ... There was a real consensus [on a commission] among the members of Congress."

Choosing a Path

When the JACL members returned to the West Coast, Tateishi convened a two-day session of the National Committee for Redress to discuss their choices. "When I felt the discussion had been exhausted," Tateishi recalls, "I said that I was going to bring it to a vote." The vote would be over whether to pursue redress legislation immediately or first seek the creation of a commission. Committee members had discussed the possibility of legal action, particularly in the form of a class action suit, but concluded that it would be too costly and time-consuming a route and would not likely generate the same kind of publicity that a legislative battle would. The committee did not reject the judicial approach outright, but put it on "a back burner" while they aimed their sights at Congress. "Our feeling," explains Tateishi, "was that it was the Congress and the public that had convicted us in 1942, and that we wanted this country to realize what had happened and to have Congress take responsibility for the action of that body."

As for which legislative route to take, either alternative had its pluses and minuses. A commission would have the advantage, as had been pointed out, of establishing a record and educating the public and Congress, as well as the backing of arguably the most powerful Japanese American in the US—Sen. Inouye who, as third-ranking member of the Democratic party, wielded considerable clout in Washington; his support—or his opposition—to any legislative initiative had to be weighed carefully in any redress strategy. On the other hand, a commission would greatly lengthen the time frame in which a redress campaign would be played out. The process of approving the commission legislation and then conducting the study could take years, at a time when many in the Japanese American community were becoming increasingly impatient to begin a redress effort, and when the population of surviving internees was aging fast.

This sense of urgency, plus the feeling that it was insulting to have to prove that there had in fact been any government wrongdoing, made the option of pursuing redress legislation very attractive to some. But while pressing for immediate action would placate some, there was a strong risk that Congress would reject a redress bill, particularly if it included provisions for individual compensation. As Mineta and the rest of the Japanese American congressional delegation had pointed out, redress legislation was likely to be squeezed between the twin pillars of prejudice and indifference. Moreover, the Japanese American community was too small and too dispersed to bring much convincing pressure to bear on Congress. There were only roughly 760,000 Japanese Americans in the US (out of a total population of 240 million), half of whom lived in Hawaii. Eighty-five percent of the mainlanders lived in California, but—a sign of their high degree of assimilation—in numbers too scattered to effect election outcomes. "I believe there's only one congressional district in the entire country where Japanese Americans make up anything close to a significant number of the population," says Glenn Roberts, Mineta's legislative director in the early 1980s. "You're talking about a community of a few hundred thousand people scattered around the country."

In the end, the redress committee, though divided, voted to support the idea of the commission.[6] And, as Inouye had anticipated, the concept proved relatively uncontroversial in Congress. Inouye's position in the Senate assured passage in that body. There was, however, more resistance in the House, where Norman Mineta was furious at colleagues who raised questions as to how the US could tell whether or not Japanese Americans might have been spies. "Members of Congress," recalls John Tateishi, "were saying, 'After all, we were at war with Japan and we couldn't trust you folks.'" Nonetheless, the House did pass the commission legislation on July 21, 1980, by a vote of 297-109. The level of opposition was a sign of tougher battles to come.

The Commission Hearings

On July 31, President Carter signed into law the bill creating a Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. The nine commission members—three each appointed by the president, the House and the Senate—included former Health and Human Services General Counsel Joan Bernstein, who served as chair; former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg; former Massachusetts Republican Senator Edward Brooke; Republican Congressman Dan Lungren of California; Judge William Marutani, of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas; and Dr. Arthur Fleming, chairman of the US Civil Rights Commission and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under the Eisenhower administration. Their task was threefold: 1) review the facts and circumstances surrounding Executive Order 9066, and its impact; 2) review the military directives requiring relocation and, in some cases, detention in internment camps; and 3) recommend appropriate remedies.

On July 14, 1981, the commission kicked off its study with a hearing in Washington, DC. Over the next year and a half, its members crisscrossed the country, holding a total of 20 days of public hearings in nine cities and collecting testimony from former government officials, public figures, historians, and Japanese Americans who had been interned. It was the latter who provided the most emotional moments of the hearings, offering what the commission later described as "poignant, searing testimony" of their experiences during the evacuation. Witness after witness, many of them weeping, recalled the fear and degradation of the enforced round-ups and transports to assembly centers and relocation camps. "To this day," one woman told the commission,

> I can remember vividly the plight of the elderly, some on stretchers, orphans herded onto the train by caretakers, and especially a young couple with four pre-school children. The mother had two frightened toddlers hanging on to her coat. In her arms, she carried two crying babies. ... The shades were drawn on the train for our entire trip. Military police patrolled the aisles.

There were stories of troops with bayonets fixed on the incoming internees, of some who were housed in horse stables at a race track, of a regimented life under armed guard. Gradually, the hearings began to generate stories in the press. "It did happen" began a sympathetic story in *Time* that ran in August 1981. Whatever their effect on the general public, the hearings had a galvanic impact on the Japanese American community. Many of the stories that emerged in testimony were being told for the first time, and the airing of long-suppressed grief and anger created an atmosphere of emotional intensity. Amid the painful outpouring of memories, there was also what Glenn Roberts calls a "great unlocking of passion," which, with some exceptions, brought the "rank and file" of the Japanese American community more solidly behind the idea of redress. "Talking about it" became the first step along the path to political activism, adds Rep. Mineta, on whom the commission hearings were to have a particularly powerful impact. "It was only after talking about it that people could go on to the next step and actually do something about it."[7]

The Commission Report and Recommendations

In taking that next step, Japanese Americans were aided by the report of the commission, which was submitted to

Continued on Section C, Page 12

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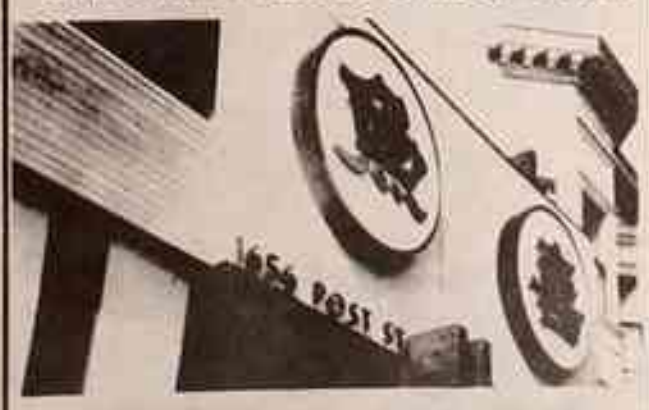
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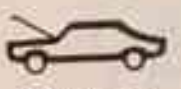
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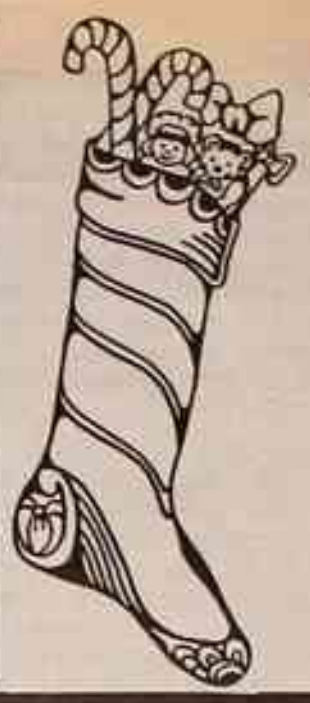
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Against All Odds:
The Japanese American's Campaign for Redress

Continued on Section C, Page 1

Congress in February 1983. Entitled *Personal Justice Denied*, the 359-page document was a relentless indictment of almost every aspect of the evacuation and relocation. Tracing the decision to evacuate back to a history of hostility to ethnic Japanese on the West Coast as well as to fears of attack that followed the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the string of Japanese victories over US forces immediately thereafter, the commission found the exclusion of Japanese Americans totally without foundation. The US had, the report asserted, acted as a result of "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership." Relocation and internment had been, it said, "a grave injustice."

Several months later, in June 1983, the commission released its recommendations, outlining how the US could atone for that injustice. In regard to the Japanese Americans, the commission recommended, among other things, that: 1) Congress pass a joint resolution, to be signed by the president, apologizing for the internment; 2) Congress appropriate funds to establish a foundation to sponsor research and educational activities related to the evacuation and internment; and 3) Congress establish a fund to provide "personal redress to those who were excluded. ..." In order to fund both the personal redress and the foundation, the commission recommended that Congress appropriate $1.5 billion, to be used first for a one-time payment of $20,000 to each of the approximately 60,000 "surviving persons excluded from their places of residence pursuant to Executive Order 9066"; the remaining funds would then be dedicated to the educational foundation. In making the individual payments, the commission further recommended that the burden of locating survivors should rest with the government, and that payments be made to the oldest survivors first. All the recommendations (as well as the findings) of the commission had the unanimous support of its members, with one signal exception: Dan Lungren, the sole active member of Congress in the commission, dissented from the recommendation on personal redress.

Looking Ahead

With the emotional upheaval of the commission hearings behind them, and the report in the hands of Congress and the press, advocates of redress in the Japanese American community next faced the question of how to translate the commission's recommendations into reality. A legislative route seemed the most obvious, but there was widespread agreement with the assessment of one JACL member that it would be "very, very difficult to get a bill through [Congress]." Although the commission had served an educative function, it was unclear how far its findings had penetrated into the halls of Congress, or the general public. And, as Lungren's dissenting vote indicated, even those who *were* educated and prepared to apologize for the internment were not necessarily willing to pay for it. Many members of Congress, particularly those on the right, were apt to be suspicious of any bill that seemed to smack of affirmative action, and especially one that would violate their principles of fiscal conservatism.

In considering how to plot a legislative strategy, leaders in the Japanese American community had to ponder what assets they could draw on to help overcome the barriers a redress bill was certain to face. As a small and highly assimilated community, their phone calls and letters alone were unlikely to make a significant impression on Congress. They did, however, have a few influential insiders who could aid their cause. These included, prominently, the four Japanese American members of Congress, but it would take considerable political courage for them to assume a visible role in a legislative battle for redress. "These are people," Glenn Roberts explains, "who spent their whole lives trying to be seen not as Japanese Americans, but as just plain old Americans." Asking them to shepherd a redress measure through Congress, he adds, meant they would have to "approach their colleagues and say, 'You've got to see me as a Japanese American.'" Just how much the Japanese American members of Congress were willing to risk for the sake of redress legislation was uncertain, although there were signs that Inouye, the most senior of the group, was not inclined to take a leading role in the campaign.

Beyond these four members, Japanese Americans had few connections in Washington that might give them access to Congress. Historically, Japanese Americans had not been politically active and had not established strong ties to the nation's capital, thousands of miles away from their home bases in Hawaii and California. Outside their own community, Japanese Americans could look to other members of Congress who had ties to them dating back to World War II. For example, Sen. Alan Simpson, a conservative Republican from Wyoming, had first met Norman Mineta as a child, on a visit to the Heart Mountain relocation center in Wyoming where the latter, then a 10-year-old and, like Simpson, a Cub Scout, was interned with his family; the two had remained in contact for awhile in the years following the war and had renewed their friendship when their careers took them to Washington, DC. Japanese Americans had, in fact, already made use of one of those ties in obtaining Rep. Jim Wright(D-Texas) as lead sponsor of the legislation creating the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Wright, who had served in the Pacific during the war, had been, it was said, deeply affected by the rescue of "the lost battalion" of the 36th Texas Division by the much-decorated 442nd Regiment. The rescue had come after several other outfits had failed, and the 442nd had suffered huge casualties in the effort. Later, the soldiers of the 442nd—including Senators Inouye and Matsunaga—were named "honorary Texans" to commemorate the event. Wright, who was the majority leader in 1979, rarely co-sponsored bills, but for the commission legislation he had made an exception. "Many of my good friends in Texas who served in the 36th Division," he later explained, "owe their lives to the heroism of the soldiers of the 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team."[8]

Other such connections, both in Congress and in the public at large, presumably existed, but it would be a tricky task for the JACL and other redress supporters to weave the anecdotal into a coherent and coordinated strategy. At the same time, there were others in the Japanese American community urging or pursuing other courses. A dissident group calling itself the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR) had, just before the commission issued its report, filed a class action suit seeking legal redress of up to $220,000 for each of the 120,000 internees or their descendants. On another extreme, California Senator S.I. Hayakawa, speaking in the Senate on the 41st anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and only weeks before the end of his tenure in office, warned that the image of an affluent ethnic group—better off than the national average, better represented politically than other minority groups—seeking financial compensation would result in "a backlash against both Japanese Americans and Japan."

Filing a Bill

Such cross-currents notwithstanding, the four Japanese American members of Congress decided to submit legislation to implement the commission's recommendations, in the words of Senator Inouye, "from alpha to omega." The bill they would endorse called for a one-time payment of $20,000 to each surviving internee, a public education fund to "prevent recurrence of any similar event" and an appropriation of $1.5 billion to pay for the measure. But Glenn Roberts, the legislative aide to Norman Mineta who actually wrote the bill, calls the title of the bill the group's "most critical strategic decision. [It] was not titled 'the Japanese American Redress Act.' [It] was entitled 'The Civil Liberties Act.'" With that wording, the measure announced the basic strategy of its supporters, which was, in Roberts' words, "that this is about the Constitution, this is about civil rights, this is for future generations. ..." Constitutional rights, rather than property loss, would be their focus.

Despite such positioning, and despite the record of the commission, the legislation inspired a long, emotional battle in Congress over a five-year period. The struggle to pass the redress bill would call on its supporters to succeed in the use of an array of techniques: rallying the public to pressure members of Congress; calling on the goodwill the bill's legislative sponsors had accumulated over the years with their peers; being ready to respond to substantive objections. As the redress bill appeared and reappeared in Congress over the course of five years, strong responses were frequently the order of the day for supporters and opponents alike. In testimony and debate, the measure proved to be a vehicle for uncovering memories of the war and discovering personal links to the historical events under scrutiny. "Unlike other bills that are decided after a flurry of special-interest lobbying and political bargaining," one commentator was to write, "votes for and against restitution are being wrenched straight from the heart."[9]

Round One: The Civil Liberties Act of 1983

The redress bill made its first appearance on October 6, 1983, when it was introduced in the House, with 74 co-sponsors, as HR 4110, "a bill to accept the findings and to implement the recommendations of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Citizens."[10] Prominently heading the list of sponsors was Rep. Jim Wright, then House majority leader, whose association with the bill was considered a coup. After Wright had agreed to be lead sponsor of the bill, Roberts recalls, "Norm [Mineta] and I walked out of his office ... and [when we] stepped into the doorway of the elevator and out of people's sight, we both let out this enormous whoop. Because that was the day we knew we had a real bill."

Not all their efforts to recruit support ended so well, however. When Mineta paid a "courtesy call" on Rep. Thomas Kindness (R-Ohio), the ranking Republican in the Subcommittee on Administrative Law of the House Judiciary Committee, which would hold hearings on the bill, he was not at all happy with what he heard. "Kindness said," Roberts recalls, "'Well, I actually know about this [the internment] because I've worked with somebody who was involved in it, and I'll certainly look to him for guidance on that.' Norm said, 'Oh really, who?' And [Kindness] said, 'Karl Bendetsen.' And Norm just said, 'Oh,' and he finished the conversation and left. I said to Norm in the hallway, 'What was that all about?' Norm said, 'Don't you know Bendetsen? He was the general who put us in the camps, the son of a bitch.'"

Bendetsen, who had overseen the military's part in the evacuation effort, testified before the Subcommittee on Administrative Law at its June 1984 hearings on the redress measure, and, like others who had played a role in the internment, objected to the commission's conclusion that prejudice and war hysteria had motivated them. Indeed, the commission's work notwithstanding, the basic justification for redress legislation would be debated anew at the subcommittee level. Bendetsen pointed particularly to the intercepted Japanese cables and the concern they raised over the possibility of Japanese American fifth-columnists. Commission critics, including dissenting member Rep. Dan Lungren, argued that the commission had failed to consider the impact of the cables. Several witnesses disputed these claims, however, arguing, in the words of one, that the cables were "unsubstantiated information, subject to many errors" and that public officials were aware of their shortcomings. Still, the issue of the cables did not go away and whenever debate arose in Congress over the need for redress, they were cited as justification for the internment by redress opponents.

did not go away and whenever debate arose in Congress over the need for redress, they were cited as justification for the internment by redress opponents.

While witnesses like Bendetsen bridled at the notion that the internment represented "a grave injustice," others took exception to redress in the form of individual compensation. Testifying before the subcommittee on June 21, 1984, Lungren, who had served as vice chairman of the commission, told his colleagues that while he shared the "basic conclusions" of the commission report, he opposed the recommendations for financial redress. Lungren offered a number of reasons for his opposition to restitution, which were picked up by other opponents of redress and became, along with the intercepted cables, a key part of the discourse on the issue. Lungren argued, first, that money essentially debased the value of the nation's acknowledgment of the wrong it had done. "Do we truly believe that nothing can be sincere and credible unless it involves something of a monetary nature?" he asked subcommittee members rhetorically. Lungren warned that financial restitution could set a dangerous precedent for the redress of "other long-past injustices," such as slavery or the treatment of the Indians. Finally, Lungren posed the problem of the nation's fiscal crisis, which would, he said, make the promise of financial redress either "an empty gesture" or a competitor for scarce resources with more pressing social needs, ranging from nutrition programs to senior citizens housing.

Arrayed against these opponents were venerable members of the Japanese American community, like Mike Masaoka and Minoru Yasui, who had played key (though different) roles at the time of the internment.[11] They scoffed at the notion that the internment camps represented a kind of "protective custody." Masaoka, for instance, told of two elderly men who had been shot reaching for a flower outside their camp's barbed wire. He emphasized, too, the heroism of the 442nd Regiment (in which he had served), particularly in the rescue of the lost Texas battalion. "I happen to be an honorary Texan," said Masaoka. "You'd be surprised how much more credence that gives your testimony," replied Subcommittee Chairman Sam Hall of Texas. Perhaps the most poignant testimony was that of Norman Mineta. After making the case for compensation in constitutional terms, Mineta turned from the general to the personal. "[L]et me tell you about my family," he said.

> My father was not a traitor. He came to this country in 1902 and he loved this country .... My mother was not a secret agent. She kept house and raised her children to be what she was, a loyal American. Who amongst us was the security risk? Was it my sister Aya, or perhaps Etsu, or Helen? ... Or maybe I was the one, a boy of 10 1/2 who this powerful nation felt was so dangerous I needed to be locked up without a trial, kept behind barbed wire, and guarded by troops in high guard towers armed with machine guns. Although I cannot say for sure, I don't think my activities in the Cub Scouts appeared in the [intercepted] cables.

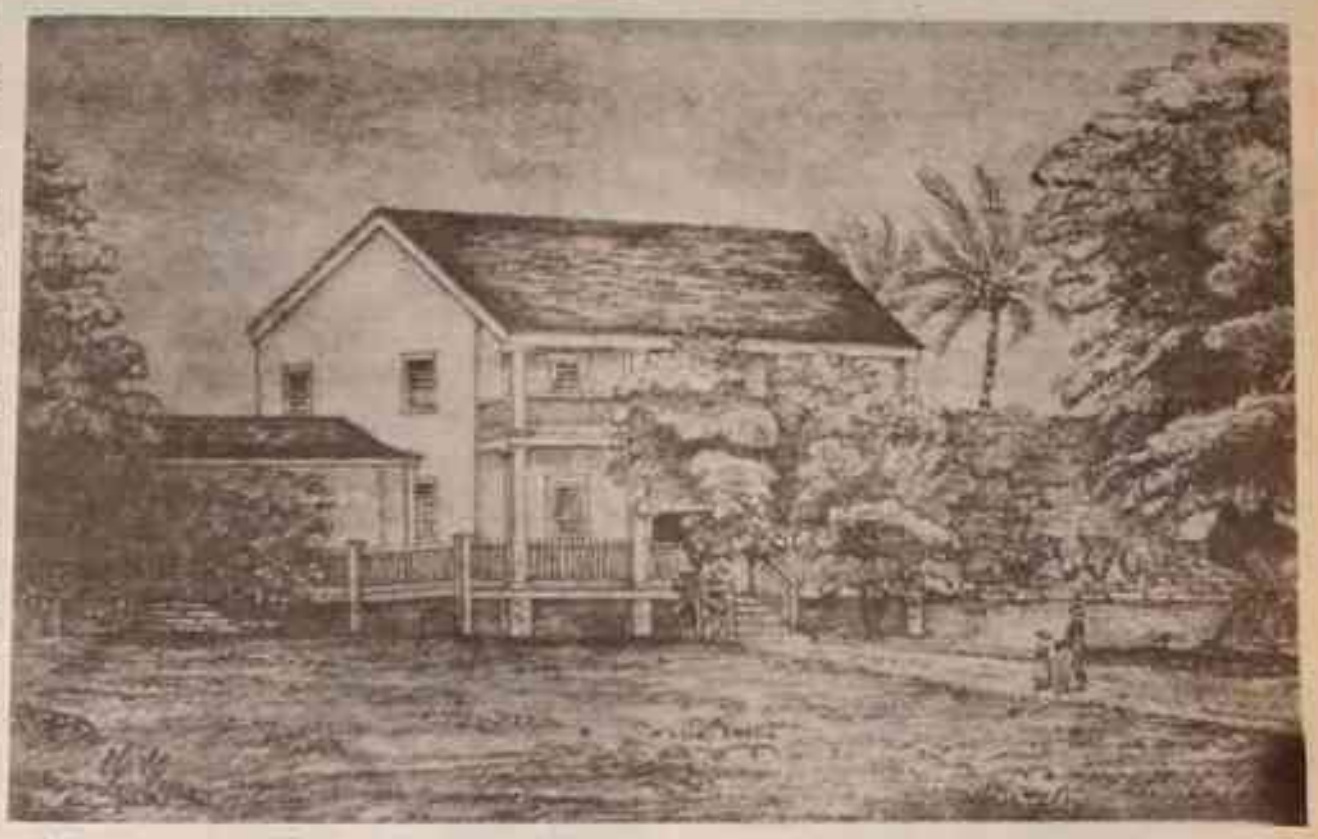
On behalf of all Japanese Americans who were interned, said Mineta, "I ask and entreat this subcommittee to give us back our honor. Give us back the dignity and the pride that this government so unnecessarily took from us in 1942. Every citizen of this land will benefit from our rededication today to equal justice."

When Mineta concluded his emotional testimony, those in the hearing room applauded. Mineta's speech was, however, only the public aspect of a long-running inside effort which fell to the four Japanese American members of Congress who, according to Glenn Roberts, approached "virtually every one" of their colleagues to talk to them about redress. Such personal contact was viewed as key by redress proponents. Members of Congress, explains Roberts, routinely received thousands of pieces of mail each week. "Everybody's cause is absolutely imperative—and many of them are truly right. But when members of Congress had these well-respected, obviously patriotic, loyal people saying, 'As children we were put in [camps] for three years because we were suspected of disloyalty—that was something that made members of Congress stop and pay attention."

Powerful as was Mineta's public presentation and private lobbying, it failed to erase the doubts of some subcommittee members, particularly its chairman. Hall, whom Glenn Roberts describes as "a gruff old conservative rural Texan," was swayed by what he had heard of the intercepted cables and other evidence justifying the internment. "Hall seemed genuinely interested," says Roberts, "but he just couldn't believe that [the internment] had happened the way it did." The redress measure stayed bottled up in his subcommittee and never came to a vote.

The bill fared no better on the Senate side, where Matsunaga had introduced it as S. 2116, with 13 co-sponsors. Like the House bill, the Senate version had its prestigious sponsors, such as Robert Dole (R-Kan.), himself a seriously

SECTION D



The Maui home of Dr. Dwight Baldwin at Lahaina, where three of the castaways found lodging before and after coming to Honolulu.

Japanese Castaways Adrift for Five Months to Land in Hawaii in 1839; Record Survives

BY ALLAN BEEKMAN

Oct. 18, 1839, when Dr. Dwight Baldwin returned to his house at Lahaina, Island of Maui, Sandwich Islands, he found a crowd gathered around it. As missionary and physician, Baldwin took it for granted that when something unusual occurred the natives would come to him for guidance. Even so, today's gathering was exceptional.

He entered the house to find many had preceded him. As he was later to write, three men, resembling Chinese, "but more tawny," knelt on the floor. They bowed low to him. They were often to repeat the obeisance.

"Who are these visitors?" asked Baldwin.

Capt. Cathcart, of the whaler James Loper, who had brought them, attempted to explain. Some of the details were to become available only much later.

Heishiro, 50, Captain of "Choja Maru"

One of the three kneeling men was Heishiro, 50, owner of the junk Choja Maru, a substantial vessel of 150 or 200 tons. Another was Jirokichi, 18.

Employed in the coastal trade with a cargo of rice, sake and dried fish, the ship had sailed from Toyama on the Japan Sea coast with a crew of ten. About the first of January, a gale had blown them from Matsumae, at the southern tip of Hokkaido, through the Tsugaru Strait into the Pacific. Heishiro had a small compass, so though blown out of sight of land he knew its direction.

The gale had dismasted the vessel. The crew erected something like a jury mast to manage the ship, but unfavorable winds, coupled with the ship's insufficient spars and rigging, blew them farther and farther east.

After about five months of this drifting, they had exhausted their water supply and eaten all their rice. For six days they floated with nothing to drink.

Drifting at Sea for Five Months

They put silver into their mouths to cool their parched tongues. During this period three of the crew died. The remainder were so weakened not one could stand.

Then rain began to fall. At first they caught it in their hands. Later they collected it in such containers as were available to them.

June 6, before this new supply of water was exhausted, the Loper discovered them. They were halfway between Japan and the Sandwich Islands, as Hawaii was then called.

Cathcart removed their valuables, including some gold and silver, to the Loper. He would scrupulously later return all their belongings to them. He provided the castaways with food and clothing and asked nothing from them in return.

To eliminate the Choja Maru as a navigational hazard, he set fire to it.

After boarding the Loper, Heishiro paid to the other Japanese all that was due them. A dispute then arose whether they should be paid until the time their vessel had been disabled or beyond that. Heishiro referred the case to Cathcart for decision.

Other Whalers Get Four of the Seven Castaways

About a month later, falling in with three other whalers, Cathcart distributed four of his seven castaways among them.

One day, after they had been at sea almost ten months without a glimpse of land, Cathcart told his castaways that on the afternoon of the next day they would be in Hilo, Island of Hawaii.

They received the information with skepticism. But as time wore on they became impressed with the seamanship of the captain. About five miles out of Hilo harbor, the captain decorated the masts with flags. Accompanied by four natives, two Cantonese merchants came aboard; one inquired about the land of origin of the castaways.

In Hawaii, Heishiro Meets Chinese Merchants

Heishiro wrote Nagasaki in Chinese characters. The Chinese nodded and seemed to understand.

At this time Nagasaki was the only port in Japan open to foreigners and that only on a restricted basis.

Japan had experienced Westerners and their missionaries and had found the experience distasteful. In 1587, the ruler of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi charged the missionaries with forcing Japanese to become Christian, teaching their disciples to wreck temples, eating useful animals and taking slaves to the Indies. He ordered the missionaries to leave. They failed to comply but for a time tried to avoid giving further offense.

In 1596 the pilot of a wrecked Spanish galleon declared that if his cargo was not protected the Spanish king would seize Japan as he had other countries to which he had first sent missionaries. Persecution of Japanese Christians began.

Squabbling among the Jesuit, Franciscan and Dominican orders, who calumniated each other, tended to discredit all of them and drew attention to their infractions of the laws against evangelizing. In 1614 Tokugawa Ieyasu, now in complete control of Japan, ordered all missionaries to leave. In 1617, his son and successor, Hidetada, for the first time had foreign priests executed. The third Tokugawa to succeed to the rule, Iemitsu, carried on the persecution with savage intensity. In 1624 he expelled the Spanish. In 1636 he restricted the Portuguese to Deshima, a man-made island in Nagasaki Bay.

In 1637 came the Shimabara rebellion, in which many Christians were involved. After the government suppressed the rebellion and slaughtered the insurgents, it forbade further contact with Portugal.

Iemitsu evicted the Portuguese and restricted to Deshima the handful of Dutch permitted to remain.

From 1640 it had become a capital crime for a Japanese to leave the country. And if he had left, even against his will, it became a capital offense for him to return.

Japanese Castaways Set Foot in Hilo

So the castaways realized that if the captain's prediction of a landfall was correct, they would be one of the few Japanese in many years to set foot on foreign soil and, consequently, to brave the peril of violating the Japanese proscription.

As the ship drew nearer land, the castaways noted islanders bathing in the sea. As they approached to about a mile and a quarter of shore, two seamen, one to the left and one to the right of the deck, began to take soundings with a weighted rope to measure the depth of the sea. The skill and exactitude with which they performed this operation evoked the admiration of the castaways.

The ship anchored safely. The merchants landed. The castaways and some members of the crew followed the captain ashore. Ten natives surrounded the castaways and wept as if in sympathy for their plight.

According to Jirokichi, who was later to write three volumes about his experiences abroad entitled Ban Tan or Stories of Foreign Lands, "For the first time in my life I saw an American woman and children. The wife (of a minister) is nice looking, dressed well and quiet. Her hair is somewhat reddish and the pupil is whitish. These are the only peculiarities we noticed, but the children had white hair and we were rather frightened."

During the three days in Hilo the castaways lodged at the house of a Chinese merchant. It appears that during this period they met with a Japanese named Kuemona. A ship captain from what is now Okayama, he had gone ashore in Hilo in 1819. He settled there, learning enough of the native language to serve as interpreter to other Japanese castaways.

Though Heishiro and his crew had learned little English aboard the Loper, the interpreting of Kuemona must have dissipated some of the mystery surrounding them.

The Best Way for Return to Japan

The castaways spent three days at the home of the Chinese merchant. Cathcart came on the third day to confer with the merchants about means to return the castaways to Japan. The merchant told the captain that Japan belonged to China; since the castaways were here, he was unwilling to return them.

Cathcart invited the castaways out of the house and told them that since only whalers came to Hilo, it was necessary to go to Oahu where a man-of-war might be found to return them to Japan.

At night the castaways stole from the house of the Chinese merchant and boarded the ship. In a canoe manned by natives, the Cantonese pursued, crying, "You must leave the Japanese here."

Cathcart replied, "God dam'. I saved them. It is up to me what to do with them."

The Cantonese persisted. When Cathcart appeared ready to fire upon them, the Cantonese withdrew.

Cathcart explained his action to the castaways: "You might not understand the Chinaman; they may not hurt you, but will surely make you labor for many years, thus delaying the time of your departure to your own land."

Castaways Stay Temporarily in Maui

At their next stop, Island of Maui, they went to live with a Chinese, but becoming dissatisfied after a day or two came to the Baldwin home with all their effects, described by Baldwin as "an iron-bound box or two, several basket trunks, a pretty good supply of clothing and a bag of money, which belonged to the old man. From the first, from the necessity of the case or from some other cause, they showed the most entire confidence in us, leaving their money or other effects with us, apparently without the least fear of being defrauded."

Baldwin had never before seen a Japanese nor had most of the others present though, as we have seen in the case of Kuemona, these were not the first to land in what is now Hawaii. In prehistoric times such might have been killed or assimilated by the natives.

No longer ago than December 1832, a Japanese fishing boat had been found anchored off a reef at Waialua, Island of Oahu. Of the four men aboard, three were seriously ill with scurvy, two of them unable to walk. Driven by a typhoon they had wandered the ocean for almost a year before sighting land. After several days at Waialua, they set sail for Honolulu but, on New Year's Day, 1833, the ship was wrecked at Barber's Point.

The rescued crew lived more than a year in Honolulu until given passage on a ship bound for Kamchatka.

Curiosity of Maui Residents Aroused

Now at the Baldwin home, according to his account, the curiosity of the residents being aroused, they began questioning the castaways in English or the native language, speaking loudly as if believing their guests lack of comprehension sprang from deafness.

Baldwin had learned that the written language of China and Japan are the same, so he called in some Chinese who knew some English to communicate with the castaways in writing.

In "profound silence as the deaf and dumb do in their intercourse" a Chinese wrote his questions. Heishiro read them carefully and then wrote his reply, though occasionally after much hesitation.

Baldwin belonged to the Fourth Company of American missionaries, which had arrived in Honolulu in 1831. He was born in Durham, Conn., in 1798. He graduated from Yale College in 1821 and from Auburn Theological Seminary in 1829. He attended a course of medical lectures at Harvard but settled for a master of science degree. Ordained at Utica, New York, in 1830, he sailed for the Sandwich Islands around Cape Horn, as his predecessors had done.

The missionaries were bilingual in the English and native language. Baldwin had other knowledge from his linguistic background to call upon. He wrote of his experience in watching the Japanese and Chinese communicate.

Continued on Section D, Page 6

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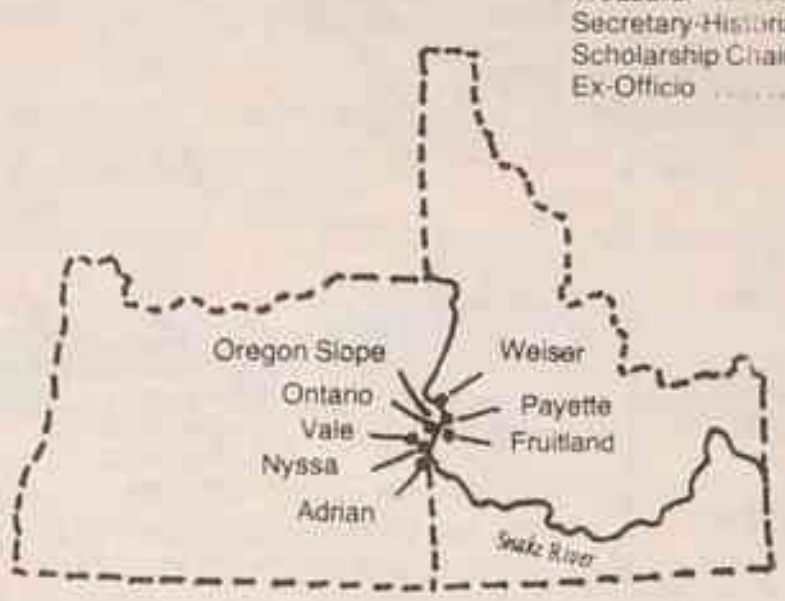
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Photo by the Author

The adobe house, now plastered-over, on the grounds of Kawaiahao Church where Japanese castaways stayed before being returned to Japan.

CASTAWAYS

Continued from Page D-1

"Many of the written characters are the same in both nations; and each nation has many that are peculiar to itself. Still each may perhaps understand some of the characters peculiar to the other. The Japanese and Chinese, like the Hebrews, in their writing and printing, begin at the last end of the book, and turn back to what an Englishman would call the beginning. The Hebrews, however, write their lines horizontally, while the Chinese and Japanese proceed in perpendicular lines from the top to the bottom. The amount of information, however, gained during this interview, respecting these men, was small. I learned more by incidental and repeated conversations afterward."

Baldwin's Notes on Heishiro

He said of Heishiro: " . . . he was of spare habit, and rather small in stature. He was by far the most manly character among them, and appeared to be very kind and conscientious. He had attended most of the schools of their country, was probably the most skilled in their written language, and was always employed in writing with a brush and india ink, except when he could do something to make himself useful to us. He had, doubtless, been a model of industry."

Alas, from the point of view of Baldwin, Heishiro also had a grave fault. "He seemed also to be the most devoted to the idolatry of his country. He had an idol, which was nothing more than a gilded human figure on a cloth-like velvet. This was rolled up and enclosed, with a string of beads, in a wooden box, which was sometimes hung up in the apartment they occupied — sometimes in our house; and from its being missing at certain seasons, we presume he paid his adorations to it every day. Anything else he had he seemed ready to part with: but when sometimes we intimated that this would be a fine curiosity to send to America, he would clasp his hands to his breast, shake his head, and say, 'By, by me die'."

Baldwin learned that Heishiro had one or two more vessels in Japan and another being built, was probably wealthy and had a wife and five children.

Baldwin's Notes on the Two Teen-Aged Castaways

Baldwin was impressed by the 18-year-old Jirokichi, whom he called Eijiro. According to Baldwin, Jirokichi "was probably about twenty-five or thirty years of age, for I do not recall how old he called himself. He was man of middling stature, but exceedingly muscular, as may be judged by the fact that he has more than once of his own accord been down to the beach, and taken a barrel of flour on his shoulders, brought it with perfect ease, and set it down upon the floor, with as much steadiness as any man could set down a pound's weight.

How "Honolulu" Got Its Name

The site that the missionaries occupied on the Island of Oahu may be traced to 1794 when an English ship's captain had learned that the waters at the mouth of Nuuanu Stream, Oahu, was a good harbor. The village at the mouth of the stream was then called Kou. But as report of the good anchorage close by spread and as trade and government accordingly gravitated to it, it acquired the name of good, or sheltered, harbor: "Honolulu."

When those of the First Group of missionaries who chose Oahu for the field of their proselyting applied to Boki, the ruling chief of Oahu, for permission to settle in Honolulu, Boki felt distaste at having the missionaries near his home at the mouth of Nuuanu Stream where the village of Honolulu had burgeoned.

"He was employed probably as clerk of the junk; was pretty well versed in writing, and had some skill in drawing. . . In some respects he was more intelligent than the old man; and being much more ready in catching up both the Hawaiian and English languages, it was from him that most of my information was obtained."

Third was "Kinsiu, about 16 or 17 years of age . . . generally silent and sedate in his appearance of a boy, but was, in every respect, a boy seemingly disposed to nothing but to spend his time in idleness."

Castaways' Plan: Return to Japan Via Canton

During the few weeks they spent with Baldwin, "their great object was to obtain a passage to Oahu, hoping some vessel (there) would take them to Canton, whence they thought they could make their way to Japan. Their desires on this subject were intense. Whenever a vessel of any description anchored in our roads, they would come to me saying, 'schooner' or *feni* (vessel) go Oahu.' The earnestness of the old man, on such occasions, was beyond description. As he bowed down humbly before us, he would point to our children and say, *kodomo* (Japanese boy) and at the same time hold up five fingers, meaning that he had five children in Japan; with the other hand, he would point to his eye, saying 'me no see,' with an eloquence of expression to be fully understood by no one but the tender hearted parent."

After ten days of housing the castaways, Baldwin, October 28, wrote to Brother (Levi) Chamberlain, a member of the Second Company of American Missionaries, who had arrived in Honolulu in 1823 and become superintendent of secular affairs for the mission.

"Respecting the Japanese, perhaps four have been landed already at Oahu from three whaleships. If so, you have doubtless heard of the junk from which seven men were taken by the James Loper, Capt. Cathcart. . . They came baggage and all to our house, where they have been 10 days. . . What I wish then is to recommend them to you. It seems to me our duty to keep them in our families, if possible where they may become prejudiced in favor of missionaries instead of hearing something against them and when they go to China let them go to the brethren there. . ."

On the morning of November 5, Chamberlain was informed that Heishiro was unwell, his illness having kept his companions awake during the night. In this extremity he sent for Dr. Gerrit Judd.

Dr. Judd had come to the islands with the Third Company of missionaries in 1828. Born in Paris Hill, N.Y. in 1803, he earned a medical degree from a school at Fairfield, N.Y. At the time of the arrival of Judd, Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) reigned. He had been born 1813 and was under a regency. Judd was to gain ascendancy over him.

Castaway Capt. Heishiro Dies at Lahaina, Maui

At this critical moment in the lives of the castaways, Judd was not to be found. In the meantime, investigation showed that the body of Heishiro had turned cold, an indication that he had been dead for some time. The remaining two from the Lahaina group were unaware they had lost their leader until about noon when Baldwin had them aroused. They went to Heishiro and supposing him to be sleeping uncovered him. Then finding him dead they bent their heads and wept silently.

The other four castaways were informed of the situation. They came to Kawaiahao and mingled their tears with the others.

Then, Chamberlain notes, they performed "superstitious ceremonies over the body. . ."

Chamberlain ordered a coffin made and pointed out a spot in the adjoining burial ground where the body might be interred. The castaways appeared grateful for the attentions and manifested the hope that the interment might be speedily accomplished.

Chamberlain, however, felt that the circumstances warranted a reexamination of the body. In the evening, Judd, along with the king, called and, after examining the body, concluded that the death had been a natural one. ". . . it was regarded by him as one of those visitations of Providence around which a veil is drawn by him who doeth his own will and giveth no account of his matters."

Rev. Hiram Bingham Reads the Final Rites

On Wednesday, November 6, a number of natives, church members and others gathered around the house to participate in the funeral. They found the body lying in the newly built coffin.

The Rev. Hiram Bingham who had come with the First Company of missionaries in 1820, and who was now pastor of Kawaiahao Church, was to perform the last rites. Born in 1789 in Bennington, Vt., Bingham had worked his father's farm until he came of age. Then he attended Middlebury College, graduating at the age of 26. He spent three years more at Andover Theological Seminary and sailed for the Sandwich Islands aboard the brig Thaddeus.

A cart for the removal of the body to the grave site was draped with a velvet cloth, the coffin was placed on the cloth. Natives pulled on ropes attached to the cart and drew it to the grave, followed by castaways, mourners and natives, about 300 persons in all.

Bible in hand, Bingham read a portion of Scriptures and offered a prayer, partly in English and partly in the native language. The service lasted about an hour-and-a-half.

Wooden Marker Placed Over Hirokichi's Grave

The coffin was lowered into the grave. People shoveled dirt upon it. Over the grave they erected a pointed white board, about four feet high and a foot wide. Jirokichi was asked to write on one side of the board.

Jirokichi wrote in the phonetic Japanese katakana. Some Cantonese merchants present said they could read the characters Jirokichi had written for Nippon but nothing else.

Nevertheless Bingham translated the meaning of Jirokichi's message into the language of the others present and added:

"When Japanese people may come here in the future this will serve as an evidence."

Bingham also promised that a stone would be brought from America to replace the board and serve as a permanent marker.

Continued on the Next Page

THE C.B. MUNSON REPORT:

Horrified by Military Not Guarding Key Defense Sites

Continued from Section B, Page 24

not trust the Nisei. There will be no wholehearted response from Japanese in the United States. They may get some helpers from certain Kibei. They will be in a position to pick up information on troop, supply and ship movements from local Japanese.

For the most part the local Japanese are loyal to the United States or, at worst, hope that by remaining quiet they can avoid concentration camps or irresponsible mobs. We do not believe that they would be at least any more disloyal than any other racial group in the United States with whom we went to war. Those being here are on a spot and they *know it*.

This is a hurried, preliminary report as our boat sails soon for Honolulu. We have not had a moment even to sort out our voluminous material since we came west.

'Unguarded' Defense Sites Horrifies Munson

Your reporter is very satisfied he has told you what to expect from the local Japanese, but is horrified to note that dams, bridges, harbors, power stations, etc. are wholly unguarded everywhere. The harbor of San Pedro could be razed by fire completely by four men with hand grenades and a little study in one night. Dams could be blown and half of lower California might actually die of thirst, not to mention the damage to the food supply. One railway bridge at the exit from the mountains in some cases could tie up three or four main railroads. The Navy has to crawl around San Pedro on its marrow bones from oil company to oil company, from lumber yard to harbor board, to city fathers, to politicians in lieu of a centralized authority, in order to strive albeit only partially to protect the conglomeration of oil tanks, lumber, gas tanks and heaven knows what else.

And this is the second greatest port in the United States! This is the home base of at least the South Pacific Fleet! This is the greatest collection of inflammable material we have ever seen in our lifetime concentrated in a small vulnerable area!

We do not suspect the local Japanese above anyone else or as much as the Communists or the Nazis, but before or on the outbreak of war in the South Pacific, someone will set fire to this.

If they do not they are fools. The Navy or some unified authority should have complete control of the Harbor of Los Angeles, known as San Pedro and Long Beach, from the water's edge in a 25-mile radius inland, before the outbreak of war with Japan. That time is now.

We will re-work this report for final submittal later. We have missed a great deal through haste. We believe we have given the high points to the best of our ability. The Japanese are loyal on the whole, but we are wide open to sabotage on this Coast and as far inland as the mountains, and while this one fact goes unrectified I cannot unqualifiedly state that there is no danger from the Japanese living in the United States which otherwise I would be willing to state.

CURTIS B. MUNSON

Six Incidents Belie Idea 'We Were Detained Against Our Wills' as 8 Shot & Killed



James Tsujimura
Portland, Oregon

■ *A past National JACL president, he is a physician and surgeon in private practice, was chief of section, Department of Ophthalmology, Oregon Health and Sciences Center University and Medical School in Portland, at time of his appearance before the CWRIC hearings in Seattle. He, his parents and four sisters were detained at the Portland International Livestock Exposition Hall (the assembly center in 1942) and later transferred to Minidoka concentration camp.*

Seattle, Aug. 31, 1981

Throughout the West Coast hearings of this Commission, you have heard a wide body of testimony regarding the experiences of United States citizens of Japanese ancestry during WWII. Among some of this testimony, you have also heard from those who have dared to tell us that the camps in which we were detained were "relocation centers" from which we were free to leave at any time.

In response to such an absurd notion, I would like to draw your attention to six incidents which clearly belie the suggestion that we were not detained against our wills. These are six separate incidents in which eight individuals of Japanese ancestry were shot and killed by the armed sentries who were supposedly there to protect us.

■ On May 12, 1942, a Mr. Kanesaburo Oshima was shot and killed by a sentry at the Fort Sill Internment Camp in Oklahoma.

■ On July 27, 1942, Messrs. Toshio Kobata and Hirota Isomura disappeared under mysterious circumstances while being transferred to the [Department of Justice] Lordsburg Internment Camp in New Mexico. The internees at Lordsburg were informed that these two men were shot and killed by sentries while attempting to escape. For the record, the JACL wishes to submit a copy of a newsletter from Lordsburg describing this incident, with an accompanying English translation.

I should also like to add that we have a different account of a shooting which might possibly suggest two separate incidents at Lordsburg.

■ On December 6, 1942, Messrs. Ito and Kanagawa were shot and killed by armed guards during a riot at Manzanar Concentration Camp in California.

■ On April 11, 1943, James Hatsuaki Wakasa was shot and killed at Topaz by an armed sentry named Gerlad B. Philpott. Mr. Wakasa was an elderly Issei who was hard of hearing, and unable to hear the guard's single warning as he reached across the barbed wire fence to retrieve is dog, was shot and killed.

In the summer of 1943, an un-named victim was shot and killed by an armed sentry at Gila Concentration Camp because he strayed outside the barbed wire.

■ On May 24, 1944, James Soichi Okamoto, an internee at Tule Lake, was shot and killed by an armed sentry. Okamoto, who was 30 years old, was a truck driver on a work crew involved in a project outside camp and had been issued an identity button and pass to permit him to leave the camp as part of the construction crew. Upon returning to the camp on May 24, 1942, Okamoto was confronted by Private Bernard Goe, who had a reputation of harrassing the internees. Okamoto had been making trips back and forth most of the day, and Private Goe, who had just come on sentry duty at the gate, stopped Okamoto's truck and ordered him to step out and demanded to see his pass. Private Goe ordered Okamoto to the back of the truck, but the

Continued on Section D, Page 8



Historic Kawaiahao Church, on the grounds of which the three castaways from Japanese were lodged while in Honolulu in 1839 — thirty years before the first Japanese settlers immigrated to California.

CASTAWAYS

Continued from the Previous Page

After four or five days flowers were planted around the grave of Heishiro. Later a railing about three-feet high and eight-feet wide encircled the grave for protection.

Heishiro is the first Japanese of whom we have record to die in what is now America.

Fate had been unkind to Bingham in this land. Graves of three of his children were in the nearby churchyard. The graves of the Bingham children can be seen in the Kawaiahao churchyard today. But the site of the Heishiro grave has been lost.

Sometime in 1912 the city expanded Queen Street, which now borders the cemetery on the seaward side, over a portion of the graveyard. When Queen Street was widened in November 1987, excavators found about 100 skeletons beneath the asphalt, where an archaeologist carefully exhumed them. The coffins had disintegrated.

Perhaps Heishiro's skeleton is among them.

It would be months before the remaining castaways would find passage away from the islands. In the meantime, Jirokichi having returned to Lahaina, Maui, Dr. Baldwin "found it easy to make each other understood, on any except abstract subjects."

On Aug. 1, 1840 they sailed from Honolulu on the British brig "Harlequin," J.O. Carter, captain. They arrived at Etlof [Etorofu] from Kamchatka, May 23, 1843. A Japanese boat transported them from there.

How they were received in Japan we do not know. But it is evident that Jirokichi lived to dictate a three volume account of his travels, recorded by one, Yutensei, a pseudonym. The handwritten account, came into the possession of George R. Carter, a former governor of Hawaii and the grandson of both the Capt. Carter and Gerrit Judd mentioned above. The volumes range from 122 to 128 pages.

The volumes were supposed to have been given to the Kawaiahao Church library, but the librarian was unable to locate them for me. I am indebted for much of the information to an article in the April 1928 issue of The Friend, by Dr. Tasuku Harada and from Dr. Baldwin of Lahaina, by Mary Charlotte Alexander, 1953.

■ *By Naomi Kashiwabara*

The Office Princess

By Naomi Kashiwabara

I am a male secretary, a male amanuensis. I know that it seems stupified to be a male secretary but I was never good at working with my hands and I dislike hard physical toil. Furthermore, in every club I ever joined I became a corresponding or recording secretary.

I work for Mrs. Davidson, a woman executive. She is OK but she sure is into the occult. Every morning she studies the astrology column in the newspaper before coming to work. (She is a Libra. When asked, I told her that I was a Sheep—Chinese zodiac.) Whenever the thirteenth of the month falls on a Friday we office workers have a holiday because Mrs. Davidson finds an excuse to stay home.

She, like a couple of Hollywood females, believes that she is a long-ago Egyptian princess reincarnated. I wonder how many reincarnated Egyptian princesses there could be—someone has to be a reincarnated slave or even a *demimondaine*.

Mrs. Davidson does not socialize with us underlings, saving herself for those above her on the chain of command. So I was surprised when she asked me to eat lunch with her. She, usually well-groomed, looked shaken up.

We discussed work and then she said, "Do you believe dreams come true?" I don't believe dreams come true anymore than I believe that some crones can foretell the future. If so, why aren't they rich playing the stock market?

But I am not completely stupid so I answered, "Well, that depends."

Mrs. Davidson told me of a dream she had had during the weekend. She had dreamt that she got a phone call reminding her of a scheduled trip but that her papers were not in order and that she was to phone a certain number. She awoke but she had remembered the number.

Monday morning she had called.

"Yes?" I said, my interest aroused.

"Yes?" I repeated.

"The number was the county morgue!"

The following week was a very nervous time for Mrs. Davidson (and a near-vacation for us) but she survived. A few months later she was promoted.

ABOUT THE "AMANUENSIS"

Mr. Kashiwabara, a retired electrical engineer living in San Diego, writes occasionally for the JACL newsletter and has entertained P.C. readers with short stories.

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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 out 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

Tsujimura:

Continued from Page D-7

internee, apprehensive of the order because it would have placed him outside the confines of the camp.

refused the order. Private Goe then struck Okamoto on the shoulder with the butt of his rifle, and from a distance of approximately five feet, shot Okamoto in the stomach.

In the aftermath of this incident, Secretary of the Interior Ickes issued a press release, calling the shooting "completely unwarranted and without provocation on the part of the victim." And as a footnote, you should be informed that on July 6, Private Goe was brought before a Court Martial on the charge of manslaughter but was acquitted of the charge. Instead, he was fined a dollar for the unauthorized use of government property, referring to the bullet which struck and killed James Okamoto.

Unfortunately, there is very little information available regarding any of these incidents, and until there is a full and thorough investigation of the deaths of these eight individuals and of others who were shot while interned but who survived, the work of this Commission will not have been completed.

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Summary Translation of the Deaths of Messrs. Kobata and Isomura

From the attached (Japanese-language) newsletter

LORDSBURG, NEW MEXICO

On July 27, 1942, at 1:45 a.m., 147 new internees from the Bismarck Justice Internment Center in North Dakota arrived near here by train. After disembarking at a nearby field, they walked to the camp.

There were two ailing persons among this new group—Messrs. Kobata and Isomura. Mr. Kobata was a long-time victim of tuberculosis who was being transported from a "sick-bed" in Bismarck. Due to an accident which caused permanent injury to his back ten years previously, Mr. Isomura had great difficulty walking. Consequently, the guards made separate transportation arrangements for these two men to the camp. Three soldiers had been assigned to guard them.

In the meantime, the 145 other internees started marching to the camp, arriving at approximately 3 a.m. Nonetheless, Messrs. Kobata and Isomura had not yet reached the camp. When they still had not arrived by mid-morning, the internees' leaders and concerned friends of the two men inquired about them at the camp clinic. The clinic personnel informed the group that no one had been taken in the night before.

The group then telephoned the military doctor and questioned him about the two men. The doctor replied that they had been taken somewhere else and were being cared for. However, on July 28th, Dr. Oguchi announced that he had been informed by a sergeant that Messrs. Kobata and Isomura had been shot to death while attempting to escape.

In response to the shocking news, an emergency meeting was held by the internees' leaders. It was decided to appeal to the camp headquarters for Drs. Oguchi and Akimoto to perform autopsies. The headquarters immediately refused this request and instead issued an order that a funeral would be held at 4 p.m.

The Japanese in the camp were insulted by this "order" and decided not to attend the funeral. Instead, they individually held a silent moment of prayer in their barracks.

Since the deaths of Messrs. Kobata and Isomura were viewed as a serious incident, a military investigator was dispatched to the camp and an informal hearing held on September 2nd. The internees submitted their own report to the investigator at the hearing.

Five internees were sent to the military court as witnesses. They returned on September 11th. The outcome of the court hearing revealed nothing new—it was just a reiteration of what the internees had already suspected.

In November, the internees were able to discover that the guard who shot the men was named Private Poston, but there was no information as to what type of disciplinary action was taken.

PORTLAND JACL

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Yoshiye Togasaki
Lafayette, Calif.

■ *Yoshiye Togasaki was 77 years at the time her appearance testifying before the redress commission in San Francisco and was among the few Nisei in their 80's today to have received her Letter of Apology signed by President Bush with the $20,000 redress check. When the JACL established its legacy fund this year, she generously contributed $15,000 of that to the fund.*

Born January 3, 1904 in San Francisco, she attended the San Francisco public schools and U.C. Berkeley. Subsequent training for medicine, internship, residencies and M.P.M. led to her pioneer work setting up a clinic at Manzanar in 1942 and postwar employment in Contra Costa County with its Department of Public Health until her retirement in 1972.

San Francisco, July 29, 1981

The nurse and I had to set up the medical services and program until additional staff arrived. At this time only one barrack was available for medical "clinic" living quarters. Construction was going on, open trenches, gutters, etc. The usual camp structure of bath facilities and kitchen were centralized but still unroofed. Equipment sent in for medical care was the usual packaged unit for military emergency hospital.

To obtain necessary supplies such as vaccines for children, laboratory materials for tests, special medication for pregnant women, I had to depend on the generous contributions of a few friends until the government could set up its usual channels. Problems of formula preparation, since barracks that had no water, no stove, only a single electric light in the center of a room, created much hardship for the mothers who had to care for newborn infants and children.

In three weeks time we were faced with children ill with measles, chickenpox, whooping cough, diarrhea. The only place we had for care were barracks without heat, no stove, no water. In due time the Military Emergency Hospital unit (equipment) arrived as did medical staff among the evacuees.

Acute Medical Concerns Inside Manzanar

For me, it was a matter of 14-16 hours per day of struggle and frustration. I acquired special medication through co-operative friends for women and children till channels could be established. My concern was to avoid outbreaks of preventable illness, typhoid, tuberculosis and childhood communicable disease, safe formula preparation for infants, obstetric care for pregnant women.

But in late September, I myself became ill and finally joined my two sisters at Tule Lake. To clarify diagnosis I was finally given permission to go on to San Francisco Hospital for Women and Children for diagnosis and returned to Tule Lake where Dr. Hashiba performed pan-hysterectomy for multiple uterine fibroids, endometiosis and multiple cystic ovaries. Cost of trip to San Francisco for my escort and myself, all hospital, medical care were not reimbursable but became my responsibility.

In April 1943 two sisters, a niece and I were returned to Manzanar as being disruptive to Dr. Peddicord. Our understanding was that we should practice medicine ethically and in the best interest of the patient. The Medical Director, Dr. Peddicord, from West Virginia had not been in practice (and 73) for many years and disagreed with what we were accustomed to use as guidelines of responsible medical practice.

Situation in Tule Lake

For pediatric services he would discontinue medication for the children such as sulfa drugs. For the surgeon trained at Stanford University with experience of 20 years, Dr. Peddicord insisted that Dr. Hashiba obtain permission before any surgical procedure, even minor surgery and treatment of severe burns. The feelings of the Tule Lake community was so critical that Dr. Peddicord was attacked with tar and feathers by angry members of the community.

These are just a few examples of the unnecessary barriers placed upon the professional personnel in our camps. I hope that it may help to give the commission another aspect of the situation we faced.

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■ *By Ambrose Uchiyamada*

Reflections from a Broken Mirror

When I was a little kid the Los Angeles Public Library chose me to lead some kind of kids' parade. It was during the time of the "Yellow Peril" and someone in the library must have had a lot of nerve to have chosen a little Asiatic to lead the parade rather than a standard white. The spirit of the occasion was one of tolerance, good will, and brotherly love.

White parents didn't like it, of course, and the resentment filtered down to their offspring, though not in sufficient strength to cause physical damage, except for one little kid. As we marched along he took every opportunity to jab me in the derriere. Finally, when I could stand it no longer I reached back quickly, made a successful grab and retrieved the instrument of good-will and brotherly love: a Boy Scout knife, happily for me, unopened.

When I was attending Marquette University in the thirties, one of the students invited me to a friend's home for dinner. Since I didn't know the man I begged off. A few days later the student tried again, this time saying that I would like the man's wife since she was very pretty. I said there were plenty of pretty girls to look at. When he ran out of inducements he finally told me the real reason for the invitation: "He thinks you're a spy," he said. Those were the magic words. Here was an opportunity to dispell the notion that all "Japanese" were, *ipso facto*, spies.

The man's wife was indeed very pretty and the dinner couldn't have been better, marred only by the intense questioning I received. Hardly had I answered one question before I was faced with another. Acutely conscious of the host's suspicions I answered all his questions promptly and to the point.

Next day when I met the student he told me how impressed the host had been with me. "Did you notice," the host had said to him after my departure, "how promptly he answered every question, how he never hesitated a moment on anything? He's a very well-trained spy."

About four years before Pearl Harbor I got a job working in TIME magazine's reference department (morgue). The first day there I went to lunch with some of the staff. When we returned to the office one of them came over to tell me how much he admired me. I searched my memory trying to recall what I had said or done that might warrant such admiration. I could think of nothing and finally asked, "Why am I so admirable?"

"Because you're not ashamed of being Japanese," he said.

After recoiling from the initial shock I told him that I wasn't Japanese, that I was born and bred in America. When I asked him if the situation were reversed and I told him I admired him because he wasn't ashamed of being an American, what would have been his response? Would he have tried to punch me in the nose, report me to the FBI, or both?

Fortunately he was a good sort and we got along well after that.

In the late thirties I was walking with a girl of Italian extraction in the theater district of Manhattan. Sitting in front of a little fruit store was a small man slouching under a crushed brown Fedora. He had Garibaldi mustaches, a big white apron that stretched from his neck to his toes, and the butt of a cigar sticking out of the corner of his mouth. When he saw the girl he took the cigar out of his mouth and began to mutter at her in Italian. When she ignored him he began to shout. Being blessed with a short fuse she whirled around and let him know that she too knew a few words of zesty Italian. When the little man saw a crowd gathering he promptly forgot his defense of white womanhood and vanished into his shop. It was a disturbing experience, the first in my two years in Manhattan and one which I was not soon to forget.

Some years later I was walking in the Bronx with a new acquaintance when a burly old man clad in black with a wide-brimmed black hat and a great gray ruff of a beard stopped me and began to harangue me in a guttural tongue I didn't understand but which I assumed to be coming from the same source as that of the little fruit vendor. I stormed back at him telling him to mind his own business, that it was a free country and to leave me alone. My companion put a restraining hand on my arm and began to speak to the old man in what sounded like German. After many questioning gestures the old man finally left, but not before giving me an odd look.

As we walked away my girl friend said, "He only wanted to know the way to the synagogue."

Many years ago when I worked in the Chrysler building in Manhattan, Asians were not too common and I figured if people were going to keep asking me about my origins I might as well get some fun out of it. There was a very personable and garrulous elevator operator who made it his business to know everything that was going on in the building. When the question of my origins finally arose, I told him casually that I was an Eskimo, that I had come down from the Arctic with my father Nanook to promote Robert Flaherty's film, "Nanook of the North," that my family had returned to their igloos and I had remained behind to see what it was like to live in an advanced society, and that I only longed now and then for the snows and glaciers of my homeland.

The news that there was a real live Eskimo in the building traveled swiftly, perhaps too swiftly, for as a result of this ill-considered prank, I automatically became an authority on Eskimo life of which I knew nothing. To my dismay I was soon fielding such questions as: "What is it like to be an Eskimo? How do you stand it up there when half the year is dark? Are you going back? Can you build an igloo? How long does an igloo last? Do you like blubber? What do Eskimos eat besides blubber?"

I was happy when, shortly after that, I was transferred to Rockefeller Center.

My wife and I were in a receiving line at Alfred University where she had been hired to teach math. I was teaching next door at the State University of New York. A fragile old lady came tottering down the line as if every step was going to be her last and dangling before each a skeletal but heavily freckled hand. I seemed to be the focus of her attention as she wandered from one receiver to the next. Finally she arrived at my wife's side and asked, motioning toward me, "Does he speak English?"

"He teaches American Literature," my wife replied. As I took the shriveled hand and uttered polite words, I could not help but feel that, despite my wife's reassurance, the old lady remained convinced that if I indeed taught American Literature I must be teaching it in Japanese.

I once attended a Polaroid stockholders meeting. Before the meeting I walked along studying the photographs proudly displayed on one of the walls. As I proceeded from picture to picture I gradually developed the uneasy feeling that I was being followed. The only picture-gazer at the time, an "Arrow collar man" in a gray suit, was just a few pictures behind me. To determine whether or not my discomfort was due to paranoia, I turned abruptly and pretended to be studying some of the pictures I'd already seen. Out of the corner of my eye I noticed that the young man had also tired of looking at the pictures, had passed behind me and was standing close by. I turned suddenly and asked the way to the mens' room. He looked embarrassed as he gave directions and appeared to be trying to make up his mind whether or not he should follow me. He didn't, but he was close by when I emerged.

Later, when Kodak put an instant camera on the market boldly imitative of a Polaroid product, I was not entirely displeased. I recalled the uncomfortable feeling I had had that day at the stockholders meeting and now I had the satisfaction of knowing that at least Polaroid's "secrets" hadn't been stolen by a Japanese company but by a gung-ho 100-percent American company!

With a name like mine you have to be prepared for people to get it wrong and certainly to mispronounce it. Thus, if I am waiting to hear my name called I am on my toes in anticipation of confusion on the part of the summoner.

We were preparing to retire and checking ourselves out at the Lahey Clinic in Boston before severing the umbilical cord. One of the first things we had to do was prepare bottles of urine. I was sitting nervously clutching mine and waiting for my name to be called when I suddenly thought I did hear my name—or a reasonable facsimile. I rushed in with my contribution and deposited the precious liquid in the hands of a brawny nurse whose complexion was as red as her hair. As she scanned the name on the bottle she scowled—, then snorted, "You're not Andrew Yeremetka!" And she unstoppered the bottle and began to pour the contents down the sink. "Stop!" I blurted in desperation, "don't do that; don't waste it, I may need it!" She smirked as she emptied the bottle. Revenge was sweet.

* * *

Raymond Uchiyamada, now of Bangor, Maine, is a welcome voice from the Nisei past—from Little Tokyo in the early '30s. He and the late Larry Tajiri, wartime P.C. editor, grew up together.

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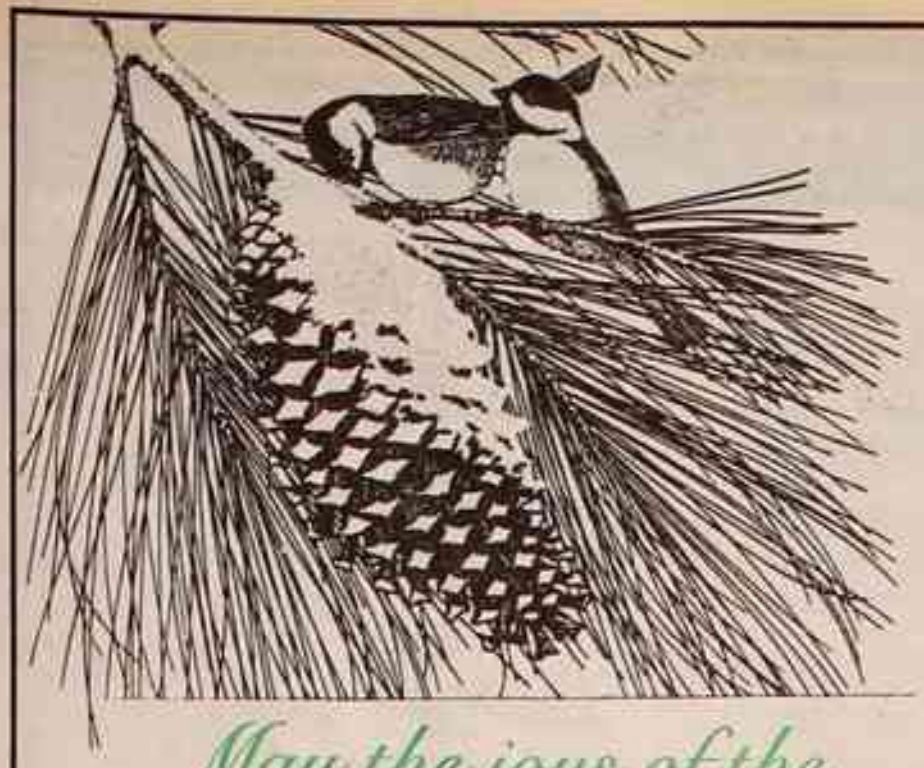
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'JACL REPACAMP' Began as Idea When He Organized Columbia Basin Plan in 1953

Edward Masakiyo Yamamoto
Moses. Lake, Wash.

■ *A semi-retired business manager and public accountant, he lived outside the prohibited and military zones in the Western Defense Command and was not evacuated, but allowed to remain. Yamamoto was in a Spokane business college when World War II began. And though physically disabled (his draft board classified him 4-F), in February 1942 he had requested "limited duty". The draft board, instead, reclassified him 4-C—an enemy alien. This personal affront plus other anti-Japanese incidents in his community drove him to eventually seek reparations through JACL as early as 1953, when he was instrumental in organizing the Columbia Basin Chapter at Moses Lake, Wash.*

Seattle, Sept. 11, 1981

In 1952, I moved to Moses Lake, where the Columbia Basin JACL Chapter was formed in 1953 as a "political base" to amplify my efforts to promote JACL work, especially the anticipated JACL National Reparations Campaign. I began mentally compiling information to prepare for the eventual day if/when the opportunity came for me to begin my campaign of persuasion within JACL to promote reparations.

The resulting testimony consists of my experiences and conditions in the Spokane area during WWII so it more properly should have been named the "Spokane Plan" instead of the Columbia Basin Plan.

The rationals to initiate the reparations movement presented itself when a banquet speaker at a JACL convention implied that such remedial actions were long overdue. So, beginning with the 1970 Chicago National JACL Convention, I started my own preliminary feasibility study by questioning JACL leadership at all levels as to their feelings regarding reparations. The next six years were utilized by "evangelizing" reparations at every opportunity possible.

In February 1976, at my first National Board Meeting as PNWDC Governor, the first JACL National Reparations Campaign Committee (REPACAMP) was authorized to which I was appointed chairman. In forming the Committee, National President Shig Sugiyama had most emphatically declared, "I'll be damned if I'll place a price on my constitutional rights . . . I don't want a dime . . ."

Thereupon, he began to stipulate specific charges for guidelines qualifying the charter by which REPACAMP was to function, namely: No direct individual payments, and to establish a trust foundation to receive the entire award to be dispensed under proper equitable guidelines.

Indicating that my thinking for the most part was the same as his, however I asked him to give REPACAMP an "open charter" without any restrictions since I was aware to the diametrically opposed sentiment of certain groups and if JACL proposed such restrictive guidelines there was absolutely no chance to reach any kind of consensus. I assured President Sugiyama our mutual views on reparations would be committed to paper and submitted at the first REPACAMP meeting as one of the options for consideration.

Originally no monies were to be paid to any individual but realizing the need for some modification in order to reach any kind of consensus, we provided in the first written draft of the Columbia Basin Plan that once the entire award from the government was placed into the Trust Foundation, the Board of Trustees would be authorized to make direct individual awards to qualified persons.

Our REPACAMP report was submitted to the National Council at the 1976 Sacramento National JACL Convention and was enthusiastically and unanimously adopted by the National Council. The REPACAMP Report had indicated that by February 1977, a consensus bill would be ready for introduction to the U.S. Congress.

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MIYAKE, Ishi/Ruth	11646 Karcher Road
NAITO, Hiroshi	5258 Hwy 45
TERADA, Kiyoko	12064 Lone Star Road
WATANABE, Molly	18021 Moss Lane
YAMADA, Manabu/Mary	1714 West Smith Ave Ext
YOSHIDA, David/Renelle	411 Chestnut
YOSHIDA, Tad/Michi	5949 Morning Dove Drive

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KORA, Taka/Rose	P O Box 846, Homedale 83628
YAMAMOTO, Duane/Judi	PO Box 64, Kuna 83634
YASUDA, Kay/Mabel	25724 Fern Lane, Wilder 83676

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MATSUMORI, Tom/Kyoko	900 E Peach Blossom Dr, Sandy 84070
MORI, Floyd/Irene	10713 Maple Hill Circle, Sandy 84092
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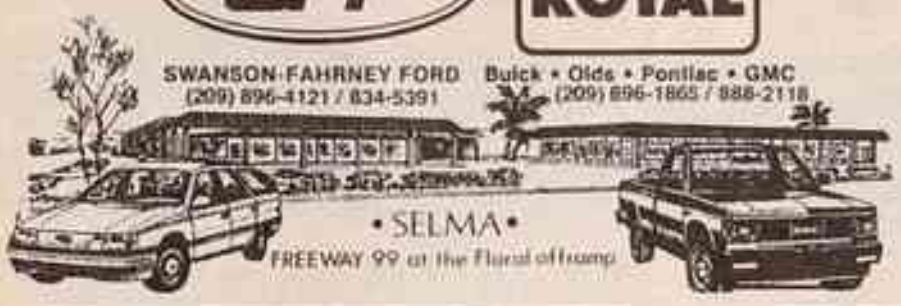


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Against All Odds:
The Japanese American's Campaign for Redress

wounded veteran of World War II who had fought alongside the 442nd Regiment in Italy. Dole, according to one observer, supported redress primarily out of respect for the tradition of "civil rights Republicanism" of his native Kansas and out of a desire—sharpened by his presidential ambitions—to open up the Republican party to minority groups. Nevertheless, his name on the bill as co-sponsor was not enough to overcome early opposition. Hearings were held in August 1984 before the Subcommittee on Civil Service, Post Office and General Services of the Governmental Affairs Committee, but after that the measure sank out of sight. William Roth (R-Del.), the chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee, opposed redress on fiscal grounds, and while the measure was in his jurisdiction, says one observer, "it wasn't going to move."

Round Two: The Civil Liberties Act of 1985

Despite the failure of the redress bill to make progress, it had picked up more co-sponsors while it was languishing in subcommittee. When the measure was re-introduced in the House—as HR 442, in honor of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team—on January 3, 1985, it had 99 co-sponsors, with Wright's name again at the head; on the Senate side, Matsunaga introduced the legislation on May 2, 1985, with 25 co-sponsors. Aside from the new sponsors, the redress bill was essentially the same as the one that had been introduced in the previous Congress (though, as a result of Matsui's efforts with fellow members of the Ways and Means Committee, it now stipulated that the compensation would be tax-free); but there were organizational changes—both within the JACL and in a key congressional subcommittee—that could potentially affect the bill's fate in the 99th Congress.

Within the JACL, a decision had been made to shift both the emphasis and the location of its redress efforts. Throughout the early 1980s, the organization's campaign for redress had been directed by its National Committee for Redress, headed by John Tateishi and based in San Francisco, with an emphasis on educating the public about the internment. In May 1985, at a national board meeting, the JACL decided—not without some internal warfare—to activate its Legislative Education Committee (the JACL-LEC), reorient the organization's focus from education to lobbying, and seek a full-time director based in Washington, DC. The LEC had actually been formed back in 1982 as an independent lobbying arm of the JACL,[12] but had been, in the words of one member, "moribund" until 1985.

To spearhead its congressional campaign, the JACL-LEC chairman, Minoru Yasui, recruited Grant Ujifusa, then an editor with Random House in New York, and gave him the post of vice-chairman for legislative strategy. Ujifusa was uniquely suited to help Japanese Americans thread their way through the maze of Congress. As co-author of the *Almanac of American Politics*, Ujifusa brought political savvy and a detailed knowledge of the inner workings of the Hill to the campaign for redress. He also brought entrée to the offices of most members of Congress. The almanac, Ujifusa says, was "a big deal inside the beltway," a source used by staffers, lobbyists and journalists to get a "quick fix" on a member of Congress by reading the thumbnail profiles it offered. "It's extremely well-known on the Hill," he explains, "so if you call somebody [in Congress] up and say, 'I co-author the almanac and I don't want to come in and talk to you about the almanac, I want to talk to you about something else'—then they're going to see you."

A third-generation Japanese American whose family were farmers in Worland, Wyoming, Ujifusa had not been directly touched by the internment; but, he says, if only through the racial prejudice that denied his mother valedictorian honors in her high school in southern Colorado, "I knew what the story was. ... I understood it in my belly the way the Nisei [a second-generation Japanese American] who did go to camp as an adult understands it." Although cognizant of a potential perceived conflict of interest between lobbying for redress and his work on the almanac, Ujifusa decided to take on the task, which he viewed as akin to "lobbying motherhood." He knew, though, that his work on the almanac gave him an advantage: "If I wanted to see a Dan Lungren or an Al Simpson, I could get in and see these people."

Ujifusa's first major act as vice-chair for legislative strategy was to produce a four-page document, issued on October 3, 1985, that outlined a plan of action for lobbying Congress. "Our strategy depends on understanding a simple reality and acting on it," his paper began. "[T]he situation in Washington has changed for the better, making chances for passage of the redress bill much brighter." The main reason for this optimism was the departure of Sam Hall—who had been appointed a federal judge—from the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Administrative Law. Hall's replacement, Rep. Dan Glickman (D-Kan.), Ujifusa wrote, "instinctively understands what happened in 1942."[13] Moreover, Tom Kindness of Ohio, the ranking Republican on the subcommittee and an avowed foe of redress, had decided to run for the Senate against John Glenn in 1986.

To take advantage of these promising developments, Ujifusa laid out several strategic priorities for the JACL-LEC. Two of them involved lobbying members of Congress in key positions: 1) those who sat on the Subcommittee on Administrative Law, where six votes were needed for a favorable report on the redress bill (Ujifusa considered the full House Judiciary Committee a more likely bet to vote for redress); and 2) those who sat on the full Senate Governmental Affairs Committee which, unfortunately for advocates, was still chaired by redress opponent William Roth.

Another strategic priority concerned lobbying the White House. The "ideal lobbyist" for the White House, Ujifusa wrote, would be someone with personal and professional links to the Reagans dating back to their years in California. The lobbying would not, however, be so much to enlist their support as to defuse their opposition. "For a variety of political reasons," Ujifusa continued, "we are unlikely to get open and public support for the [redress] bill [from the White House]. The goal is to get neutrality. ..."

Ujifusa's paper detailed at length how the Japanese American community should lobby members of Congress through letters and constituent visits. "The grassroots work on your local Representatives and Senator remains vitally important," he asserted. At the same time, however, he noted that "[w]e cannot lobby and pass the redress bill unless we have the support of other civil rights, ethnic, religious and labor groups. We don't ourselves have the numbers, the big money, and the organized clout." Another priority, then, would be "to enlist proxy Nikkei [i.e., Japanese Americans] and proxy Nikkei organizations. ..."

The first and overriding priority, however, Ujifusa assigned to raising money to hire a full-time staff director in Washington "to lead and co-ordinate the lobbying effort." If the Japanese American community "is not able, for whatever reason," he wrote, "to show confidence by supporting our organized effort to win redress, any and all strategic plans are useless, and we might as well shut the operation down. For common sense tells us that without commitment and work at the grassroots level, a national lobbying campaign is an empty exercise." The subsequent hiring of staff director Grayce Uyehara, along with Ujifusa's legislative strategy work, effectively centralized strategic authority for the redress bill, a development Glenn Roberts viewed as crucial to the bill's chances. Uyehara was, Roberts adds, a valuable asset to the campaign because of her "willingness to go outside JACL's formal processes and use her own personal contacts" in the community to get things done.

There was no immediate improvement in legislative results, however. HR 442 and its companion bill in the Senate sank like stones. Glickman did hold two days of hearings in April and July 1986, but the measure again failed to make it to a vote. Glickman, says Roberts, "was never able to summon the sort of legislative moxie that it took to get [the bill] going." His attitude, adds Ujifusa, was, "'I don't want to touch it. It's too hot politically in Kansas, although personally I'm for it. It ain't going to move.'" Things were even worse in the Senate where, apparently, the opposition of Governmental Affairs Chairman Roth kept the bill from even getting a hearing before the Subcommittee on Civil Service, Post Office and General Services. In the meantime, victories on the legal front—including a ruling that the federal government had suppressed evidence which might have affected the Supreme Court decision upholding internment while it was underway, as well as a favorable appeals court ruling on the NCJAR class action suit—seemed to offer another avenue to gain redress. Legislative proponents, however, not yet discouraged, planned both external and internal campaigns aimed at the coming 100th Congress.

External Strategies: The Grassroots and "Proxy" Campaigns

As executive director of the JACL-LEC, Uyehara took responsibility for implementing a campaign aimed not only at making Japanese Americans themselves more vocal, but at adding voices from other communities to the pro-redress chorus. To aid in the former goal, she began, in 1987, a series of "action alerts," updates on the progress of the redress bill that were sent to JACL chapters and supporters throughout the country. The action alerts provided redress news, lists of key committees and their members, form letters to be sent to members of Congress, and scorecards on every member of Congress, including their position on redress, their addresses and the names of their chief aides. JACL members were requested not only to send the letters (and to ask friends and relatives to do likewise), but to visit their representatives either in Washington or when they were in town during congressional recesses. Such personal contact was deemed especially important. Rep. William Dannemeyer, an ultra-conservative Republican from California, was won over by Clarence Nishizu, a "very conservative, very wealthy" contributor, says Ujifusa, to the congressman's campaigns. "We got [Dannemeyer]," according to Ujifusa, "because of someone like Clarence Nishizu [who knew] him from long ago. [It was] like, 'Clarence, you're telling me that you, Clarence, went to camp; you, Clarence, who've been giving me money for my campaign for all these years, went to camp?' 'Yes.' 'And you wrote me this five-page, impassioned letter in longhand?'"

The lobbying done by Japanese Americans, particularly those who had been interned, says Glenn Roberts, "had the effect of forcing people to focus on the internment and what it meant for individuals, because these were very, very powerful stories."

> If you're a member of Congress who doesn't really think much about Japanese Americans from one day to another, and suddenly five constituents show up in your office [and] say, "Here we all are, loyal Americans, voting for you all these years. Let us tell you about what happened to us when we were kids and young people. ..." That's really going to capture your attention.

When Uyehara couldn't find any Japanese American constituents to go to bat for the redress bill, she resorted to often ingenious means to find suitable proxies. Uyehara arranged, for instance, for a JACL member's Methodist minister, originally from West Virginia, to contact ministers he knew in the district of Rep. Harley Staggers (D-W. Va.). Staggers, a member of the Subcommittee on Administrative Law, was one of those Ujifusa had identified as a promising convert to redress but who had no Japanese Americans in his district. Through the Methodist connection, Uyehara was able to see to it that Staggers got some letters supporting redress—only a handful but enough to make the difference. "All he wanted to be able to say was, 'I have heard from constituents who want me to support this issue,'" she explains. "That doesn't mean 100 letters are necessary all the time."[14]

While putting individuals to work on producing letters and visits, Uyehara also sought the endorsement of a wide variety of organizations—religious, civil rights, civic, labor, and veterans—to bolster the cause of redress. By early 1987, the JACL-LEC had compiled an impressive list of almost 200 organizations supporting redress, ranging from the American Bar Association to the National League of Cities; from the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League to the National Education Association; from the Black and Hispanic Congressional Caucuses to the AFL-CIO. In addition, a large number of church organizations, some state and city legislative bodies, and even a few veterans groups lent their endorsement to redress.[15] The support of non-Japanese American citizens and organizations was particularly important, Glenn Roberts points out, "because that reinforced the point that this was not just a special interest bill ... that this was a broader bill about the whole nation."

These letters, visits, and endorsements were helpful not only in their own right, but as counterweight to the letters that JACL-LEC had compiled an impressive list of almost 200 organizations supporting redress, ranging from the American Bar Association to the National League of Cities; from the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League to the National Education Association; from the Black and Hispanic Congressional Caucuses to the AFL-CIO. In addition, a large number of church organizations, some state and city legislative bodies, and even a few veterans groups lent their endorsement to redress.[15] The support of non-Japanese American citizens and organizations was particularly important, Glenn Roberts points out, "because that reinforced the point that this was not just a special interest bill ... that this was a broader bill about the whole nation."

These letters, visits, and endorsements were helpful not only in their own right, but as counterweight to the letters that began arriving in opposition to redress once the bill took on greater visibility in the 100th Congress. The mail, much of it from veterans and former prisoners of war, ran as high as 10 to one against redress. Some of the impact of such an overwhelmingly negative response was deflected, Roberts says, "because the people who wrote ... often didn't understand what had happened. That was clear. It was people who wrote and said, 'They bombed Pearl Harbor, why should we pay them compensation?'" So many letters reflecting this confusion with the Japanese crossed Wright's desk that his aides crafted a form letter intended to correct the misperception.[16] "It is important to realize," the letter stated, "that those who were interned in this country were not the Japanese enemy. They were American citizens who were interned on no grounds other than their racial heritage."

Such efforts notwithstanding, the tide of sentiment against redress, as measured in the volume of letters, virtually swamped support for the measure. It was clear, says Grant Ujifusa, that redress "couldn't ever win in a national referendum."

> So you had to say, "Look, this is representative government. ... So we are going to take our constitutional case on the merits, occupy the high constitutional ground inside the beltway, particularly on the Hill and in the White House. We are going to make our case there. It's going to be settled by 536 people, including the president."

Internal Strategies: Making a Case in Congress

Inside the beltway, Ujifusa, along with Mike Masaoka and the Japanese American members of Congress, met individually with representatives and senators to urge their support for redress. "My responsibility," says Ujifusa, "was the White House [and] conservative members of the House." The access provided by the almanac was "particularly important because it allowed me to talk to people ... on the Republican side." Ujifusa and the others used a variety of tools to persuade, ranging from the ideological to the personal. On the ideological end, they worked to forge a "civil rights/civil liberties coalition" between left and right. The liberals in the House and Senate, Ujifusa notes, were already basically in the pro-redress corner.[17] With the conservatives, particularly those Ujifusa

Continued on Section C, Page 16

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and Roberts call the "intellectual conservatives," they argued the issue on constitutional grounds. Henry Hyde, for example, a conservative Republican congressman from Illinois and, according to Roberts, an influential member of the House Judiciary Committee, was ultimately convinced of the merits of redress "because a lot of conservatives genuinely believe in the Constitution and genuinely believe the Constitution's words." With House Republican leaders Jack Kemp of New York and Dick Cheney of Wyoming, Ujifusa argued, "'Hey, this is a constitutional issue. Look at it that way. You know, don't look at it that the usual suspects are up with the usual bad [special interest] bill.'" Both sides of the political spectrum, Ujifusa notes, met on the issue of "what the Constitution meant in the face of an egregious violation of it."

There were personal links as well that helped forge an alliance on the redress issue. This was particularly true of Simpson, who had met Norman Mineta when the latter was interned at the Heart Mountain, Wyoming relocation center. In addition to this personal brush with internment—which he was to describe in poignant detail in a *Los Angeles Times* interview and later on the Senate floor—Simpson shared some very different memories with Ujifusa, who had grown up just 90 miles away from the senator's hometown, Cody. Simpson vividly recalled Ujifusa as the quarterback of the high school football team which beat the defending state champion Cody team. "When I went to see Al," recalls Ujifusa, "he told me that 'the *Almanac of American Politics* is a great achievement, but not as great as the night you beat us 18 to 6.'"[18] The almanac did, however, provide access to members of Congress and also occasionally became a forum for airing pro-redress arguments and criticizing anti-redress members of Congress. So, for example, in a section on Hawaii's two senators, the 1986 almanac, noting Inouye's and Matsunaga's support for redress, described internment as "expropriation and wrongful incarceration of 120,000 people by racial edict with no charges ever filed." Although as a rule the almanac was silent on the foes of redress, the 1986 edition, in a generally negative critique of Rep. Thomas Kindness, whose opposition to redress was spotlighted, called his position "absurd," arguing it "can be compared to trying to make today the case for American slavery."

Although by the end of 1986, the lobbying in Congress, along with the grassroots campaign, had picked up more support and co-sponsors for a redress bill, it was unclear whether it had enough backing to move it through the legislative process. It took a couple of key turnovers in Congress—one in the House and one in the Senate—to give the redress measure its best, and maybe last, chance at passage. The first session of the 100th Congress, Grayce Uyehara wrote in one of her "action alerts," was a time to "go for broke."[19]

Round Three: The Civil Liberties Act of 1987

The crucial change in the House was the ascension of Barney Frank (D-Mass.) to the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Administrative Law after Rep. Glickman moved on to an assignment on the Agriculture Committee. Frank had supported redress from its beginnings. His reasons, Frank says, dated back to his college days:

> I took Gov. 124, a class on American constitutional law, while at Harvard, and we studied the Korematsu case [one of the test cases argued before the Supreme Court]. I thought that both the internment and the Supreme Court decision were fundamentally wrong.[20]

Having Frank at the helm of the Subcommittee on Administrative Law, says Roberts, was "absolutely critical. ... Barney is smart, articulate, and adept, and not afraid of a fight."

In the Senate, an equally important change had taken place. As a result of the off-year elections, the Democrats had regained control of that chamber, thus ousting Roth from the chairmanship of the Governmental Affairs Committee and releasing his stranglehold on the redress legislation. His successor, John Glenn of Ohio, was expected to support the redress measure.

As anticipated, Frank quickly signaled his intention to push the bill. "Barney says," Ujifusa recalls, "'Grant, look, we're going to move the bill. ... We're not going to do $250 million of the trust fund; we're going to do $50 million. And we're not going to funnel it into Japanese American civic organizations.'[21] ... I said, 'Okay, fine. Let's go, Barney.'" Ujifusa then walked over to Inouye's office to tell him the good news. "I say, 'Hey, Barney is going to move it.' And we'd had nothing up to that point. Nothing. So I thought Dan was going to say, 'Hey, hooray!' But he looks at me blankly ... and he says, 'Well, Grant, how many co-sponsors does Spark have?' I think he had about 28 or 29 at that point. And [Inouye] says, 'I think [he's got] 34 or 35 max, don't you?' In other words ... he just didn't think it was going to happen."

But at a later meeting with Ujifusa and Masaoka, Matsunaga vowed to boost the number of sponsors in the Senate. "Spark said, 'Well, by God, we *are* going to do it. ... I am now going to work.' And we know what Spark was able to do." What Matsunaga did was patiently collar each of his colleagues in the Senate and ask for their support. By the time he introduced the bill in the Senate in the spring of 1987, he had collected 75 co-sponsors—an impressive feat under any circumstances. "Spark was unfailingly courteous," says Ujifusa, "... and the other senators loved him. He was not regarded as a Daniel Webster or a Henry Clay—I don't know who in that body is now—but because [the Senate] is [like] a high school composed of 100 people, a very small high school, you know everybody. ... You have to be able to work with all these people personally. And Spark was a master of that."

At the same time, spurred on by the "action alerts," JACL members and supporters kept up a steady drumbeat of letters and visits, tailoring the content of each to the progress of the bill in Congress. Other Japanese American organizations joined in the campaign as well. The National Coalition for Redress and Reparations (NCRR), a Los Angeles-based grassroots group which emphasized community organizing efforts and alliances with Third World causes, sent letters and petitions to Congress, and organized a five-day lobbying trip to Washington. In addition, the splinter group, NCJAR, contributed to the legislative campaign, in a backhand way, simply by faltering in its legal initiative. In June 1987, as the redress bill was still making its way through the House Judiciary Committee, the Supreme Court ruled that the wrong Court of Appeals had heard NCJAR's suit and sent it to the US Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit to be reheard. This was a setback for the proponents of the class action suit, since it meant further delays and the danger that its earlier successful appeal would be overturned. NCJAR's troubles helped those who sought redress through legislation because, according to Glenn Roberts, "no one could ... say to us, 'Why are you pursuing this remedy when you are about to get what you want in the courts,' because it was clear that they weren't going to win in the courts. ..."

Redress in the House. True to his word, Barney Frank lost little time in moving the redress bill. Introduced on January 6, 1987 by House Majority Leader Thomas Foley (D-Wash.), who had succeeded Wright when the latter took the post of Speaker of the House, HR 442 now boasted 125 co-sponsors. After undergoing a third round of hearings before the Subcommittee on Administrative Law on April 19, it was reported out to the full Judiciary Committee in short order on May 13. About a month later, on June 17, the committee approved the bill in a 28-6 vote. Aside from the changes Frank had earlier mentioned to Ujifusa, the redress bill the committee passed was essentially unaltered. In response to some unhappiness over the wording of the "findings" section of the bill, Frank proposed to assign motives for the internment to "racial prejudice and wartime hysteria" alone, omitting the "failure of political leadership." The change was accepted,[22] and the measure was at last ready to go to the House floor for a vote. Its supporters faced that prospect with confidence. They had enough votes for passage, says Ujifusa. "It was clear that before Barney and Tom Foley and Jim Wright took this bill to the House floor, we had it won."

That did not stop the bill's opponents from airing once again their arguments against redress when the bill came up for debate on September 17, 1987. The date was a momentous one—two hundred years to the day since the signing of the Constitution, a piece of timing arranged at Mineta's request.[23] No other piece of legislation was scheduled for consideration in the House that day. While supporters of redress alluded to the bicentennial in their speeches on behalf of the bill—"I can think of no finer way to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States than to rectify a wrong," Speaker Wright told his colleagues—opponents hammered away at the issues that had troubled them since the measure made its first appearance in subcommittee hearings: the intercepted cables, monetary compensation, fiscal constraints, dangerous precedents. "What a funny way they [members of the Judiciary Committee] ask us to rub ashes on our heads," said Rep. Bill Frenzel (R-Minn.). "... The committee is asking us to purge ourselves with another generation's money."

At times, members of the House drew on personal experience as they made their arguments. Rising in opposition to the bill, Rep. Ronald Packard (R-Calif.) told his colleagues about his own hard childhood experience during World War II. Packard's father, a carpenter, had been working on a government construction job on Wake Island when it fell to Japan in 1941; he was taken prisoner for five years, leaving his wife and 17 children to fend for themselves with only token financial assistance from the US government. "An injustice, of course," Packard said. "There are literally hundreds of thousands of families like ours who sustained injustices from wars. Would we now ask our Government or the Japanese Government to satisfy these injustices with a money settlement? Never."

But when it came to memories of World War II, no one in the House could equal Norman Mineta's harrowing tale of the internment. By now, he had recited the details many times, but with undiminished emotion. "[T]o me," he told his colleagues, "this is a very, very emotional day, in sharp contrast to May 29, 1942, when, as a 10-1/2-year-old boy wearing a Cub Scout uniform, I was herded into a train under armed guard. ..." It was only "in this kind of a country," he added, "where a 10-1/2-year-old can go from being in a Cub Scout uniform to an armed-guard-guarded train to being a Member of the House of Representatives of the greatest country in the world." Tearfully, Mineta read an excerpt of a letter his father had written after he and his family had been put on a train "to an unknown distant barracks."

> I looked at Santa Clara's streets from the train over the subway. I thought this might be the last look at my loved home city. My heart almost broke, and suddenly hot tears just came pouring out, and the whole family cried out, could not stop, until we were out of our loved county.

Mineta's personal remembrances, along with Matsui's, the *Washington Post* reported the next day, "held the House transfixed."

In the end, the pro-redress forces won the day. An amendment offered by Lungren to delete the $20,000 payments—the chief focus of debate on the measure[24]—was defeated in a 162-237 vote. Soon after, the House went on to approve the redress bill on a vote of 243 to 141.

Redress in the Senate. With 75 co-sponsors, no one anticipated major problems for the redress bill in the Senate, but its progress through that chamber proved slower than had been expected. After Matsunaga introduced the measure on April 21, 1987, it went to the Subcommittee for Federal Service, Post Office and Civil Service, chaired by David Pryor (D-Ark.), who was sympathetic to redress.[25] Hearings were held and before the month was out, the subcommittee sent it on to the full Governmental Affairs Committee, where, under John Glenn's chairmanship, it passed on a unanimous vote, on August 4. During mark-up, the committee had accepted an amendment offered by William Roth that spread the payments out over a five-year period: $500 million in 1989, $400 million in 1990, $200 million in 1991, and $100 million each in 1992 and 1993. Otherwise, the bill was unchanged in its essentials as it headed to the Senate floor for a last round of debate.

But that last round proved slow in coming. For a variety of reasons—congressional preoccupation with the budget resolution, the October stock market crash, concerns about possible filibusters—the measure did not make it to the floor in the first session of the 100th Congress; and it was not until April 19, 1988 that the full Senate finally began its deliberations on redress.

On that day and the following, the same arguments were again heard on each side of the issue, with Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) taking the lead in introducing amendments. After an amendment offered by Chic Hecht (R-Nev.) that would eliminate monetary compensation was tabled on a 67-30 vote, Helms presented two other amendments in succession: one providing that no funds be appropriated "in any year in which there will be a budget deficit," and the other requiring that no payments be made until the government of Japan compensated the families of those who were killed as a result of the Pearl Harbor bombing. Both amendments were also tabled, the former on a 61-35 vote, the latter, 91-4.

A number of conservative Republicans rose to speak on behalf of the measure—including Alan Simpson, Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), Warren Rudman (R-N.H.)—but many of them expressed ambivalence about the financial aspect of redress. Simpson recounted at length his meeting with fellow Cub Scout Mineta and his impressions of the relocation center he had visited as a child. "Heart Mountain," he told his colleagues, "rises up strong and majestic from the floor of the lush, irrigated farm valleys in the Big Horn Basin, between Cody and Powell." It was the custom, he said, for local youths of the area to carve their initials in the rocks at its peak. Among the crowd of initials of hometown boys, however, there were Japanese letters and writings engraved by the Japanese Americans who had been interned there. "It is a moving—and sobering—sight," Simpson reflected, "to find high upon a Wyoming mountainside." Despite his conviction that the internment was "the gravest of injustices," Simpson acknowledged that "I have trouble with the money." While he pledged to support "the final product," the payments to individuals left "a strange feeling in my craw." The sooner "we close [the] wound [of the internment] and suture it with love and understanding and affection, we will be better off," Simpson added. "And suturing it with money does not seem like the best way to conclude the issue." Others, like Robert Dole, expressed support for the bill, but warned of the uncertain fate of the monetary compensation provision once it came time to appropriate funds. "Like other authorization bills in the age of 12-digit budget deficits," he said, "[the redress measure] will undergo careful scrutiny in the appropriations process. It is one extremely worthy effort, but it must be evaluated along with other projects worthy in their own right."

These concerns notwithstanding, the Senate finally did pass the redress bill, financial restitution and all, on April 20, on a 69-27 vote. The long battle for congressional approval of redress was over. Redress advocates now girded themselves to face one last hurdle: the White House.

Last Steps

As the redress legislation wended its way through Congress in the fall of 1987, there was deep concern about what President Reagan Reagan would do when the bill landed on his desk. The Department of Justice, in the person of Assistant Attorney General Richard Willard, had testified against the measure in subcommittee hearings in the House and Senate that summer, arguing, among other things, that Congress had already handled compensation back in 1948; that the provisions for restitution would "impose heavy administrative burdens on the Attorney General" (who was responsible for locating and paying eligible individuals); and that the conclusions and "subjective determinations" of the redress commission's report were "subject to debate." For those and other reasons, Willard informed the subcommittee, "the Department of Justice would recommend that the president veto [the redress bill]."

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At the same time, for different reasons, OMB was sending out signals that it would not look favorably on the redress measure. On September 18, 1987, the day after the House passed the redress bill, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that OMB "has said it will recommend a presidential veto because of objections to the $1.2 billion in payments."

These disquieting rumblings turned into something more ominous a few days later when Grant Ujifusa got a phone call from a White House pollster whom he'd asked to test the waters for redress with members of the Reagan administration. "He said," Ujifusa recalls, "'I've got very bad news. ... People over at the White House say they've drawn their wagons in a circle and they don't want this [bill] at all.' I was very disheartened by that. ... He advised me to give the bill up for a session. He said, 'It's just too tough.'"

Ujifusa, however, was concerned about the negative effects on redress advocates of waiting much longer for a bill. "We were just running out of gas," he says. He arranged a strategy meeting with Masaoka and Matsunaga in mid-October. it was, he recalls, shortly after the stock market plunged, giving rise to the specter of a serious downturn in the economy, which would lend weight to the administration's opposition to the redress bill. At the meeting, it was decided that Matsunaga "would continue to go after co-sponsors, but would not push action on the Senate floor because we had a red light from the White House." Meanwhile, Ujifusa and others would work to change the light to green.

Ujifusa had, in fact, already been at work at the Justice Department seeking to defuse opposition there to the bill before it came up for a House vote. In both a letter and a visit to Assistant Attorney General Willard, he made a pitch that he would use elsewhere in the administration:

> I knew they [at Justice] were thinking, "Oh, yeah, the usual suspects are acting up. This is a minority bill. Bad stuff. The usual guys are up trying to get the government to correct every ill in the country." ... So I made a political argument, saying that the Confucian tradition of family, hard work, and education, and, in this country, technology, are really quite consistent with themes expounded by Ronald Reagan. And if you look at the election returns of both '80 and '84, the Asian community did in fact vote Republican, and they did it for cultural reasons.

Whether or not Willard was swayed by these arguments, his response reassured Ujifusa:

> He looks at me and says, "Well, you know, when the attorney general [Edwin Meese] said, 'Who wants this issue?,' there were about 20 guys standing in line; and 19 stepped back, and here I was. I didn't want this thing, Grant." ... But then he says, 'I promise you two things. Number one, if this thing ever gets to the White House, I will not be burning up the lines to the White House to have the president veto the bill. ... [Number two,] when this thing goes to the floor of the House, and later when it goes to the Senate, I promise you that I'll send no one up there to lobby against this bill."

"In other words," adds Ujifusa, "'Grant, you've got me neutralized.'"

Ujifusa also took his argument to people who might relay his message directly to Reagan. He visited Secretary of Education William Bennett, whom he's known since they'd been students at Harvard. Bennett promised Ujifusa that "'the next time I see the president, I will say to him that I support this bill.'" At Bennett's suggestion, Ujifusa also enlisted the aid of domestic policy advisor Gary Bauer, "a point-person in anti-abortion, a family values man," he says. "My theory here was that if I get Gary Bauer on my side, then that nails down the movement conservatives in the operational spectrum." Bauer agreed to help, as did Burton Pines of the conservative Heritage Foundation, whom Ujifusa asked to call the White House on behalf of redress, and Paul Weyrich of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. "So," says Ujifusa, "we had the support of what was probably the most powerful political movement of the eighties."

Meanwhile, Grayce Uyehara sent out an action alert in October asking supporters to send letters to President Reagan. She urged writers to include some personal history in their letters. "If you have a story about how the incarceration affected you and your family," she wrote, "your letter might be the one to be shared with the president." Above all, however, Uyehara stressed volume. "Candidly speaking," she noted, "I am told that letters generally are separated into two piles—for and against—so it seems the number of letters will be more important than the content." The pro-redress letters did come in but, apparently, they did not stack up well against the opposition. White House aide Anne Higgins, who monitored the mail, told Ujifusa that "we were swamped by the negative mail ... four or five or six to one, particularly from outraged veterans."

Amid all this lobbying activity, it was an encounter between Reagan and Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey which Ujifusa hoped would "turn the tumblers." Ujifusa had recruited Kean, whose book, *The Politics of Inclusion*, he had edited, in the campaign to win Reagan's support for redress. In October 1987, when Reagan visited New Jersey to stump for Republican candidates for the state legislature, Kean seized his chance. During a 35-minute limousine ride between campaign stops, Kean made the case for redress. The president, Kean later told Ujifusa, was interested and seemed to know about the internment, though he apparently "had the idea that [the purpose of] it was protective custody."

While Kean talked of the internment, he reminded the president of a piece of personal history, relayed to him by Ujifusa. When the town of Santa Ana refused to allow the body of Kazuo Masuda, a Japanese American who had been killed in action in Italy, to be buried in its local cemetery, General "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell flew to California especially to present his family with the soldier's posthumous Distinguished Service Cross medal. Joining the general at the December 1945 ceremony was a young actor named Ronald Reagan, then a captain in the Army. "It was," the *National Journal* later wrote, "an anecdote [Reagan] might have forgotten—but Ujifusa realized that having Kean remind Reagan of that personal connection would carry more weight with the president than rational argument." Reagan, Ujifusa explains, was "anecdotally inclined. ... You have to reach his heart because he thinks anecdotally, not conceptually."[26] The story of his appearance at the ceremony, he adds, was "common lore in our community. People knew of it. The question in my mind was how could we best use it."

Soon after the meeting with Reagan in New Jersey, Kean called Ujifusa to tell him that the president was "receptive, this was something he might want to do." Ujifusa followed up Kean's efforts with a letter to the president explaining that the internment had not, in fact, been a matter of protective custody, and enclosed a letter, addressed to Reagan, from June Masuda Goto, the sister of Kazuo. Recounting his presence at the ceremony and the brief address Reagan had made then, Goto wrote, "The presence of you and General Stilwell greatly affected the community and led to a better life for our family. ... Many times I have been asked to speak at the Kazuo Masuda middle school. I speak to all the history classes, and quote your words to the students." Urging him to support the redress legislation, she concluded, "All of us in our family—I believe Kaz as well—would be greatly honored if you would. I also believe that America, through you, would honor itself."

By February 1988, Ujifusa was receiving new signals from the White House. In a meeting with Ken Duberstein, Reagan's deputy chief of staff, to talk about OMB opposition, Ujifusa was told, "'Grant, look, this whole matter has been talked about at a much higher level than that.'" Later Ujifusa learned that "the word had gone out that the president wants this."

Another Ceremony

With the White House certain to pose no problems and action completed in the Senate, the way was cleared for House-Senate conferees to work out their differences and present a final version of the bill for approval.[27] On July 27, 1988, the Senate approved the conference report on a voice vote; the House followed suit a few days later, on August 1, in a 257-156 vote.[28] Even with victory assured, opponents of redress in Congress had a final say, reprising the arguments of the past five years. Rep. Helen Bentley (R-Md.) told her colleagues that her husband, a Korean war veteran, had warned her, "'If you want a fast divorce, you vote for that outrageous expenditure of our money.'" He told her, moreover, "'That was wartime ... and we did not start the war. If anyone should get anything, it should be the American prisoners who were treated cruelly and frequently tortured, sometimes tortured to death.' Mr. Speaker," Bentley concluded, "my veteran husband, Bill Bentley, like all veterans in my district, oppose this legislation, as I do." Rep. Jack Davis (R-Ill.) rose to say that he was reversing his vote after considering the issue of precedent and after hearing from his constituents. He was, he told his colleagues, "mindful that the term 'representative' means to represent and while no one has sought my 'yes' vote on this bill, a large number of constituents phoned, wrote, and verbally communicated their opposition to this measure."

Last minute objections notwithstanding, Congress had given its approval to redress and on August 10, 1988, Ronald Reagan added the final touch. In an emotional ceremony attended by over 100 Japanese Americans and key members of Congress, the president briefly recounted the story of the internment, quoting in part from Mineta's own experience. "The legislation that I am about to sign provides for a restitution payment" to surviving internees, he told his audience. "Yet no payment can make up for those lost years. So what is most important in this bill has less to do with property than with honor. For here we admit a wrong. Here we affirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law." Then, taking a clipping sent to him by June Masuda Goto, he read the same brief speech he'd made in 1945 in Santa Ana.

> Blood that has soaked into the sands of a beach is all of one color. American stands unique in the world, the only country not founded on race, but on a way—an ideal. Not in spite of, but because of our polyglot background, we have had all the strength in the world. That is the American way.

With that, the president signed the bill. A final battle, this time over the appropriation, still lay ahead before redress would become a reality for Japanese Americans. For the moment, though, veterans of the redress effort savored the fruits of their decade-long campaign.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] *Time*, August 17, 1981, p. 32.

[2] David H. Ilan, "The Civil Liberties Act of 1988: A Study of Congressional Bill H.R. 442 and its Impetus, the Japanese American Redress Movement," (undergraduate thesis, Harvard University, 1989), p. 15.

[3] Yasuko Takezawa, "Breaking the Silence: Ethnicity and the Quest for Redress among Japanese Americans" (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1989), p. 49.

[4] Takezawa, p. 57.

[5] The fifth member was, of course, Hayakawa, who left the Senate in 1982. Hayakawa, who was living in Chicago at the outbreak of World War II, was not interned.

[6] Seattle chapter members held out for filing immediate redress legislation. At their urging, Washington Congressman Mike Lowry submitted such legislation, which died in subcommittee after Norman Mineta made it clear to committee members that he preferred to support the commission bill. Nevertheless, says Cherry Kinoshita, JACL's vice president for public affairs, "we have a great deal of respect and admiration for Mike Lowry who—as a freshman congressman—was willing to break the ice."

[7] Ilan, p. 30.

[8] However, one observer offered another, more prosaic explanation of Wright's support. When Wright was running against Rep. Philip Burton of California for the post of majority leader, the story went, the one member of the California delegation to break ranks and vote for Wright was Norman Mineta. Wright won the job by one vote. Mineta, however, denies that he switched votes.

[9] *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 1987.

[10] There had actually been an earlier bill submitted by Rep. Mike Lowry right after the commission released its recommendations in June 1983. Once HR 4110 surfaced, however, with its powerful co-sponsors, Lowry agreed to let his bill die and asked the 44 co-sponsors to sign on to HR 4110.

[11] Masaoka was the JACL's representative in Washington when Pearl Harbor was bombed; he counseled Japanese Americans to comply with the relocation and also fought for a role for Japanese Americans in the US armed forces. Yasui was one of the Japanese Americans who deliberately violated curfew orders in order to test them in court. His case was ultimately heard before the Supreme Court, which ruled against him.

[12] The LEC had been created because of IRS regulations that barred organizations funded by tax-deductible dollars from spending more than 15 percent of their budget on lobbying. As an independent entity, the JACL-LEC could solicit non-deductible contributions to pay for its lobbying efforts.

[13] Glickman, says Glenn Roberts, had a relative who had been in a German concentration camp. "And he got reparations from the West German government," Roberts explains, "so Glickman understood about reparations and redress payments."

[14] Ilan, pp. 72-73.

[15] However, as the JACL-LEC acknowledged, endorsement in some cases meant that "an organization has acknowledged the injustice of the internment, but has not addressed the question of monetary redress."

[16] Ilan, p. 38

[17] Not all the "labor liberals" supported redress, however. "Some of them went with Wright," Ujifusa says. "Others were saying, 'Hey, aren't these the Japs who cost us the steel mill jobs and the car jobs?'"

[18] Ilan, p. 86.

[19] "Go for broke" was the motto of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

[20] Ilan, p. 98.

[21] The authorization for the trust fund for both payments and public education was cut from $1.5 to $1.25 in the House Judiciary Committee mark-up; $50 million of that was to go to public education. Originally, the bill had called for public education money to be used for "the general welfare of the ethnic Japanese community" in the US.

[22] The language was, however, restored in an amendment offered by Lungren during House deliberations on the bill.

[23] Ilan, p. 99.

[24] Japanese Americans took their revenge on Lungren, who had led the opposition to redress payments on the House floor, that winter. When California Governor George Deukmejian nominated Lungren for state treasurer, a coalition led by Japanese Americans successfully blocked his confirmation by the state legislature.

[25] Two relocation centers had been built in Arkansas. Previously, as governor, Pryor had placed historic markers at the sites and made a speech expressing regret over the internment. [Ilan, p. 103.]

[26] Ilan, p. 120.

[27] The final version extended the payment period from five to 10 years. It also stipulated that if an individual eligible for payment had died, his or her spouse, children, or parents would receive the $20,000. "Eligible" means any person living at the time of the enactment of the bill who had been interned.

[28] While the bill was in its final stages of approval, the class action suit brought by NCJAR was coming to a dead end. In May 1988, the US Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit dismissed the suit on the grounds that the statute of limitations had expired. Later that year, the Supreme Court refused to review the decision.

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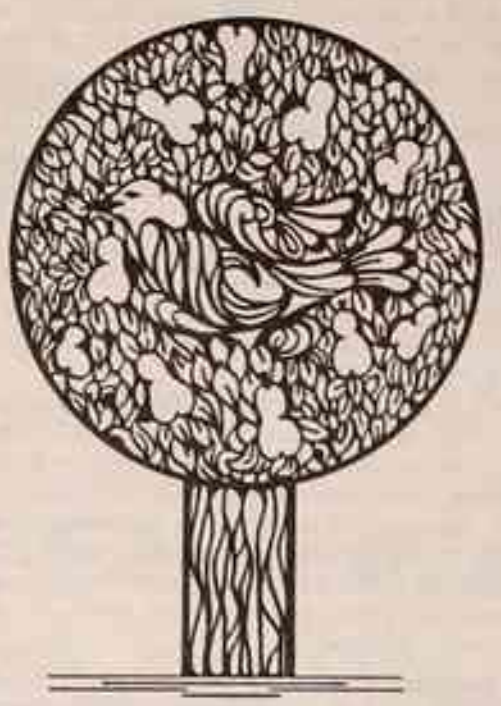
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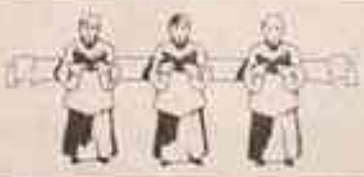
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Against All Odds:
The Japanese American's Campaign for Redress

Continued from Section A, Page 5

Congress' most highly decorated veterans of World War II and two whose childhoods had been dis-rupted by the internment. As the group discussed what first steps to take in what promised to be a long battle, they agreed that the road ahead was unclear and the likelihood of success at best uncertain.

Background: The Internment

The relocation and internment of Japanese Americans effectively began on February 19, 1942, just 10 weeks after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. The order authorized the secretary of war to exclude civilians from designated areas in order to secure them against espionage or sabotage by enemy sympathizers; while it did not specify any particular group, there was no question that the target of the order was Japanese Americans on the West Coast—an area considered at risk of attack from Japan in the early days of the war.

The signing of the exclusion order came after weeks of outcry for such an action from West Coast politicians and the press, particularly the Hearst newspapers, whose call for the removal of Japanese Americans frequently took on ugly racial overtones. While protection of Japanese Americans from angry mobs was offered by administration officials as one reason for removing them from the West Coast, the chief rationale was national security. Intercepted Japanese cables, not made public in order to avoid tipping Japan that its secret codes had been cracked, indicated the intention of Japanese officials to attempt to recruit Japanese Americans in espionage and information-gathering. While there was no evidence that Japan was ever successful in these efforts, one memo to Secretary of War Henry Stimson argued that Japanese Americans might be willing to do such work, asserting that they differed from Italian and German-Americans in that their "racial strains are undiluted," thus making the Japanese Americans of the West Coast "112,000 potential enemies ... at large today." Such reasoning met with no vociferous opposition, at least publicly, nor was there any strong protest raised when Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. A month later, on March 21, Congress approved legislation that made it a criminal offense to violate the order.

Within weeks of its signing, the effects of the exclusion order were widely felt throughout the Japanese American community on the West Coast. After a brief, failed effort at "voluntary relocation," the Army and then the civilian Wartime Relocation Authority instituted a systematic mandatory evacuation that removed ethnic Japanese from designated "military areas." A series of proclamations and announcements informed "persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien" of pending exclusions, usually giving them no more than a week to dispose of their property and goods. As Japanese Americans scrambled frantically to find caretakers or, more commonly, buyers for their property, they found themselves easy prey for bargain hunters.

Bearing only what they could carry—much of it stipulated in instructions issued by the military and all of it, including their own persons, carefully labeled with ID tags—the evacuees were sent first to "assembly centers," most often located at fairgrounds or racetracks, where they were temporarily housed in makeshift and often primitive facilities. From there, some months later, they were transported by bus or train (with the shades drawn, as per orders of the military) to one of 10 "relocation centers," most of them in western states such as Idaho, Arizona, Wyoming, and the interior of California, and two as far away as Arkansas; many of the relocation centers—or detention camps, as most Japanese Americans labeled them—were in bleak and remote outposts. In all, some 120,000 Japanese Americans were evacuated; the majority of them—at least 75,000—were US citizens.

While most Japanese Americans, eager to show their loyalty, complied with the evacuation, some chose to defy the government orders and related curfew provisions, and were arrested; three of them appealed their convictions all the way up to the Supreme Court. In all three cases, the court let stand the convictions, upholding the government's right to impose curfews and exclusion orders against one group in times of war, and refusing to question the validity of the military judgment that had found those measures necessary.

Most of those who were relocated remained in the camps for over two years, living in often crude conditions and harsh climates, and hedged in by guard towers and barbed wire. There were essentially two ways out of the relocation centers: evacuees could be granted leave to help fill labor shortages in farms or factories in the interior or to attend college, or they could volunteer to serve in military intelligence in the Pacific or in a segregated Japanese American infantry unit—the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, which, serving in the European theatre, went on to become the most decorated unit of its size in World War II. (Later, in 1944, the military service became mandatory, as the US began drafting Japanese American men out of the relocation centers.) In all, some 33 percent of the internees were "conditionally released" for various leaves or military duty. The rest stayed on until the federal government decided to end the exclusion in December 1944—long after, in the opinion of many, Japan had ceased to pose a real threat to the West Coast.

When the interned Japanese Americans returned to the West Coast, very few of them retained their prewar holdings. Their losses in income and property, according to later estimates, ranged in the hundreds of millions, in 1945 dollars—and as high as $2 billion in 1983 dollars. Congress did make some effort to compensate for those losses by passing the Evacuation Claims Act in 1948. The measure established a procedure for internees to file claims for property loss or damage due to the relocation, but it placed a strong burden of proof on the claimants, many of whom—in the rush of the evacuation—had not retained records documenting their holdings. Eventually, though claims totalling $148 million were filed under the act, the total in payments distributed amounted to only $37 million—an average of $200 for each family that filed a claim.

But perhaps more painful than the economic losses were the feelings of many Japanese Americans that they had been uniquely singled out as objects of suspicion and hostility. German Americans and Italian Americans were not subjected to mass exclusion and relocation; and in Hawaii, where ethnic Japanese accounted for over one-third of the population, only a couple of thousand people of Japanese descent were detained during the war. While the rest of the US quickly put the internment out of its mind, many former internees retreated into silence. Later, a woman who had been evacuated explained her reticence: "I did not want my children to feel the burden of shame and feelings of rejection by their fellow Americans."[1]

The Roots of the Redress Movement

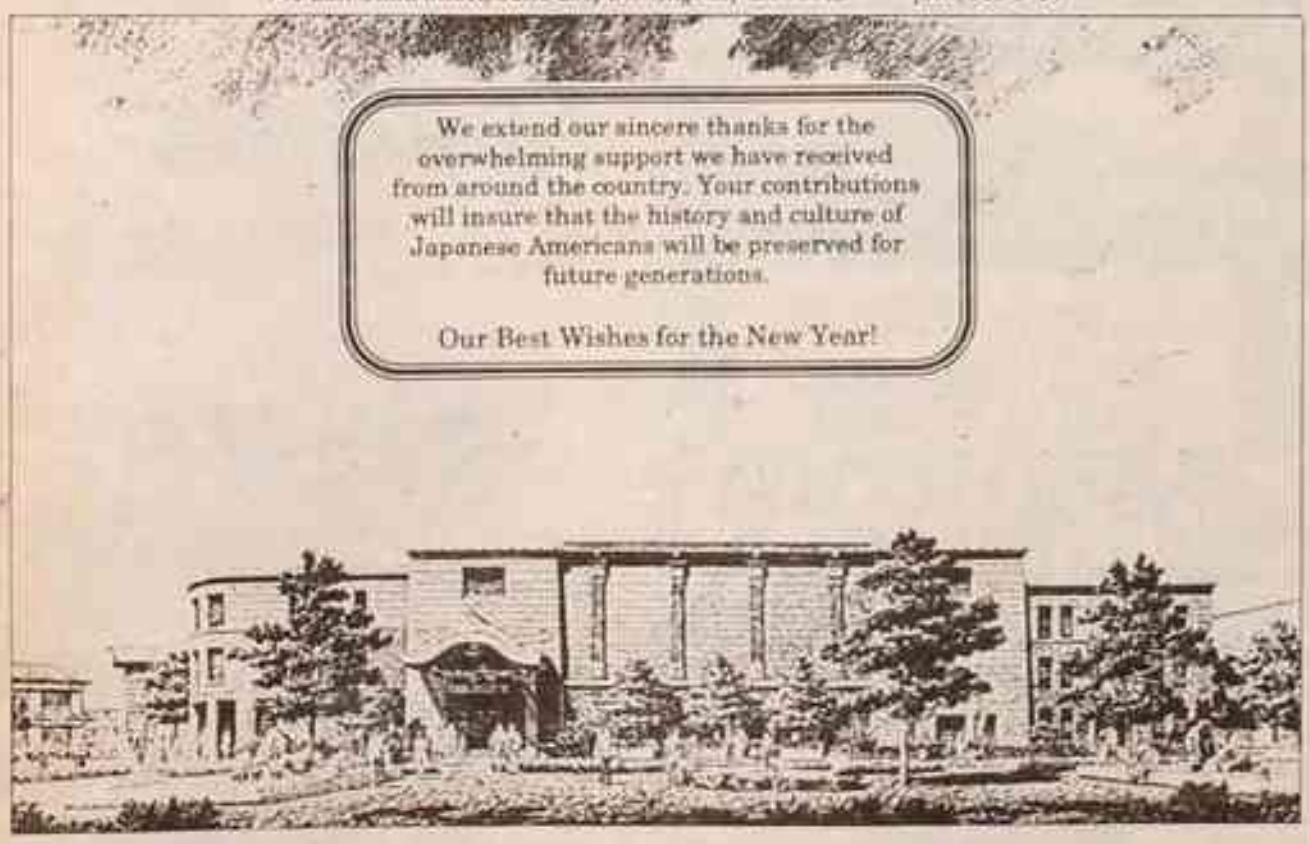
Despite the reticence, memories of the internment rankled in the minds of many Japanese Americans in the years following the war. It was not until the 1970s, however, that their feelings about the exclusion began to find expression in the idea of reparations or, as it came to be known, redress. The victories of the civil rights movement, says Rep. Norman Mineta (D-Calif.), toughened the attitude of the Japanese Americans: "In

Continued on Section C, Page 1

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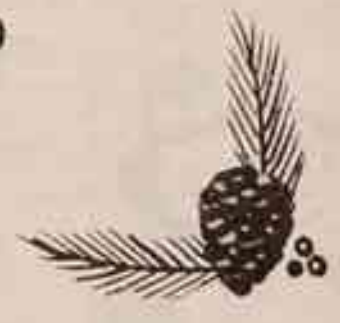
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MUNSON REPORT—

Continued from Section B, Page 1

ress in Japan, even though it was fostered by the Emperor Prince Shotoku. Buddhism had a very difficult time until some wise propagandist hit upon the idea of incorporating the Shinto Gods into the Buddhist Pantheon. All the Shinto deities were recognized as avatars of Buddha and we have continuing in Japan until the days of the Restoration what is known as two-fold Buddhism—a union of Shinto and Buddhism—a union so intricate that Buddhist God shelves in the home have unmistakable Shinto deities and Shinto God shelves have unmistakable Buddhist deities.

Cultural Foundations of the Japanese

Japan can never repay Buddhism for its contribution to the cultural life of the people. Its temples were schools wherein those who wished might be taught. It developed the arts and crafts, and was the developer and preserver of much that is beautiful in the cultural life of the Nation today.

While the Shinto and the Buddhist influence, separate and co-mingled, were moving forward, there developed in Japan a feudal type of society. This society was organized under the rule of a tribal person known as 'The Great Name' (*Daimyo*—a land baron). He had warriors or knights known as Samurai. They, the Samurai, preserved order and fought battles to maintain the existence of the clan. Besides the Samurai there was the farmer who raised the food, the artisan who fashioned and fabricated the tools, not only of the farmer but also of the warrior, and there was the merchant; below them there was the *eta* and lower still the *hinin*—those who for misconduct or through capture had been reduced in status until they were not considered men, as the term '*hinin*' implies.

For nearly 1,000 years, this state of society existed with internecine wars of all too frequent and carnal occurrence until early in the seventeenth century when a great man, Ieyasu, appeared, and became the founder of what is known as the Tokugawa family. The story of this period is interesting, but time and space do not permit the telling of it here, other than to say it was a period of about 250 years of great peace.

Confucian Influence Modified

During the Tokugawa period, Confucianism had great vogue. The Samurai children were privileged to attend the few schools which were maintained and where the principles of Confucian ethics were taught, but with one great characteristic change—the Japanese substituted for the chief virtue, loyalty for filial piety. *Chugo* (loyalty) is loyalty, not be an idea nor an ideal, but to a person. In this feudal society, personal relationships were supreme, and loyalty was the cardinal virtue.

In the feudal state, as well as throughout all Japanese history, the individual as an individual did not exist. He existed only as a member of the family and the family existed as a member of the clan. The family could dispose of individuals at will, should occasion merit such action. Even life itself could be taken, after the case had been submitted to the family council. In this connection, one should not overlook the tremendous influence of the deed. The living succeed or fail, are happy or sad, through the influence of the dead who live in the tombs of the village or hover over their familiar haunts. It is well to keep this in mind when estimating Japanese activity. The Japanese believe that the dead remain in the World and that all dead become gods with supernatural powers, and that happiness of the dead depends upon respectful services that are rendered them by the living.

Feudal Japan's 'Poor' Regard of the Merchant

In a feudal society, the merchant cuts a very poor figure. He was looked down upon by the Samurai and he was inferior to the farmer and the artisan. It is significant that but a very few families of merchants have maintained a good social position. Of these there are the Mitsui, the Iwasaki (this latter being represented by what we know as the Mitsubishi), and also the Sumitomo family.

With the coming of Commodore Perry in 1853 and 1854, feudalism began to pass away and within 20 years was abolished by government edict. Although the feudal social system was legally abolished, its influence continues even today.

With the Restoration there appeared a new influence in Japanese life and that was the coming of the Christian missionary with his doctrine of individual responsibility to deity. This was something new to the Japanese system of society. Heretofore religion centered in the family, and family culture and family faith were a collective thing and not individual.

The success of the missionary movement in Japan is remarkable because it brings this new element into the social picture. Wherever Christianity succeeds, it also succeeds in breaking the old family ties and hang-overs of a feudal order. Japan's advance in government, its development educationally and the vast improvements that we see in society today have been furthered by the application of Western methods of teaching, of government, etc. But, the Christian influence must not be underestimated nor should one go too far in over-stressing its great importance. Christianity is individualistic, and that is one reason why the 'powers that be' in Japan today are endeavoring to regulate its activities, if not to change some of its tenets. The Christian Japanese understand America better than any other group because they have been more and more weaned away from the influence of feudalism.

The Japanese are a perplexing people and their study is a very interesting and very enlightening one. They follow the leader—they have done this throughout all the years of their history. Even today, personal ties are stronger than legal ones.

No estimate of the elements characteristic of the Japanese is complete without a word about *giri*. There is no accurate English word for 'giri'. The nearest approach to an understanding of th e term is our word 'obligation,' which is very inadequate and altogether too weak. Favors or kindnesses done to a Japanese are never forgotten but are stored up in memory and in due time an adequate quid pro quo must be rendered in return. The clever and none-too-scrupulous individual often hangs 'giri' upon the unsuspecting, to their hurt and harm. 'Giri' is the great political tool. To understand 'giri' is to understand the Japanese.

ASSOCIATIONS:

The Japanese is the greatest joiner in the world. To take care of this passion he has furnished himself with ample associations to join. There are around 1,563 of these in the United States. Your reporter has before him a Japanese publication, entitled "The Japanese American Directory of 1941," at least two inches thick listing the Japanese associations in fine print.

Your reporter also has before him lists furnished him in the various Naval Districts of some of the leading associations considered the most important, with full descriptions of their activities as far as known. It is endless to clutter up this report with them.

FAMILY SET-UP IN UNITED STATES:

In the United States there are four divisions of Japanese to be considered:

(1) The ISSEI—First generation Japanese. Entire cultural background Japanese. Probably loyal romantically to Japan. They must be considered, however, as "other" races. They have made this their home. They have brought up children here, their wealth accumulated by hard labor is here, and many would become American citizens had they been allowed to do so. They are for the most part simple people. Their age group is largely 55 to 65, fairly old for a hard working Japanese.

(2) The NISEI—Second generation who have received their whole education in the United States and usually, in spite of discrimination against them and a certain amount of insults accumulated through the years from irresponsible elements, show a pathetic eagerness to be Americans. They are in constant conflict with the orthodox, well disciplined family life of their elders. Age group — 1 to 30 years.

(3) The KIBEI—This is an important division of the NISEI. This is the term used by the Japanese to signify those American born Japanese who received part or all of their education in Japan. In any consideration of the KIBEI, they should be again divided into two classes, i.e. (a) those who received their education in Japan from childhood to about 17 years of age and (b) those who received their early formative education in the United States and returned to Japan for four or five years of Japanese education. The Kibei are considered the most dangerous element and closer to the Issei with especial reference to those who received their early education in Japan. It must be noted, however, that many of those who visited Japan subsequent to their early Japanese education come back with an added loyalty to the United States. In fact it is a saying that all a Nisei needs is a trip to Japan to make a loyal American out of him. The American educated Japanese is a boor in Japan and treated as a foreigner and with a certain amount of contempt there. His trip is usually a painful experience.

(4) The SANSEI—The third generation Japanese is a baby and may be disregarded for the purposes of our survey. We must now think back to the paragraph entitled:

JAPANESE AMERICAN BACKGROUND:

This is tied into the family of which the Issei is the head with more authority and hold over his family than an old New England Bible-thumbing pioneer. Their family life is disciplined and honorable. The children are obedient and the girls virtuous.

We must think also of the Associations, some sinister, some emanating from Imperial Japan, some with Japanese Consular contacts. It all weaves up into a sinister pattern on paper. This pattern has been set up in a secret document entitled "Japanese Organizations and Activities in the 11th Naval District," and may be scrutinized with proper authorization in the Navy Department in Washington. We only suggest this to our reader in case our words have not built up the proper Halloween atmosphere. It is like looking at the 'punkin' itself. There is real fire in it, yet in many ways it is hollow and dusty. However, your reporter desires to have you know that all this exists before he goes on to the main body of his report on how the Japanese in the United States are liable to react in case of war with Japan.

The Tokio-Sun God-Religious-Family-Association plus Oriental Mind Set-up Shows Signs of the Honorable Passage of Time.

There are still Japanese in the United States who will tie dynamite around their waist and make a human bomb out of themselves. We grant this but today they are few. Many things indicate that very many joints in the Japanese set-up show age and many elements are not what they used to be.

The weakest from a Japanese standpoint are the Nisei. They are universally estimated from 90 - 98% loyal to the United States if the Japanese educated element of the Kibei is excluded. The Nisei are pathetically eager to show this loyalty. They are not Japanese in culture. They are foreigners to Japan. Though American citizens they are not accepted by Americans, largely because they look differently and can be easily recognized. The Japanese American Citizens League should be encouraged, the while an eye is kept open, to see that Tokio does not get its finger in this pie—which it has in a few cases attempted to do.

The loyal Nisei hardly know where to turn. Some gesture of protection or wholehearted acceptance of this group would go a long way to swinging them away from any last romantic hankering after old Japan. They are not oriental or mysterious, they are very American and are of a proud, self-respecting race suffering from a little inferiority complex and a lack of contact with the white boys they went to school with. They are eager for this contact and to work alongside them.

Issei Would Become Citizens If Allowed

The Issei or first generation is considerably weakened in their loyalty in Japan by the fact that they have chosen to make this their home and have brought up their children here. They expect to die here. They are quite fearful of being put in a concentration camp. Many would take out American citizenship if allowed to do so.

The haste of this report does not allow us to go into this more fully. The Issei have to break with their religion, their god and Emperor, their family, their ancestors and their afterlife in order to be loyal to the United States. They are also still legally Japanese. Yet they do break, and send their boys off to the Army with pride and tears. They are good neighbors. They are old men, 55 to 65, for the most part are simple and dignified. Roughly they were Japanese lower middle class, about analogous to the Pilgrim fathers. They were largely farmers and fishermen. Today the Japanese is farmer, fishermen and businessmen. They get very attached to the land they work or own (through the second generation), they like their own business, they do not work at industrial jobs nor for others except as a stepping stone to becoming independent.

The Kibei, educated from childhood to 17, are still the element most to be watched.

WHAT WILL THE JAPANESE DO:

SABOTAGE—Now that we have roughly given a background and a description of the Japanese elements in the United States the question naturally arises—what will these people do in case of a war between the United States and Japan? As interview after interview piled up, those bringing results began to call it the same old tune. Such it was with only minor differences. These contacts ranged all the way from two-day sessions with Intelligence Services, through businessmen, to Roman Catholic priests who were frankly not interested in the United States and were only interested in making as many Catholics as possible.

The story was all the same.

Munson Sees 'No' Japanese Problem

There is no Japanese 'problem' on the Coast. There will be no armed uprising of Japanese. There will undoubtedly be some sabotage financed by Japan and executed largely by imported agents or agents already imported. There will be the odd case of fanatical sabotage by some Japanese 'crackpot.'

In each Naval District there are about 250 to 300 suspects under surveillance. It is easy to get on the suspect list, merely a speech in favor of Japan at some banquet, being sufficient to land one there. The Intelligence Services are generous with the title of suspect and are taking no chances. Privately, they believe that only 50 or 60 in each district can be classed as really dangerous.

The Japanese are hampered as saboteurs because of their easily recognized physical appearance. It will be hard for them to get near anything to blow up *if it is guarded*. There is far more danger from Communists and people of the Bridges type on the Coast than there is from Japanese. The Japanese here is almost exclusively a farmer, a fisherman or a small businessman. He has no entry to plants or intricate machinery.

ESPIONAGE—The Japanese, if undisturbed and disloyal, should be well equipped for obvious physical espionage. A great part of this work was probably completed and forwarded to Tokio years ago, such as soundings and photography of every inch of the Coast. They are probably familiar with the location of every building and garage including Mike O'Flaherty's out-house in the Siskiyous with all trails leading thereto.

An experienced captain in Navy Intelligence, who has from time to time and over a period of years intercepted information Tokio bound, said he would certainly hate to be a Japanese coordinator of information in Tokio. He stated that the mass of useless information was unbelievable. This would be fine for a "fifth column" in Belgium or Holland with the German army ready to march in over the border, but though the local Japanese could spare a man who intimately knew the country for each Japanese invasion squad, there would at least have to be a terrific American Naval disaster before his brown brothers would need his services.

The dangerous part of their espionage is that they would be very effective as far as movement of supplies, movement of troops and movement of ships out of harbor mouths and over railroads is concerned. They occupy only rarely positions where they can get to confidential papers or in plants. They are usually, when rarely so placed, a subject of perpetual watch and suspicion by their fellow workers. They would have to buy most of this type of information from white people.

PROPAGANDA—Their direct propaganda is poor and rather ineffective on the whole. Their indirect is more successful. By indirect we mean propaganda preaching the beauties of Japan and the sweet innocence of the Japanese race to susceptible Americans.

SUMMARY—Japan will commit some sabotage largely depending on imported Japanese as they are afraid of and do

Continued on Section D, Page 7

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ORAL TESTIMONY:

War or Hysteria, Puyallup Issei Farmers Responded to Season's Call of February



Shigeo Wakamatsu
Chicago

■ *The onetime National JACL president spotlights the conduct of Issei farmers during the anxiety-ridden spring of 1942, recalling how they responded to "an inner sense of duty" to their adopted country by preparing for a new season as directed by the Army with a "curious enticement that the farmers would be able to harvest their crops before Evacuation was to take place. This, of course, was not to be."*

Above photo was taken at Wakamatsu's testimonial held during the 1982 National Convention at LAX Airport Hilton, hosted by the Gardena Valley JACL.

Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981

I cannot overlook to state before the Commission the conduct of our immigrant parents—the Issei—during that terrible spring of 1942. That they responded to an inner sense of duty to their adopted country—a country which tried so hard to exclude them—is a feat that deserves a place in your record.

No doubt, case after case have been cited before the Commission on the estimated evacuee losses of the 1942 farm crops. The question may well be asked. "Why, then, under the circumstances which prevailed, should there have been any crops at all?"

It is early February. The truck farmers of the Puyallup Valley must prepare for the new season—seedlings to be started in hotbeds, supplies and fertilizers to be bought, ground preparations to be made, other activities to be set into motion within a crucial fortnight—all requiring investment of cash or credit and backbreaking work.

February, 1942: 'A Bleak Uncertainty'

With the news and rumors—ominous and portending that all Japanese aliens would be taken away—the Issei farmers, including my father, were indeed in a quandary. There were no assurances for them of any kind; it was all a bleak uncertainty.

It must have been at intense family conferences, such as ours, in over a hundred Issei farm families in the valley that decisions were made to proceed with the timely work of the season, to disregard the unsettling rumors, and to follow the normal course of action which seemed the only proper one to take. Nevertheless, it was an act of individual will. The Issei were all in their late 50's and in their 60's. Many of them were the same men who, a scant 10 years before my birth, had cleared the virgin grounds of that valley with horses and dynamite and dug the drainage ditches.

A month was to elapse before any kind of directive was to trickle down from the authorities, but by that time all necessary steps had been taken on the farms.

March 1942: Army Orders Farmers to Proceed

It was in March of 1942—and after Executive Order 9066—that the Army brass woke up to the fact that 80 to 90% of the fresh vegetables from the West Coast were produced by Japanese farmers. The directive, which called for the farmers to proceed normally, carried a curious enticement—that the farmers would be able to harvest their crops *before* evacuation was to take place. This, of course, was not to be.

By the middle of May, when the valley folks were sent to the assembly center, the telephone peas were waist high and string, the pole beans were staked, early radishes and green onions were ready for the market, strawberries were starting to ripen, and the lettuce had been transplanted.

Not much is known how the crops fared in the harvest nor what prices were obtained, but the Issei farmers went into camp with their heads held high, knowing that they had done everything that was possible to help our nation face its first summer of World War II.

Notice:

The following letter was included when individuals requested from the Washington JACL Office a copy of "Against All Odds," the Kennedy School of Government's case study, being reprinted elsewhere in this issue.

"Thank you for your interest in the Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government case study on the campaign for Japanese American redress. The redress story is truly one of the great examples of citizen action in American history. As you know, we have requested a small administrative fee to cover duplication and mailing costs.

"I also want to emphasize that this report is the product of the Kennedy School and does not necessarily represent the views of the Japanese American Citizens League. We are happy to provide copies of this study upon request as a service to those interested in reading this analysis of redress lobbying efforts.

"Thanks again for contacting the JACL Washington Office. The success of the grassroots movement for redress represents the mere beginning of what our community, working together, can accomplish."

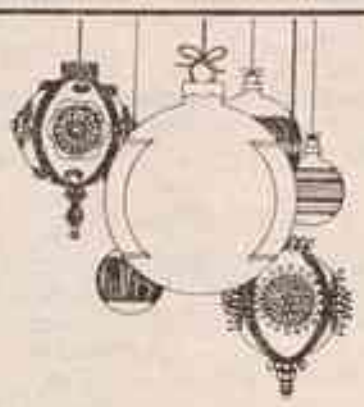
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MAN WITH A TRIPLE-HEADER:

Golden Gate Park's Famous Japanese Gardens, Esther Takei's Return, Guayule

Hugh Harris Anderson

■ *This will be the fourth time he appeared before a Congressional Commission. The other three times also concerned the Japanese Americans and what they had accomplished at Manzanar with regard to laying the foundation for the new rubber industry for the world—Guayule rubber.*

Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1981

My remarks today are intended to be more directly applicable . . . I served as administrator of Pacific Businesses for the Poston Relocation Center, the largest of the ten camps (and third largest city in Arizona), for a little less than a year when I got polio and had to leave.

Prior to that, as an auditor, I had examined Japanese American businesses on behalf of the State of California for collection of taxes before they were removed from their businesses. I stored considerable furniture, wealth and property for Japanese American friends. I sold a nursery for one friend who was summarily removed from the community because of his leadership characteristics, and for no other reason. It was a challenging invitation to go to Poston to help administer the camp.

After the war I took a year off and spent the time filing claims on behalf of the evacuees insofar as they were brave enough and aggressive enough to file them. . .

Baron Hagiwara's Japanese Gardens

I will talk about just one claim, a claim which may be the outstanding claim of the West Coast. It concerns the Japanese Gardens in San Francisco.

In 1893, Baron Hagiwara arrived in this country on a goodwill tour as a part of a round-the-world trip. He met Mr. John McLaren, who was then working on founding the Golden Gate Park on the sand dunes in San Francisco and the Baron was convinced that he should lend a hand and put in a Japanese section. He did this by bringing workers over from Japan, supplying all the needs to make the Japanese gardens of great beauty. When George Bernard Shaw, before the war, visited the gardens, by 11 o'clock he announced to his secretary that he had no wish to leave the park and to cancel his appointments elsewhere for the rest of the day.

The alien property custodian arrived in the gardens on the day after Pearl Harbor and took a thorough inventory. *All* of the property in the gardens had been supplied by private funds of the Hagiwara family. The maintenance was never paid for by any government.

In 1942, Garden Was Assessed at $250,000

The Japanese family, the Hagiwaras, assumed *all* costs. The family was well born. They had orchards in Japan which were the source of their funds.

One of the members of the family returned to Japan during the time they were in San Francisco to become Minister of Education in Japan, so the family was respected, both in their home country and in this country.

The alien property custodian determined that the property was worth a quarter of a million dollars. In 14 trips to San Francisco, because the family could find no one in the Bay Area to handle their claim, I determined that the case was well based on a complete loss of all the property that the people had. When they returned from their relocation center, they had absolutely nothing, their loss was complete.

The determination by the department, known as the Department of Justice, allowed $20,000 for this loss, which was substantiated in value by an inventory by the Alien Property Custodian as nearly a quarter of a million dollars. This was not atypical among the claims that I filed. I probably filed a hundred claims.

I want this to be called to your attention because it is graphic in what happened. The facts are absolute and the fact that the family had no leader upon the loss of the eldest daughter in the county hospital in San Francisco following their return from camp meant that they were really destitute.

THE $20,000 did help to return them to a kind of life. They had been well born and well taken care of and they never saw that status again. The eldest daughter, who clearly was the leader in the family, died of asthma in the county hospital.

I'm not an attorney, I'm an accountant, so I had to associate with an attorney to file claims in his name.

About the time I completed my year of volunteer efforts, he became so terribly involved with his own work that it was necessary that his office expand to some forty or fifty attorneys so he didn't litigate the award.

Hagiwara Property 'Sold Off' During the War

Over $200,000 in bronze birds, stone lanterns, statuary of oriental design, all of which had come from Japan, represented a tremendous amount of beauty. It was all put in a private, supposedly, secure place in Marin County.

During the war, and the incarceration of the evacuees, the administrator of the property privately sold it so that it now resides in gardens up and down the West Coast, adding beauty to the property of the new owners.

The Japanese San Francisco Gardens will never be the same as they were before the war. For a while, they were, unfortunately, called Chinese Gardens. There has been a memorial put up at the entrance to the gardens which calls attention to the fact that the gardens were placed there by the Hagiwara family. The memorial was paid for privately. The government was kind enough to allow the memorial rock to be installed.

Joined William Carr in Esther Takei's Return

It was my good fortune, along with the group called "The Friends of the American Way," chaired by William Carr, a conservative real estate broker, to bring the first girl back to enter the West Coast, in cooperation with Lt. General Bonesteel. After her successful stay (in Pasadena), for a three-month period, prior to opening the West Coast, the Western Defense Commander quietly told us that her success caused him to open the West Coast one year earlier than he originally planned. We appreciated that opportunity to help in this disgraceful thing which Professor Rostow referred to as our country's worst wartime mistake.

Esther Takei's return to the West Coast was supported by the AmVets who had returned, many injured, from fighting the enemy Japanese in the South Pacific. They saw the distinction very clearly, and were very supportive of the Americans of Japanese ancestry returning to their homes and hopefully to more satisfaction than had ever been allowed previously by the American government.

ORAL TESTIMONY:

Heart Mountain Internee Volunteers for 442nd RCT, 'Believed in America,' Yet. .

Thomas Kinaga

Rancho Palos Verdes, Calif.

■ *A San Jose-born Nisei internee at Santa Anita Assembly Center and Heart Mountain Relocation Center, he was in the original group of volunteers from Heart Mountain to serve in the 442nd Infantry Regiment.*

Los Angeles, Aug. 5, 1981

First I would like to discuss why in spite of the many different ways in which we internees responded to the Evacuation this commission (CWRIC) should not jump to the conclusion that any of us approved of the Evacuation. Later I would like to describe the unique mental anguish I had to bear as a result of this program.

Because of the terrible injustice of the Evacuation, some of its victims lost faith in America and renounced their American citizenship. By their action we can see how strongly they felt the unfairness and the wrong of the Evacuation. But what were the feelings of those inte. .ees who still retained their faith in America in spite of America's ill-treatment of them?

As one of the latter, and as one who believed in America enough to volunteer for its combat forces, I wish to state most emphatically that I also considered the evacuation decision to be absolutely wrong. My feelings on this matter were just as strong as and in full agreement with those who chose to renounce their citizenship, even though the renunciants and I took paths that were poles apart.

Cause of Mental Anguish Related

Just because some of us went so far as to volunteer for the army from the relocation centers, this Commission should not conclude that there were mixed feelings among the internees about the wrongness of the evacuation itself. Let me assure you that the evacuation was universally condemned by all of its victims, even those of us who were willing to lay our lives on the line for this nation.

As for my mental anguish which I alluded to earlier, it was caused by the following situations. Even as I was dutifully and voluntarily serving in my country's army, my family would be detained behind barbed wire by that same army until the war's end.

My anger was further fueled as I looked at the Nisei soldiers from Hawaii. I asked myself: why were their families free while my family was imprisoned. Surely if a military necessity existed for Japanese American evacuation from the West Coast, didn't such a necessity exist even more in Hawaii which was thousands of miles closer to the war zone?

On Furlough Inside Heart Mountain

And I remember quite vividly how I spent my last furlough before our regiment went overseas. Of course I went to see my family in Heart Mountain. There I was for two weeks locked up once more behind barbed wire in spite of my uniform. I heard many derisive comments by my friends about my status, and even I could see the irony of it all.

Then as we went into combat in Italy and France my anguish turned into a nagging concern of what would happen to my family. Would the government choose to disband the relocation centers before I could return to help my family? If that happened, would my family be prevented from returning home to San Jose to pick up the pieces of their lives, or would they be forced out to a possibly inhospitable Mid-West? Since my father's business was destroyed by the Evacuation, what means of livelihood could he possibly have?

Fortunately none of these particular dire things happened. Nevertheless such thoughts weighed heavily on my mind as long as the war lasted even during the desperate fighting in the Vosges and on the barren hills of Italy. Of course such mental anguish need not have been mine if there had been no evacuation and internment.

The things I related today are now long in the past. However I hope my testimony will in some small measure help to insure that nothing like the Japanese American evacuation ever happens again. . .

FROM THE 'NISEI DAUGHTER':

In 1978, the Stunning News That JACL Would Pursue Redress 'Breaks Her Up'

Monica Sone

Clinical Psychologist,
Canton, Ohio

■ *Rather than repeat her wartime experiences in camp and leaving camp to continue her studies as written in her autobiography, "Nisei Daughter" (Little, Brown & Co., 1953), she relates her "innermost feelings and the psychological changes, since camp.*

Chicago, Sept. 23, 1981

I was one of the first internees to leave Minidoka, being of school age. On April 1943, I boarded the train, alone, in Twin Falls, Idaho, to go to Indianapolis. I sat in my seat, shrunk into its corner, hoping I was not too visible. I kept my face buried in a magazine.

I had feelings of guilt, self-hate and fear. My guilt came from the feeling that I had abandoned my aging parents in camp. Another guilt was the old, on-going one of have a Japanese face. My self-hate came from having allowed myself to be uprooted and interned. Many times I wished I had disobeyed the order and been arrested. My fear came from the past. I had experienced the hate, expressed on a daily basis through the newspapers and the radio, as a "death wish" upon us.

When I was herded into camp, and saw the barbed-wire enclosure and the guns, I lost hope. My citizenship had meant nothing. There was no secure future for us in America. Sitting on that old train, I felt like a mauled creature, afraid of what lay before me.

'Looking Back Over the 40 Years. . .'

In the Midwest where I resettled, I was invited often to meetings, to speak about my camp experiences, to people who had never heard about Oriental Americans, much less about their incarceration.

I allowed myself to believe that I was emotionally okay because I could talk about my past.

As I look back over the 40 years, I see that my adjustment was one of repressed pain and anger. I had gone through a political and emotional earthquake. Yet I had covered it over with a wallpaper of self-comforting platitudes. I made myself forget, by becoming totally involved making a new life for myself. Understandably all, however, I still harbored unresolved feelings of resentment and anguish.

The Good News of 1978: JACL to Seek Redress

This became very clear to me sometime in 1978. By then I was a mother of 4 grown children, and a grandmother. One day I read the stunning news that the JACL had finally endorsed a proposal to petition our government for redress. As I rejoiced in this good news, I was startled to find tears flooding up into my eyes. I felt something breaking up inside me, as if an iceberg had begun to thaw. I cried until there were no more tears. I began to feel free of that which had been sitting deep inside me all those years. At last we were going to deal with our past, openly and publicly with our government. I made up my mind then to take part in the redress campaign, even if it meant opening up old wounds.

Today as I speak to this Commission, I have mixed feelings. You see before you an emotionally scarred, but changed citizen, in contrast to that defeated, non-citizen of 1942. Frankly, my anger has propelled me here. I also feel a pride, a self-esteem which comes from having joined with my fellow Nikkei, to confront our government through this Commission. I am also troubled. At times I feel as if our petition for redress is a quixotic gesture. This is cynicism which comes from my shattered trust in the leaders of our government and my understanding of the reality of power politics.

Finally, however, I see the Commission hearing as a healthy step, not only for us Nikkei, but for our government.

In closing, I support the redress goals of JACL. We look for major actions so that there may be a meaningful reconciliation and a healing between us and our country.

Group Seeking Fellow Nisei Who Attended College During War

SEATTLE — Nisei who attended college during the war are being asked to help continue a legacy of helping students in need.

During World War II, some 4000 Nisei were helped out of internment camps and into Midwestern and East Coast colleges by the Student Relocation Council, which included the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), various churches, YMCA and YWCA.

Art Gorai heard about the program in the Pomona Assembly Center. He had attended UCLA and was refused acceptance at several universities for "security" reasons. Gorai was finally accepted by the University of Nebraska in Lincoln. He was met at the train station on a cold November day by the Rev. Robert Drew. Art lived in a church basement, stoking a coal furnace to earn his rent.

Nebraska Accepted 80 Nisei

"This is a great thing that the churches are doing," Art remembers thinking. The University of Nebraska accepted 80 Nisei students in 1943.

His wife, Ann Miyamoto Gorai of Clovis, Calif. also went to Nebraska. She said Nebraskans "were less prejudiced during the war than Californians were before the war."

"Many colleges closed their doors to Nisei," recalls Bob Takatsuka, who left Rohwer, to attend Hillsdale College in Michigan before transferring to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. "Our sponsors went out of their way to make us feel welcome."

Some of these Nisei graduates formed a group called the Nisei Student Relocation Commemorative Fund. Since 1983, it's awarded thousands of dollars in scholarships to Southeast Asian students in eight U.S. cities. Ann Gorai explains, "Just like us, Southeast Asian students had to leave everything they owned and go to a place they knew nothing about."

Washingtonians Take Over

This year, a Washington State group is coordinating the program to award more than $7,000 in scholarships to Southeast Asian students. The group is compiling a roster of all those who attended college in the war years through this program, especially those 640 students from Washington state.

Name and address should be sent to: Professor Calvin Takagi, University of Washington School of Social Work, 4101-15th Avenue NE JH-30, Seattle, WA 98195; (206) 543-1924.

JAPANESE CANADIAN REDRESS ALLOCATIONS:

$4,300,000 Committed to 10 Capital Projects, and to 25 Program and Activities from Redress

TORONTO, Ont.—The Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation has circulated this past month new application forms to various centers and individuals in search of funds under the redress guidelines. Some $4,300,000 in grants have been approved this year.

In addition to the $21,000 (Can.) individual payments, the Canadian government redress agreement provided $12 million for community use: $8 million for capital projects, $4 million for services and programs in the Nikkei community.

In his 1990 report to the annual NAJC general meeting Oct. 7 in Toronto, Foundation chair Dr. Henry Shimizu said it was a busy year. The framework and procedural process for the Foundation program were established.

Conflict of Interest

Final decisions regarding conflict of interest, funding of projects and developing the use of a feasibility study format for major capital projects were made during a full board meeting in Vancouver over the Jan. 6, 1990 weekend.

At the March 3 meeting in Toronto, six applications were approved and two were rejected. A formal contract was signed and applicants were invited to present supporting information to the board with their applications.

A number of foundation board members participated at the April 1 community redress celebration at Edmonton where seven more applications were approved and one referred to the Cultural Development Fund established and administered by the National Association of Japanese Canadians.

Forums Sensitize Directors

A JCRF touring information group was organized to explain the mandate and purpose of the Foundation, the role and responsibilities of its directors. Forums were encouraged to make directors sensitive to the complexities and difficulties of the local grass roots and community development levels.

At the May 5 meeting in Winnipeg, the JCRF published the names, amount of funds approved and type of projects in the *Nikkei Voice* (distributed to some 15,000 subscribers across Canada) and Japanese vernacular newspapers. It was felt the community would be guided as to the kinds of projects being approved. Tony Tamayose was also retained by the NAJC as public relations consultant until the end of this year.

During the months of May and June, the touring information group (consisting of Jim Suzuki, Henry Shimizu, NAJC president Art Miki and Tamayose) met with NAJC regional directors and communities in Nanaimo, B.C., Winnipeg, Hamilton and Toronto.

In May, the board approved six more applications and referred another to the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, whose legislation for funding is pending in the Parliament.

More Applications Approved

In June, eight more applications were approved.

On June 30, Jim Suzuki completed his six-month term as JCRF executive director and resigned to accept a health science center position in Winnipeg. Tamayose assumed the duties as the Foundation office was relocated from Winnipeg to Richmond, B.C.

At the July 14 weekend meeting in Vancouver, formal JCRF agreement with NAJC was signed to cover the Foundation's office administrative and financial arrangements.

At the Aug. 24 meeting in Toronto, eight applications were approved, three were rejected and one referred to the Japanese Community Cultural Development Fund.

Looking Ahead

Looking ahead, Dr. Shimizu asked his fellow Canadian Nisei, "Redress will soon be behind us. What should be our role in the Canadian mosaic?

"I would like to ask each of you — what aspect of your experience would you wish to pass to your children? Now, don't tell me that you want your children to be just like us. We would not want to foist on them many of our mistakes.

"Don't assume that the cultural and social activities which we had and nurtured during the Evacuation and before are the only ones worth preserving. What is that we as a community of Japanese Canadians wish to express to other Canadians?"

A Conversation in New Mexico

Shimizu remembered an evening dinner conversation at the Santa Fe (N.M.) Opera Festival last year and was surprised to learn from a music professor who had been at the Juilliard Music Academy in New York that 32% of the foreign students at this famous institute were from Korea. "I could not help but think that this relatively small Asian group will have a profound impact on music in North America in the near future."

With a majority of JCRF funds going toward senior centers and preserving prewar and wartime memorabilia and Issei-Nisei culture, "I wonder if we should now be working toward a changing balance between preserving our past and contributing to our future. Our community development programs should be placing more emphasis on our people and the potential of their personal contributions on the future of our community," he said in concluding his 1990 report.

The Japanese Canadian redress campaign which began after and ended before the Japanese American program was successfully concluded Sept. 22, 1988, upon an agreement with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Japanese Canadian leaders.

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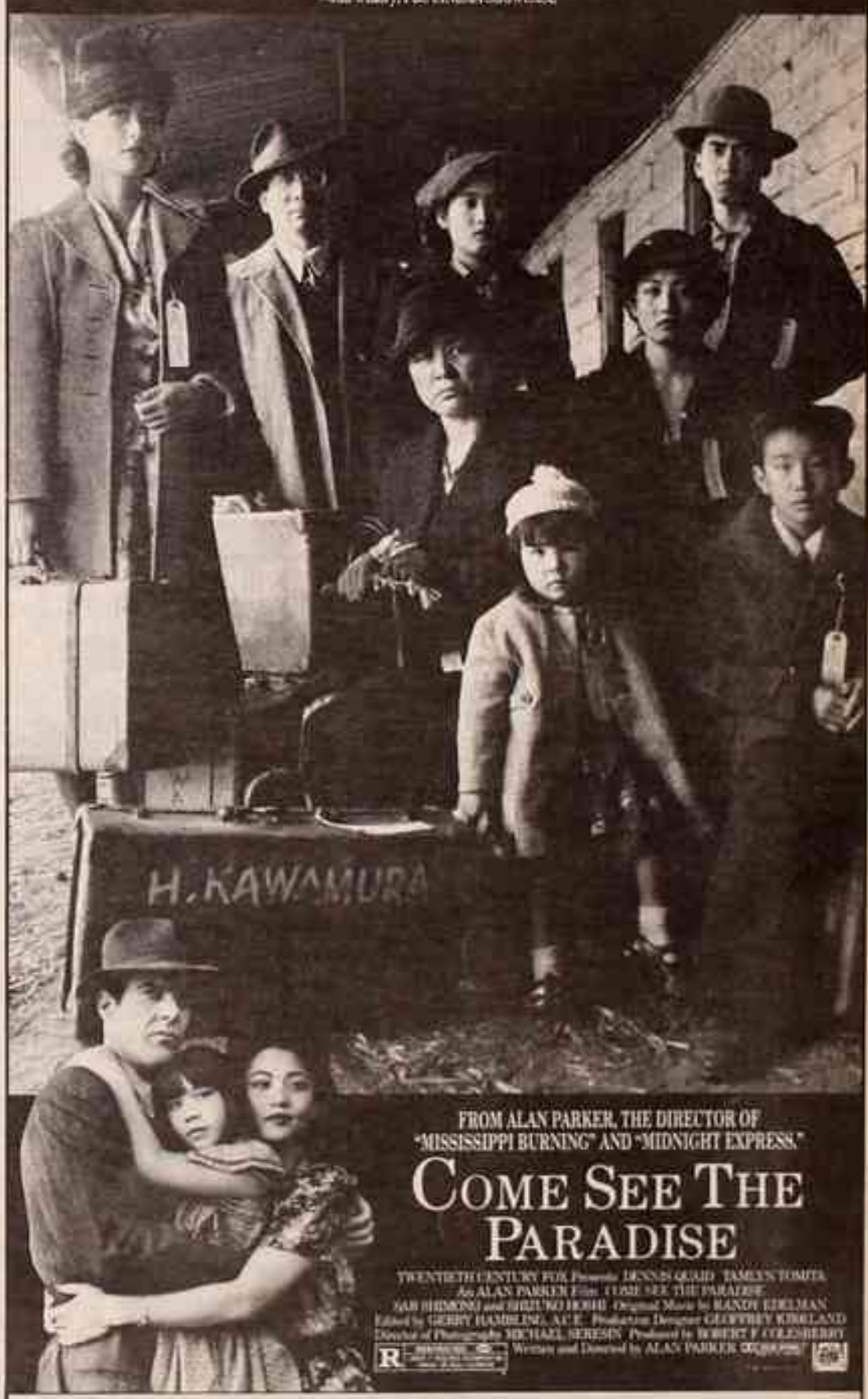
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Sign-Language Law in Arcadia Targeted by Asian Rights Group

ARCADIA, Calif. — An Asian rights center that persuaded three cities to stop restricting the use of foreign languages on business signs has made Arcadia (site of the Santa Anita race track) its next target.

In convincing the cities of Rosemead, Temple City and Garden Grove to allow freer use of foreign words on signs, the Los Angeles-based Asian Pacific American Legal Center used a U.S. District Court judge's July 1989 ruling that Pomona's sign law violated the U.S. Constitution.

The Pomona law required at least 50 percent of a sign be written in the Roman alphabet, a provision Judge Robert Takasugi said violated First Amendment freedom of speech rights.

Another Language Rights Project

Since then, Rosemead, Temple City and Garden Grove have agreed to change their laws, removing restrictions on the use of foreign words.

Arcadia's ordinance allows only one-third of the area of a business sign to be in a foreign language, making it more restrictive than the law that was deemed unconstitutional, said Kathryn Imahara, an attorney and director of the Language Rights Project for the legal center.

The legal center has contacted Arcadia city officials by mail twice to request a change in the law, but it has not received a reply, Imahara said. The first correspondence was mailed in July, the second one Nov. 14.

Councilman George Fasching said the city wants to consider its options before it replies to the legal center. He said the city will decide its position in the coming weeks and respond to the legal center's request.

JCRF Approves 35 Projects Funded at $4,305,560

From the New Canadian

TORONTO—Thirty-five projects were approved and $4,305,560 in funds committed by the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation up to Sept. 30 to 25 applicants for programs and activities and 10 for capital projects.

The largest amount, $1,150,000, was allocated to the Mumtaj Health Care Society, Toronto, for construction of a nine-story senior housing and health care facility. The smallest sum, $2,300, went to the Powell St. Festival's "Coming Into Passion." The Ottawa JC Association-Taiko application for $2,500 to purchase equipment was the smallest in the capital project category.

The largest sum in the program category was $400,000 to establish the Cultural Development Fund.

The Steveston, B.C., Japanese Canadian community center was awarded $500,000 for construction of a community center. It is perhaps the only "real" Japanese Canadian community in the country, it was explained. Its 3,000 Nikkei live in close proximity with a Japantown at its hub.

JCRF Allocations

Summary by Categories

Programs	Allocation	Committed
Cultural	$ 1,500,000	$ 807,300
Educational	1,200,000	459,760
Human Rights	750,000	35,000
Social Services	500,000	250,000
TOTAL	$ 4,000,000	$ 1,552,060

Summary of Funds Committed:

Programs and Activities	$ 1,552,060
Capital projects	2,753,500
Total:	$ 4,305,560

What To Do About Redress Denial Letters

SAN FRANCISCO — The Japanese American Citizens League has recently become aware of several redress applicants who have received denial letters from the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Redress Administration.

If you have received a denial letter, or know of someone who has, contact the JACL at (415) 921-5225 or Dennis Hayashi of the Asian Law Caucus at (415) 391-1655 immediately.

The Asian Law Caucus and the JACL are working together to provide assistance to such individuals. Both organizations stress that receiving a denial letter does not make you automatically ineligible for redress. There is an appeals process. However, those receiving denial letters must file an appeal within 60 days of the date of the letter.

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in the Pacific Citizen

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Help the Japanese American community – by helping the United Way.
By using the United Way Donor Designation Option, you can help these non-profit, tax-exempt Japanese American organizations:

Nisei Services, Inc
325 S. Boyle Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90033
(213) 263-5693
Contact: Margaret Emi

JACCC
Japanese American Cultural and Community Center
244 S. San Pedro St., #505
Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 628-2725
Contact: Ellen Shohara Miyami

Little Tokyo Service Center
244 S. San Pedro St., #411
Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 680-3729
Contact: Bill Watanabe

We need and appreciate your support. For further information, please contact one of the community organizations listed above.

Job Announcement

JACL Washington, D.C., Representative

Filing Deadline: January 12, 1991
Salary: $30,000 - $49,500

Under the supervision of the National Director, performs a wide variety of duties in relation to JACL's objectives and activities in the Washington, D.C. Office.

REQUIREMENTS:
Bachelor's degree from an accredited university or college. Law degree desirable.
Work experience in legislative advocacy or lobbying.
Managerial and supervision experience.
Knowledge of legislative process.
Knowledge of JACL, its organization programs, activities, and ability to relate to current social problems in society and to communicate with all elements along the political continuum.
Special Requirement: Willingness to register as a lobbyist for the JACL.

APPLICATION PROCESS:
Submit a cover letter and resume to:

National Director
JACL National Headquarters
1765 Sutter Street
San Francisco, CA 94115-3297
(415) 921-5225

Classified Ads

4—Business Opportunities

TRUCKING BUSINESS located in beautiful Tulsa OK. Owner retiring. Business includes 7 late model dump trucks, looks like new & in excellent condition. Includes: 1 acre industrial lot, office, workshop, spare parts equipment. Potential payout in less than 2 years. A great business investment.
(918) 446-3283

U.S.
2 GIFT/TREND STORES
Well established. Major regional mall or good street location. $377,000 & $52,000 or both at $320,000 obo. Portland, OR.
(503) 625-5395.

FOR SALE: 5000 colonies of honey bees in the Pacific Northwest. All related equipment for management, pollenization and honey locations. Will consider lease or purchase all or part. Contact: Joe Holt Honey Co, Joe Holt Sr (509) 943-5932. Or mail: 2095 Kingston Rd, Richland, Washington 99352.

HAWAII
By Owner Due To Health
Welding & heavy metal equipment repair. Must sell very profitable business in sunny Hawaii. Established clientele. Shop equipment, supplies, inventory & 1st class mobile rig. $175,000 complete. Call (808) 329-6960; (808) 325-5508 eve. Or write Box 455, Kailua Kona, Hawaii 96745.

B.C. CANADA
EXCELLENT FAMILY BUSINESS
Grocery store, ice cream bar, gas bar, 6 cabins, 80 site campground. Gross revenue $500,000. Located on 20 scenic acres on major highway 2 miles from Fairmont Hot Springs. Price: $400,000 plus stock. By owner, includes owners' attached 2 br home. Phone (604) 345-6631. Or write: Box 67, Fairmont Hot Springs, B.C., V0B 1L0 Canada.

B.C. CANADA
VANCOUVER ISLAND
Photo List For Sale By Owner
Established 6.5 years, just moved to brand new Strip Mall, has new state of the art printer, custom dark room etc. A loyal staff is in place. Booming area with good customer base. Excellent gross sales. Mild climate, will train.
Call (604) 339-7732.

CANADA
FURNITURE APPLIANCE RETAIL STORE B.C.
est.1947 Vancouver Island, B.C. Owners retiring form this profitable business.
• Value approx $650,000
• Will lease or sell 17,000 sq ft building
By Owner. Tel: (604) 723-5307 before 9 am after 5 pm. Or (604) 723-3922 bus. Fax: (604) 724-4222

4—Business Opportunities

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY
Large manufacturer of Sunrooms, Gazebos & Greenhouses wishes to set up manufacturers & dealers across USA & Canada. Patented CONNECTOR SYSTEM provides easy installation.
Contact: Jerry Huck
SUPREME ALUMINUM PRODUCTS INC.
12900 153 Street
Edmonton, Ab. T5V 1A9
(403) 447-1070

B.C. CANADA
Excellent Small Restaurant
Perfect family operation. Reasonable hours. Growth sales over $300,000. Asking $110,000. Growing Fraser Valley area. Call Pat Smith, (604) 826-3611. Or write: c/o Mission Realty Ltd. 7217 Park St. Mission, B.C., V2V 6A4 Canada.

ONTARIO, CANADA
Private Sale By Owner
Class A mechanic, excellent opportunity. Gas, diesel, garage. Large parking adjacent to restaurant & motel. Wolf Ojibway Truck Stop, Hwy 69 N of Nobel.
(705) 342-5282.

MANITOBA, CANADA
Newly renovated grocery store, 1600 sq ft, new gas pumps & tanks, long term gas sales contract, lotto 649, videos, bus. agency & postal agency. Annual sales, $750,000. Includes rental house + vacant commercial property w/great development potential, located 120 miles NW of Winnipeg, 2 miles from recreational beach on Lake Manitoba. Local economy: cattle ranching, farming, mining, fishing & recreational skiing. Will train. Suitable family business. Modern 1100 sq ft house attached to store. For further info: Silver Ridge Service, General Delivery, Silver Ridge, Manitoba R0H 1M0.
Call (204) 767-2140.

National Business & Professional Directory

Your business card in each issue for 25 issues is $15 per line, three-line minimum. Larger type (12 pt.) counts as two lines. Logo same as line rate as required.

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4—Business Opportunities

ONTARIO, CANADA

ENTERTAINMENT CENTER!

Thriving business building & largest entertainment center in Central Ontario. Just outside Peterborough. $1,000,000 in sales. Offered at thousands below appraised value. $950,000. Blake Shaffer, (416) 270-8840 or (416) 587-8091. Re/Max Professionals Inc.

B.C. CANADA

Steel Barge 36 ft x 120 ft x 12 ft including 20 man camp, light plants, water tank and fuel tank. Good condition and ready to sail. New paint job and steel work done to hull in 1987 (work records available on request). Asking price $198,000. Excellent for camp barge or fishing camp. Phone (504) 580-2781.

NOVA SCOTIA, CANADA

Business in N.S., small fiberglass boat manufacturing plant, consisting of 7 commercial/pleasure boat molds, 2 sailboat molds, buildings and equipment. House on 3 acres with river frontage, cottage with 2 acres on Northumberland Strait.

(902) 657-3045.

(Beautiful B.C. Canada

RECESSION PROOF

Bakery for sale in B.C. Top equipment, gross sales 1 million. Excellent for family operation, recession proof, over 10 years in business. Sale price $580,000 + stock or 50% partnership. Could be manager, PR & marketing. Phone: (604) 825-4381 ask for Hans.

B.C. CANADA

Thriving well established wholesale bakery in beautiful Victoria BC is for sale. This is the largest producing wholesale bakery on the island. This ideal family business specializes in bread & roll production. Excellent potential for expanding product line. Bakery is well equipped for high volume production at low cost. Sales exceed $1.2 million with strong return on investment + owners wages. Asking $600,000. Serious enquiries may contact:

Larry Roscoe
524B Culduthel Rd.
Victoria BC V8Z 1G1.
Phone: (604) 382-1717.

ONTARIO, CANADA

Marine & small engine business (growing) 2500 sq ft. 2 1/2 bay shop, showroom, office, fenced in compound, excellent location in Niagara's newest marine tourist area. Attractively priced. By owner.

(416) 874-3979 after 5

ONTARIO, CANADA

By Owner

Floating Restaurant, close to Toronto, lic, seats 200, asking $285,000. Room for expansion, banquets etc. Call Zack.

(416) 372-1164.

ONTARIO, CANADA

DELI- bakery, retail, with a reputation of providing unique quality baked goods,w-in cooler & freezer. Gross income $125,000. Owner retiring. Further info:

(519) 942-1710, (519) 942-1877.

AQUACULTURE opportunity. In business 4 years. Atlantic salmons. Maritime provinces. Looking for financial partner. Excellent growth potential with high returns. (506) 458-0823. P.O. Box 134, Fredericton, N.B., E3B 4Y2 Canada.

ONTARIO, CANADA

Attn Investors

MARINA for lease or for sale, by owner. May 1st 1991, location Georgian Bay, Penetanguishene, new docking facilities, new work shop.

(705) 739-0000.

CANADA

Well established video store for sale in Watrous, Sask. Growing business since 1984, ideal location in downtown mall. For more information phone (306) 946-2727 after 1 pm, Tuesday - Saturday. Or write: Owner, Box 937, Watrous, Sask., S0K 4T0 Canada.

ALBERTA, CANADA

Laundromat in city of 11,000 people. Maytag washers and dryers; drop off laundry; also has Sears catalogue outlet. Excellent family business. Private sale, will train. Phone (403) 948-5252 or write: Ron Schnell, Box 5222, Airdrie, Alta. T4B 2R3.

B.C. CANADA

By Owner

WOODCUTTER INN

$195,000 free hold, 50 seat licensed restaurant built of log and cedar with excellent owner accommodation, fully equipped, good location near Shuswap Lake, interior B.C. $100,000 assumable mortgage to qualified purchaser. Owner will accept residential real estate or motor home in trade. (604) 675-2671.

ONTARIO, CANADA

Plastic Mfg. 2- 200 ton injection moulding machines + auxiliary equipment, 4000 sq ft building, also available for sale, excellent location, serious enquiries only.

(519) 682-3150

CANADA

By Retiring Owner

COFFEE Truck Co. in Kingston Ont. with 4 active routes. Ideal family business or will sell routes separately. Will train.

(613) 389-6064 weekdays.

ONTARIO, CANADA

A beautiful place to live; Dunnville area/Lake Erie - 1 1/2 hours from T.O. Lakeside Convenience Store/Gas Bar + 4 bdrm home & building lot; Private sale reduced $40,000. Give-away price $259,000+ stock. Negotiable. Must sell due to health. (416) 776-2718 or After 9pm (416) 776-2267.

SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA

HOTEL FOR SALE: I have inherited this hotel, and I am not interested in being in the hotel business. The bar is doing well and we also have the pool office. Offering the business well below volume. Ideal one couple operation, located 40 minutes Northeast of Regina Saskatchewan Canada. Call or write John Gammel, Phone (306) 725-5698. Owner, P.O. Box 70, Markinch, Sask., S0G 3J0 Canada.

SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA

SUCCESSFUL Central Regina, Sask. bakery, up-to-date modern equipment makes bakery easy to operate. Can do $1 million turnover if operated right. Owner wishes to retire. Will take land, equipment, grain as partial payment. Total price including stock $299,000. Owner will train. (306) 522-7804 or (306) 695-2042 after 6 PM daily.

CANADA

RESTAURANT, Chatham, New Brunswick - Chinese and Canadian food. Included are building w/restaurant on main floor, apt on 2nd floor and equipment. Very good net profit experience. Holiday Realty Ltd. Box 8, Chatham, NB E1N 3A5

Tel no: (506) 773-6418.

ALBERTA, CANADA

SMALL business for sale. Taxi, Greyhound & Pawn Shop. Autos on propane gas, good staff in place, books open to qualified buyer. Home also available. Excellent opportunity. Owner must relocate. Call (403) 627-2717, ask for George or write: Owner, P.O. Box 2205, Pincher Creek, Alta., T0K 1W0 Canada.

QUEBEC, CANADA

Marine Sales: Mercury I/O & O/B motors, Sprngbok, Princecraft boats, Mercury parts, fishing articles. Garage with indoor storage & covered outdoor storage. Store sold with stock & Mercury tools. Very good income. Owner retiring. Will train and help you get started. Located on 200' x 200' lot at 436 Hwy 101 N, Temiscaming, Quebec, J0Z 3R0, (819) 627-9545.

ONTARIO, CANADA

Private Sale

A modern designed restaurant/night-club, 90 seats + 20 patio, rent under $2,000. Lease 10 years. $10K weekly.

$295,000

(416) 283-6392.

ALBERTA, CANADA

Recession Proof!

Bicycle business in Banff, established 20 years, $205,000 + inventory obo. Private sale, will train. Call Jim (403) 762-2914 or write: P.O. Box 1116, Banff, Alta, T0L 0C0 Canada.

ONTARIO, CANADA

Convenience store also hardware store + bungalow with 5 room basement apartment (leased), earnings $72,000 net year, located main st in Wasaga Beach. $299,000 + stock including buildings.

Call owner after 6pm.
(705) 429-3082.

SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA

For Sale By Owner

Convenience store & gas bar, located on Junction of busy Saskatchewan highways in a friendly town. Excellent turnover. $295,000 includes living quarters. Will train. Telephone (306) 746-2928 or (306) 746-4596 for details. Box 322, Raymore, Sask., S0A 3J0 Canada.

B.C. CANADA

$225,000

Well established, well located, income tax preparation franchise in Cranbrook B.C. netting about $35,000 annually on a part time basis, this business is recession proof! (Higher earnings very possible with upcoming G.S.T.) Lots of time off to enjoy the local championship golf courses, world class fishing & hunting. It is a skiers paradise! With mild winters. Cranbrook has more hours of sunshine than any other B.C. city. Business shows steady growth. Ideal for owner/mgr. Training available and fully trained staff is in place. Price includes furniture & equipment. Owner motivated. Serious enquiries only!

Call (604) 489-5388 or (604) 489-5592.

5—Employment

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5—Employment

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Non-profit Japanese American senior services. Supervise all programs, including nutrition, adult daycare, residential, social service, transportation. Social Science or similar degree, experience with elderly, program dev, admin desired. FT, up to $32,445/year DOE, open until filled. Call Kimochi, Inc. (415) 931-2294.

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111 East First Street, Room 100
Los Angeles, CA 90012
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Box 429101,

Cincinnati, Ohio 45242

9—Real Estate

GRANADA HILLS, CA

By Owner

Cash or Owner May Carry.

3+2, family room, fireplace, beams, near schools, freeways, shops, country club (golf) beautiful neighborhood corner of cul de sac. Reduced to $286,000 or trade for home in W. Redding. Call! Ask for Mama at (916) 221-0528 or leave message.

VAN NUYS, CA

Large Family Home

3000 sq. ? Br, 3 Ba, office, formal dining room, large den, large living room w/fireplace, cathedral ceilings, pool, 2 car garage, circular driveway, 1/2 acre corner lot. $325,000 or lease $2,600. By owner.

(805) 373-1254.

FRESNO, CA

E. Reedley Navalencia area, adobe brick, 3 Br, 5.26 level acres, 2 good wells, trees, barn with outbuildings, 30 miles to Sequoias, great for horses. TERMS $95,000 By owner (209) 332-2190 or (209) 332-2191

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235 acres grass seed, row crop or mint farm, located near the Willamette River in North Albany. Also has several excellent building sites. Property borders Spring Hill Golf Course. $500,000. By owner.

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TEXAS PROPERTY

Invest in Texas 20 acres in downtown Austin City, capital of Texas. Ready for any development residential &/or commercial. Priced at $14,000 per acre neg.

Phone owner.
Larry (403) 452-7636.

9—Real Estate

ONTARIO, CANADA

By Owner

St. Catharines, North end, 18 unit apartment building with house on 1 1/2 acre, $1.5 million. 4 acres commercial land with gas station on Lakeshore Rd. Niagara On The Lake, prime locations, well maintained, ask $350,000. (416) 937-5606.

CANADA

CAMPBELL River, B.C. Salmon Capital of the world. 25 strata townhouses. Buy together or separately from $43,900. Rents $500-$650. 100% rented. Management available. Call Sean Moore

(604) 980-0321 or (604) 986-3422.

B.C. CANADA

Located in Sportsman's paradise. Fantastic hunting, fishing, camping, hiking & skiing at your doorstep. 38 bay trailer court with town services, u/g wiring, cable & natural gas. Gross receipts $78,000 annually. Asking $360,000. (604) 845-3648 or (604) 845-2057 (24 Hrs).

CANADA

Montreal Quebec

A 8 plex building, Montreal, near McGill University. Renovated 1986, income $64,800. Price $595,000. Ideal for resident owner. Private. (514) 849-8276, fax (514) 848-1137. Mr. Andre Stabily, 3434 Ste. Samille, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 2K6 Canada.

B.C. CANADA

Kootenay Lake - lake front property, 20 mi NE of Nelson, BC. Large ku home on 83 acre, sandy beach, 4 BR, 2 1/2 baths, hottub, sauna, wine cellar, built-in vac, sec alarm, private decks includes all furniture, appls & 14' motorboat. Good fishing, skiing, 1 mi to golf course, 8 mi to hotsprings. Great location for Bed/Breakfast business. Asking $375,000. By owner, (403) 253-5170.

ONTARIO, CANADA

Attn Investors

OTTAWA, retail commercial property, 3/4 of a city block, near downtown. Multi-tenancies include 16 retail stores, 15 apts, 3 offices, 375 ft. street frontage, 41 parking spaces, net leases with escalation. Rare opportunity, price $7,950,000. Private Sale. Call (613) 232-0561

CANADA

Alberta: Wildhaven Farm, quarter, hay, birds, woodlots, swimming/fishing ponds, tennis, retrofitted. Near Cypress Hills. $200,000 By owner. Call (403) 527-0582. Or write, Box 914 Medicine Hat, Alta., T1A 7G8 Canada.

ALBERTA, CANADA

COMMERCIAL BUILDING
BLUE CHIP TENANT

Excellent opportunity for long term investment in a commercial property. Triple net lease with a successful chain store. Secondary financing available. Cap rate 10.5%. Asking price, $475,000. Located in town of Ponoka, Private sale. For details call Bob Stephen, (403) 255-7635.

B.C. CANADA

House for lease/sale. 20 minutes from Vancouver in the center of a golf course. Bright clean, fresh executive 3 bedroom, office and den home. Enjoy the sight of swans, geese and other water fowl in the pond near by. Phone (604) 263-4356 after 6 pm or (604) 876-9922. Fax (604) 876-4922.

B.C. CANADA

Attn Investors

KELOWNA
YUPPIE
RESIDENTIAL

Have received 4th and final reading along with preliminary layout approval on 200 view lots. Need development partner(s), total project $4 million (can be staged). Real people only, no tire kickers.

Contact

TIM RYAN
(306) 241-7484
Real estate agents welcome
no time wasters.

CANADA

WHISTLER BC

Ski in/out lofted 1 bdrm condo at base of new quad-share. Full rental & mgmt. $119K. Next to Chateau. Fabulous deal. (416) 223-5666 Pp.

INVEST IN ALBERTA
Residential Industrial Commercial
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OKOTOKS
Crystalaire Group (403) 938-6100
Fax (403) 938-2940
Okotoks, Alta T0L 1T0 Canada

11—Roommate Wanted

REDONDO BEACH, CA

Seek responsible professional to share house. Must be neat, non-smoker. No pets. 3 blocks from South Redondo Beach. $425.

Call nights,
(213) 373-3565.

12—Travel

"Adventures of Kauai"

A video tour of the most beautiful paradise in the world, Hawaii's Garden Isle! Lush splendor, panoramic views and gorgeous beaches. Fantastic, fully narrated, and with music in Dolby sound. Money back guarantee! Send $29.00 to Paradise Aloha, P.O. Box 821, Lawai, HI 96765.

EDITOR

We are looking for a hands-on editor for a Los Angeles-based weekly newspaper with a readership of 72,000 throughout the United States. The candidate should have:

- Experience with a Macintosh desktop computer and Editron (text entry, editing terminal for Merganthaler's CRTronic phototypesetter).
- Experience in the field of print journalism.
- Degree in print journalism preferred.
- Possess interpersonal skills to work with editorial staff.

The editor will be administrator of staff and will report directly to the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Salary commensurate with experience. Range: $22,000 - 37,000.

Send resume and samples of prior work to:

Lillian Kimura, Chairperson, c/o National YWCA,
726 Broadway, 5th Fl., New York, NY 10003.

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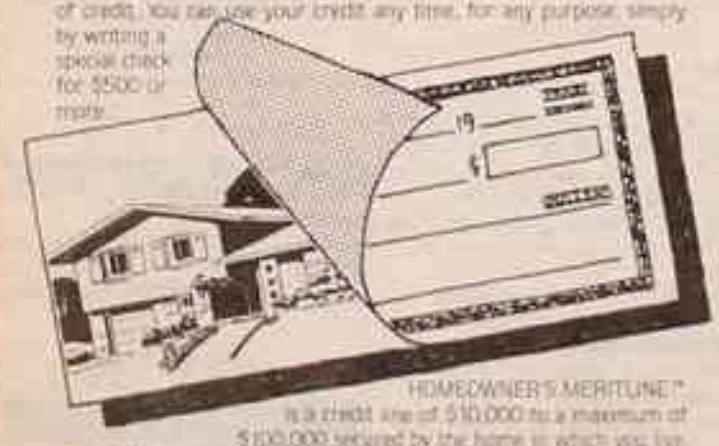
Redress Information

The Sumitomo Bank of California would like to congratulate the Japanese American Community and the JACL on its Redress accomplishment.

As a public service, JACL Fact Sheets on Redress payment information are available at any branch office of Sumitomo Bank.

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Church Summit to Probe 'Environmental Racism'

NEW YORK — The United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, will convene its first National Minority Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, D.C. in October, 1991, to probe "environmental racism" that minorities, despite being disproportionately affected by pollution and hazardous wastes, have long been locked out of the policy debate.

Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis, the Commission's executive director who first coined the term "environmental racism," said "the environment is too important to be left to just environmentalists. The evidence clearly shows that African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and native Americans who are disproportionately living with toxic pollution in their back yards"

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Calif. DMV Cancellation of 'Dago'/'Wop' Plates Upheld

SACRAMENTO — Motor vehicle license plates displaying the terms *dago* or *wop* have derogatory and offensive connotations and may be cancelled by the California DMV, according to decisions from the State's Office of Administrative Hearings.

Judges in Sacramento, Los Angeles and San Francisco independently concluded that the use of *dago* or *wop* in license plate configurations was offensive to good taste and decency, thus affirming DMV's decision in July to recall 333 of these plates.

The DMV has now adopted 24 decisions from hearings held in August and September and was expected to receive another 16 decisions.

A Bitter Reminder

In their decisions, the judges generally conceded that some Italian-Americans found nothing offensive with the terms. However, one judge concluded that to others the use of the term *dago* was a bitter reminder of discrimination, insults and offense, all based solely upon their ethnicity.

Another stated that there appeared no question that *wop* is generally considered offensive, disparaging, hostile, insulting and demeaning.

It was also found that a significant number of persons of non-Italian ancestry viewed the words *dago* and *wop* as offensive. These persons hoped to see the end of the use of "all such disparaging terms that identify groups of people by their ethnicity or race."

A license plate is not a "forum open to limitless expression," but an official vehicle identification mechanism which carries with it "the explicit representation of State approval of its contents," according to a finding of fact made by one of the judges.

In The Pacific Citizen 45 Years Ago

CHICAGO—Three Nisei students were listed among the major winners of Chicago Herald American's "Better Chicago Contest" and will share in the $12,500 offered by the Hearst paper. They are George Matsumoto of Birmingham, Mich., Beatrice Takeuchi of Chicago and Kazumi Adachi of New York.

* * *

SPOKANE—The Quest club of Spokane will have Tomio Terao and his Rhythmaires provide the music for the Christmas Eve dance.

* * *

DENVER—Dr. Takashi Mayeda will head local JACL chapter. His cabinet will include Min Yasui, Yoshiko Ariki, Mits Kaneko, Haruko Kobayashi, Michi Ando and Jack Noda.

* * *

This being the 1945 Pacific Citizen Holiday Issue, a large number of individuals, firms and organizations sent holiday greetings to their many friends. Among the writers and artists contributing to the Christmas issue were Saburo Kido, Dillon S. Myer, Jobo Nakamura, Elmer Smith, Estelle Ishigo, Bill Hosokawa, Molly Oyama and a host of other talented and knowledgeable individuals.

Rep. Matsui to Speak at Seattle JACL Inaugural

SEATTLE — The 69th annual Seattle JACL Installation Banquet will be held in the SeaTac Marriott Hotel on Saturday, Jan. 26. Rep. Robert T. Matsui will be the keynote speaker. The social hour will commence at 5 p.m. with dinner at 6 p.m.

Tickets are $30 per person. In order to reserve your place, send payment by Dec. 29 and be sure to indicate the meal preference, prime rib or Cornish game hen.

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Masao Okanishi, 69

LOS ANGELES—Mr. Okanishi of Los Angeles passed away on Wednesday, Dec. 5, at Kaiser Foundation Hospital. Funeral services were held Dec. 11 at St. Mary's Episcopal Church under direction of Fukui Mortuary. The San Francisco-born Nisei is survived by his wife Yoneko; son Joseph; brother Hideo (Emiko) Okanishi; sisters Ruth Ishihara, Kimiko (Arnold Tadao) Maeda, and Natsuko (Yoshio) Akiyama; brother-in-law Masato (Mitsuko) Uyeno and Matsutaro (Rose) Uyeno; sister-in-law Masako Nishida; many nephews and nieces.

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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 through this special section. The amount of the cost involved in mailing out cards is contributed to this JACL/PC project which then turns over this amount as a contribution (less the $20 for a Unit-Space on this page) to the JACL Abe & Esther Hagiwara Student Aid Fund or some other JACL/PC fund to be designated by the contributor . . . If you wish to join them here next year, let us. We shall remind you by the first of November.

Pacific Citizen: Advertising Dept.

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