

CULTURAL ORIGINS OF THE KAMIKAZE SPECIAL  
ATTACK CORPS AND THE 442ND REGIMENTAL  
COMBAT TEAM DURING WORLD WAR II:  
A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE JAPANESE  
SOLDIERS RAISED IN JAPAN AND THE NISEI  
SOLDIERS RAISED IN AMERICA

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## GLOSSARY

*Bushido*. “Code of the Samurai”; the way of the warrior.

*chukun aikoku*. Loyalty to the sovereign, love of nation.

*Fukoku Kyohei*. Enrich the country, strengthen the military.

*gaimentaki doka*. Superficial assimilation.

*gaman*. Endurance; suppression of anger and emotion.

*Goshinei*. Portraits of the emperor.

*Gunjin Chokuyu*. Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors.

*Gunshin*. War-god or divine soldier.

*Gyokusai*. Honorable suicide; banzai charge.

*haji*. Shame.

Hawaii Kyoikukai. Japanese Education Association of Hawaii.

*Ichioku Gyokusai*. Literally “one hundred million shattering like a jewel”; “One Hundred Million [Japanese] for Honorable Suicide”

*Ichioku Tokko*. “One Hundred Million [Japanese] as a Special Attack Force”

*ie*. Family/household system.

*imonbukuro*. Comfort bags; bags packed with necessities such as soaps and preserved food sent to soldiers in the battle lines.

*inu*. “dog” or “spy”

Issei. First-generation Japanese immigrants.

*jinchu hokoku*. To demonstrate utmost loyalty in service for the country.

*Kamikaze*. “Divine Wind”

Kibei. Japanese Americans who were educated in Japan and then returned to America.

*Kimigayo*. His Majesty's Reign; Japanese national anthem.

*Kokka Shinto*. State Shinto.

*Kokutai no Hongi*. "Fundamentals of Our National Polity"

*Kokutai*. National essence/polity.

*Kyoiku Chokugo*. Imperial Rescript on Education.

*Meiji no Seishin*. Meiji spirit—emphasis on strengthening national power for self-sustaining.

Nihonjin Kyoikukai. Japanese Education Association of America.

*Nihonjin-kai*. Japanese Associations.

*Nippon Seishin*. Japanese spirit.

*Nippon Seishin*. Japanese spirit.

Nisei. Second-generation Japanese Americans who were U.S. citizens by birth; children of the Issei.

*Sakura*. Cherry blossoms.

Sansei. Third-generation Japanese Americans; children of the Nisei.

*Senjinkun*. "Field Service Code" or "Instructions for the Battlefield"

*Senninbari*. Literally, "a thousand-person-stitch"; a Japanese waist band charm created to protect a soldier in the battle.

*Shashin Shuho*. Photographic Weekly.

*Shimpu*. "Divine Wind"

*Shinto*. "The way of the gods"; ancestral worship.

*Shushin*. Moral education; ethics.

*Sonno joi*. "Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians"

*Uchite shi yamamu*. "Smite till death! Or, I will destroy once and for all"

*Yamato Damashii*. Soul of Japan; unchanged loyalty.

*Yokaren*. Japanese Naval Preparatory Flight Training Program.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### *Statement of Problem*

Historians face an extraordinary challenge when attempting to compare and contrast the origins of completely different units during World War II, namely the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps and the 422nd Regimental Combat Team. While the former served Japan, the latter served the United States. Superficially, they had not many in common except their origin; however, they had similar wartime mentality largely due to their similarities in cultural values.

Mobilizing all resources of the nation to destroy the enemy's ability to engage in the war, World War II was the most severe and devastating war in the history of mankind. It produced tremendous numbers of casualties and injured millions of people both physically and psychologically. Between 1939 and 1945, the Allies and Axis Powers fought scores of battles in the Pacific as well as in European theaters. Although the Japanese appeared determined to fight to the last drop of their blood, Hirohito's surrender speech after atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended the war quickly in August 1945.

Motivated by nationalistic fervor, there were many young brave soldiers all over the world who fought for their country at all costs. In Japan, the wartime hysteria and the

desperation of the military to come up with a strategy that could stop the advance of the Allied Powers created the extraordinary suicide squad, known as Kamikaze, as an ultimate defensive weapon. In the United States, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT), an all-Nisei (二世, second-generation Japanese American) military unit, was created as the only way for Nisei to demonstrate their loyalty and show their American patriotism.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Kamikazes and the 442nd RCT had their own distinct motives, these young soldiers had numbers of similarities, not to mention the fact that they either sacrificed or risked their lives for their countries without hesitation. Not all praised their bravery and courage nor understood their determination. There were many untold stories regarding their struggles as human beings. Influenced by Japanese cultural tradition, both the Kamikaze pilots and the 442nd RCT volunteered for the dangerous and fatal missions to save their families and comrades as well as to show their patriotism.

Rather than focusing on the military or political achievements of these youth, I would like to examine the significance of Japanese cultural values on the emergence of the Kamikaze forces and the 442nd RCT,<sup>2</sup> especially the way of the warrior, commonly

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<sup>1</sup> The 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT) was an all-Japanese American segregated unit consisted of Nisei volunteers from Hawaii and the mainland United States. Before the formation of the 442nd RCT, the 100th Infantry Battalion, a battalion of Nisei volunteers in Hawaii, was formed in May 1942. In January 1943, the United States War Department announced the formation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. In June 1944, the 442nd RCT joined forces with the 100th Infantry Battalion in Europe and incorporated the battalion into the 442nd RCT. According to the Go For Broke National Education Center, the 442nd RCT eventually included the 2nd, 3rd, and 100th Battalions; the 522nd Field Artillery Battalion; the 232nd Combat Engineer Company, the 206th Army Ground Force Band, Antitank Company, Canon Company, Service Company, medical detachment, headquarters companies. Instead of listing all units, I mostly use the term 442nd RCT referring to Nisei volunteers.

<sup>2</sup> Jere Takahashi, *Nisei/Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997); David Yoo, *Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture Among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–49* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Michael L. Cooper, *Fighting for Honor: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York:

known as the “*Bushido*” 武士道 (“Code of Samurai”), which taught surrender as dishonorable played an important role in shaping the youth’s mentality. Although they grew up in different countries, different societies, and different environments, they were raised by Japanese parents of the Meiji period; both Kamikazes and Nisei soldiers kept the Japanese discipline. They strongly believed that surrender would bring shame and dishonor to them and their families. Finding loyalty in obedience and submission rather than in protest, they called for the creation of the unique volunteer units. Self-sacrifice, to their eyes, was a way of demonstrating loyalty. In addition, Confucianism that taught filial piety was as important as *Bushido* in preparing the youth for the worst. This study, rather than focusing on the history of warfare or political and military significance of Kamikazes and 442nd RCT, examines the cultural influences on the formation of voluntary units that exposed their soldiers to greater dangers than ordinary missions.

### ***The Historiographical Context***

#### **Kamikaze Special Attack Corps**

In general, for fifty years after World War II, Japanese scholars tended to avoid writing on the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps or the leading figures in the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) and Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), partly because of the censorship imposed on the Japanese press during the Allied occupation of Japan. Even after the end of the occupation, most Japanese scholars stayed away from themes that could possibly stimulate the resurgence of aggressive Japanese militarism or anti-Western sentiment.

Especially, the Kamikazes, enshrined as “*gunshin*” 軍神 (war-god or divine soldier), were

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Clarion Books, 2000); Japanese American Citizens League, *Special National Board Meeting, JACL, March 8–10, 1942, Minutes* (1942; repr., Southern California JACL Office, 1971).

the strong symbol of Japanese military tradition.

Indeed, the initial publications on the Kamikaze either revealed the wartime education and terrible condition that gave rise to unprecedented suicide mission or portrayed the Kamikaze pilots as if they were “ideal Japanese” who loyally sacrificed their lives for the nation. Referring to the writings of seventy-five student soldiers including diaries and last letters, *Kike wadatsumi no koe* (Listen to the Voices from the Sea) published by Japan Memorial Society for the Students Killed in the War in 1949 disclosed that many student soldiers consisting of the elite university students were against the war, but they decided to sacrifice their lives for the public good.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, records on the Kamikaze reported by former military officers who involved in suicide attacks emphasized that such attacks were voluntary. These publications aimed at the evasion of military leaders’ responsibility by beautifying the voluntary death. Six years after the end of World War II, Captain Inoguchi Rikihei, a senior staff officer of the First Air Fleet, wrote the first literature on Kamikaze corps with Commander Nakajima Tadashi, a flight operations officer of the 201st Air Group. In their *Taiheiyo senki: Kamikaze tokubetsu kogekitai* [Record of the Pacific War: Kamikaze Special Attack Corps] (1951), Inoguchi and Nakajima intensively described the emergence of Kamikaze corps through examining the social norms during the war years.<sup>4</sup> Translated into English with the title *The Divine Wind: Japan’s Kamikaze Force in World War II* (1958), it was the first account of the Kamikaze Corps published in the West.<sup>5</sup> Inoguchi Rikihei, a

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<sup>3</sup> Nihon Senbatsu Gakusei Shuki Henshu Inkaei, comp., *Kike wadatsumi no koe: Nihon senbatsu gakusei no shuki* [Listen to the Voices from the Sea: Writings of the Fallen Japanese Students] (Tokyo: Todai Kyodo Kumiai Shuppanbu, 1949).

<sup>4</sup> Rikihei Inoguchi and Tadashi Nakajima, *Taiheiyo Senki: Kamikaze Tokubetsu Kogekitai* [Record of the Pacific War: Kamikaze Special Attack Corps] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 1951).

<sup>5</sup> Rikihei Inoguchi, Tadashi Nakajima, and Roger Pineau. *The Divine Wind: Japan’s*



younger brother of Inoguchi Toshihira who was the Commander of the battleship *Musashi* 武蔵, named the first special attack corps *Shimpu* 神風 (Divine Wind).<sup>6</sup>

Some works on the Kamikaze Corps published in the United States mainly focused on the military significance of Kamikaze attacks. In general, scholars tended to view the Kamikaze pilots as a type of bizarre weapon, not as human beings. In fact, the Kamikaze attack was statistically not an effective military strategy regarding the great loss of the young lives and valuable aircraft; however, it created great fear, psychologically affecting the American soldiers.<sup>7</sup> Theodore Roscoe's *United States Destroyer Operations in World War II* (1953) provided a technical specification of Japanese *Oka* 桜花 (literally "cherry blossom"—a rocket propelled one-man guided missile or a glider loaded with bomb) and the operations and results of Kamikaze missions.<sup>8</sup> Most accounts on World War II briefly mentioned the Kamikaze as a human weapon or a human bomb.<sup>9</sup>

Delmer M. Brown's *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (1955) surveyed the emergence of Japan's nationalism through examining the roles played by Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Brown paid attention to the "historical

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*Kamikaze Force in World War II* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1958).

<sup>6</sup> Inoguchi and Nakajima, *The Divine Wind*, 12.

<sup>7</sup> From October 1944 to the end of the Battle of Okinawa, 2,550 Kamikaze attacks were carried out, of which only 475 (18.6%) were "effective in securing hits or damaging near misses," according to United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *Summary Report (Pacific War)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 10.

<sup>8</sup> Theodore Roscoe, *United States Destroyer Operations in World War II* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1953).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*; Richard O'Neill, *Suicide Squads: Axis and Allied Special Attack Weapons of World War II: Their Development and Their Missions* (London: Salamander Books, 1981); Gordon W. Prange, Donald M. Goldstein, and Katherine V. Dillon, *God's Samurai: Lead Pilot at Pearl Harbor* (Washington: Brassey's, 1990); Yasuo Kuwahara and Gordon T. Allred, *Kamikaze: A Japanese Pilot's Own Spectacular Story of the Infamous Suicide Squadrons* (Clearfield: American Legacy Media, 2007).

sequence of events bearing on the development of Japanese nationalism.”<sup>10</sup> Published in 1956 by Okumiya Masatake and Horikoshi Jiro, *Zero!* introduced the story of men in Japan’s air force who created, led, and fought in the Zero fighter plane. Okumiya who was the leader of many Zero squadrons and Horikoshi who was the designer of the Zero told the inside story of the development of the Zero fighter and Japan’s air force.<sup>11</sup>

Providing a new approach to the study, a British author Ivan I. Morris’s *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (1975) was probably the first account by a Westerner that described the Kamikazes in a positive tone. Morris argued that Japanese morality motivated the Kamikaze pilots to give their lives in defense of their “Divine Country,” to which they were indebted. They had a sense of duty to repay their country for the benefit of being Japanese.<sup>12</sup> Paying attention to the Japanese cultural tradition, Morris attempted to explore the motivation of young boys to volunteer for a mission of inevitable death.

In *The Kamikazes: Suicide Squadrons of World War II* (1983), Edwin P. Hoyt wrote a powerful portrait of brave and loyal Kamikaze pilots from a view sympathetic to the Japanese cause.<sup>13</sup> Writing more than 150 books, Hoyt was an independent historian who had written on military history, particularly World War II. Giving weight to the Japanese perspective, some of his prominent works on the study of Japan include *Japan’s War: The Great Pacific Conflict, 1853–1952* (1986), *Yamamoto: The Man Who Planned*

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<sup>10</sup> Delmar M. Brown, *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955); Reviewed by Kazuo Kawai in *The American Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (July 1955): 901–902.

<sup>11</sup> Masatake Okumiya, and Jiro Horikoshi, *Zero!* (New York: Dutton, 1956).

<sup>12</sup> Ivan I. Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975).

<sup>13</sup> Edwin P. Hoyt, *The Kamikazes: Suicide Squadrons of World War II* (New York: Arbor House, 1983).

*Pearl Harbor* (1990), *Hirohito: The Emperor and the Man* (1991), *Iwo Jima* (1992), and *The Last Kamikaze: The Story of Admiral Matome Ugaki* (1993).<sup>14</sup>

Morimoto Tadao's 1992 publication, *Tokko: gaido no tosotsu to ningen no joken* (Special Attacks: Heretical Command and Human Condition) explored the pilots' state of mind for volunteering the mission of "inevitable death" along with the Japanese military's inhumanity. Morimoto, a former naval aviator who collected materials on the Kamikaze and participants after the war, offered a comprehensive view on the Kamikaze. Morimoto tried to examine the reason why such an organized suicide attack was created. While Morimoto objectively delineated the ineffectiveness of the Kamikaze as a war strategy rather than sentimentally, he condemned the commanders who glorified the Kamikaze attack in order to deny their responsibility of directing the young boys to death.<sup>15</sup> Originally published in French, Maurice Pinguet's *Voluntary Death in Japan* (1993) reconstructed the Japanese tradition of voluntary death and related it to other aspects of Japanese society and culture.<sup>16</sup> Pinguet, a professor of French Literature at University of Tokyo, argued that the voluntary death of Japanese *samurai* and others constituted an "honorable expression of autonomous self worth and mature control of one's own destiny."<sup>17</sup>

Since 2000, a number of accounts of Kamikazes Special Attack Corps written by the actual Kamikaze survivors came out in print. Especially, after the shocking

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<sup>14</sup> Edwin Palmer Hoyt, *Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict, 1853 to 1952* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1986); idem, *Yamamoto: The Man Who Planned Pearl Harbor* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990); idem, *Hirohito: The Emperor and the Man* (New York: Praeger, 1991); idem, *Iwo Jima* (New York: Avon Books, 1992); idem, *The Last Kamikaze: The Story of Admiral Matome Ugaki* (Westport: Praeger, 1993).

<sup>15</sup> Tadao Morimoto, *Tokko: gedo no tosotsu to ningen no joken* [Special Attacks: Heretical command and human condition] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> Maurice Pinguet, *Voluntary Death in Japan* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

<sup>17</sup> Review by Conrad Totman, *Journal of Social History* 27, no.3 (Spring 1994): 651–652.

September 11 attacks, scholars and journalists sought to find similarity between two groups that attacked America within American soil. Published by a scenario writer Susaki Katsuya who was a former student cadet, *Kamikaze no shinjitsu* (The truth of Kamikaze) reminisced about nearly thirty reserve officers and student soldiers from prestigious universities. Looking back his comrades' perception of death, Susaki argued that the Kamikaze pilots were different from the radical Islamic terrorists. Susaki emphasized that radical Islam were fanatical about dying a martyr for their faith, meanwhile the student soldiers understood the preciousness of life but chose to sacrifice their lives to fulfill their duties as respectable students.<sup>18</sup> Written by a former Kamikaze pilot whose war ended as a prisoner, Suzuki Kanji's autobiography, *Tokko kara no seikan* (Survival from the Special Attack) published in 2005 drew attention to the Kamikaze pilots' perspectives. His autobiography supported the idea that many members of naval air force volunteered for the suicide attack and the appointment was not based on coercion. Meanwhile, Suzuki pointed out that some Kamikazes were happy to be released from the strict discipline of the Navy as well as the depression caused by the extended standby period for death.<sup>19</sup>

First published in 2005, a nonfiction writer Hosaka Masayasu denounced the previous scholars and journalist who interpreted the Kamikazes as heroic beings or dying in vain. In *Tokko to Nihonjin* (Special Attack and Japanese People), seeking to reveal the facts that have been withheld, Hosaka demonstrated how the Kamikazes came to accept their fate—inevitable death. Introducing the unpublished Kamikaze diaries, Hosaka

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<sup>18</sup> Katsuya Susaki, *Kamikaze no shinjitsu: Tokkotai wa tero dewa nai* [The truth of the Kamikaze: Special Attack Corps are different from terrorism] (Tokyo: Kojinsha, 2004), 7–21.

<sup>19</sup> Kanji Suzuki, *Tokko kara no seikan* [Survival from the Special Attack] (Tokyo: Kojinsha, 2005), 205. As the Kamikazes, Suzuki and his comrades hit the U.S. aircraft carrier and he survived.

illustrated how the Kamikazes came to look forward to the day of their sortie toward the end of the war. In addition, Hosaka criticized the military officers who authorized the suicide attack as well as Hirohito who did not stop such an outrageous mission.<sup>20</sup>

Published in 2006, *Tokko: saigo no shogen* (Special Attack Corps: the last statements) introduced eight Japanese soldiers—including Kamikaze pilots and student soldiers—who volunteered for the suicide mission but somehow survived due to several reasons. Presenting the survivors' insight, it aimed at the general public to understand the truths of the suicide attack.<sup>21</sup> The survivors' statements confirmed that their attacks were not an order, but they prepared for their final attacks for the benefit of their community.

More recently, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's *Kamikaze Diaries: Reflections of Japanese Student Soldiers* (2006) vividly presents diaries left by young Kamikazes who sacrificed their lives. The author challenges the traditional interpretation that Kamikazes were fanatics who willingly died for the emperor. According to Ohnuki-Tierney, significant numbers of Kamikazes were university students who were drafted and forced to volunteer for the mission; diaries written by them expressed their anguish, fear, ambivalence toward the war as well as opposition to Japan's imperialism. Ohnuki-Tierney also discussed the role of cherry blossoms as political and military symbol in the development of cultural nationalism that gave rise to totalitarian regime.<sup>22</sup>

Complied in cooperation with the Yasukuni Shrine that has enshrined the war dead and war criminals, Hara Katsuhiro's *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho*

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<sup>20</sup> Masayasu Hosaka, "*Tokko*" to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2005).

<sup>21</sup> "Tokko saigo no shogen" Seisaku Inkaï, comp., *Tokko: saigo no shogen* [Special Attack Corps: the last statements] (Tokyo: Asupekuto, 2006), 4–5.

<sup>22</sup> Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze Diaries: Reflections of Japanese Student Soldiers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

(Requiem: Last letters of Special Attack Corps [2007]) presented about eighty Kamikaze's portraits, wills, letters and writings left by the deceased exhibited or preserved at the Yasukuni Shrine's museum.<sup>23</sup> Inserting eighty pages of graphics, Hara sought to revive the determination of Kamikazes and what they wanted the survivors of the war to know. In addition, detailed in sortie records, names of the members, military results, *Chinkon* described the history of the Kamikaze special attack corps.

#### 442nd Regimental Combat Team

In general, Japanese American history has been diverse and it remains difficult to divide into schools of thought. Yet, the historiography of Japanese Americans may be briefly divided into four periods: 1870s to early 1920s; late 1910s to early 1960s; 1960s to early 1980s; and 1980s to present. According to Sucheng Chan, professional historians have started writing about the history of Japanese Americans and immigration since the fourth period.<sup>24</sup> Up until the 1920, some journalists or missionaries wrote about the Japanese civilization and their accounts had little to do with Japanese Americans. Sidney L. Gulick, a former missionary in Japan, examined the anti-Japanese sentiment in California in his *The American Japanese Problem* (1914) and advocated the termination of white racial superiority feeling. Subsequently, Gulick called for the protection of Japanese and Chinese residing in the United States in his 1918 publication entitled *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship*.<sup>25</sup> Following Gulick's pro-Japanese stance,

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<sup>23</sup> Katsuhiro Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], in cooperation with Yasukuni Shrine (Tokyo: KK Besuto Serazu, 2007).

<sup>24</sup> Sucheng Chan, "Asian American Historiography," *The Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 2 (August 1996): 363.

<sup>25</sup> Sidney L. Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem: A Study of the Racial Relations of the East and the West* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914); idem, *American Democracy and*

a Washington correspondent for the *Hochi Shimbun* (Tokyo) and Japanese propagandist Kiyoshi Karl Kawakami defended not only Japanese immigration to the United States but also Japanese expansionism in Asia. Kawakami also implied that problem of Japanese immigration could eventually lead Japan and United States into war.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, listing the Japanese contributions to the United States, Takamine Jokichi encouraged the Japanese immigration in his 1912 article.<sup>27</sup> Kiyō Sue Inui examined the Japanese immigration problems in California and traced the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 in relation to the Johnson Report in *The Unresolved Problem of the Pacific* (1925).<sup>28</sup> A professor at Stanford University, Yamato Ichihashi published the first scholarly account on the Japanese immigration to the United States entitled *Japanese in the United States* (1932) written from social and historical perspectives. In his pioneering study, Ichihashi argued that although the anti-Japanese agitators criticized Japanese as an “unassimilable” race, Japanese were indeed assimilating.<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, a great number of influential anti-Japanese publications came out in print in this period. In *The Japanese Invasion* (1917), Jesse F. Steiner analyzed how the Japanese immigration problems could psychologically affect the US-Japan relations.<sup>30</sup> Published by the leading figure of the Japanese Exclusion League of California in 1921, V. S. McClatchy’s *Japanese Immigration and Colonization* played a

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*Asiatic Citizenship* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1918).

<sup>26</sup> Kiyoshi Karl Kawakami, *The Real Japanese Question* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921); Roger Daniels, “American Historians and East Asian Immigrants,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 44, no. 4 (November 1974): 461.

<sup>27</sup> Jokichi Takamine, “The Japanese in America,” *Journal of Race Development* 2 (January 1912): 223–245.

<sup>28</sup> Kiyō Sue Inui, *The Unresolved Problem of the Pacific: A Survey of International Contacts, Especially in Frontier Communities, with Special Emphasis Upon California and an Analytic Study of the Johnson Report to the House of Representatives* (Tokyo: Japan Times, Inc., 1925).

<sup>29</sup> Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States: A Critical Study of the Problems of the Japanese Immigrants and Their Children* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932).

<sup>30</sup> Jesse F. Steiner, *The Japanese Invasion* (Chicago: A. C. McClung Company, 1917).

leading role in prevailing a greater fear and hostility toward the Japanese immigrants.<sup>31</sup> Simultaneously, comparing the Japanese in America with gophers in his 1921 article, John S. Chambers, a member of the Japanese Exclusion League and controller of the state of California showed his firm support for Japanese exclusion from California.<sup>32</sup> Afraid of “Yellow Peril,” the Japanese exclusionists producing novels and pamphlets aimed at the complete abolishment of Japanese immigration to the United States to prevent the coming of “race war.”<sup>33</sup>

During the second period, which initiated after World War I and lasted until the rise of Civil Rights movement, scholarly works on the Japanese American study came out in print mostly done by social scientists. According to Chan, sociologists examined the Asian immigration historiography by dividing into three categories: assimilation, social organization of ethnic communities, and internment of Japanese Americans.<sup>34</sup> Led by a sociologist Robert E. Park, University of Chicago initiated the study on assimilation.<sup>35</sup> Observing a farming community of Davis County, Utah from October 1954 to April 1955, Mamoru Iga concluded that maintenance of Japanese traditional culture was the cause of “mental strain” among the Japanese immigrants that hindered them from assimilating into mainstream American culture.<sup>36</sup> Then, Edward K. Strong and Reginald Bell who were Stanford University’s educational psychologists presented important analysis on the ability of Asian Americans in the 1930s. Strong and Bell found no

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<sup>31</sup> Valentine Stuart McClatchy and Japanese Exclusion League of California, *Japanese Immigration and Colonization: Skelton Brief* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921).

<sup>32</sup> John S. Chambers, “The Japanese Invasion,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 93 (January 1921): 23–29.

<sup>33</sup> Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 71.

<sup>34</sup> Chan, “Asian American Historiography,” 366.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 366–367.

<sup>36</sup> Mamoru Iga, “Japanese Social Structure and the Source of Mental Strain of Japanese Immigrants in the United States,” *Social Forces* 35 (March 1957): 271–278.



significant difference between Asian American students and European American students in terms of their general abilities. In *The Second-Generation Japanese Problem* (1934), Strong drew attention to the Nisei's educational and occupational opportunities, which tended to be affected by racial prejudice against them.<sup>37</sup> Conducting an interest-attitude test on high school students R. G. Kuhlen pointed out that Japanese and Chinese American students appeared to be under more stress than white American students because of pressure for acculturation.<sup>38</sup>

The second group consisting of social scientists and journalists examined Japanese ethnic communities in the United States. In "Immigrants and Citizens of Japanese Origin" (1942), Shotaro Frank Miyamoto explored Japanese American population, community, organizations, as well as their attitudes toward World War II.<sup>39</sup> Receiving education from the University of Chicago, Miyamoto interpreted the establishment of the Japanese communities including Japanese language schools and various social and political organizations in America as the embodiment of collective responsibility and "social solidarity."<sup>40</sup>

Another group, composed of social scientists, investigated and documented the Japanese incarcerated inside the internment camps during World War II. Social scientists hired by War Relocation Authority (WRA) as resident analysts were responsible for the analysis of whole process of Japanese American internment camps and the internees'

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<sup>37</sup> Edward K. Strong, *The Second-Generation Japanese Problem* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934); Reginald Bell, *Public School Education of Second-Generation Japanese in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935).

<sup>38</sup> R. G. Kuhlen, "The Interests and Attitudes of Japanese, Chinese and White Adolescents: A Study in Culture and Personality," *Journal of Social Psychology* 21 (1945): 121–133.

<sup>39</sup> Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, "Immigrants and Citizens of Japanese Origin," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 223 (September 1942): 107–113.

<sup>40</sup> Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle* (1939; repr., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984).

social behavior.<sup>41</sup> Studies done by the former employees of WRA such as Carey McWilliams and Morton Grodzins severely criticized the internment camps. McWilliams argued that California's anti-Japanese sentiment led to the forced evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, research conducted by the Japanese Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS) under the leadership of a sociologist Dorothy S. Thomas and others offered apologist interpretation.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile, produced just six years after the end of war, the 1951 film, *Go For Broke!* dramatized the lives and wartime experiences of the 442nd RCT. The film portrayed the 442nd RCT's hardships of field life, the reality of exceedingly high casualty rates with minimal heroics.<sup>44</sup>

During the third period beginning in the 1960, scholars rejected the so-called assimilation interpretation of Chicago School. Marxist interpreted the Asian Americans as victims of the American capitalism. In *Labor Immigration under Capitalism* (1984), Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich argued that Asian Americans, receiving lower wages than white workers, were more often exploited by the capitalist system.<sup>45</sup>

In the late 1960s, revisionist historian Roger Daniels demonstrated in *The Politics of Prejudice* (1969) that California's anti-Japanese movement was mostly based on racism. Daniels illustrated how the California Progressives who called for the liberal

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<sup>41</sup> Chan, "Asian American Historiography," 368.

<sup>42</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944); Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

<sup>43</sup> Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Salvage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952); Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard Nishimoto, *The Spoilage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Richard S. Nishimoto, and Jacobus TenBroek, *Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement: Prejudice, War, and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954).

<sup>44</sup> Robert Pirosh, Van Johnson, Lane Nakano, and Henry Nakamura, *Go For Broke!* (Culver City, CA: MGM/UA Home Video, 1991).

<sup>45</sup> Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 368–339.

reforms indeed drew the “color line.” Demonstrating that the Nisei faced the same kind of anti-Japanese sentiment, which their Issei 一世 (first-generation Japanese immigrants) parents had suffered, Daniels asserted that racism and class bias, were not a temporary phenomenon but a deeply infiltrated into American society.<sup>46</sup> In his 1971 publication, Daniels examined how the decision of evacuation and relocation of persons of Japanese ancestry was made and demonstrated that it was rooted in racial discrimination.<sup>47</sup>

From the 1970s and on, due to the emergence of social history following the civil rights movement of the previous decade, many accounts on the Japanese American history were published. Rather than viewing the Japanese Americans as a member of a group or community, scholars paid more attention to the humanity side of Japanese Americans. As a result, many autobiographies came out in print. First, a Nisei and an editor of *Denver Post* for more than forty years, Bill Hosokawa produced *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*—one of the most valuable historical studies of Japanese Americans in 1969.<sup>48</sup> Masaharu Ano’s article on *Minnesota History* entitled “Loyal Linguists: Nisei of World War II Learned Japanese in Minnesota” (1977) focused on Nisei in the Military Intelligence Service Language School at Camp Savage and Fort Snelling during World War II.<sup>49</sup> Numbers of Nisei autobiographies came out in print in the third period that included Monica Sone’s *Nisei Daughter* (1953), Daniel K. Inoue’s *Journey to Washington* (1967), and Daniel I. Okimoto’s *American in Disguise* (1971).<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, 46–64.

<sup>47</sup> Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1971).

<sup>48</sup> Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: W. Morrow, 1969).

<sup>49</sup> Masaharu Ano, “Loyal Linguists: Nisei of World War II Leaned Japanese in Minnesota,” *Minnesota History* 45 (1977): 273–287.

<sup>50</sup> Monica Itoi Sone, *Nisei Daughter* (Boston: Little Brown, 1953); Daniel Ken Inouye and Lawrence Elliot, *Journey to Washington* (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1967); Daniel I. Okimoto,

During the fourth period beginning in the 1980s, some scholars such as Sylvia Junko Yanagisako began to pay attention to the importance of family among Japanese Americans. In *Transforming the Past: Tradition and Kinship among Japanese Americans* (1985), Yanagisako, focusing on marriage, filial relations, and sibling relations, highlighted the process of cultural change.<sup>51</sup> Significantly, numbers of professional Asian American historians began to produce important historical studies since the 1980s. Utilizing the Japanese-language sources, Yuji Ichioka's monumental work *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (1988) shed light on every aspect of Japanese immigrant communities including political, ideological, social, economic, class, and gender differences.<sup>52</sup> The prominent scholar of Japanese American history, Ichioka coined the word “Asian American” in the late 1960s to replace the word such as “Oriental” and “Asiatic.”<sup>53</sup>

Since the 1980s, scholars began to pay more attention to the significant achievement of the Nisei soldiers during World War II. First published in Japan in 1983, Masayo Duus's *Buriea no kaihoshatachi* (The Liberators of Bruyeres) was the first account that thoroughly examined the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team by interviewing about 300 Nisei veterans and their families and utilizing declassified archival materials.<sup>54</sup> The tale of these famous Nisei units during World War II was translated into English and published in 1987 as *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of*

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*American in Disguise*, with a foreword by James A. Michener (New York: Walker/Weatherhill, 1971).

<sup>51</sup> Sylvia Junko Yanagisako, *Transforming the Past: Tradition and Kinship among Japanese Americans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

<sup>52</sup> Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988).

<sup>53</sup> “UCLA Prof Yuji Ichioa, The Creator of Asian America,” UCLA Asian American Studies Center, <http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/yi/default.asp> (accessed June 20, 2010).

<sup>54</sup> Masayo Duus, *Buriea no kaihoshatachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1983).

*the 100th and the 442nd.*<sup>55</sup> John Tateishi's 1984 publication, *And Justice for All* introduced stories of twenty-seven people who were incarcerated into internment camps run by the War Relocation Authority during World War II, and one of his interviewees was Bill Hosokawa.<sup>56</sup> Meanwhile, Thomas James's *Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945* (1987) described many aspects of education in the internment camps including pre-war education programs implemented by Japanese Americans themselves, the War Relocation Authority's philosophy of education, and the resettlement of Nisei college students.<sup>57</sup>

In 1990, Yuji Ichioka published "Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1941" in *California History* that explored the Issei support of and identification with Japan in the period prior to World War II.<sup>58</sup> This article provided how the Nisei's cultural identity was shaped by their Issei parents who remained loyal to Japan. Compiled by Hawaii Nikkei History Editorial Board in 1998, *Japanese Eyes, American Heart: Personal Reflections of Hawaii's World War II Nisei Soldiers* shed light on the Nisei soldiers' thoughts and feelings by exploring their letters and diaries.<sup>59</sup>

### **Research Methodology**

For examining the cultural significance of the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps, I

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<sup>55</sup> Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and the 442nd* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).

<sup>56</sup> John Tateishi, *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (New York: Random House, 1984).

<sup>57</sup> Thomas James, *Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

<sup>58</sup> Yuji Ichioka, "Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1941," *California History* 69, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 260–275.

<sup>59</sup> Hawaii Nikkei History Editorial Board, comp., *Japanese Eyes, American Heart: Personal Reflections of Hawaii's World War II Nisei Soldiers* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

mostly relied on the Japanese sources. Both published and unpublished diaries and journals written by Kamikazes were crucial to examine the motivation for volunteering suicidal mission. The Japanese military and war museums were the places where I had access to abundant materials regarding to the Kamikaze attack. For example, located within Yasukuni Shrine that enshrines the war heroes who sacrificed themselves for their country, Yushukan is Japan's oldest military and war museum established in 1882 that displays numbers of valuable documents and artifacts including Kamikaze diaries, letters, will, and photographs. Built in 1975, Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots in Japan displays not only Zero fighter planes but also about four thousand photographs, last letters, and articles by the Kamikazes. Therefore, these museums significantly helped me pursue my research. In addition, the Digital Archive of Kobe University Library that provided access to countless digitized articles and editorials of the leading Japanese newspapers such as *Asahi Shimbun*, *Nichinichi Shimbun* (later *Mainichi Shimbun*), *Hochi Shimbun*, and *Kobe Shimbun* was crucial to reflect the Japanese point of view.

Maintained by the Library of Congress and the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Chronicling America presented the digitized U.S. historic newspapers published between 1860 and 1922. From the Chronicling America's database, I obtained abundant primary sources regarding American view on Japan.

Meanwhile, the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records of the National Archives of Japan offered a digitized version of the official magazines called *Shuho* (Weekly Report) and *Shashin Shuho* (Photographic Weekly). Published by the Cabinet Information Bureau for propagating the wartime propaganda and pressing the civilians to prepare for the total war, *Shashin Shuho* played an important role in beautifying self-

sacrifice for the nation and the emperor. Recently compiled, many statements of the Kamikaze survivors that revealed their honest feelings to be Kamikazes broadened my intellectual horizons.

In terms of the all-Japanese American unit, 442nd RCT, I could obtain various sources that include the government documents, military records, personal papers, interviews, and artifacts. Especially, the digital archives of organizations such as the Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project, Go For Broke National Education Center, 442nd Regimental Combat Team Historical Society, Discover Nikkei, the Japanese American Veterans Association, and the National Japanese American Historical Society provide important accounts on the Nisei soldiers and other Japanese Americans who actually fought the war. The mission of the organizations were the preservation, collection, and sharing of historical information of the Japanese American experiences. Furthermore, in the 1990s, Japanese Americans began to record the voices of World War II veterans for the later generations so that they can learn how these veterans sacrificed for their country. Thanks to the improvement in information technology, I could listen to a large number of veterans' indispensable interviews from their digital archives.

Examining various factors including religion, tradition, society, and education that contributed to the formation of Japanese cultural identity, this study illustrates that the unique Japanese culture fostered the creation of both the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team during the war. Chapter II explores the impact of the Meiji education system on the psychological development of the Japanese schoolchildren. Paying close attention to moral education largely based on Confucianism called *Shushin* 修身 (ethics), this chapter surveys how the Japanese individuals became

“subjects” of the nation.<sup>60</sup> Simultaneously, it reveals how the Japanese government was able to indoctrinate the ideal that pursuing the nation’s interest was more important than pursuing self-interest in the name of the emperor. To answer the questions, I need to explore the role of *Bushido* in the emergence of nationalism in Meiji Japan. In addition, examination of Japanese cultural values such as *Yamato Damashii* 大和魂 (spirit of invincible Japan referring to Japanese national pride) that urged the need to cultivate a patriotic spirit among the young is crucial to understand Japanese mentality.

Meanwhile, Chapter III investigates how the Japanese culture and virtues were infiltrated into the Japanese American communities and shaped the Nisei’s unique identity in Hawaii and the mainland United States. Mainly focusing on the development of the Japanese language schools and the reality of Nisei’s educational achievement and occupational distribution of the Nisei, this chapter highlights how the Japanese cultural background affected their process of Americanization and restricted their employment opportunities. Illustrating the transition of Japanese in America from temporary laborers to permanent residents, it traces the continuation of Japanese culture over the time. Chapter IV examines the indoctrination and utilization of nationalism in order to preparing the Japanese civilians for the coming of total war. In so doing, this chapter sheds light on the influence of the emperor cult on the development of the wartime Japanese morale that embodied the selfless sacrifice for their nation through the wartime propaganda.

Subsequent to the examination of the cultural background of the Japanese raised

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<sup>60</sup> *Shushin* is the moral education courses in prewar Japan that Japanese schoolteachers devoted nearly seven percent of teaching time for indoctrinating schoolchildren the universally accepted moral values. *Shushin* had remained an important part of the compulsory school curriculum until Japan’s defeat in World War II.



in “militarized” Japan and “democratic” United States respectively, Chapter V analyzes the cultural origin of the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps. Utilizing numbers of the letters and last wills written by the Kamikaze pilots, this chapter illustrates how the Kamikaze pilots perceived death and their emphasis on filial piety and patriotism. Meanwhile, drawing from the accounts of the Nisei including their testimony, Chapter VI explores the cultural origin of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Finally, pointing out numbers of similarities between the Kamikaze and the Nisei soldiers, the concluding chapter attempts to demonstrate that the distinct Japanese cultural values were the foundation for the creation of the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team during World War II.

## CHAPTER II

### MEIJI EDUCATION SYSTEM

The aim of this chapter is to examine the Japanese new education system under Emperor Meiji that had shaped the moral values of the Japanese. Although the Meiji Restoration put an end to the feudal Japan ruled by the Shogun (military general) and laid the foundations of a modern state by reforming social, economic, and political structures, the Japanese traditions derived from Confucianism continued to influence the cultural development of the masses. Deifying the imperial family, the revival of Shinto 神道 (ancestral worship, literally “the way of the gods”) contributed to establishing the emperor-centered country.<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously, the Japanese faith in *Bushido* and *Yamato Damashii* (spirit of invincible Japan referring to Japanese national pride) carried on that played an important role in reinforcing spiritual strength of the Japanese in wartime. These unchanged traditions and practices further gained cultural significances after 1890 due to the promulgation of the *Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chokugo* 教育ニ関スル勅語 (Imperial

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<sup>1</sup> Having no known founder, sacred scripture, or religious laws, Shinto is a unique folk religion of Japan. Unlike the deities of other religions, Shinto gods are more like spirits. In addition, Shinto is closer to ritual than belief system in many perspectives, and probably best described as the Japanese way of life. Because of its nature, most Japanese do not regard Shinto as a religion, and thus, Shinto has been practiced harmoniously without conflict with other religions. For instance, Shinto and Buddhism have always peacefully coexisted. Shinto, being indigenous to Japan, has Four Affirmations to be applied to the daily life of Japanese: (1) family and tradition, (2) reverence toward nature, (3) physical cleanliness, and (4) *Matsuri* (festival for *kami*). These affirmations essentially shaped the common values and morality among the public including “extraordinary importance on the central family unit” and “bathing.” “Shinto,” in *Encyclopedia of World Religions*, ed. Bruno Bechthold and Johannes P. Schade (Franklin Park: Concord Publishing, 2006).

Rescript on Education, hereafter *Kyoiku Chokugo*) by Emperor Meiji. This chapter surveys how the nationalistic Meiji education system contributed to transforming the feudal Japan into the emperor-centered modernized country shortly after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. In addition, it explores the role of *Kyoiku Chokugo* in the development of nationalism and the spirit of *jinchu hokoku* (尽忠報国, translated as “to demonstrate utmost loyalty in service for the country”) on the pretext of “imperial rescript.”<sup>2</sup> Originally derived from *Song Shi* 宋史 (History of Song),<sup>3</sup> the concept of loyalty and patriotism, *jinchu hokoku* and *chukun aikoku* (忠君愛国, translated as “loyal to the sovereign, love of nation”) played a crucial role in preparing not only the young Japanese boys but also the Nisei boys to sacrifice their lives for their countries, in which they were indebted.

Beginning with tracing the origin and significance of *Kokutai* 国体 (national essence), this chapter also attempts to illustrate how the ideology—defining the State as their extended family which they were indebted—urged the Japanese masses to offer selfless sacrifice for their country. Significantly, the Japanese emigrants across the Pacific had maintained their cultural values and traditions including an idea of the State as a big family. Their American-born children called Nisei inevitably inherited their parent’s values based on the “twelve virtues” of *Kyoiku Chokugo*. Thereafter, *Kyoiku Chokugo* played an influential role in bolstering standard of ethics and morals among

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<sup>2</sup> Shigeki Toyama, *Fukuzawa Yukichi: shiso to seiji to no kanren* [Yukichi Fukuzawa: the relationship between ideology and politics] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970), 179–180; Junosuke Yasukawa, *Nihon kindai kyoiku no shiso kozo: Fukuzawa Yukichi no kyoiku shiso kenkyu* [Structure of Japanese modern thought: a critical study of Yukichi Fukuzawa’s thought on education] (Tokyo: Shinhyoron, 1979), 15, 74–77; Kanayama Choshi Shuppan Inkaï, *Kanayama Choshi, Gekan* [History of Kanayama Town, vol. 2] (Kanayama-machi, Fukushima-ken: Kanayama-machi, 1974), 381.

<sup>3</sup> *Song Shi*, the official history of the Song Dynasty, was compiled under Tuo Tuo with other historians in 1345 during the late Yuan Dynasty

Japanese boys at home and abroad.

***Kokutai (National Essence/Polity)***

Emerging in the late seventeenth century, the *Kokugaku* 国学 (National Learning) that emphasized the Japanese classical studies and revived Shinto by purging all foreign influences including Buddhism and Confucianism became the basis of the ultranationalism in modern Japan. Developed by the nationalist *Mitogaku* 水戸学 (Mito School) in the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, the *Kokutai* played an important role in promoting their national consciousness by emphasizing “loyalty to the emperor as a component of the rising nationalist ideology.”<sup>4</sup> The *Kokutai* is “a term referring to the Shinto-Confucian idealization of the Japanese nation-state.”<sup>5</sup>

Following the prevalence of the Western influence after the opening of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, the *Kokutai* theory gradually gained popularity and eventually became the driving force of the *sonno joi* 尊皇攘夷 (“Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians”) movement and that eventually ended the Tokugawa Shogunate. One of the most prominent *sonno joi* advocates and anti-Western intellectuals, Yoshida Shoin 吉田松陰 (1830–1859) said: “The command of the emperor is the will of the imperial Goddess. That it must be worshipfully obeyed cannot be a subject for argument. If one should meet death while obeying his command, that death is even as life. If one should preserve life by rejecting his command, that life is worse than death.”<sup>6</sup> He

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<sup>4</sup> William Theodore De Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume Two: 1600–2000*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 619.

<sup>5</sup> John Bowker, “Kokutai,” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, 1997, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O101-Kokutai.html> (accessed June 5, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Yoshida Shoin, “Taisaku ichido” (Opinion for Lord Mori Yoshichika), written in 1858, in *Yoshida Shoin Zenshu* [Complete Works of Yoshida Shoin], vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1939),

emphasized that nothing could “alter the intrinsic nature of the emperor, nor could they affect the duty of the loyal subject toward him.”<sup>7</sup>

Through the promotion of unbreakable relations between the emperor and the Japanese people, the *Kokutai* accomplished to set up the emperor system as a symbol of Japanese nationalism within the first few decades after the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The following excerpt described the nature of *Kokutai* that set the course of the development of *Meiji no Seishin* 明治の精神 (Meiji spirit—emphasis on strengthening national power for self-sustaining):

The unbroken line of Emperors, receiving the Oracle of the Founder of the Nation [i.e., *shinchoku* of Amaterasu], reign eternally over the Japanese Empire. This is our eternal and immutable national entity [i.e., *Kokutai*]. Thus, founded on this great principle, all the people, united as one great family nation in heart and obeying the Imperial Will, enhance indeed the beautiful virtues of loyalty and filial piety. This is the glory of our national entity [i.e., *Kokutai*]. This national entity is the eternal and unchanging basis of our nation and shines resplendent throughout our history.<sup>8</sup>

Since the establishment of an emperor-centered nationalism was essential to strengthen national power, the Meiji educational institutions inevitably became progressive in nature. Recognizing that the emperor’s religious/mythological elements appealed to the Japanese people, the Meiji leaders were eager to use the systematic belief of the emperor cult in order to rule the country efficiently. Furthermore, emperor cult played a crucial role in unifying the nation and mobilizing its subjects for national interests and ultimately leading to the devastating war against the United States.

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136–143, quoted in David Magarey Earl, *Emperor and Nation in Japan: Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 186.

<sup>7</sup> Yoshida Shoin, “Shokyu Shigen” (Confidential Advice), in *Yoshida Shoin Zenshu* [Complete Works of Yoshida Shoin], vol. 1, 299–300, quoted in Earl, *Emperor and Nation in Japan*, 186.

<sup>8</sup> Monbusho (Ministry of Education, 1937), *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, ed. Robert K. Hall, trans. John Owen Gauntlett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 59.

## *Shushin* 修身 (*Moral Education*)

In prewar Japan, the Meiji leaders sought to utilize the education system effectively to make schoolchildren cooperative to national achievement. Despite, since the initial Meiji education based on the *gakusei* 学制 (School Law of 1872) placed emphasis on the subjects that embraced Westernization, pro-Confucian scholars were anxious about the loss of *Nippon Seishin* 日本精神 (Japanese spirit).<sup>9</sup> In addition, schooling devastated practical rural life by collecting expensive education fees as well as depriving considerable hours of child labor forces in a day.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, Confucian scholars called for the restoration of education based on Confucian thought.<sup>11</sup> Finally, in 1879, the *Kyoiku Rei* 教育令 (Education Ordinance)<sup>12</sup> shifted its education policy from the one emphasizing intellectual education to the one emphasizing moral education, and banned all translated version of books for *Shushin* courses.<sup>13</sup> While seeking to check the rapid Westernization, it encouraged a certain moral code such as loyalty and filial piety.<sup>14</sup> The term “moral science” was first translated into “*Shushin*” by a Meiji educator and founder of Keio University, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1834–1901).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Monbusho (Ministry of Education) was established in July 1871.

<sup>10</sup> Kanji Kurata and Hidenori Yamasaki, eds., *Atarashii dotoku kyoiku* [New moral education] (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobo, 1989), 66; Yasuto Sano, ed., *Dotoku kyoiku no kiso* [Foundation of moral education] (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobo, 1985), 52.

<sup>11</sup> Yukio Oshitani and Takashi Naito, eds., *Dotoku Kyoiku* [Moral education] (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobo, 1993), 60–67.

<sup>12</sup> Dajokan Fukoku dai 40-go (Cabinet Proclamation No. 40), 1879.

<sup>13</sup> Kurata and Yamasaki, eds., *Atarashii dotoku kyoiku* [New moral education], 66.

<sup>14</sup> The government officials including Ito Hirobumi condemned the rapid changes in social structure rather than Westernization for the corruption of public morals, and he supported intellectual education for improving public morals, according to Oshitani and Naito, eds., *Dotoku Kyoiku* (Moral education), 61. In addition, Fukuzawa Yukichi argued that moral education should not be coerced, according to Kurata and Yamasaki, eds., *Atarashii dotoku kyoiku* [New moral education], 68.

<sup>15</sup> Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Shogen” in *Fukuzawa Zenshu* [Complete Works of Fukuzawa], vol. 1, no. 1 (Tokyo: Jiji Shinposha, 1898), 72, Kindai Digital Library, National Diet Library of Japan, <http://kindai.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/898727/41> (accessed January 8, 2010). Fukuzawa encouraged the Japanese to learn to attain social success and upward mobility.

Appearing first in the order as an essential part of compulsory education curriculum, *Shushin* played a leading role in shaping the moral values of schoolchildren since its introduction in 1880 through the amendment to Education Ordinance.<sup>16</sup> Thereafter, the number of hours on *Shushin* courses increased twelve times.<sup>17</sup> Then, the Ministry of Education ordered Confucian scholars to write *Shushin* textbooks for schoolchildren. Simultaneously, the creation of textbooks for teachers who would instruct *Shushin* courses became urgent.<sup>18</sup> Serving for the Ministry of Education, Nishimura Shigeki (1828–1902) endeavored to propagate “Confucianism-centered, emperor-revering national morality.”<sup>19</sup> The Meiji government sought to have total control over the *Shushin* textbooks for primary schools so that schoolchildren would universally support militarization of the nation. In so doing, the Ministry of Education providing “standard for primary school moral education textbook,” urged the creation of *Shushin* textbooks that promoted a virtue.<sup>20</sup> In 1903, the government finally achieved to establish national textbook system and began compiling primary school textbooks, then *Shushin*, reader, Japanese history, and geography textbooks in 1904, and arithmetic and drawing textbooks in 1905, and science textbook in 1911. Published in 1904, the first

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<sup>16</sup> Dajokan Fukoku dai 59-go (Cabinet Proclamation No. 59), 1880. The amendment to *Kyoiku Rei* further emphasized nationalistic moral education.

<sup>17</sup> Shiro Shimada, *Dotoku kyoiku no kenkyu* [Study on moral education] (Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1986), 54.

<sup>18</sup> Nobuyuki Aizawa, “Pedagogical Pre-Determination of the Boundary between ‘Morality’ and ‘Ethics’,” *Kyoto Kyoiku Daigaku Kiyo* [Bulletin of Kyoto University of Education] 115 (September 2009): 17.

<sup>19</sup> “Nishimura, Shigeki,” in Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, National Diet Library of Japan, <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/310.html?c=10> (accessed January 10, 2010). Nishimura was a member of *Meirokeisha* (Meiji intellectual society). In his study published in 1887, Nishimura pointed out that Confucianism taught what not to do, but it did not foster an independence of mind. For further details of Japanese morality, see Shigeki Nishimura, *Nihon dotoku ron* [Discourse on Japanese Morality] (Tokyo: Nishimura Kinji, 1887), Kindai Digital Library, National Diet Library of Japan, <http://kindai.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/758056/1> (accessed January 10, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Aizawa, “Pedagogical Pre-Determination of the Boundary between ‘Morality’ and ‘Ethics’,” 18–19.

national textbooks had over 160 virtues and the teaching ratio was as follows:

Morality toward the State (20%)

- National obligation such as the public good, promotion of industry, rules of citizenry
- *Kokutai*—National Polity/Essence (up to 10%)

Morality on relationship (40%)

- Philanthropy, kindness, honesty, warning of not giving others trouble, public ethics
- Emphasis on liberty and equality

Personal morality (40%)

- Emphasis on discipline, custom, and independence
- Value on learning, knowledge, reason, hard-working, and diligence<sup>21</sup>

As mentioned above, the 1904 *Shushin* textbook focused on the development of personal morality rather than on the morality toward the State.

The teaching of *Shushin* changed its nature in 1910 when the government ordered to revise the textbooks to meet national interests. Afterward, *Shushin* courses taught emperor-centered nationalism and indoctrinated State Shinto to extend the concept of filial piety and loyalty to the emperor besides parents.<sup>22</sup> In so doing, the new *Shushin* textbooks placed emphasis on the *ie* 家—family/household system. The *ie* was the smallest social unit and each *ie* was supposed to provide absolute support for the big family—the imperial institution. Derived from the Confucian values on family, the *ie* system not only controlled family affair but also defined the emperor as the head of the family-state—*Kokka* 国家 (family nation), and each *ie* was believed to be related to the imperial line.<sup>23</sup>

Compared with the 1904 textbooks, the 1910 textbooks further emphasized

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<sup>21</sup> Tokiomi Kaigo and Arata Naka, eds., *Nihon kyokasho taikai Kindai hen dai 3-kan, Shushin 3* [Survey of Japanese Textbooks Modern Edition vol.3, Ethics 3] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1962), 623–627.

<sup>22</sup> Harry Wray, *Japanese and American Education: Attitudes and Practices* (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 1999), 44.

<sup>23</sup> Ian Neary, *Political Protest and Social Control in Pre-war Japan: The Origins of Buraku Liberation* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press International, 1989), 42.



Confucian ethics and nationalistic elements by integrating *Kyoiku Chokugo*. In so doing, the full text of *Kyoiku Chokugo* was printed on the primary school fourth graders' textbook. The fifth graders' textbook explained words and phrases of *Kyoiku Chokugo*, and sixth graders' textbook expounded an outline of *Kyoiku Chokugo*. In addition, teaching materials on militarism was integrated into teachings on *ie* system and nationalism.<sup>24</sup> As a result, the number of Westerners appearing in the 1904 textbook reduced from thirteen to five in 1910. In all, 157 virtues appeared on the primary school textbooks.<sup>25</sup> Significantly, education on morality toward the State increased by five percent whereas personal morality reduced by five percent. The contents of national textbook were as follows:

Morality toward the State (25%)

- Greater emphasis on *Kokutai*
- Integrating *chukun* (loyalty to the sovereign), *aikoku* (love of country; patriotism), and *giyu* (loyalty and courage)

Morality on relationship (40%)

- Emphasis on family relationship based on Confucianism
- Greater emphasis on *ie* (family/household) system including ancestral worship and reputation of family
- Emphasis on rectitude, repayment, tolerance, and modesty

Personal morality (35%)

- Discipline, custom, independence
- Values on learning, knowledge, reason, hard-working, diligence<sup>26</sup>

History courses were integrated into fifth-grade curriculum and the Japanese mythology including the founding myth of a nation<sup>27</sup> was taught as historical facts in prewar

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<sup>24</sup> Kaigo and Naka, eds., *Nihon kyokasho taikai Kindai hen dai 3-kan, Shushin 3* [Survey of Japanese Textbooks Modern Edition vol.3, Ethics 3], 633.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 631–633.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 623–627.

<sup>27</sup> According to the myth, Sun Goddess *Amaterasu Omikami*, the ancestress of the Imperial Household, formed the island of Japan out of the ocean in ancient times. Indoctrinated as if *Amaterasu's* creation of Japan was real, Japanese people came to believe in the emperor's divinity and then considered Japan as a divine country (*shinkoku* 神国). In addition to the origin of the imperial

Japanese schools.<sup>28</sup> The following Table 2.1 lists the virtues and number of lessons taught in the schools.

Table 2.1 Virtues Taught in the *Shushin* Textbooks

Virtues	Number of Lessons	Virtues	Number of Lessons
Diligence/hardworking	23	Virtuous conduct/Morality	9
Filial Piety	23	Benevolence	8
Loyalty	22	Brotherhood	8
Public Good	21	Appreciation	8
Faithful/Honesty	19	Endurance	7
Studying/Knowledge	17	Calmness	7
Courage	14	Respect for Teachers	7
Discipline/Law	13	Promote industry	7
Independence/Self-supporting	12	Enterprising spirit	6
Generosity/Tolerance	12	Ancestor	6
Friend	12	Health	6
Frugality/Thrift	10	Philanthropy	6

*Source:* Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology, “Chapter 3, Table 21 Virtues on the Shushin Textbooks,” [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/html/hpad196201/hpad196201\\_2\\_024.html](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpad196201/hpad196201_2_024.html) (accessed January 6, 2010).

Meanwhile, numbers of historically significant individuals appeared on the *Shushin* textbooks that included Emperor Meiji (20 lessons), Ninomiya Kinjiro (18 lessons for teaching filial piety, diligence, study, and honesty), Uesugi Yozaan (15 lessons for frugality, ambition, promoting industry, and filial piety), Watanabe Noboru (12 lessons for filial piety, brotherhood, study, and discipline), Kato Kiyomasa (11 lessons

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institution, they also described how *Amaterasu* directed descendants and unified the Japanese people under her authority. Considered a founder of Japan, *Amaterasu* has been enshrined in the Inner Shrine of the *Ise Jingu* since the fourth century B.C.

<sup>28</sup> Shigeo Imamura, *Kamikaze Tokko taiin ni natta Nikkei Nisei* [A Nisei who joined the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps], trans. Ken Oshima (Tokyo: Soshisha, 2003), 41.

for courage, honesty, and loyalty), Benjamin Franklin (11 lessons for independence, self-supporting, discipline, public good, and service), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (10 lessons for diligence, success, enterprising spirit, and ambition), Kaibara Ekiken (9 lessons for generosity and health), Ino Tadataka (9 lessons for diligence and respect for teachers), Kawagoi Sataro (8 lessons for public good and neighborhood), Takadaya Kihei (7 lessons for courage, guts, and enterprising spirit), Nakae Toju (7 lessons for virtuous conduct, master and servant), and Florence Nightingale (7 lessons for philanthropy, compassion for living thing, and kindness).<sup>29</sup> *Shushin* textbooks utilized the stories of these individuals to educate schoolchildren to be filial, loyal, and diligent Japanese subjects who would render good service to their country.

### ***Gunjin Chokuyu (Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors): Emperor's Military***

*Gunjin Chokuyu* 軍人勅諭 (Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors) was the key to understand the behavior patterns of Japanese servicemen. Issued on January 4, 1882 by Emperor Meiji, the *Gunjin Chokuyu* defined the Emperor as the Japanese military's *dai-tosui* 大統帥 (supreme Commander-in-Chief) and demanded the total loyalty of all members of military to the Emperor. Adopting numbers of Confucian teachings such as to respect superiors, the *Gunjin Chokuyu* stated that "Duty is heavier than a mountain (and so to be much regarded), while death is lighter than a feather (and therefore to be despised)."<sup>30</sup> Therefore, emphasizing five principles of soldiers and sailors—"chusetu

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<sup>29</sup> Source: Chapter 3, Table 22 Historical Persons taught on the Shushin Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology, [http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/html/hpad196201/hpad196201\\_2\\_024.html](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpad196201/hpad196201_2_024.html) (accessed January 6, 2010).

<sup>30</sup> "Imperial Rescript to the Army and Navy," quoted in Tadayoshi Sakurai, Masujiro Honda, Alice Mabel Bacon, and Bruce Rogers, *Human Bullets: A Soldier's Story of Port Arthur* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1907), 264.

忠節 (loyalty), *reigi* 礼儀 (decorum), *buyu* 武勇 (valor), *shingi* 信義 (faith), and *shisso* 質素 (frugality)<sup>31</sup> that were the basis for the absolute loyalty to the emperor, the *Gunjin Chokuyu* had a significant influence on the development of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) and the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) in Meiji Japan.

The Japanese soldiers and sailors had to be always obedient to the five articles of the *Gunjin Chokuyu*:

1. The soldier and sailor should consider loyalty their essential duty. Who that is born in this land can be wanting in the spirit of grateful service to it? No soldier or sailor, especially, can be considered efficient unless this spirit be strong within him. A soldier or a sailor in whom this spirit is not strong, however skilled in art or proficient in science, is a mere puppet; and a body of soldiers or sailors wanting in loyalty, however well ordered and disciplined it may be, is in an emergency no better than a rabble. Remember that, as the protection of the state and the maintenance of its power depend upon the strength of its arms, the growth or decline of this strength must affect the nation's destiny for good or for evil; therefore neither be led astray by current opinions nor meddle in politics, but with single heart fulfill your essential duty of loyalty, and bear in mind that duty is weightier than a mountain, while death is lighter than a feather. Never by failing in moral principle fall into disgrace and bring dishonor upon your name.

2. The soldier and the sailor should be strict in observing propriety. Soldiers and sailors are organized in grades from the marshal and the admiral of the fleet down to the private soldier or ordinary seaman; and even within the same rank and grade there are differences in seniority of service, according to which juniors should submit to their seniors. Inferiors should regard the orders of their superiors as issuing directly from Us. Always pay due respect not only to your superiors but also to your seniors, even though not serving under them. On the other hand, superiors should never treat their inferiors with contempt or arrogance. Except when official duty requires them to be strict and severe, superiors should treat their inferiors with consideration, making kindness their chief aim, so that all grades may united in their service to the Emperor. If you, Soldiers and Sailors, neglect to observe propriety, treating your superiors with disrespect and your inferiors with harshness, and thus cause harmonious co-operation to be lost, you will not only be a blight upon the troops but will also be unpardonable offenders against the state.

3. The soldier and the sailor should esteem valor. Ever since the ancient times valor has in Our country been held in high esteem, and without it Our subjects would be unworthy of their name. How, then, may the soldier and the sailor, whose profession it is to confront the enemy in battle, forget even for one instant to be valiant? But there is true valor and false. To be incited by mere impetuosity to violent action cannot be called true valor. The soldier and the sailor should have sound discrimination of right and wrong, cultivate self-possession, and form their plans with deliberation. Never to despise an

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<sup>31</sup> *Gunjin Chokuyu* (Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors), January 4, 1882; Tanetatsu Akizuki, *Gunjin Chokuyu Utsushi* [Transcript of the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors] (Miyazaki: Akizuki Tanetatsu, 1888), Kindai Digital Library, National Diet Library of Japan, <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/759305> (accessed June 4, 2009).

inferior enemy or fear a superior, but to do one's duty as soldier or sailor – this is true valor. Those who thus appreciate true valor should in their daily intercourse set gentleness first and aim to win the love and esteem of others. If you affect valor and act with violence, the world will in the end detest you and look upon you as wild beasts. Of this you should take heed.

4. The soldier and the sailor should highly value faithfulness and righteousness. Faithfulness and righteousness are the ordinary duties of man, but the soldier and the sailor, in particular, cannot be without them and remain in the ranks even for a day. Faithfulness implies the keeping of one's word, and righteousness the fulfillment of one's duty. If then you wish to be faithful and righteous in anything, you must carefully consider at the outset whether you can accomplish it or not. If you thoughtlessly agree to do something that is vague in its nature and bind yourself to unwise obligations, and then try to prove yourself faithful and righteous, you may find yourself in great straits from which there is no escape. In such cases your regrets will be of no avail. Hence you must first make sure whether the thing is righteous and reasonable or not. If you are convinced that you cannot possibly keep your word and maintain righteousness, you had better abandon your engagement at once. Ever since ancient times there have been repeated instances of great men and heroes who, overwhelmed by misfortune, have perished and left a tarnished name to posterity, simply because in their effort to be faithful in small matters they failed to discern right and wrong with reference to fundamental principles, or because, losing sight of the true path of public duty, they kept faith in private relations. You should, then, take serious warning by these examples.

5. The soldier and the sailor should make simplicity their aim. If you do not make simplicity your aim, you will become effeminate and frivolous and acquire fondness for luxurious and extravagant ways; you will finally grow selfish and sordid and sink to the last degree of baseness, so to save you from the contempt of the world. It is not too much to say that you will thus fall into a life-long misfortune. If such an evil once makes its appearance among soldiers and sailors, it will certainly spread like an epidemic, and martial spirit and moral will instantly decline. Although, being greatly concerned on this point, We lately issued the Disciplinary Regulations and warned you against this evil, nevertheless, being harassed with anxiety lest it should break out, We hereby reiterate Our warning. Never do you, Soldiers and Sailors, make light of this injunction.

These five articles should not be disregarded even for a moment by soldiers and sailors. Now for putting them into practice, the all important thing is sincerity. These five articles are the soul of Our soldiers and sailors, and sincerity is the soul of these articles. If the heart be not sincere, words and deeds, however good, are all mere outward show and can avail nothing. If only the heart be sincere, anything can be accomplished. Moreover these five articles are the "Grand Way" of Heaven and earth and the universal law of humanity, easy to observe and to practice. If you, Soldiers and Sailors, in obedience to Our instruction, will observe and practice these principles and fulfil your duty of grateful service to the country, it will be a source of joy, not to Ourselves alone, but to all the people of Japan.<sup>32</sup>

The *Gunjin Chokuyu* prevailed after its promulgation in 1882, and by the time of

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<sup>32</sup> "Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors, 1882," quoted in Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore De Bary, and Donald Keene, comps., *Source of Japanese Tradition, Volume II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 199–200; "Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors," quoted in Paul Robinson, Nigel De Lee, and Don Carrick, eds., *Ethics Education in the Military* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 153–155.

the Russo-Japanese War, it embodied that a person with *Yamato Damashii* should never be a prisoner of war. Focusing on the spiritual training of the soldiers, the Japanese military achieved to overcome its material and technological weaknesses against the Western countries. Ultimately, the Meiji leaders aimed for achieving *fukoku kyohei* 富国強兵 (“Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Military”) to attain “national security” and “equality” with the West. Stimulated by Fukuzawa Yukichi’s theory of “*Datsua Nyuo*” 脱亜入欧 (“Leave Asia, Join the West”), the emergence of Japanese colonialism in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries was the natural consequence.<sup>33</sup>

Through deifying the emperor and defining Japan as *Shinkoku* 神国 (divine country), the Meiji leaders were able to achieve the rapid modernization by emulating the Western model without damaging the Japanese tradition and cultural values. Meanwhile, the IJA and IJN could steadily gain strength by the introduction of modern weaponry and advanced strategy learned from the West. As a result, within first fifty years of the opening of Japan to the West, Japan defeated two big countries—China and Russia. Japan’s defeat of China and Russia definitely transformed Japan into one of the world’s major industrial powers. Particularly, Japan’s victory over Russia was an astonishing event because Japan became the first Asian power in modern times to defeat a European power.

### ***Kyoiku Chokugo (Imperial Rescript on Education): Mindset in Prewar Japan***

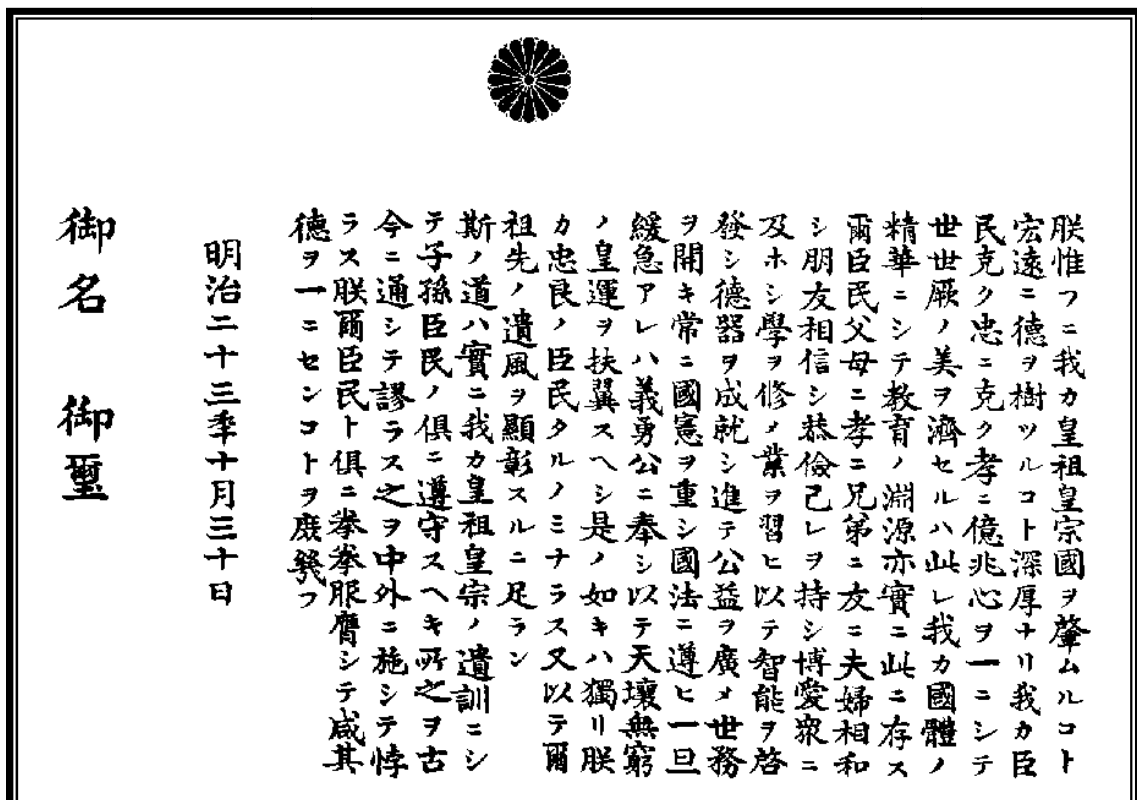
Regarding its aftermath, *Kyoiku Chokugo* was the most important decree

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<sup>33</sup> Concluding the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), the Treaty of Shimonoseki allowed Japan to control Liaodong Peninsula and Formosa (Taiwan), made China recognize the independence of Korea and pay ¥364 million indemnity. The treaty drastically stimulated the development of military and Japanese overseas development called *kaigai hatten* 海外発展.

promulgated by Emperor Meiji on October 30, 1890 that set the course of the government policy on the education and morality of the Japanese schoolchildren until Japan's defeat in World War II. While the Emperor was worshipped as *arahitogami* 現人神 (god in human form), *Kyoiku Chokugo* was de facto sacred scripture of the state religion known as *Kokka Shinto* 国家神道 (State Shinto).

Figure 2.1 Imperial Rescript on Education, 1890



Source: *Kyoiku Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education), microfilm Reel No. 000200, Chokugo-ru (Category: Imperial Rescript), Dajokan/Naikaku kankei (Records concerning Dajokan/Cabinet, Naikaku/Sorifu (Cabinet/Prime Minister's Office), National Archives of Japan. Written in an extraordinarily literary style, no schoolchildren or adult with no formal education would understand *Kyoiku Chokugo* without proper explanation of texts.

The official English language translation of *Kyoiku Chokugo* by the Imperial Department of Education in 1907 is as follows:

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.<sup>34</sup>

The concept of *Kyoiku Chokugo* heavily borrowed from the Confucian teachings on morality; however, the Meiji leaders carefully articulated the Rescript using as few Confucian words as possible to underscore the Japanese essence.<sup>35</sup> Undergoing the modernization process, the Meiji leaders sought to deemphasize some part of Confucianism representing traditionalism and conventionalism, which they regarded contradictory to modernity.

Issued during the Yamagata Aritomo Cabinet, *Kyoiku Chokugo* along with *Gunjin Chokuyu* provided two major supports for the establishment of imperial institution. In other words, *Kyoiku Chokugo* was cultivated as the civilian version of *Gunjin Chokuyu*. Inoue Kowashi 井上 毅 (1843–1895) who drafted *Kyoiku Chokugo* also involved in drawing up the Meiji Constitution, the Imperial Household Law, and the *Gunjin*

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<sup>34</sup> Quoted in U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1907*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 468.

<sup>35</sup> Mark Anderson, *Japan and the Specter of Imperialism* (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2009), 100.



*Chokuyu*.<sup>36</sup> *Kyoiku Chokugo*, promoting not only loyalty and filial piety but also reinforcement of the military strength for maintaining the sovereign country,<sup>37</sup> eventually facilitated the birth of the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps in Japan and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team in the United States during World War II. Receiving such strict moral education, Meiji parents essentially reared their children to demonstrate utmost loyalty in service for the country.

Simultaneously, courses on *Shushin* rose to be more important part of the school curriculum after the promulgation of *Kyoiku Chokugo* that constantly promoted loyalty to the Emperor and the nation. Integrating the strict moral education into the regular compulsory curriculum, the Meiji education system played a major role in the formative phase of the sovereign nation. Citing “twelve virtues” that emphasized the traditional sensibility and virtue of the Japanese, *Kyoiku Chokugo* was the core of Meiji education system and the foundation of *Meiji no Seishin*:

“Twelve Virtues” of *Kyoiku Chokugo*

1	<i>koko</i>	Be filial to your parents.
2	<i>yuai</i>	Be affectionate to your brothers and sisters.
3	<i>fufu no wa</i>	Husband and wife be harmonious.
4	<i>hoyu no shin</i>	Trust your friends.
5	<i>kenson</i>	Bear yourselves in modesty and moderation.
6	<i>hakuai</i>	Extend your benevolence to all.

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<sup>36</sup> Joseph Pittau, “Inoue Kowashi, 1843–1895 and the Formation of Modern Japan,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 20, nos. 3–4 (1965): 253–282; Yoshimitsu Khan, *Japanese Moral Education Past and Present* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), 70; Janet Hunter, *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 70; Chris Spackman, *An Encyclopedia of Japanese History* (Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2010), 214. Inoue served as Chief of Legislative Bureau for the First Ito Cabinet, Kuroda Cabinet, and First Yamagata Cabinet, and served as the Education Minister for the Second Ito Cabinet.

<sup>37</sup> Khan, *Japanese Moral Education Past and Present*, 69.

7	<i>shugaku shugyo</i>	Pursue learning and cultivate arts.
8	<i>chino keihatsu</i>	Develop intellectual.
9	<i>tokki joju</i>	Perfect moral powers.
10	<i>koeki seimu</i>	Advance public good and promote common interests.
11	<i>junpo</i>	Respect the Constitution and observe the laws.
12	<i>giyu</i>	Should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State (urging selfless sacrifice during the war). <sup>38</sup>

*Kyoiku Chokugo* and its “twelve virtues” served as the basic principles of the moral education for schoolchildren with special emphases on loyalty and filial piety. In a sense, the prewar primary school institution played a crucial role in reinforcing national unity by thoroughly indoctrinating *Kyoiku Chokugo*.<sup>39</sup> The Meiji education system established Japanese nationalism by promoting Shinto and Confucian teachings and developed the concept of *jinchu hokoku* and *chukun Aikoku*—loyalty and patriotism—as the highest virtue among the masses.

The 315-character *Kyoiku Chokugo* had a tremendous impact on the formation of Meiji schoolchildren’s moral values until the revision of textbooks following the defeat of Japan in 1945. Since its promulgation in 1890, every Japanese school owned a copy of *Kyoiku Chokugo* and *Goshinei* 御真影 (portraits of the emperor) provided by the Ministry of Education. Then, in 1893, the Ministry of Education required elementary schoolchildren to sing “*Kimigayo*” 君が代 (His Majesty’s Reign; Japanese national

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<sup>38</sup> Meiji Jingu (Meiji Shrine), “Kyoiku Chokugo no Juni no Tokumoku” [Twelve Virtues of the Imperial Rescript on Education], <http://www.meijijingu.or.jp/about/3-4.html> (accessed July 7, 2009); U.S. Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1907*, vol. 1, 468; Khan, *Japanese Moral Education Past and Present*, 193.

<sup>39</sup> Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, 3d ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 117; Satomi Ishikawa, *Seeking the Self: Individualism and Popular Culture in Japan* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 195.

anthem) on national holidays.<sup>40</sup> By 1910, the Ministry of Education ordered schools to build the *Hoanden* 奉安殿 (shrine-style small concrete building) inside schoolyard for safely storing the *Goshinei*, and it became schoolchildren's duty to make a deep bow in front of the *Hoanden* whenever passing by. *Kyoiku Chokugo* was reverently read by the principals in the school ceremonies on the major national holidays including *Kigen-setsu* 紀元節 (National Founding Day on February 11), *Tencho-setsu* 天長節 (Emperor's Birthday on November 3), and New Year's Day.

Promulgated by Emperor Meiji, *Kyoiku Chokugo* was handled as if it was a sacred scripture. "If a principle mispronounce a word in front of a guest, he would have to resign occasionally," said the author's grandmother, Saito Mitsu (1917–). Saito recalled that her school principle was dressed in a flock coat and wore a pair of clean white gloves to read *Kyoiku Chokugo* stored inside a wooden box. The ceremonies were like a holy religious ritual to the eyes of schoolchildren.<sup>41</sup> Since the teachers strictly and repeatedly enforced the schoolchildren to memorize the entire text, Saito, who is ninety-three years old, can still recite *Kyoiku Chokugo* from the beginning to the end without making a single mistake.<sup>42</sup> Worshipping the Emperor as a god, Meiji primary schools carried out a series of rituals in order to implant State Shinto and national consciousness into the Japanese mind from their early childhood.

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<sup>40</sup> In 1893, the Ministry of Education virtually proclaimed "*Kimigayo* to be the national anthem of Japan. Incorporated into the public school curriculum, schoolchildren were required to sing "*Kimigayo*" on national holidays. The words of "*Kimigayo*" was a poem from *Kokinshu* 古今集 ("Collection from Ancient and Modern Times), a tenth-century anthology. According to the English translation of "*Kimigayo*" by Basil H. Chamberlain: "Thousands of years of happy reign be thine; / Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now / By age united to mighty rocks shall grow / Whose venerable sides the moss doth line." quoted in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. 5, 336.

<sup>41</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 25, 2010. When Hirohito became Emperor Showa, the date of *Tencho-setsu* was moved to April 29, and *Meiji-setsu* was added as a national holiday in 1927 for commemorating the birthday of Emperor Meiji on November 3. These four holidays were called *Shidaisetsu* 四大節 (Four Grand National Holidays).

<sup>42</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 10, 2010.

Propagation of *Kyoiku Chokugo* subsequently influenced the emergence of State Shinto. Simultaneously, the *Hoanden* played an important role in embodying the State Shinto. The Meiji government deifying the emperor as *kami* 神 (god) and Shinto transformed into the state religion clearly separating from Buddhism during the Meiji Restoration era. Thereafter, State Shinto inevitably turned into an instrument for the government's nationalistic propaganda and created the emperor cult, which was responsible for the cause of civilians' heavy casualties during World War II.

### ***Cultural Impact of Prewar Education***

The purpose of *Kyoiku Chokugo* was to raise children who would give their service to national cause that included economic and military development to achieve *fukoku kyohei*. By morally unifying the public thought, *Kyoiku Chokugo* and its doctrine played an important role in achieving *fukoku kyohei* during the Meiji period. The Meiji education became the basis that gave birth to a national ideology, which glorified one's death for the emperor.

After the Russo-Japanese War, numbers of Westerners who studied on Japan's strength increased because Japan's victory was unexpected and brought about "Yellow Peril" scare. The *New York Commercial* explained that the strength of Japan came from her school system and early training of the schoolboys:

The strength of character, the stamina and the courage shown by the Japanese in the late war with Russia which so astonished the Western nations is explained largely by the early training of their boys. Their national school system, judged by proved results, is incomparably superior in most respects to our Western methods. Japanese boys are trained with system and consistency, and hence they become "men."

The elementary school boy in Japan rises at 5:30 o'clock in the morning, has breakfast at 6, and school begins at 7. Between 7 o'clock and noon there is half an hour for gymnastics and ten-minutes interval of play between every fifty minutes' work. Lunch follows immediately after noon; at 3:30 the children have afternoon tea, dinner at

6 o'clock and are off to bed at 8:30 or 9. Those who live far from school must get up earlier. In the country they may have to walk seven miles to school and seven miles back.

After school the children have to review and revise the work done in school that day. For games they wrestle and leap and do almost anything but quarrel. Prof. Hearn of Tokio University says that he never saw Japanese school boys quarrel. A portion of the school gymnastics consist of military drill. Those school boys desirous of showing that they can be more than toy soldiers, practice long marches. The government encourages them by providing them with real rifles and bayonets.

The discipline in Japanese schools is no trouble to the teacher who knows his subject and how to teach it. The pupil's mental attitude is earnestness; they are, above all, anxious to learn; nowhere in Japan is it a point of honor to look on lessons as tomfoolery and the teacher as an enemy to be defeated if possible. The government, knowing this, has abolished all corporal punishment. No Japanese teacher ever loses his temper without being disgraced. . . .

The compulsory subjects in the elementary schools are the Japanese language, arithmetic, gymnastics and morals. Gymnastic is very carefully taught in Japan. Great stress is laid on it in the training college for teachers, where instruction in gymnastic methods occupies a longer time in the curriculum than any other subject. The exercises do not seem to be as much a matter of routines as they do our schools.

*The splendid results of their moral teaching, as proved by the conduct of the Japanese soldiers in the late war, render the teaching of morals the most interesting of all Japanese education.* In the elementary schools it receives a couple of hours each week, and in the secondary schools one hour per week. Anger is prohibited, for it is self-assertion: courage is hardly reckoned as a virtue. He who would choose his own ease rather than perform a customary duty, no matter how hazardous, would be counted infamous there. Hence the *Japanese soldier simply does whatever he may be ordered, never considering the consequences to himself. This tremendous moral force of self-control and self-effacement has then, at its root, public opinion, habit and patriotism,* three of the four strongest principles that control our actions. Of the fourth, religious enthusiasm, there seem to be none. The faddists who are allowed such sway in our national school system will hardly claim anything approaching the success obtained by the Japanese methods.<sup>43</sup>

The article pointed out that Japan's recent military achievement was largely attributed to the strict discipline and Japanese school system that emphasized the early training of schoolchildren, including military drill. It also argued that the intensive teaching of morals contributed to the formation of distinctive Japanese values in combat.

Meanwhile, Japan's former Prime Minister Count Okuma Shigenobu 大隈 重信 (1838–1922) explained the characteristic of Japanese soldiers in 1908 to an American journalist:

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<sup>43</sup> "Interesting Facts about the Japanese: Secret of Japan's Strength is due Largely to Early Training of the Boys," *Palestine Daily Herald* (Texas), July 20, 1906, emphasis mine.

“Nothing can be more dreaded than crazy people, and the Japanese are a crazy nation. In fighting they will go on like mad, as was well illustrated in the late war. The Japanese are *always ready to throw away their lives for the glory of the state*; they regard their lives as light as the weather [feather]. On the other hand, Americans and Europeans attach too much importance to money; those who love money love their lives. Suppose the Americans and Japanese—whose ideas of death are fundamentally different—should come to fight. . . .”<sup>44</sup>

The purpose of this quotation is to show that the government leaders still relied on the spiritual strength rather than military strength. Although Japan won the war against Russia, Japan did not establish herself as a strong nation nor become a wealthy nation yet. Evidently, the life expectancy of the Japanese remained lower than other Western countries. According to the survey of 1921–1925, the average life span of Japanese was 42.06 years, which was two years shorter than the figure of 1911–1913. On the other hand, the United States marked the average life span of 58.1 years in 1924—sixteen years longer than that of the Japanese.<sup>45</sup> Surprisingly, the short life span of Japanese was partly caused by the intensive schooling with special emphasis on foreign languages. For instance, Japanese junior high school students studied English about ten hours a week. A professor of Japanese studies at Stanford University, Yamato Ichihashi (1878–1965) concerned about the ineffectiveness in language education called for the improvement of education method.<sup>46</sup> In addition, poor nutrition appeared to be another cause that shortened their life span.

Based on the positive summary of the Westerners’ view on Japan who visited Japan after the opening of Japan in 1850s to the early Meiji period, the Japanese leaders idealized the image of the Japanese as following: Japanese had a strong sense of *chukun*

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<sup>44</sup> Quoted in “Okuma, the President Monroe of Japan,” *Clinton Mirror* (Iowa), July 10, 1915, emphasis mine.

<sup>45</sup> “Nihon no yukubeki michi” [The way Japan should go], *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* [Osaka Asahi Daily] (Osaka), January 15, 1933.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

*aikoku*, readiness for self-sacrifice, emphasis on family, respect for honor, ancestral worship, love of nature, practical rather than speculative, seeking the new and independence, cleanliness and politeness, industrious and brave, and women to be gentle. In other words, they portrayed the Japanese as “the most exquisite Asians of all.”<sup>47</sup>

At the same time, the rapid modernization drastically transformed the nature of Japanese society. The rise of the emperor cult significantly affected the course of the development of modern Japan that eventually led to the devastating war with the United States. The emperor cult and the modernization facilitated Japan’s expansionism, and Japan’s world prominence through the victories over China and Russia became a threat to the United States. By the end of the Russo-Japanese War, a strict formula had developed that *Yamato Damashii* (soul of Japan; unchanged loyalty) was equal to “no surrender.”

### ***Japanese in the United States***

The Issei in the United States—mostly temporary laborers—preserved their cultural identity because they regarded Japan as the only and ultimate place to return. Issei laborers then did not plan to permanently settle in the United States; therefore, they attached to their homeland more and merely behaved as Japanese subjects temporarily working abroad in the first decade of the twentieth century. Evidently, their passports clearly stated that they were supposed to go back to Japan after three years of labor for accumulating money. In other words, mostly composed of bachelors, they were “emigrants” and not “immigrants” who sought permanent settlement in America. Thus, the Japanese emigrants remained celebrating Japan’s national holidays and kept up their

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<sup>47</sup> “Waga kokuminsei no yuetsu” [Superiority of our national character], *Kobe Yushin Nippo* [Kobe Daily] (Hyogo), September 15, 1939.

Japanese national identity at the turn of the twentieth century. Additionally, Japan's victory over Russia—a powerful Western country—further bolstered the Issei's morale and pride in Japan. The following photograph excerpted from *New-York Tribune* showed the site of the large-scale Japanese meeting held in San Francisco to celebrate Emperor Meiji's fifty-third birthday.

Figure 2.2 Japanese Mass Meeting in San Francisco, 1905



Source: *New-York Tribune*, April 16, 1905.

Decorated with numbers of the Rising-Sun flags (*Kyokujitsu-ki* 旭日旗; military flag of Japan) and the national flags (*Nisshoki* 日章旗), the photograph vividly depicted high degree of Japanese nationalism existed among overseas emigrants.<sup>48</sup> The reporter was

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<sup>48</sup> “Japanese Immigration: Movement on Pacific Coast for Its Restriction,” *New-York*



obviously shocked to find that there was not even one Stars and Stripes displayed in the hall and the existence of overwhelming Japanese immigrant nationalism.

In reaction to the Japanese showing strong nationalism, anti-Japanese agitators in California labeled that Japanese as “undesirable immigrants” condemning that “they show no desire to assimilate with the American people; and . . . that the Japanese establish no home here, and that they go back to Japan with their earnings as the Chinese return to China. . . .”<sup>49</sup> It was mostly true among the initial Japanese emigrants to Hawaii because the Japanese government regarding them as *dekaseginin* 出稼ぎ人 (temporary laborers) expected their return with savings when their three-year contract period ended. Simultaneously, the Japanese emigrants hoped to acquire advanced farming method and labor management to facilitate the development of Japanese agricultural industry.<sup>50</sup> As Irie Toraji pointed out in his study, the Japanese government regarded the emigrants as a source of foreign currency.<sup>51</sup>

Meanwhile, the anti-Japanese agitators’ argument partly applied to the early *dekasegi-shosei* 出稼ぎ書生 (student laborers).<sup>52</sup> They argued that “He [Japanese] dresses in American garb, but he is as alien in his thoughts, his religion and his methods of life. . . . Many of student class attend the Christian Sunday schools, but their enemies

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*Tribune*, April 16, 1905.

<sup>49</sup> *New-York Tribune*, April 16, 1905.

<sup>50</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1955), 390.

<sup>51</sup> Toraji Irie, *Hojin kaigai hattenshi* [History of Japanese expansion abroad], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Ida Shoten, 1942), 92. The total remittances from Japanese in Hawaii during the government-contract immigration period (1885–1894) reached \$264 million, according to Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 419.

<sup>52</sup> Some of the early *dekasegi-shosei* were devout Christians such as the members of *Fukuinkai* 福音会 (Gospel Society) including Abiko Kyutaro 我孫子久太郎 (1865–1936); however, most Japanese emigrants were non-Christians.

declare that much of their interest in religion is due to their keen desire to learn English.”<sup>53</sup> In fact, many Japanese immigrants went to church for social reasons. Surveying a village populated by people who used to work in the United States, sociologist Fukutake Tadashi examined the changes in the ex-emigrants’ religious faith. In the research, Fukutake discovered their reasons for going to church and receiving the Baptism: they went to church because (1) they did not know how to spend Sundays, (2) they wanted to associate with Americans, (3) they sought to learn English, and (4) their boss invited them, so they felt a sense of social obligation.<sup>54</sup> Not the religious cause but social and economic conditions motivated the Japanese immigrants to go to church and occasionally to be Christianized for facilitating *gaimenteki doka* 外面的同化 (superficial assimilation). According to a leading scholar of Japanese American history, Yuji Ichioka, *gaimenteki doka* was a “form of assimilation involved only outward appearances . . . to conform to American life.”<sup>55</sup> To the eyes of the Issei, assimilation, Americanization, Westernization, and Christianization meant apparently the same. Indeed, Count Okuma Shigenobu, national leader and former Prime Minister of Japan, declared “Christianity is the only thing that prevents war with United States.”<sup>56</sup> Although the Japanese government lifted the ban on Christianity in 1873, most Meiji Japanese

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<sup>53</sup> *New-York Tribune*, April 16, 1905.

<sup>54</sup> Tadashi Fukutake, ed., *Amerika-mura: Imin soshutsu mura no jittai* [An America Village: The Impact of Emigration upon the Village] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1953), 296. Traditionally, Japanese in rural villages did not rest on Sundays because farming required daily maintenance.

<sup>55</sup> Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 185–187.

<sup>56</sup> *San Juan Islander* (Friday Harbor, Washington), May 2, 1913. Okuma served as the prime minister of Japan for two times: the First Okuma Cabinet (June 1898–November 1898) and the Second Okuma Cabinet (April 1914–October 1916). He was an advocate of “Asia for the Asiatics.” Tacitly approved by President Theodore Roosevelt, “Japanese Monroe Doctrine for Asia” eventually caused hostility and conflict between Japan and the United States, according to Arnold Bennett Hall and Monroe, *The Monroe Doctrine and the Great War* (Chicago: McClurg, 1920), 92–93.

interpreted Christianity as either social or political device to get along with the Westerners. Simultaneously, the Meiji Japanese who became more nationalistic after Japan's victories over two powerful nations could not accept the concept of assimilation. Regarding Japan as the "*Toa no Meishu*" 東亜の盟主 ("leader of Asia") and *ittokoku* 一等国 ("first class nation"), Americanization contradicted Issei's tremendous pride in Japan's recent achievement.<sup>57</sup>

### ***Bushido* 武士道: *The Code of the Samurai***

Let us now look at *Bushido* in detail. *Bushido* was another Japanese cultural value that the Kamikaze pilots and 442nd RCT had in common. Placing emphasis on *chuko* 忠孝 (loyalty and filial piety) largely derived from Neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi School, *Bushido* remained the central virtue of the Japanese people even after the collapse of feudal states—Tokugawa Shogunate—in 1868.<sup>58</sup> Literary meaning *bu* 武 (military) *shi* 士 (knight) *do* 道 (way), *Bushido* played an important role in promoting absolute loyalty of the Japanese military to the emperor and their imperial country. Defining how the way of warrior should be, *Bushido* served as the philosophical

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<sup>57</sup> "Japan Wants to Lead Asia," *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu), May 29, 1908; Hiraoka Tatsuji, correspondent in New York, "Hokubei no Honpo imin (6): Teikyu seikatsu kirawaru" [Japanese in North America (6): Hated low standard of living], *Kobe Shimibun* [Kobe Daily] (Hyogo), September 3, 1926.

<sup>58</sup> Introduced by Zen Buddhists in the late twelfth century, the Neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi (1130–1200) is known as *Shushigaku* 朱子学 in Japan. Neo-Confucianism is based on the Confucian ideas with the influence of Buddhism and Taoist teachings. Modified by the Japanese scholars, *Shushigaku* placed great emphasis on the distinctive interpretations of filial piety (*oya koko* 親孝行) and the right "way" (*do* 道). *Shushigaku* also promoted the strong family ties, proper work ethic and the pursuit of education. The major difference of *Shushigaku* from Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism is that loyalty to one's ruler, teacher, or superior is as important as to be filial to one's parents. This concept resulted in a creation of strict top-down hierarchy based on social status, scholarship, and age. Prevailing since the Tokugawa Shogunate, *Shushigaku* became uniquely Japanese philosophy/ideology until the end of World War II.

foundation for the ethics of the Japanese soldiers until Japan's defeat in World War II. A Japanese famous scholar, diplomat, and Christian who was Under-Secretary General of the League of Nation in the 1920s, Nitobe Inazo 新渡戸 稲造 (1862–1933) found sources of virtues in *Bushido*—rectitude, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity, honor, loyalty, and self-control.<sup>59</sup> Nitobe defined *Bushido* as: “the ways which fighting nobles should observe in their daily life as well as in their vocation; in a word, the ‘Precepts of Knighthood,’ the *noblesse oblige* of the warrior class.”<sup>60</sup> Simultaneously, Nitobe described *Bushido* as;

[T]he code of moral principles which the knights were required or instructed to observe. It is not a written code; at best it consists of a few maxims handed down from mouth to mouth or coming from the pen of some well-known warrior or savant. More frequently it is a code unuttered and unwritten, possessing all the more the powerful sanction of veritable deed, and of a law written on the fleshly tablets of the heart. It was founded not on the creation of one brain, however able, or on the life of a single personage, however renowned. It was an organic growth of decades and centuries of military career. It, perhaps, fills the same positions in the history of ethics that the English Constitution does in political history; yet it has had nothing to compare with Magna Charta or the Habeas Corpus Act.<sup>61</sup>

During the Meiji period, the code of warrior class was transformed into the universal virtue applying to all classes of Japanese in both urban and rural areas.

Surprisingly, in California the adoption of *Bushido* was promoted by the Japanese Christians, especially after the passage of the Alien Land Law of 1913 that prohibited alien ownership of land and limited the lease to three years for agricultural purpose. In the July 1913 issue of *Shin Tenchi* 新天地 (New Heaven and Earth), the organ of the *Kirisutokyo Dendo-dan* キリスト教伝道団 (Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions), argued that the Japanese people whether at home or abroad should live in

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<sup>59</sup> Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, 12th ed. (Tokyo: Teibi Publishing Company, 1907).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 4–5.

accordance with the “true meaning of *bushido*.”<sup>62</sup> Realizing the adoption of American Christian values would not facilitate their assimilation into the mainstream, Japanese Christians shifted their approach to overcome the anti-Japanese movement. And their answer to the racial problem was the return to their cultural values by placing emphasis on the traditional virtues of Japan, namely *Bushido* and *chukun aikoku*. The Japanese Christians earnestly believed these Japanese cultural values would be beneficial to American civilization.<sup>63</sup>

### ***Chapter Summary***

What I have tried to show in this chapter is that the Meiji education system played a leading role in shaping the prewar Japanese mind as well as in achieving *fukoku kyohei*. For the Meiji government that sought to catch up the West to become an *ittokoku* within a short time, absolute cooperation and sacrifice of the Japanese subjects was urgent. In so doing, the government issued numbers of proclamation in the name of the emperor. First of all, the promulgation of *Gunjin Chokuyu* created the Emperor’s Military—Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy—that emphasized loyalty, decorum, valor, faith, and frugality.

Second, the Meiji leaders effectively controlled the Japanese thought by promulgating *Kyoiku Chokugo* that emphasized sacredness of the emperor and Confucian teachings such as loyalty and filial piety. The most effective way of implementing the

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<sup>62</sup> Ryo Yoshida, “1913 Alien Land Law and Japanese Christians in California,” *The Social Science* 47 (August 1991): 17. The *Dendo-Dan* was organized to “Christianize, promote social reform, develop moral character, and improve public morals,” quoted in Yoshida, 16.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 13–14. Simultaneously, the *Dendo-dan* launched *Keihatsu Undo* 啓発運動 (Campaign of Enlightenment) to educate both Americans and Japanese people for promoting their “co-existence” under God.

idea of *Kokutai* (national essence) was the installation of courses on moral education called *Shushin* in a school curriculum. *Shushin* courses guided the schoolchildren to become fine Japanese subjects who were obedient to *Kyoiku Chokugo* and “twelve virtues.”

Living within the Japanese immigrant community, the Japanese in America maintained their cultural identity and remained nationalistic in many aspects. As the Japanese government schemed, the Issei worked hard and made remittances to help the national development. Being proud of Japan, the Issei chose to practice *gaimenteki doka* (superficial assimilation) whereas carrying on the Japanese cultural tradition such as *Bushido*. The Issei hoped their Nisei children to grow up with Japanese virtues, which they believed superior to American virtues.

## CHAPTER III

### JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS AND THE NISEI

“Japanese-Americans who don’t know the Japanese language seem to me to have lost their racial pride. I believe that Issei—who, though they were suppressed, endured in America with unyielding spirits, and though they were treated as fugitives by their mother country, still loved Japan and never forgot their native land—they are the real Japanese.”—Izo Kojima<sup>1</sup>

Recently, the Japanese scholars of American studies began to pay closer attention to the historical development of the Japanese Americans. Until the 1980s, virtually no scholarly works on Japanese American studies had been published in Japan. But since the 1990s numerous Japanese scholars began to publish a number of scholarly works on the field. Meanwhile, in the United States, the research on the Japanese American values and behavior was initiated in the field of psychology since the 1960s, and sociologists began examining the causes of the Japanese American’s social successes in the 1980s.<sup>2</sup> However, comprehensive studies on values and behavioral characteristic of the Japanese Americans have remained scarce compared to the studies on the wartime internment of Japanese Americans. There are especially few studies of the impact of Japanese language schools on the formation of Nisei’s unique cultural identity and their behavioral patterns.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Kazuo Ito, *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America*, trans. Shinichiro Nakamura and Jean S. Gerard (Seattle: Japanese Community Service, 1973), 589.

<sup>2</sup> Chikako Tanaka, “Nikkeijin gakushu ni okeru kachikan · kodo tokusei no toriage kata” [Taking up the values and behavioral characteristic in the learning of Japanese Americans], in *Tabunka shakai Amerika ni okeru kokumin togo to Nikkeijin gakushu* [Multicultural education for national integration in multicultural America], ed. Takeo Morimo (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1999), 140.

What I wish to show in this chapter is the role played by the Japanese language schools in the course of the development of Nisei's values and behaviors in Hawaii and the mainland United States. Importantly, the Japanese language schools, teaching Japanese cultural values, were the embodiment of nationalism and pride among the Issei. Tracing the rise and fall of the Japanese language schools and its influence on the Nisei, I try to demonstrate there were similarities in educational background between the Kamikaze pilots and the members of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

### ***Background of the Establishment of Japanese Language Schools***

As a beginning, we will examine the history of Japanese immigration to the United States. The Japanese immigration to Hawaii began as early as 1868, and to the mainland in 1869.<sup>3</sup> The mass Japanese immigration to Hawaii began in 1885 in response to the booming of the Hawaiian sugar industry. Suffering a shortage of labor after the mid-nineteenth century due to the arrival of Europeans with diseases to which the native Hawaiian had no immunity, planters (mostly Americans) in Hawaii needed cheap but reliable labor force. For that reason, immigration started under the supervision of the Japanese and Hawaiian governments between 1885 and 1894, and total 29,096 Japanese emigrants landed on Honolulu as contract laborers transported in twenty-six voyages.<sup>4</sup>

Under contract for three years, the Japanese emigrants were *dekaseginin* (temporary

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<sup>3</sup> The first group of the Japanese who emigrated to Hawaii is called *gannenmono* 元年者 (literally “people of the first year”) because they left Japan in the first year of Meiji. Whereas the first group of the Japanese immigration to the United States took place in 1869, a year after the Meiji Restoration. Consisting of about forty Japanese who were former samurai and their families, they arrived on San Francisco and sought to establish an agricultural colony known as the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony at Gold Hill in El Dorado County. Nevertheless, the colony failed within a few years because of the lack of water supply for cultivating tea and silk, an epidemic, in addition to the insufficient funds to operate the colony, according to Alton Pryor, *Classic Tales in California History* (Roseville: Stagecoach Publishing, 1999), 38–39.

<sup>4</sup> Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi Kanko Iinkai, *Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi* [A history of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii] (Honolulu: Hawaii Nikkeijin Rengo Kyokai, 1964), 99–100.



laborers) who intended to return to Japan when they made enough earnings. Meanwhile, the mass Japanese immigration to the mainland United States did not take place until the 1890s when industry in the U.S. West encountered the shortage of labor due to the prohibition of Chinese immigration to the United States after 1882.<sup>5</sup> Later known as the pioneer immigrants, the Japanese who came to the United States before the 1880s were either government-supported students or self-supported students whose major purpose of going to America was not to earn money by labor but to acquire knowledge and skills for their success and achievement of their homeland, undergoing rapid modernization. The early Japanese who came to the United States for studying English or acquiring other skills were called *shosei* 書生 (students), and those who performed domestic services and labor to attend school were called *dekasegi-shosei* (student-laborers) or more commonly “school-boys.” Compared with the labor-based *dekaseginin*, *dekasegi-shosei* had a good command in English and some of them established their own businesses in America. A considerable number of Issei leaders were indeed *dekasegi-shosei* previously.<sup>6</sup>

The following Table 3.1 illustrates the rapid increase of the Japanese population in Hawaii and the mainland U.S. between 1870 and 1940 based on the census records. The table clearly reflected the impact of the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907–08 that drastically changed the Japanese immigration pattern by prohibiting labor immigration while allowing the entry of wives and children of those Japanese already in the U.S.<sup>7</sup> Because of the agreement, Japanese in the United States rapidly increased in mainland.

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<sup>5</sup> Chinese Exclusion Act, May 6, 1882.

<sup>6</sup> Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 8–9.

<sup>7</sup> Commonly known as Executive Order 589 issued on March 14, 1907, the Gentlemen’s Agreement was a series of documents exchanged between the Japanese and American governments. The documents included the issuance of no passports to both skilled and unskilled laborers as well as the prohibition of the Japanese migration to the United States by way of Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada.

Table 3.1 Japanese in the Mainland United States and Hawaii, 1870–1940

Year	Mainland U.S.		Hawaii		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
1870	55	100.0 %	–	0.0 %	55
1880	148	56.1 %	116	43.9 %	264
1890	2,039	13.9 %	12,610	86.1 %	14,649
1900	24,326	28.5 %	61,111	71.5 %	85,437
1910	72,157	47.5 %	79,675	52.5 %	151,832
1920	110,010	49.9 %	109,274	50.1 %	220,284
1930	138,834	49.9 %	139,631	50.1 %	278,465
1940	126,947	44.6 %	154,905	55.4 %	284,852

Sources: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970. Part 1* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), series A91-104, p. 14; idem, *Nineteenth Census of the United States: 1970. Population, Volume I. Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pt. 13: Hawaii, table 17, pp. 18–19; Romanzo C. Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933), 8–9.

Wherever the Japanese immigrant community was formed, the Issei established three kinds of organizations within their communities; (1) churches/temples/shrines, (2) social/political organizations, and (3) Japanese language schools.<sup>8</sup> Becoming the center of the immigrant community and its activities, churches/temples/shrines served as the social organizations hosting the Japanese traditional events such as *Bon Odori* besides providing religious services. The churches/temples/shrines offered the Sunday Schools for children in order to encourage the family participation. Therefore, Fujii Yoshito, an Issei immigrant in Seattle, described the role of Buddhist church as a “community

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<sup>8</sup> Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamato, and Raymond Y. Okamura, “Japanese Americans in California,” in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Sites Survey for California*, California Department of Parks and Recreation Office of Historic Preservation, December 1988, [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/5views/5views4c.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/5views/5views4c.htm) (accessed August 8, 2009).

center.”<sup>9</sup> Indeed, about 85 percent of the Japanese residents in the West Coast states were Buddhists before World War II and church associated with Christianity was in the Yamato Colony in Livingstone,<sup>10</sup> an elite colony set up by Abiko Kyutaro who was the founder and editor of the *Nichibei Shimbun* (Japanese-American News).<sup>11</sup> The number of Japanese Christian churches steadily increased in the West Coast states because many Issei leaders regarded adoption of American Christian values as a key to the equal treatment by eliminating racial discrimination and the acceptance into mainstream society.<sup>12</sup>

The Japanese language schools, established as early as in 1893 in Hawaii and in 1902 in mainland United States, aimed at improving the communication between the Issei parents and the Nisei children.<sup>13</sup> The Issei parents, being people of Meiji,

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<sup>9</sup> “Dekasegi ka Amerika Eiju wo Wakerumono: Fujii Yoshito (Hiroshima-ken shusshin, 1915 nen tobei)” (Issues that separated Dekasegi and Permanent Settlement: Fujii Yoshito [coming from Hiroshima in 1915], in *Issei to shite Amerika ni Ikite* [Living in America as first-generation Japanese Americans], ed. Takao Kitamura (Tokyo: Soshisha, 1992), 202. *Bon Odori* is Japanese Buddhist folk dance performed outdoors during the *Bon* festival that aimed at entertaining the spirits of ancestors.

<sup>10</sup> Waugh, Alex Yamato, and Raymond Y. Okamura, “Japanese Americans in California,” in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Sites Survey for California*, California Department of Parks and Recreation Office of Historic Preservation, December 1988, [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/5views/5views4c.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/5views/5views4c.htm) (accessed August 8, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Established in 1899 by Abiko Kyutaro and lasted until 1942, *Nichibei Shimbun* was the most widely circulated Japanese-language daily newspaper. *Nichibei Shimbun* was especially helpful to newly immigrants from Japan by providing news of America as well as advices. Abiko also served as the president of San Francisco *Fukuinkai*. In 1924, Abiko began to add English-language section for the Nisei readers. Through the press, Abiko called for the Japanese permanent settlement in the United States through “picture bride” marriage for starting families, according to Hyung-chan Kim, *Distinguished Asian Americans: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Ryo Yoshida, “1913 Alien Land Law and Japanese Christians in California,” *The Social Science* 47 (August 1991): 13. According to *Zaibei Nihonjin shi*, thirty-one Christian churches were established in Northern California between 1886 and 1929, twenty-seven Christian churches in Southern California between 1896 and 1929, and twelve Christian churches in Oregon, Washington, Utah, Colorado, and New York. Most churches offered Sunday schools, and the number of the Sunday school students ranged from 35 to 367. *Zaibei Nihonjinkai Jiseki Hozonbu*, ed. *Zaibei Nihonjin shi* [History of Japanese in the United States] (San Francisco: Zaibei Nihonjinkai, 1940), 360.

<sup>13</sup> The first Japanese language school in California was the Nihon Shogakko (Japanese Elementary School) established by Sano Keizo in 1903, which was renamed the Nihon Gakuen. At the same time, Sano organized San Francisco *Nihonjin Shonenkai* 日本人少年会 (Japanese Boys’ Club) that was later reorganized into Boy Scouts, according to Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka

considered a family as the smallest social unit, and the family solidarity as one of the most important Japanese values. A proper communication between the two generations was essential to maintain the family solidarity and Japanese virtues. As the number of Nisei children increased within the Japanese immigrant community, many small-scale Japanese language schools began to appear. The objectives of these schools were to correct the disciplinary problems, to train Nisei with proper Japanese and *Nippon Seishin* (Japanese spirit).<sup>14</sup> To achieve these objectives, the Japanese language schools offered courses on “reading, writing, penmanship, memories, dictation, and speaking” so that the Nisei could learn how “to speak Japanese and read the rudiments of the language, perhaps newspapers, and write very simple letters of communications.”<sup>15</sup>

Outnumbering the Issei by the mid-1920s in Hawaii and in the early 1930s in mainland United States, the Nisei’s rapid population growth drastically changed the nature and composition of the Japanese American community. According to the U.S. Census of 1930, about five- to six-thousand Issei decreased annually by either death or returning home, meanwhile about 3,500 Nisei were born in California annually. The ratio of Issei and Nisei in mainland was 10,000 Issei to 13,000 Nisei.<sup>16</sup> The following Figure 3.1 indicates the rapid growth of Nisei population in Hawaii between 1900 and 1940. The Nisei population increased exponentially after 1900. For instance, the Nisei

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Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1955), 197. Sano was a member of the Church of Christ in San Francisco.

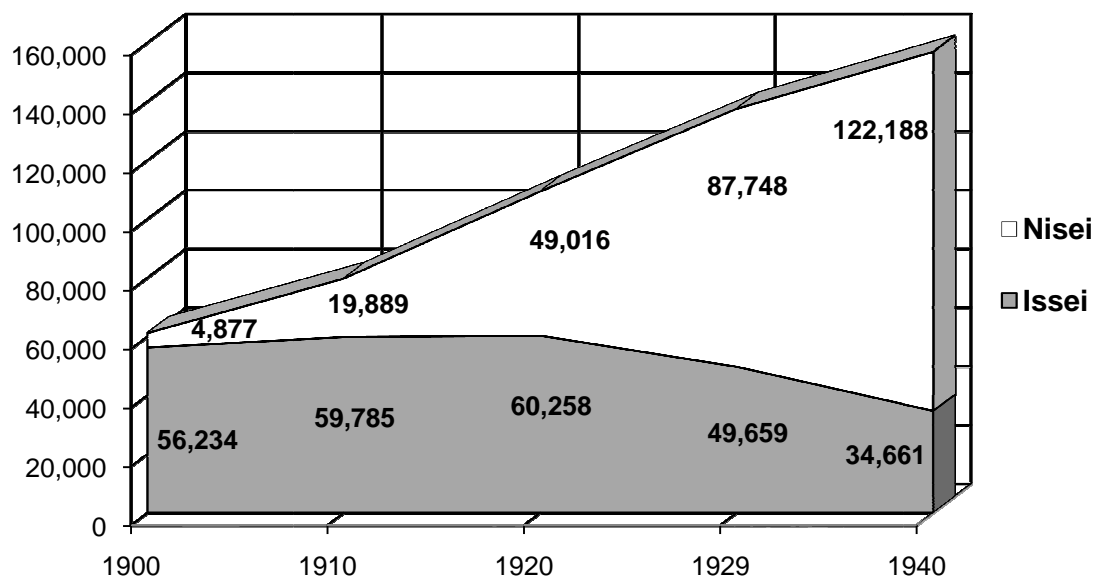
<sup>14</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 440.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, 66th Cong., 2d sess. March 30 and 31 and April 6, 1920 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 659 (hereafter cited as *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings* (66th Cong., 2d sess.)).

<sup>16</sup> “Nichibei kankei to dai Nisei” [US-Japan relations and the Nisei], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* (Osaka Daily News), October 27, 1941.

numbered only 2,078 in 1896. Their number doubled in less than four years, and finally reached 19,899 in 1910, marking 957 percent increase within a fourteen-year-period.<sup>17</sup> Continuing to increase by immigration and births, the Japanese became the largest minority group in Hawaii. Meanwhile, the Issei population in Hawaii showed a slight increase until 1920 indicating a considerable number of Japanese emigrants tended to return to Japan rather than settled in Hawaii after accumulating enough wealth as they intended. Hawaii was a place in which people were coming and going.

Figure 3.1 Issei and Nisei Population in Hawaii, 1900–1940



**Note:** Nisei’s number including Sansei (third-generation Japanese Americans) and Yonsei (fourth-generation Japanese Americans).

Sources: Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1955), 494–495; Hawaii Nihonjin Iminshi Kanko Iinkai, *Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi* [A history of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii] (Honolulu: Hawaii Nikkeijin Rengo Kyokai, 1964), 231.

<sup>17</sup> Hawaii Nihonjin Iminshi Kanko Iinkai, *Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi* [A history of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii], 231. Between 1885 and 1894, Nisei birth numbered 1,305, according to Gijo Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo gakko kyoikushi* [Educational history of Japanese language schools in Hawaii] (Honolulu: Hawaii Kyoiku Kai, 1972), 13.

In terms of the marriage, the Issei in Hawaii had a strong preference for marrying Japanese women. According to the Bureau of Education's *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii* (1920), while the European immigrants intermarried with other races, the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean immigrants married women from their own groups.<sup>18</sup> For instance, although the majority of Portuguese men married Portuguese women, they also married "Hawaiian, Caucasian-Hawaiian, Spanish, Chinese-Hawaiian."<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, intermarriage was rare; only one Japanese man married an American woman, and few Japanese women married Koreans and Chinese.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, the practice of "picture brides" flourished among the Japanese immigrants, especially after the signing of Gentlemen's Agreement. Between 1911 and 1919, 9,841 "picture brides" entered Hawaii, an average 1,105 per year.<sup>21</sup> Simultaneously, although having a choice, Hawaiian Nisei mostly chose their spouses from the same ethnicity because their parents desired so.

Meanwhile, Figure 3.2 illustrates the number of Nisei constantly increased while the Issei declined in number after 1920s largely due to the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1924 that banned the Japanese immigration to the United States following the termination of the practice of "picture bride" marriage in 1920. The practice of "picture bride" marriage contributed to the growth of the Nisei population between 1910 and 1930 on mainland United States as well as in Hawaii. Especially, the greater number of Nisei was born between 1910 and 1930, marking an increase rate of 659 percent between 1910

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<sup>18</sup> United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii; made under the direction of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 25–27 (hereafter cited as *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii*).

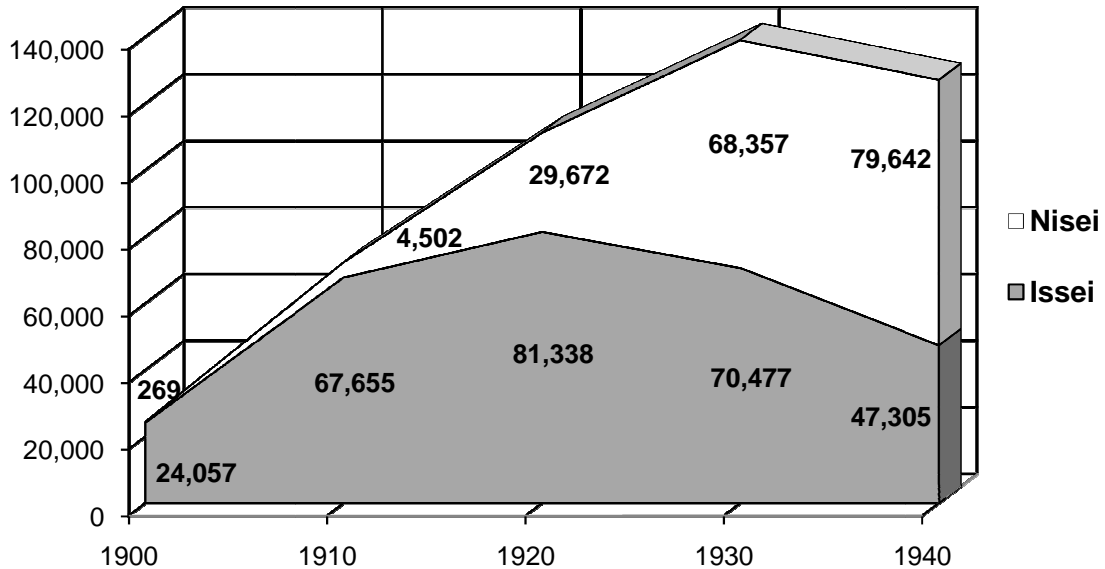
<sup>19</sup> *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, 25.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 27–28.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

and 1920 and 230 percent between 1920 and 1930.

Figure 3.2 Issei and Nisei Population in the Mainland United States, 1900–1940



Sources: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Volume II: General Report, Statistics by Subject, Chapter 2: Color or Race, Nativity and Parentage* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), table 8, p. 34; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Volume II: Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), table 6, p. 21.

Besides teaching the Japanese language, history, geography, and *Shushin* (moral education),<sup>22</sup> the Japanese language schools served as a “medium of communication”<sup>23</sup> between the Issei parents and the Nisei children. Indeed, learning of the language of their parents, according to the general secretary of Japanese Association of America, was

<sup>22</sup> Teruko Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi: kindai Amerika to Nihonjin imin* [A social history of alien residents: modern America and Japanese immigration] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan, 1995), 193.

<sup>23</sup> Dennis M. Ogawa, *Kodomo no tame ni – For the Sake of the Children: The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978), 180.

“social efficiency”—“the only way of communicating with the parents” for Nisei because their parents’ knowledge of the English language was “insufficient.”<sup>24</sup> For the Issei who brought the Japanese cultural values, family was the very foundation of the society, and “parental ideal of family solidarity was the basis for training and disciplining their children.”<sup>25</sup> Because of their *dekasegi* (temporary labor) nature, the Issei parents working in Hawaiian plantations often did not send their school-aged children to school. As a result, the Nisei could speak neither English nor Japanese properly, and they had hard time communicating with their parents.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, the major task of the Japanese language schools was the education of the Nisei with proper Japanese language as well as culture so that they could attend public schools in Japan without having any problem.<sup>27</sup> According to the Japanese *Koseki-ho* 戸籍法 (Japanese Nationality Act), children born into Japanese fathers were Japanese subjects regardless of their place of birth; therefore, the Nisei had dual citizenship.<sup>28</sup> The curriculum and the textbooks used in these schools were exactly the same as those used in the elementary schools in Japan because these schools aimed at educating the Nisei as “Japanese subjects” not as “American citizens.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings* (66th Cong., 2d sess.), 659.

<sup>25</sup> Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States: A Critical Study of the Problems of the Japanese Immigrants and Their Children* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), 348–349.

<sup>26</sup> Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo gakko kyoikushi* [Educational history of Japanese language schools in Hawaii], 20–21.

<sup>27</sup> Yuji Ichioka, “Dai Nisei Mondai: Changing Japanese Immigration Conceptions of the Second-Generation Problem, 1902–1941,” in *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese American History*, eds. Gordon H. Chang and Eiichiro Azuma (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 11; Keijiro Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka: “Nikkei Amerikajin no baai”* [Cultural assimilation on education: “Case of the Japanese American”] (Tokyo: Honpo Shoseki, 1986), 83.

<sup>28</sup> “Niju Kokuseki Mondai, Shasetsu” [Question of Dual Citizenship, editorial], *Kobe Yushin Nippo* [Kobe Daily], July 31, 1913. Issei parents registered the births to both American and Japanese governments, and Nisei with dual citizenship were supposed to serve in the Japanese military. The Japanese government regarding the Nisei as Japanese nationals allowed the dual citizenship status in order not to lose “Emperor’s subjects” and to enforce military duty. Therefore, the Japanese government showed a great interest in Nisei education.

<sup>29</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 83.



Being aliens ineligible for the U.S. citizenship and their chance of going back to Japan someday, the Issei parents regarded it as crucial for the Nisei children to master the proper Japanese language, culture, and ethics.

In fact, Nisei children's adoption of American way of life and the decline in Japanese cultural values and identity urged the Issei educators to establish the Japanese language schools in order to check the excessive "Americanization" by teaching them the language and culture of Japan. Significantly, the Nisei children lacked fundamental knowledge of Japanese tradition, and their ignorance of Japan culturally shocked the Issei imbued with Meiji ideals. For example, some Nisei children expressed their ambition to become the emperor of Japan, just like American children wished to become President of the United States.<sup>30</sup> In a democratic country, becoming President was possible for native-born citizens; however, the emperor of Japan was not elected by the popular vote but a hereditary position in a sovereign state. The Issei often brought over appropriate teachers from Japan. One of them was Watanabe Hana, a Japanese elementary school teacher in Tokyo, who came to Los Angeles and taught Japanese to the Nisei children at a Japanese language school. Watanabe sometimes got angry when the Nisei children looking at a map made fun of Japan being such a tiny country. In addition, Nisei asked her whether there were trains or airplanes in Japan.<sup>31</sup>

As Ichioka indicated, an immigrant educator concerned about the ignorance of the Nisei called for providing the Japanese education to the Nisei as following:

In the past the majority of Japanese in America and Canada were under the sway of the *dekasegi* spirit. We crossed the vast Pacific in order to earn money. The land here was only a temporary place to earn a living, a travel lodge as it were, with our real home

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<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Ichioka, *Before Internment*, 11.

<sup>31</sup> "Amerika umare no dai Nisei no ikumichi" [The future of the American-born Nisei children], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Tokyo Asahi Daily] (Tokyo), March 13, 1933.

being in Japan where the *cherry blossom* bloom. Hence we thought we had to educate our children accordingly. Some of us sent our children back to Japan to be cared for and educated by grandparents, siblings, or other relatives at home. For those unable to send children back . . . , we felt compelled to offer a “Japanese” education to them here. To achieve this end, we founded special schools—Japanese schools and language institutes. During this period, these schools mainly had the purpose of preparing the children to return to Japan.<sup>32</sup>

As the numbers of the Nisei increased following the mass immigration of the Japanese for the purpose of family reunion, many Japanese language schools were established in the West Coast states, particularly in California. According to the *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi* (History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations), there was one Japanese language school in Washington and nine in California in 1908, in which the majority of Japanese immigrants on mainland resided.<sup>33</sup> As of December 1914, there were thirty-one Japanese language schools and fifty-two teachers in California that rose to forty schools and eighty-one teachers by 1920.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, seventy-seven Japanese language schools were founded between 1901 and 1908 in Hawaii, in which 41.5 percent of the Hawaii’s entire population in 1910 was ethnic Japanese.<sup>35</sup> It indicated that a greater number of school-aged Nisei existed in Hawaii than in the mainland by 1908.

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<sup>32</sup> Tsutae Sato, *Bei-Ka ni Okeru Dai-Nisei no Kyoiku* [Education on the second generation in the United States and Canada] (Vancouver: Jikyodo, 1932), 1–2, quoted in Ichhioka, *Before Internment*, 11, emphasis mine.

<sup>33</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 257–259. In addition, the Japanese language schools were established in Vancouver and Stevenson, Canada, in 1906 and 1911, respectively.

<sup>34</sup> There were three Japanese language schools in Washington, one in Oregon, and three in Canada, according to Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 263.

<sup>35</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Bulletin 127, Chinese and Japanese in the United States, 1910* (Washington, D.C.: 1914), 14; Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 113. According to Tanaka, a great number of Japanese language schools were established in Hawaii from 1901 to 1908: two schools in 1901; nine schools in 1902; eleven schools in 1903; sixteen schools in 1904; eight schools in 1905; four schools in 1906; fifteen schools in 1907; and twelve schools in 1908.

## *Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii*

Following the sharp increase in Nisei children, the demand on the Japanese language schools inevitably rose in Hawaii. The Japanese language schools had a set of regulations that comprised their educational policy and philosophy. During the initial phase of the Japanese language schools, teachers who were often invited from Japan instructed the Nisei just like schoolchildren attending schools in rural Japan.<sup>36</sup> For example, the educational principles of a school in Hawaii founded in April 1896 by a Christian minister on Oahu, Okumura Takie 奥村 多喜衛 (1865–1951) were as follows.<sup>37</sup> Named Nihonjin Shogakko (Japanese Elementary School), this school was to provide the standard Japanese education to the Nisei boys and girls over the age of six by employing the licensed teachers. Curriculum of the school included reading, writing, and composition besides *Shushin* and gymnastics. Significantly, the school used *the reader certified by the Ministry of Education of Japan*. The donations of the students' parents and volunteers maintained the school operation.<sup>38</sup> As indicated in the principles of the Nihonjin Shogakko, the Japanese language schools in Hawaii aimed at rearing Nisei to be Japanese subjects in the initial phase (1893–1910).

The course of the development of the Japanese language schools in Hawaii and mainland differed significantly. Contrary to the Japanese language schools in mainland which were viewed with hostility for the most time, the Japanese language schools in Hawaii initially developed with support from the planters. While the Nisei population

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<sup>36</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 439.

<sup>37</sup> *The Yamato* (Honolulu), May 5, 1896; *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, 107; Hawaii Kyoikukai, ed., *Hawai Nihongo Kyoikushi* [History of the Japanese language education in Hawaii] (Honolulu: Hawaii Kyoikukai, 1937), 3–5.

<sup>38</sup> Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo gakko kyoikushi* [Educational history of Japanese language schools in Hawaii], 21, emphasis mine.

remained considerably low, the planters actively encouraged the establishment of Japanese language schools by providing sites for schools and construction costs as well as donating a portion of maintenance costs yearly. Nevertheless, by the 1910s, the public began to condemn the Japanese language schools for transmitting the Japanese nationalistic doctrine to direct citizen children to become loyal Japanese subjects.<sup>39</sup> Regardless of criticism, the number of Japanese language schools in Hawaii continued to grow. In 1904, there were already forty-four Japanese language schools in Hawaii that increased to sixty-eight in 1909, and 146 in 1919 with 17,546 students enrolled and about 400 teachers employed.<sup>40</sup>

In Hawaii, the parents' attitude toward the American public education was different because they considered American education as supplement for the Nisei to live in this country. The Issei born in the Meiji period were extraordinary nationalistic, and like the Japanese government adopting westernization for the sake of Japan's modernization, the Issei superficially accepted the Americanization for the sake of attaining social acceptance as well as improving their social status. Unlike their counterparts in mainland United States, Issei in Hawaii did not become oversensitive about public opinion on the Japanese language schools. Because over forty percent of Hawaii's total population was ethnic Japanese, they were not racially suppressed although the door to the upper class was not widely open for them yet. According to the report of the Hawaii Kyoikukai ハワイ教育会 (Japanese Education Association of

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<sup>39</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 440–441.

<sup>40</sup> See Kiyoshi Karl Kawakami, *Asia at the Door: A Study of the Japanese Question in Contintal United States, Hawaii and Canada* (New York: Fleming H. R. Revell, 1914), 216; Yasutaro Soga, *Gojunenkan no Hawaii Kaiko* [Reminiscence of fifty years in Hawaii] (Osaka: The Osaka Kosoku Printing Company, 1953), 337.

Hawaii), Japanese American children accounted for more than forty percent of entire Hawaiian public school students by 1919. The number of Japanese American schoolchildren continued to grow and accounted for 54.4 percent of all public school students by 1933, and their grades were above average. It was not uncommon for the Japanese American children to be the most or second excellent students in class.<sup>41</sup>

In addition, the Issei parents in Hawaii appeared to be more enthusiastic about Nisei's education following the native Japanese school curriculum. Many Issei were still *dekasegi*-minded and desired to return to Japan with their children someday. Moreover, trained to believe that *Shinshu* 神州 (meaning divine country; Japan) was the best country in the world, the Issei were subjects of emperor and Japan was such a precious country to them. Therefore, as the government preached that sending Japanese subjects abroad for a long period was equivalent to abandoning them because the emperor's mercy would not extend to overseas, many Issei considered it was their duty to return to Japan.<sup>42</sup> They hoped that Japanese language schools that taught Japanese virtues would spiritually facilitate the Americanization of Nisei. Yet, the main concern of the Issei parents was how to pass down the Japanese culture and moral values to Nisei children.

In 1915, the Japanese in Hawaii organized the Hawaii Kyoikukai and placed branches on every island. The board invited professionals from Japan every summer to listen to their lectures and held a study group for a teaching method. At the same time, the board began to compile textbooks. When the six teachers from Japan were rejected landing in 1917, the board fought in the court and the San Francisco Ninth Circuit Court and U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Japanese deciding that teachers were not

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<sup>41</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 451.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

immigrants.<sup>43</sup> Unlike the Japanese language schools on mainland, Hawaii's Japanese language schools were financially well established and more institutionalized.

A great number of Japanese language schools were established in Hawaii. According to the Territorial Department of Education, there were 163 Japanese language schools in Hawaii by 1920 with 449 teachers and an enrollment of 20,196.<sup>44</sup> Of 163 schools, only 10 schools (6.1%) were Christian affiliation, 63 schools (38.7%) were Buddhist affiliation, and 90 schools (55.2%) were independent. Urged to separate from religious affiliation, many schools declared themselves "independent"; however, they tended to keep connections with Buddhist. It indicated more than 90 percent of Japanese language schools in Hawaii maintained Buddhist affiliation and schoolchildren received education based on Buddhist values. In terms of the number of teachers and students, Christian Japanese language schools hired 23 teachers with an enrollment of 507, whereas Buddhist Japanese language schools hired 213 teachers with an enrollment of 9,300.<sup>45</sup> There were five Buddhist sects in Hawaii,<sup>46</sup> and Hongwanji (Jodo Shin sect) was the most influential sect that dominated Japanese language schools in Hawaii. According to *A Survey of Education in Hawaii* (1920), Hongwanji had sixty temples and substations in addition to the main temple at Honolulu, running thirty-three Sunday schools with an enrollment of nearly 4,000 children, as well as forty-two Japanese language schools with 155 teachers employed and an enrollment of 7,000.<sup>47</sup> The teachers

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<sup>43</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 446.

<sup>44</sup> *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, 43.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>46</sup> There are twelve Buddhist sects in Japan and five of them were brought into Hawaii. They were Jodo Shin (commonly known as Hongwanji), Jodo, Soto, Nichiren, and Shingon sects, according to *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, 110.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

of these schools were usually Buddhist monks brought from Japan who barely spoke English and “out of sympathy with American ideals and institutions.”<sup>48</sup>

The schools offered twelve years of study; the first eight years were called the lower or secondary division, and the remaining four years were called higher or advanced division. The textbooks used at Hongwanji affiliated high schools were the same as those used in high schools in Japan.<sup>49</sup> Beginning at 7 a.m. and ending at 8:20 a.m., the duration of a daily lesson were one hour and twenty minutes. High school students learned *Shushin*, readings, composition, penmanship, history, geography, translations as well as gymnastics for boys and music for girls. Besides, courses on sewing, handcraft, Japanese music, and etiquette were available for girls. During the course on translations, Hongwanji high schools used Nitobe Inazo’s *Bushido* (1905) that described samurai ethics and Japanese culture.<sup>50</sup> In reaction to the establishment of Japanese language schools in number, the Foreign Language School Bill was introduced in 1919 that would jeopardize the operation of Japanese language schools in Hawaii.<sup>51</sup> The Hawaii Kyoikukai disappeared for a while due to their different views on the Foreign Language School Control Bill commonly known as Act 30.

Sidney Lewis Gulick (1860–1945), a Christian missionary known for his sympathy with Japan, contributed to promoting Americanism among the Japanese in Hawaii. Concerned about ever growing anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast, Gulick argued that “For it is to be remembered that during the entire period of schooling, not only have they been in Oriental homes, but the Japanese at heart have been diligently

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<sup>48</sup> *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii, 43.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> “Hawaii Senate Kills Foreign Language Bill,” *New-York Tribune*, April 30, 1919.

drilled in Japanese schools by Japanese teachers, many of whom have little acquaintance and no sympathy with American institutions or a Christian civilization.”<sup>52</sup> Aiming at alleviating the anti-Japanese sentiment, Gulick supported the establishment of the Society for American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry (SACJA), the oldest political organization of Nisei, in Hilo in 1919. The SACJA consisted of the wealthy class Nisei men and women who later became the leaders of the Japanese American community.<sup>53</sup>

Act 30 was finally passed along with the bill regulating the foreign language press on November 24, 1920.<sup>54</sup> The Act made all foreign language schools to get a license from the Department of Public Education, and teachers working at foreign language schools had to pass a test on English, American history, and democracy. In addition, Act 30 allowed the children to attend foreign language schools only after the public schools, no more than one hour a day, six hours a week, and thirty-eight weeks a year.<sup>55</sup> Act 36, a companion bill, set qualifications of foreign language school teachers.<sup>56</sup> Following the passage of the bill, the Territory of Hawaii opened classes in English language, American ideals, and American institutions for the teachers of Japanese language schools in Hawaii in the early 1921. Lorrin A. Thurston, Hawaiian-born

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<sup>52</sup> Sidney Lewis Gulick, *The Church and International Relations-Japan: Report of the Commission on Relations with Japan* (New York: Missionary Education Movement for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1917), 140. Gulick spent twenty-five years in Japan working for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

<sup>53</sup> Hiromi Monobe, “Senkanki ni okeru Hawai Nikkei shimin no seiji shiso to sono katsudo: Beika to minzoku hatten no kosaten” [Japanese American Nisei’s Politics and Ideologies in Interwar Hawaii: The Intersection of Americanization and Racial Expansion], *Doshisha American Studies* 42 (2006): 121.

<sup>54</sup> “Jap Question to the Front,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 1, 1921. The Act 30 was based on the compromise bill proposed by the Japanese American leaders in Hawaii, according to Noriko Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism: The Attack on Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii, California, and Washington, 1919–1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 66.

<sup>55</sup> Brian Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to Present* (New York: Facts On File, 1993), 97–98.

<sup>56</sup> Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism*, 101.



American and publisher of the Hawaii's major press *Honolulu Commercial Advertiser*, remarked that "This marks the beginning of a new era, because it is the first attempt of the representatives of the two peoples of an entire community to get together and solve their differences by cooperation."<sup>57</sup>

Upon the Department of Public Instruction's decision to tighten the restrictions on foreign language schools on November 18, 1922, the Hawaii's Japanese community divided into two—Buddhist faction and Christian faction. While the *Hawaii Hochi* (Hawaii News) and *Hawaii Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (Hawaii Daily) supported the Buddhist faction, the *Nippu Jiji* (Japan-Hawaii Times) and Issei intellectuals supported the Christian faction.<sup>58</sup> The debate over the response to the Hawaii's Department of Public Instruction as well as basic policy of Japanese language schools eventually brought the differences in religious values and class distinctions between the Buddhist and the Christian Japanese into sharp relief. While the Buddhists and the Japanese language teachers called for the *Nippon Seishin* and actively supported the Japanese language schools for the sake of Nisei education, the Christians stood against such schools that would hinder the Nisei from assimilating into mainstream society.<sup>59</sup>

At the December 9th meeting held by the Consul General, the Buddhist faction represented by a *Hawaii Hochi* publisher Makino Kinzaburo called for justice by filing a lawsuit whereas the Christian faction, represented by Yamaguchi Keiichi (Consul General in Hawaii), Harada Tasuku (Professor at University of Hawaii), and Soga

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<sup>57</sup> Quoted in "Japanese and Americans Co-operating in Hawaii: Nipponese Teachers Join Classes in English-Language Schools," *New-York Tribune*, February 20, 1921.

<sup>58</sup> Soga, *Gojunenkan no Hawaii Kaiko* [Reminiscence of fifty years in Hawaii], 347–351.

<sup>59</sup> "Dekasegi ka Amerika Eiju wo Wakerumono: Fujii Yoshito [Hiroshima-ken shusshin, 1915 nen tobei]," in *Issei to shite Amerika ni Ikite* [Living in America as first-generation Japanese Americans], 203–204.

Yasutaro (*Nippu Jiji* editor-in-chief), the elite Issei favored to prevent conflict with the authorities in order not to aggravate the US-Japan relations.<sup>60</sup> Backed by the *Hawaii Hochi* and *Hawaii Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, the Buddhist faction of Japanese language schools such as the Palama and Kalihi Japanese language schools and two other schools filed a lawsuit in the Territorial Circuit Court on December 28, 1922, contending that the Act 30 was violation of the fifth and fourteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution.<sup>61</sup> Despite, Judge J. J. Banks of the U.S. District Court upheld the Act 30 on February 2, 1923, declaring it constitutional and not a violation of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan.<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile, passed on April 27, 1923, Act 171 incorporated with the regulations of Act 30 and gave more authority to the Department of Public Instruction besides imposing a one-dollar fee on each schoolchild. The Department of Public Instruction only allowed schoolchildren to attend foreign language schools if they completed second grade of public school curriculum.<sup>63</sup> Consequently, the Act 171 made kindergartens and first two grades of Japanese language schools illegal and forced some schools to close down.<sup>64</sup> Following the enactment of Act 171, sixteen more schools joined Palama and Kalihi language schools' lawsuit. By 1923, eighty-seven out of 143 Japanese language schools had joined the lawsuit.<sup>65</sup> Then, passed in April 1925, Act 152 further tightened

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<sup>60</sup> Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism*, 102.

<sup>61</sup> "Court Finds Against Japanese Teachers in Hawaiian Schools," *Schenectady Gazette*, November 19, 1923.

<sup>62</sup> "Hawaii School Law Upheld by Court," *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), February 6, 1923.

<sup>63</sup> Hawaii Kyoikukai, ed., *Hawai Nihongo Kyoikushi* [History of the Japanese language education in Hawaii] (Honolulu: Hawaii Kyoikukai, 1937), 288–289.

<sup>64</sup> United Japanese Society of Hawaii, *History of Japanese in Hawaii*, ed. James H. Okahata (Honolulu: United Japanese Society of Hawaii, 1971), 218–222.

<sup>65</sup> Ronald Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: Hawaii Hochi, Ltd., 1985), 64.

Act 171 imposing a penalty for the violation of regulations.<sup>66</sup> In addition, termination of “picture bride” marriage and the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1924 that ended the Japanese immigration to the United States affected the future development of the Japanese community. After the passage of the Immigration Act, the Japanese in Hawaii began to think more seriously about Americanization.<sup>67</sup>

In fact, the major shift in educational principles had not taken place in Hawaii until just before the Supreme Court decision on February 21, 1927 that ruled the laws passed by the Hawaiian Territorial Legislature to control the Japanese language schools were “unconstitutional invasion of the rights of the Japanese.”<sup>68</sup> In response to the Supreme Court Justice McReynolds ruled in favor of the Japanese language schools by recognizing the Japanese parents’ right to direct the Nisei education without “unreasonable” restrictions, the Japanese in Hawaii reflecting on their past conduct determined to designate the Japanese language schools to be aiding organs for raising Japanese children loyal to the United States.<sup>69</sup> Simultaneously, suggested by the Maui Kyoikukai (Maui Education Association), the Japanese educators founded the Second Hawaii Kyoikukai in 1927 in order to prepare textbooks suitable for the Nisei education

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<sup>66</sup> United Japanese Society of Hawaii, *History of Japanese in Hawaii*, ed. James H. Okahata, 218–222.

<sup>67</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 453–454.

<sup>68</sup> “Anti-Japanese Law of Hawaii is Voided: Supreme Court Holds Foreign Language School Limitations Violate Constitution,” *New York Times*, February 22, 1927; Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii*, 65. As a result, all laws regulating the Japanese language schools including Act 30, Act 171, and Act 152 were removed. Passed on November 24, 1920, Act 30 required all foreign language schools to get permit from the Department of Public Education, all teachers to pass exams on English, democracy, as well as American history. In addition, the length of school hours was set to one hour a day, six hours a week, and thirty-eight weeks a year.

<sup>69</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 445.

and editing *Shushin* textbooks.<sup>70</sup>

The Japanese in Hawaii cooperated to maintain the Japanese language schools to rear Nisei to be fine Americans. Through receiving the Japanese education that emphasized Japanese virtues such as obligation, duty, honor, loyalty, filial piety, patience, sacrifice, responsibility, for the sake of children, and for the country, Nisei gained a sense of loyalty and patriotism to the United States.<sup>71</sup> In fact, the Hawaii Kyoikukai's certified textbook such as *Nihongo Tokuhon* (Japanese Reader), which numbers of Japanese language schools in the United States used, had illustrations that promoted samurai culture. One of them was a boy holding a samurai sword and wearing a paper-crafted samurai war helmet.<sup>72</sup> It clearly indicates that prewar Japanese language schools aimed at not only teaching the language of their origin but also transmitting *Nippon Seishin* to the Nisei. The Japanese schoolteachers in Hawaii still placed an emphasis on *Shushin*, but it was not for rearing the Nisei to be fine Japanese subjects but for stimulating ethnic pride that

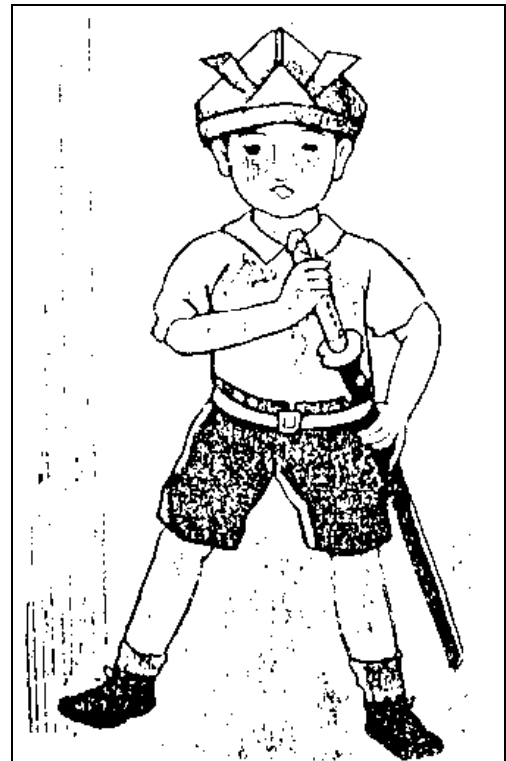


Figure 3.3 A boy with a Samurai sword and samurai's war helmet

Source: Hawaii Kyoikukai, *Nihongo Tokuhon*, vol. 1 [Japanese Language Reader], 1937, p. 24, cited in Keijiro Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 207.

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<sup>70</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 446–447.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 449.

<sup>72</sup> Hawaii Kyoikukai, *Nihongo Tokuhon*, vol. 1 [The Japanese language reader] (Honolulu: Hawaii Kyoikukai, 1937), 24.

would help the Nisei schoolchildren overcome difficulties to live as “minority” American citizens.

Since 1940, the Japanese language schools gathered all schoolchildren in the schoolyard every day and solemnly held a ceremony to put up the Stars and Stripes for implanting a sense of allegiance to the United States.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, like the Japanese in mainland United States, the Japanese in Hawaii had slight chance to get professional occupations. The majority of Japanese Americans found jobs in agriculture and labor and those occupations categorized as “unskilled labor.” According to the office of the Japanese Consul in Hawaii, there were about 65,000 adult Japanese in Hawaii, of whom 50,149 had gainful jobs in 1919.<sup>74</sup> The following Table 3.2, showing the various occupations of the Japanese in Hawaii, illustrates that most of them engaged in “unskilled labor.” More than half of the Japanese in Hawaii were plantation laborers who had supported the ever growing Hawaii’s sugar industry. Despite Nisei’s educational achievement, the occupational reality discouraged many Nisei who were taught higher education as a vehicle of upward social mobility that would liberate them from lower class. Indeed, the Nisei in Hawaii began to gain some political power in the 1930s when a considerable number of Nisei had reached voting age. According to *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, the ratio of Nisei to Issei marked 2.5 to 1, and Hawaii had 11,273 Nisei entitled to vote by the end of 1932, next to Americans and Hawaiians.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 459.

<sup>74</sup> *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, 17.

<sup>75</sup> “Honolulu no shukuten ni honsha tokuha shisetsu mo sanretsu” [Headquarters’ envoy extraordinary attending a celebration in Honolulu], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News] (Osaka), February 17, 1934.

Table 3.2 Occupational Distribution of Japanese in Hawaii, 1919

Occupations	Number	Percentage
Plantation laborers	26,867	53.57%
House servants	4,141	8.26%
Farmers	3,740	7.46%
Artisans, various miscellaneous laborers	2,791	5.57%
<i>Geishas</i> and helpers	2,391	4.77%
Clerks in stores and business houses	2,349	4.68%
Farm laborers	1,759	3.51%
Fishermen	1,653	3.30%
Chauffeurs	540	1.08%
Carpenters	506	1.01%
Railroad employees	394	0.79%
Bank employees	383	0.76%
Teachers	356	0.71%
Draymen	344	0.67%
Laborers in factories	320	0.64%
Barbers	275	0.55%
Laundry men	218	0.43%
Sawyers	197	0.39%
Stockmen	147	0.29%
Other occupations	777	1.55%
Total employed	50,149	100.0%

Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii; made under the direction of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 17–18.

Although few Nisei benefited from the higher education, they continued schooling. According to the Harada Tasuku, B.D., D.D., L.L.D., who used to work for the University of Hawaii, one third of all students attending the university were Nisei

boys and girls.<sup>76</sup> Harada expressed his concern about Nisei's difficulty of finding employment; on the other hand, he expected the Nisei to be loyal to the United States by "utilizing Yamato race's excellent characteristics" as well as to promote friendly relations between the United States and Japan.<sup>77</sup>

Seeking better opportunities, going to Japan for study became a trend for a considerable number of Nisei in Hawaii. The mission of the Nisei was to become fine Americans, at the same time be the mediators between the Eastern and Western cultures for the establishment of better US-Japan relations.<sup>78</sup> Some Nisei left for Japan for study in the 1910s, but Haida Tsuyuko, Yamashiro Toshio, Kokubunn Kaneyo were the first group officially sent to Japan for study in 1919 led by Ouchi Tamie.<sup>79</sup> Afterward, the number of Nisei going to Japan for study increased, especially after the Manchurian Incident in 1932 that retrieved ethnic pride among the Nisei. According to the *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi*, approximately 500 Nisei went to Japan between the summers of 1932 to 1933. Then, impressed by Japan's military advance into China as well as seeking employment opportunities, the number of Nisei in Japan for studying steadily increased and finally reached 2,000 in 1938–1939. Simultaneously, about the same number of Nisei repatriated with their parents permanently.<sup>80</sup> This "studying in Japan syndrome" largely attributed to social, economic, and spiritual conditions of Nisei in Hawaii.

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<sup>76</sup> Harada Tasuku, "Dai Nisei ni nozomu: 'Nichibei shinzen ni tsukuse'" [Wishing for Nise: Make efforts to promote friendly relations between the United States and Japan], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], February 17, 1935. Graduating from Doshisha Eigakko (Doshisha English Academy) in 1881 and serving as the president of Doshisha from 1907 to 1919, Harada taught at the East Asian Studies Department at the University of Hawaii until 1932.

<sup>77</sup> *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], February 17, 1935.

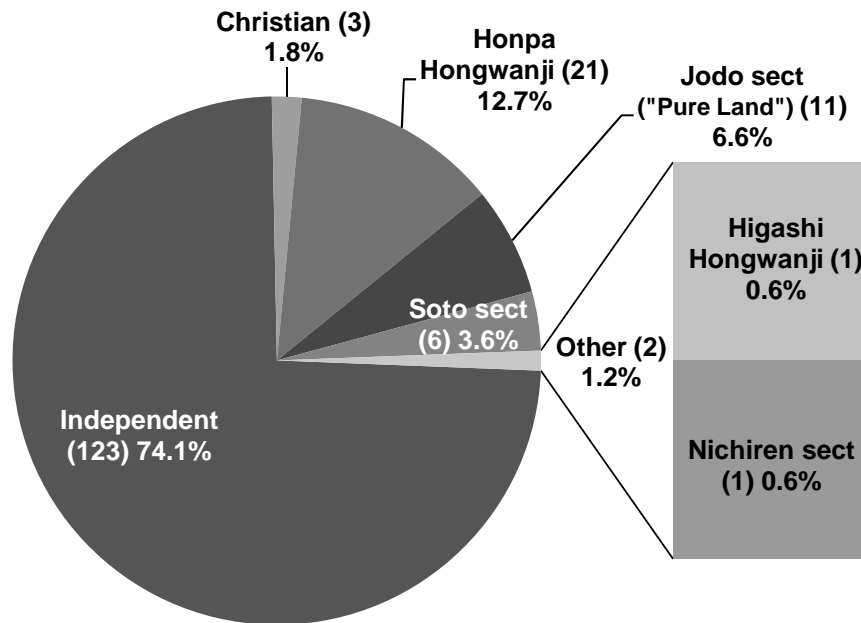
<sup>78</sup> "Honolulu no shukuten ni honsha tokuha shisetsu mo sanretsu" [Headquarters' envoy extraordinary attending a celebration in Honolulu], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], February 17, 1934.

<sup>79</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 448.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

The number of Japanese language schools in Hawaii finally reached 166 in 1939.<sup>81</sup> Of 166, 123 schools (74.1%) were independent while forty schools were affiliated with Buddhist (24.1%) and three schools Christian (1.8%). As mentioned before, many “independent” schools were indeed affiliated with Buddhist.

Figure 3.4 Affiliation of Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii, 1939



*Source:* Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 447.

Hawaii’s Japanese communities marked the large Buddhist population because many Japanese immigrants had come from Hiroshima in which Buddhism was a dominant religion.

<sup>81</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 447. If including schools not affiliating with the Hawaii Kyoikukai, 194 schools existed in Hawaii by 1939. Of 28 non-affiliated schools, 11 schools were independent, 9 were Christian, 3 were Honpa Hongwanji, 1 was Jodo sect, 3 was Soto sect, and 1 was Shingon sect.



In addition, many schools with religious affiliations offered Sunday Schools as well. The course of study in the Japanese language schools usually extended over twelve years, which included six years for elementary, four years for junior high, and high school or a supplementary course for two years. Meanwhile, some schools offered six years, eight years, or ten years. Many schools tended to offer kindergarten. At the end of September 1939, the number of students reached 38,515 including 19,600 boys and 18,915 girls.<sup>82</sup> By 1940, there were 647 Japanese language school teachers in Hawaii, and half of them were Nisei.<sup>83</sup>

The following Table 3.3 is the Palama Japanese Language School's weekly curriculum in 1931. Despite the call for Americanization, the Palama Japanese Language School, affiliated with Hongwanji Buddhist, continued to include at least thirty minutes of the *Shushin* classes in the weekly curriculum. Besides attending the public schools, the Nisei schoolchildren had to spend between six to 13.5 hours weekly at the Japanese language school for learning the following subjects: reading, composition, penmanship, *Shushin*, geography, history, English, book reading, newspaper, and sewing (for girls). Additionally, the Palama Japanese Language School offered kindergarten and weekly taught play and songs for 2.5 hours, manual arts for one hour, speech for thirty minutes, and counting for thirty minutes.<sup>84</sup> Americanization movement had not prevented the school from teaching Japanese culture to schoolchildren.

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<sup>82</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 447. The number of students enrolled in the Japanese language schools increased to 39,503 in 1940. Increasing nearly 1,000 in a year, according to Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo gakko kyoikushi* [Educational History of Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii], 252–276.

<sup>83</sup> Ozawa, *Hawai Nihongo gakko kyoikushi* [Educational history of Japanese language schools in Hawaii], 277.

<sup>84</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 132.

Table 3.3 Palama Japanese Language School Weekly Curriculum, 1931 (credit)

Grade Subject	Elementary School						Junior High School				High School
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	
Readings	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	6	6	3	3	3	3	2
Composition	2	2	2	1.5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Penmanship		1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
<b>Shushin</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Geography							1	1	1	1	
History							1	1	1	1	
English							1	1	2	2	2
Book reading					1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Newspaper											2
Elective (sewing)					1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Total	Boys	6	6	6	6	12	12	12	12	12	12
	Girls	6	6	6	7.5	13.5	13.5	13.5	13.5	13.5	13.5

Source: Palama Nihongo Gakko Yukai, Palama Koyukaishi dai 1go kinen tokushu, p. 96, cited in Keiji Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka: "Nikkei Amerikajin no baai"* [Cultural assimilation on education: "Case of the Japanese American"] (Tokyo: Honpo Shoseki, 1986), 132, emphasis mine.

Examining the textbooks and school policies and curriculum, attending the Japanese language schools explained the reason why more Hawaiian Nisei volunteered for the U.S. armed forces than mainland Nisei during the war. Among the Hawaiian Nisei, their religious affiliation tended to be more Buddhist than Christian, and Buddhist schools taught Japanese cultural values to schoolchildren through utilizing textbooks such as *Bushido* that depicted Japanese virtues.<sup>85</sup> As we have seen, the Japanese were the majority group in Hawaii, and the Hawaiian Nisei grew up without being suppressed racially. Moreover, the Buddhist affiliated Japanese language schools were devoted to

<sup>85</sup> *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, 117.

rearing schoolchildren with *Nippon Seishin* through *Shushin* classes that shaped the identity of Hawaiian Nisei in the prewar era. As *Yamato Shimbun* reported some Japanese presumed that Hawaiian Nisei would become better Americans by the “moral maxims [and] instruction in patriotism found in their [*shushin*] schoolbooks.”<sup>86</sup>

### ***Japanese Language Schools in the Mainland United States***

Let us now discuss the Japanese language schools on mainland in detail. The Seattle Kokugo Gakko (Seattle Japanese language school)—elementary school attached to the Japanese Association on the second floor of the Furuya Company building—was the first full-scale Japanese language school on the mainland established in Washington in 1902. The Japanese Association of Washington, founded by Arai Tatsuya in May 1900, set up the Kokugo Gakko.<sup>87</sup> Held at the Buddhist Church’s basement for a few years, the Kokugo Gakko finally moved to a new school building in 1913 constructed with donations.<sup>88</sup> Japanese residents in the community donated between 25 cents to 300 dollars. In addition, Prince Fushimi donated 300 dollars; Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō, 500 dollars; Admiral Togo Heihachiro, 150 dollars; General Kuroki Tamemoto, 125 dollars; Duke Tokugawa Iesato, 250 dollars; Baron Mitsui, 100 dollars; and business delegates to America headed by Baron Shibusawa Eiichi, 610 dollars.<sup>89</sup>

The majority of the Japanese language schools were founded in California where most Japanese immigrants formed their communities. Between 1901 and 1908, numbers

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<sup>86</sup> *Yamato Shimbun*, July 31, 1905, quoted in Louise Harris Hunter, *Buddhism in Hawaii: Its Impact on a Yankee Community* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 188.

<sup>87</sup> Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism*, 80.

<sup>88</sup> Kazuo Ito, *Hokubei Hyakunenzakura* [One hundred years of cherry trees in North America] (Tokyo: Hokubei Hyakunenzakura Jikko Inkai, 1969), 692.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 692–693. A great financier Shibusawa was often called the J. P. Morgan of Japan.

of Japanese language schools were successively founded in California, of which thirty-three such schools affiliated with religious institutions. Inheriting the Japanese cultural values, all schools but one with Christian affiliation were affiliated with the Buddhist, according to the report of the *Rafu Shimpō* (Los Angeles Japanese Daily News), a Japanese-language daily newspaper based in Los Angeles.<sup>90</sup>

Being ethnic minority, the Japanese in the mainland had to focus more on Americanization than those in Hawaii due to social pressure culminated in the segregation of Japanese schoolchildren in San Francisco public schools in 1906. Clearly motivated by racial prejudice in reaction to the mass Japanese labor immigration to California, the segregation of Japanese schoolchildren facilitated the establishment of more Japanese language schools. Taking place months after the devastating 1906 San Francisco earthquake, the Board of Education explained their decision to segregate the ninety-three Japanese children (65 males and 28 females) as follows. First, the schools could not receive the annual government subsidies of nine dollars for each schoolchild between five and seventeen years old because most Japanese students were seventeen years and over. Second, the public considered it could be possibly harmful to American schoolgirls if the mature Japanese male students were placed with them.<sup>91</sup>

Meanwhile, placing emphasis on the American public school education, the Issei parents refused to send their children to the inconveniently located Oriental School. Subsidized by the Japanese Association of America as well as the donation from the Issei parents, Nihon Gakuin managed to hire three American teachers so that the segregated

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<sup>90</sup> *Rafu Shimpō dai Ichimango kinenshi* [Commemorative Issue of the Los Angeles News], 1934, 43–45, cited in Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 119.

<sup>91</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 112.

Nisei schoolchildren could receive education based on the public school curriculum just like other American schoolchildren.<sup>92</sup> After all, the segregation of schoolchildren resolved within a half year through the signing of the Gentlemen's Agreement between the governments of Japan and United States in which the Japanese government promised not to issue passports to laborers.<sup>93</sup> Despite, while prohibiting the Japanese labor immigration, the Agreement facilitated the mass immigration of Japanese women for the purpose of family reunion that resulted in increasing the number of Nisei births in the next several decades. Simultaneously, the Agreement authorized the entry of "picture brides" in numbers.<sup>94</sup> The Nisei births in California numbered no more than 995 before 1912, yet it continued to increase and marked 3,721 in 1916 alone. Finally, within a decade, the Nisei births numbered as many as 5,275 in 1921.<sup>95</sup> The rapid growth of the Nisei population was an "unintended consequence" of the Gentlemen's Agreement.<sup>96</sup> Although concluded as a countermeasure against the growing anti-Japanese sentiment, the Agreement indicated the transformation of the ideal of Japanese immigrants from *dekasegi* to permanent settlement.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 118–119; Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 257.

<sup>93</sup> Franklin Odo, ed., *The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 141–142.

<sup>94</sup> "Picture bride" marriage was based on the Japanese traditional arranged marriage called *miai kekkon*, in which one's parents or a matchmaker found a partner for a groom or a bride. Since the marriage was a family affair, a man or woman of similar social and economic background was chosen as a spouse. Because of the nature of the "picture marriage," not all couples formed happy families; however, once the Nisei was born, most "picture brides" turned into *ryosai kenbo* (good wives and wise mothers) and they established patriarchy just like the Japanese of the Meiji period.

<sup>95</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 191.

<sup>96</sup> Alexander DeConde, et al., *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, Volume 2, E-N* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002), 208.

<sup>97</sup> Ichioka, *The Issei*, 5, 176. The Japanese in the United States before 1907 were mostly *dekasegi* (temporary labor) emigrants whereas they became immigrants (permanent settlers) after 1908 due to the signing of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

Having lived in a Confucian society and received education with a strong emphasis on *Kyoiku Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education), the Issei felt a sense of responsibility to send their children to the Japanese language schools so that they could learn the Japanese language, tradition, manner, and *Nippon Seishin*. The Issei parents inevitably aimed at implanting Japanese cultural, national, and racial pride into Nisei's mind. Indeed, emperor worship and support of *Kokutai* theory were not uncommon among the Issei who "believed in the genetic superiority of the Japanese race."<sup>98</sup> A Nisei sociologist Shotaro Frank Miyamoto described such behavior as Issei's "common expression" represented in a sentence: "We Japanese think of our whole nation as one big family because all of the Japanese families are just a branch of the Emperor's noble line."<sup>99</sup> The Issei's pride in Japan reflected in their education policy. For example, a Nisei woman, Monica Sone recalled that at the Seattle Kokugo Gakko—the oldest Japanese language school on the mainland—required Nisei schoolchildren to read *Kyoiku Chokugo* and sing *Kimigayo*.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile, researching on the Japanese in Tacoma-Pierce County, Ronald Magden argued in *Furusato* (1998) that the Japanese language school functioned as "community center" as well as educational place.<sup>101</sup> As the number of Nisei increased, so did the Japanese language schools.

The following Table 3.4 lists up the Japanese language schools in the West Coast states established between the years 1902 and 1912.

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<sup>98</sup> Yasuko Iwai Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 64.

<sup>99</sup> Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle* (1939; repr., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 29.

<sup>100</sup> Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: W. Morrow, 1969), 160.

<sup>101</sup> Ronald Magden, *Furusato: Tacoma-Pierce County Japanese, 1888–1988* (Tacoma: Tacoma Longshore Book & Research Committee, 1998).

Table 3.4 Japanese Language Schools in California, Oregon, and Washington, 1912

School	Established	Location	Affiliation
Seattle Kokugo Gakko	1902	Seattle, WA	Independent
Nihon Gakuin	1903	San Francisco, CA	Private Management
Meiji Shogakko	1903	San Francisco, CA	Buddhist (Hongwanji)
Sakura Gakuen	1903	Sacramento, CA	Buddhist (Hongwanji)
Alviso Nihongo Gakuen	1904	Alviso, CA	Japanese Association
Oakland Bukkyo Gakuen	1904	Oakland, CA	Buddhist
Fresno Nihongo Gakuen	1905	Fresno, CA	Buddhist
San Jose Nihongo Gakuen	1906	San Jose, CA	Buddhist
Alameda Gakuen	1907	Alameda, CA	Buddhist (later Independent)
Stockton Gakuen	1908	Stockton, CA	Buddhist
Fife Nihongo Gakko	1909	Fife, WA	Private Management
Agnew Nihongo Gakuen	1909	Agnew, CA	Independent
Penryn Nihongo Gakuen	1910	Penryn, CA	Buddhist
Wanto Gakuen	1910	Oakland, CA	Buddhist (later Independent)
Berryessa Gakuen	1910	Berryessa, CA	Christian
Tacoma Kokugo Gakko	1911	Tacoma, WA	Private Management
Kawashimo Gakuen	1911	Walnut Grove, CA	Independent
Kinmon Gakuen	1911	San Francisco, CA	Independent
Katei Gakuen	1911	Portland, OR	No record
Dai Ichi Rafu Gakuen	1911	Los Angeles, CA	Independent
Kings-gun Jido Kyoikukai	1911	Hanford, CA	Independent
Isleton Gakuen	1912	Isleton, CA	Japanese Association
Moneta Gakuen	1912	Moneta, CA	Independent
Watsonville Gakuen	1912	Watsonville, CA	Japanese Association

Sources: Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1955), 257-258; Hokka Nihongo Gakuen Kyokai, *Beikoku Kashu Nihongo Gakuen enkakushi* [History of the Japanese language schools in California] (San Francisco: Hokka Nihongo Gakuen Kyokai, 1930), 235-264.

The principal of Tacoma Kokugo Gakko (Tacoma Japanese Language School) and the president of the Tacoma Japanese Association, Yamasaki Masato taught Japanese language, history, and added classes on *Shushin* which was the prewar Japanese national ethics based on Confucian teaching.<sup>102</sup> Issei parents and schoolteachers believed that only the classes on *Shushin* would teach Nisei discipline and morality while effectively implanting a sense of pride in their Japanese origin so that they could overcome “inferiority complex” coming from deep-rooted racial discrimination.<sup>103</sup>

Among the *dekasegi*-based immigrant community, it became a common practice for Issei parents to prioritize the education of Nisei children; on the other hand, they considered it was natural for their children to take care of their parents when they grew up. For the Meiji-minded Issei parents who generally had no regular schooling, a child with good grades was their pride while a child with bad grades was their *haji* 恥 (shame).<sup>104</sup> A Nisei named Daniel Okimoto recalled that his parents showed an extraordinary interest in his school grades, and the day he received a school report was filled with anxiety. If he got good grades, he was complimented and sometimes his parents bought him things. On the other hand, if he performed poor in school, he encountered great consequences. Always expecting his son to get excellent grades, his strict father sometimes punished him physically whereas his mother expressed her disappointment by crying when he got poor grades. This kind of parent reaction to his school grades made him feel extremely miserable.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Akemi Kikumura-Yano, and James A. Hirabayashi, *New Worlds, New Lives: Globalization and People of Japanese Descent in the Americas and from Latin America in Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 119.

<sup>103</sup> Hirabayashi, et al., *New Worlds, New Lives*, 119.

<sup>104</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 56–57.

<sup>105</sup> Daniel I. Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, with a foreword by James A. Michener (New



In fact, the cultural concept of “*haji*” had forced the growing Nisei to be passive and modest, or made them “quiet Americans” in Hosokawa’s description who were consensus oriented.<sup>106</sup> A Nisei, Sumi Hashimoto said “If you do something wrong, it would be *haji* to the Japanese. The whole Japanese community would be ashamed. Whatever you do would reflect on the community. That was stressed from the time we were young.”<sup>107</sup> The Japanese, whether at home or abroad, emphasized solidarity that contributed to maintaining the discipline at family and community levels.

In hope of educating the Nisei with Japanese method, Issei parents sent their children to Japan, and those who came back to America were called the Kibei 帰米 (literally “returning to America”). Many Issei parents determined to send their citizen children to Japan for several reasons. First, being “aliens ineligible for citizenship” in the United States, their chance of going back to Japan was high. In case of living in Japan, they considered it was necessary for the Nisei to understand not only the Japanese language but also Japanese values and tradition. Second, they wanted their citizen children to grow up with a pride in Japan and their Japanese race as well as to respect their parents and elders.<sup>108</sup> Third, both working, Issei parents who could not dedicate themselves to child rearing sent the Nisei children to their grandparents living in Japan.<sup>109</sup>

Additionally, the Japanese language schools served as day-care centers for parents who had their own jobs and no time for rearing or educating their children.<sup>110</sup> These

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York: Walker/Weatherhill, 1971), 132.

<sup>106</sup> Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: W. Morrow, 1969).

<sup>107</sup> Quoted in Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence*, 65.

<sup>108</sup> Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi* [A social history of alien residents], 198; Ito, *Issei*, 589–590.

<sup>109</sup> Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 163.

<sup>110</sup> Fumiko Uyeda Groves, interview by Larry Hashima, June 16, 1998, Densho ID: denshovh-gfumiko-01-0012, Densho Visual History Collection, Densho Digital Archive,

schools took care of Nisei as young as two or three years old, and allowed many primary schoolchildren to be at the schools by six o'clock. These services tremendously saved the working Issei mothers from engaging in domestic duties. At the same time, San Francisco's Japanese language schools began to hire American teachers to facilitate the learning of English.<sup>111</sup>

Closely affiliated with the Japanese Association of America, the Japanese language schools in the initial phase aimed at training Nisei with *Nippon Seishin*. Although originally established for the purpose of preparing the Nisei to live in Japan without any difficulties, the Japanese language schools came to change their course of the development in the early decades of the twentieth century on mainland United States. As the Japanese immigrants determined to settle in the United States, these schools began to focus on guiding the Nisei to be "better Americans" rather than preparing them to be "Japanese subjects."

The period from 1909 and 1927 was the establishing phase of the Japanese language schools, and such schools began to change their nature by the late 1910s. Besides teaching the Japanese language, they focused on education that aimed at developing Nisei's loyalty to the United States. In other words, the Issei educators sought the Nisei to become patriotic American citizens through adopting "good" Japanese characteristics that would make them superb Americans. Although the United States was often called "a nation of immigrants," it was difficult for the Japanese to be accepted as Americans because their language, religions, manners and customs, and skin color were distinct from the "Old Immigrants" mainly consisting of Western and

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<http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (accessed January 10, 2010).

<sup>111</sup> *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings* (66th Cong., 2d sess.), 659.

Northern European immigrants.<sup>112</sup>

In the late 1910s and early 1920s, calls for Americanization intensified due to the rise of nationalism following the outbreak of World War I, and the Japanese language schools along with other foreign language schools became a target of criticism. The American public condemned the Japanese language schools as “a menace to American ideals and institutions”<sup>113</sup> because they considered that such schools not only hindered Americanization of the Issei and the Nisei but also turning Nisei schoolchildren into loyal Japanese subjects or “worshippers of the Mikado.”<sup>114</sup> The rise of Americanization movement urged the immigrants to abandon their cultures and to adopt the cultural values of the White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) as a means of facilitating their assimilation into the mainstream.<sup>115</sup>

Following the attack on the Japanese language schools in both Hawaii and mainland, the Nihonjin Kyoikukai 日本人教育会 (Japanese Education Association of America) determined to shift its curriculum for promoting the Americanization of Nisei ostensibly. The shift took place earlier in the mainland because of the ever-growing anti-Japanese movement on the West Coast, particularly in California, led by politicians such as James D. Phelan and Hiram Johnson who relied on the vote of laborers who advocated the Japanese exclusion. In 1910, Japanese Association set up a committee consisting of

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<sup>112</sup> Thomas K. Takeshita and Kaname Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki: Nikkei Amerikajin no shiminken tososhi* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes: A history of the citizenship and Civil Rights Movement of the Japanese Americans] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1983), 17–18.

<sup>113</sup> *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings* (66th Cong., 2d sess.), 658.

<sup>114</sup> Akemi Kikumura-Yano, eds., *Encyclopedia of Japanese Descendants in the Americas: An Illustrated History of the Nikkei* (Walnut Creek, Alta Mira Press, 2002), 281.

<sup>115</sup> Eileen Hisayo Tamura. *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 52–69.

the Japanese immigrant leaders such as Abiko Kyutaro, Ushijima Kinji<sup>116</sup> and three others, to discuss the policy on Nisei education.

During the First Conference of the Nihonjin Kyoikukai in April 1912, thirty-four representatives of Japanese language schools debated over the basic educational policy of Nisei.<sup>117</sup> Their opinions divided into two basic ideas: (1) emphasizing the spiritual education based on *Kyoiku Chokugo*; (2) making Nisei serve as “Bridge across the Pacific” for promoting US-Japan cultural relations. Obviously, both opinions indicated the Japanese language schools were to teach Japanese virtues besides the Japanese language.<sup>118</sup> For example, interpreting the most Issei parents would return to Japan with their children, the Japanese language school teachers at Alviso Nihongo Gakuen (Alviso Japanese Language School) insisted on the essence of *Nippon Seishin*. Meanwhile, Kinmon Gakuen (Golden Gate Institute) in San Francisco, encouraging Nisei to adopt strong points of Japan and America, aimed at rearing Nisei to have “sympathy, justice, and pride” in order to be better than Japanese or Americans.<sup>119</sup> Meanwhile, during the Second Conference in 1913, they selected eleven committee members for the purpose of revising the reader approved by the Ministry of Education of Japan and decided the curriculum based on three subjects; Japanese language, history, and geography. *Shushin* became no longer a part of regular curriculum in California.

During the Eighth Conference in 1919, the Nihonjin Kyoikukai concluded that the

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<sup>116</sup> Producing over 85 percent of California’s potato crop by 1920 (total value over \$18,000,000), Ushijima Kinji (George Shima [1864–1926]) was known as the “Potato King,” according to Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, 10; Kim, *Distinguished Asian Americans: A Biographical Dictionary*, 316–317.

<sup>117</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 259.

<sup>118</sup> Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi* [A social history of alien residents], 194.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

reader certified by the Ministry of Education of Japan was inappropriate for the Nisei education and decided to compile a reader suitable for Nisei.<sup>120</sup> The committee agreed upon the resolution that “The goal to be attained in our education is to bring up children who will live and die in America, and as such, the whole education system must be found upon the spirit of the public instruction of America.”<sup>121</sup> In addition, during the *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization* took place in 1920, the general secretary of the Japanese Association of America, Kanzaki Kiichi attempted to describe the purpose and objective of the Japanese language schools for maintaining the Japanese language schools in the United States.

In terms of bringing up Nisei loyal to the United States, the Japanese education was successful. After talking with nearly ten Nisei, Kanzaki made the following statement: “[Nisei] are more American than Japanese. They can speak better in English than in Japanese . . . and their mode of thinking is far from that of the Japanese . . . from a Japanese standpoint.”<sup>122</sup> Kanzaki utilized his article on two drafted Nisei boys in San Francisco, Tsukamoto and Tagosaki (published on *San Francisco Chronicle*) during the *Hearings* in March 1920 that represented the Nisei’s attitude toward the United States. Tsukamoto was a high school graduate while Tagosaki was an undergraduate student at the University of California:

. . . There are as yet very few American-born Japanese who have attained military age. In San Francisco only two Japanese boys were liable for military duty. So

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<sup>120</sup> Nichibei Shimbunsha, *Nichibei Nenkan* [Japanese American Yearbook], vol. 12 (San Francisco: Nichibei Shimbunsha, 1918), 43.

<sup>121</sup> Shinichi Kato, *Beikoku Nikkeijin Hyakunenshi: Zaibei Nikkeijin hatten jinshiroku* [A history of one-hundred years of the Japanese Americans in the United States: Record of the development of Japanese American in the United States] (Los Angeles: Shin Nichibei Shimbunsha, 1961), 119; U.S. Congress, House, *Japanese Immigration Hearings, Part 2: Hearings at Fresno, Livingston, Turlock, Auburn, and Los Angeles, California, July 12–August 3, 1920*, 66th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 679.

<sup>122</sup> *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings* (66th Cong., 2d sess.), 649.

something will be said with reference to the quality of these men as American citizens and their loyalty to the country of their birth. . . . Several of his friends urged him to fight courageously and nobly as the first American-born Japanese to stand on the battlefield for America's sake. In response the young soldier, with a smile typical of American optimism, but *with an attitude of a determined warrior* said: "It is an honor for me that I can go as the first American-born Japanese. I will do my very best and when duty calls me I will lay down my life for the cause of humanity and democracy. I pledge that I will bring no dishonor either to the land of my birth nor to the country of my forefathers."

His father, who was with the boy, thanking the assembly for the boy's sake added: "I am filled with joy from the very bottom of my heart that I can give my first-born child in America for this country for the noble cause of justice and humanity."

The other soldier, a day before his departure, came to bid me farewell, and with a cheerful countenance said, "I am exceedingly glad that I am going. Like my friends already gone, I will pledge myself, soul and body, to fight for America's cause; I will do my duty, *even sacrificing my life* under the flag of the Stars and Stripes."<sup>123</sup>

During the Ninth Conference held in November 1920 at Fresno, California, the Nihonjin Kyoikukai changed its name to Nihongo Gakuen Kyokai 日本語学園協会 (Japanese Language School Association) for the maintenance of their schools, and added a provision that emphasized the role of the Japanese Language School Association was to help the Japanese to be a good citizen based on the spirit of American public schooling. Simultaneously, the Nihonjin Gakko 日本人学校 (Japanese School) changed name to Nihongo Gakko 日本語学校 (Japanese Language School). In addition, the Association adopted four resolutions.<sup>124</sup>

1. In the kindergartens, both Japanese and American kindergarten teachers should prepare children to enroll in American public schools.
2. For children attending public schools, teach Japanese between thirty minutes and one hour, aim communication between parents and children and let them enjoy the happiness at home.
3. Providing school playground, encourage physical education and keep children from evil influence on the street.
4. The Japanese Ministry of Education certified textbook currently used in the Japanese language schools is inappropriate; therefore, planning to compile a new textbook appropriate for the education of American citizens.

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<sup>123</sup> *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings* (66th Cong., 2d sess.), 649–650, emphasis mine.

<sup>124</sup> Kato, *Beikoku Nikkeijin Hyakunenshi* [A history of one-hundred years of the Japanese Americans in the United States], 118–119.

In addition, Sano Keizo, founder and principal of Nihon Gakuin in San Francisco, reported the Department of Education about the purpose of the Japanese language schools as the “Americanization of Nisei children” and showed their support for promoting “American spirit.”<sup>125</sup>

Despite the numbers of effort made by the Nihongo Gakuen Kyokai, the anti-foreign language school sentiment culminated in California’s passage of the Assembly Bill No. 836, a Foreign Language School Control Bill commonly known as Parker Bill, on June 3, and was effective from August 2, 1921.<sup>126</sup> Although worded “private foreign language schools,” Parker Bill clearly targeted Japanese language schools.<sup>127</sup> Based on the Hawaii’s Foreign Language School Control Bill (Act 30) passed in 1920, Parker Bill declared that the superintendent of public instruction shall issue a permit to the applicant who “is possessed of the ideals of democracy; knowledge of American history and institutions and knows how to read, write and speak the English language.”<sup>128</sup>

Following the passage of Parker Bill, the Nihongo Gakuen Kyokai seriously began to edit a new textbook by selecting Sano Keizo, Suzuki Takashi, and Nakajima Isoji as editorial committee.<sup>129</sup> Due to the Supreme Court decision on *Meyer v. Nebraska* that ruled Nebraska’s restriction on foreign language education unconstitutional, the Inman Bill of 1923, aiming at the abolishment of all private foreign language schools in

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<sup>125</sup> Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism*, 67.

<sup>126</sup> “Foreign Language Schools Curbed,” *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), August 12, 1921.

<sup>127</sup> “Parker Act Passes,” *Berkeley Daily Gazette* (California), March 16, 1921.

<sup>128</sup> “Act 30,” in Hawaii, *Laws of the Territory of Hawaii Passed by the Eleventh Legislature, Special Session 1920* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Company, LTD., 1921), 31; State Board of Control of California, *California and the Oriental: Japanese, Chinese and Hindus*, Report to Governor Wm. D. Stephens (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1920), 213–214; Kato, *Beikoku Nikkeijin Hyakunenshi* [A history of one-hundred years of the Japanese Americans in the United States], 119.

<sup>129</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 267.

California by 1930, did not come into effect.<sup>130</sup> If legislated, the Inman Bill posed a serious threat to the existence of Japanese language schools.<sup>131</sup> In 1924, the editorial committee finally completed a new textbook in April 1924 and its translated version was submitted and approved by California Department of Education.<sup>132</sup>

After Hawaii's Japanese victory at the Supreme Court in 1927 over the teaching of Japanese language to children, virtually all restrictions on the foreign language schools became unconstitutional. As a result, numbers of closed Japanese language schools were restored, new school buildings were constructed, and new Japanese language schools were established in various parts of the nation, and entered its golden age between 1927 and 1942. During the Japanese national holidays, Japanese people gathered at the Japanese language schools, revered *Goshinei* (portraits of the emperor), reverently read *Kyoiku Chokugo*, and held grand nationalistic ceremonies. Although *Shushin* was not a regular curriculum for many schools in California, the purpose of the Japanese language schools was apparently the education of Nisei in Japanese way.<sup>133</sup> Conducted by the Issei, these schools both actively and passively shaped the Nisei identity, values, and behavior. Holding annual events such as celebrations and performances for fund raising, the Japanese language school buildings were not only used as educational space but also

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<sup>130</sup> Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).

<sup>131</sup> "Californians Confident School Statute will Stand," *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), June 25, 1923; *Berkeley Daily Gazette* (California), May 9, 1923. This anti-Japanese legislation did not ban the teaching of Japanese, but allowed only English to be used in the school operation. Although the Inman Bill was passed with overwhelming majority, it never came into effect because of the Supreme Court decision in June 1923 that ruled in favor of the existence of foreign language schools (Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923)).

<sup>132</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 268. Consisting of 16 volumes, the new textbook was called *California Department of Education certified Japanese Reader*.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.



as “cultural center” for the Japanese American community.<sup>134</sup>

Meanwhile, in Washington and Oregon, the situation was different from California. According to the survey of eighteen Japanese language schools in Washington, nine schools taught only Japanese language. Besides Japanese language, five schools taught moral discourse, one school taught *Shushin*, English-Japanese translation, one school taught songs, one school taught songs and play, one school taught *Shushin*, songs, and Japanese history and geography.<sup>135</sup> Among thirteen Japanese language schools in Oregon, seven schools taught only Japanese language. Besides Japanese language, four schools taught *Shushin*, one school taught translation, one school taught Japanese history.<sup>136</sup>

After all, the Japanese language schools existed more for the Issei parents than for the Nisei education. As a 17-years-old Nisei, James Sakamoto answered to the questions regarding to his experience in attending the Japanese language school for eight years, most Nisei wanted to be American than Japanese because they were born in the United States.<sup>137</sup> While pretending to promote Nisei education based on the spirit of American public schools, the Issei still desired the Nisei to learn Japanese virtues derived from *Kyoiku Chokugo* and *Meiji no Seishin* (Meiji spirit).

The following Figure 3.5 illustrates that majority of Japanese language schools did prefer to use the Japanese government-designated textbooks compiled by the Ministry of Education despite a reader approved by the California Department of Education was

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<sup>134</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 270.

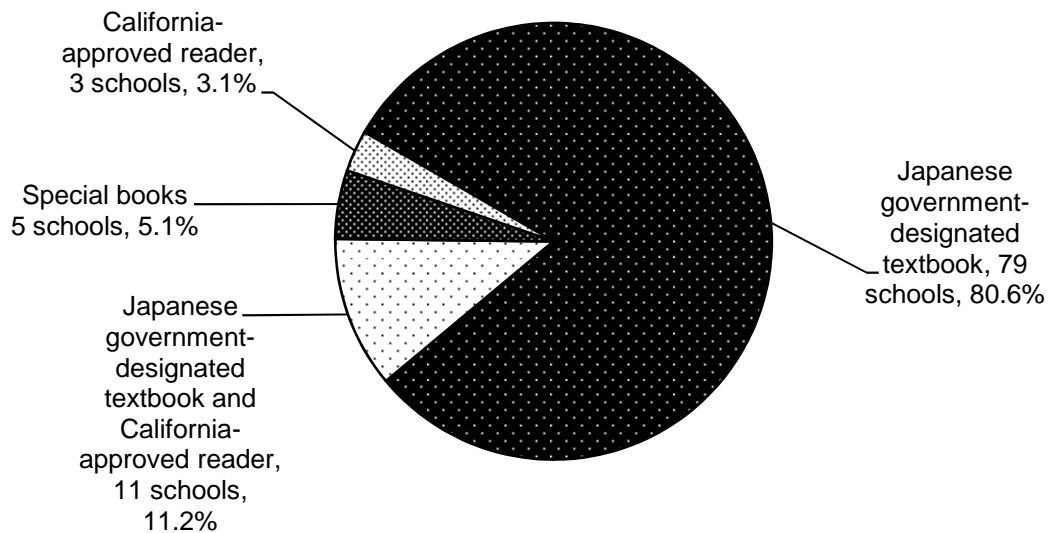
<sup>135</sup> Tsutae Sato, *Beika ni okeru da Nisei no kyoiku* [Education of the second generation in the United States and Canada] (Vancouver: Jikyodo, 1932), 62.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 62–63.

<sup>137</sup> Rokki Jihosha, *Sanchubu to Nihonjin* [The Rocky Mountain Region and the Japanese] (Salt Lake City: Rokki Jihosha, 1925), 248–252.

available. According to a 1936 survey of the Japanese Consulate, most Japanese language schools used either the Japanese government-designated textbook or a reader approved by California Department of Education.

Figure 3.5 Textbooks Used in the Japanese Language Schools under Los Angeles Consulate, 1936



Source: Teruko Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi: kindai Amerika to Nihonjin imin* [A social history of alien residents: modern America and Japanese immigration] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan, 1995), 197.

Of the 98 schools in the Los Angeles Consulate, seventy-nine schools used the Japanese government-designated textbook, eleven schools used both Japanese government-designated textbook and the reader approved by California Department of Education, five schools used special books, and only three schools used the reader approved by California Department of Education<sup>138</sup>—the one compiled for Nisei schoolchildren. This fact supports the idea that Nisei were raised to acquire Japanese character to some degree because their Issei parents’ desired them to understand the

<sup>138</sup> Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi* [A social history of alien residents], 197.

Japanese concept of *chuko* 忠孝—loyalty and filial piety. The Nisei were Americans and they perceived themselves as Americans; however, as Yoshiko Uchida described, they had adopted distinct Japanese values and behaviors without realizing.<sup>139</sup>

### ***Reasons to Go To Japanese Language Schools***

Indeed, a series of the anti-Japanese measures that politically and economically affected the Japanese immigrants resulted in promoting the establishment of more Japanese language schools in the West Coast states. For example, passed by the California legislature in 1913 regardless of the objections of President Wilson and the Japanese government, California Alien Land Law of 1913 prohibited “aliens ineligible to citizenship” to own land or property and to lease land for agriculture more than three years.<sup>140</sup> Despite the prohibition, the Issei farmers were somehow able to purchase or lease land in the name of their Nisei children who were natural-born citizens of the United States, and they acted as the guardians. Otherwise, they formed corporations, which an American figurehead held fifty-one percent of the company’s stock.<sup>141</sup> Producing about one-tenth of California’s crop value on 1.64 percent of the state’s farmland by 1919, the Japanese farmers became more successful after the enactment of the Alien Land Law.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Yoshiko Uchida, *The Invisible Thread* (Englewood Cliffs: Julian Messner, 1991), 13.

<sup>140</sup> U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Alien Land Laws and Alien Rights, paper presented by Charles F. Curry, member of Congress, Third California district on Antialien Land Laws of the Several States and Territories and of the United States, of Japan and Other Countries; A Discussion of Their Legality and Propriety, and a Summary and Discussion of the Rights of Aliens*, 67th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Doc. 89 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 41.

<sup>141</sup> “The Problem of the Asiatic Immigrant,” *Congressional Digest*, vol. 2, no. 10–11 (July–August 1923): 318.

<sup>142</sup> State Board of Control of California, *California and the Oriental: Japanese, Chinese and Hindus*, Report to Governor Wm. D. Stephens (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1920), 49. The Japanese farmers grew 30 to 35 percent of commercial crop value in California and produced

As a result, found in San Francisco in 1920, the Japanese Exclusion League of California was convinced that the Issei's economic prosperity was a threat to the native Californians' standards of living by creating an economic competition.<sup>143</sup> Representing the claim of the League, Congressman E. A. Hayes stated that "As is well known, no white man can compete with the Japanese laborers. They are satisfied to be housed in such cramped and squalid quarters as few white men . . . could live in, and the food that keeps them in condition would be cheap and poor to satisfy the most common labor in this country."<sup>144</sup>

Furthermore, the League sought to amend the Constitution to deny Nisei's citizenship as well as to end the Japanese immigration to the United States. To gain support from California voters for their proposals, the Japanese Exclusion League launched negative campaign against the Japanese men, accusing them of being "spies, sex fiends and rapists who debased white women."<sup>145</sup> Strongly urged by the League with a slogan "Save California from the yellow-Jap peaceful invaders and their white-Jap co-conspirators,"<sup>146</sup> California legislation passed the Alien Land Law of 1920 and the

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50 to 90+ percent of crops that included celery, strawberries, snap beans, cauliflowers, tomatoes, and spinach by 1940. Conditions were similar in Oregon and Washington, according to U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others From Prohibited Military Zones*. H.R. 77th Cong., 2d sess., May 1942, pp. 117–138 (hereafter cited as *Fourth Interim Report of the Tolan Committee*).

<sup>143</sup> "The Problem of the Asiatic Immigrant," 318–319.

<sup>144</sup> E. A. Hayes, "Japanese Exclusion," *Congressional Record*, vol. 40, Part 4, 3753, quoted in Edward K. Strong, *The Second-Generation Japanese Problem* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934), 131.

<sup>145</sup> *Rafu Shimpo* [Los Angeles Japanese Daily News] (Los Angeles), October 4, 2008.

<sup>146</sup> Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Richard Shigeaki Nishimoto, and Jacobus TenBroek, *Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement: Prejudice, War, and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 48. Headed by State Senate Inman as president, the officials of the Native Sons of the Golden West, the American Legion, the California State Federation of Labor, the California Federation of Women's Clubs, and State Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Loyal Order of Moose comprised the vice-presidencies of the League, according to Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 91.

revisions in the 1920s that prohibited the Issei to lease or to purchase agricultural land in the name of their minor children.<sup>147</sup> Since the land was the economic foundation of the Japanese American community developed by the toil of Issei, the Issei farmers lost their reason to stay in the United States.

Encountering the state-level exclusion policies, numbers of the suppressed Issei came to think returning to Japan was the only choice left for them. The number of the Japanese language schools continuously grew and there were twenty-four such schools operating in Washington alone before the outbreak of World War II.<sup>148</sup> Established in 1911, the Kinmon Gakuen, also known as Golden Gate Institute, rose to be one of the largest Japanese language schools in California.<sup>149</sup> In 1940, the Kinmon Gakuen employed eight teachers and its students numbered 465.<sup>150</sup> A Nisei, Shigeo Imamura, who became the Kamikaze pilot while residing in Japan, indeed attended the Kinmon Gakuen in the late 1920s just like other Nisei boys who volunteered for serving in the U.S. military. Imamura recalled that textbooks used in the Kinmon Gakuen were the Japanese government-designated textbooks and the school taught Japanese reading and composition as well as *Shushin*. Kinmon Gakuen had a school playground and schoolchildren used to shout “*Nippon katta, Nippon katta, Russia maketa*” (Japan won, Japan won, Russia lost) when playing games in 1930—twenty-five years after the end of Russo-Japanese War.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> “The Problem of the Asiatic Immigrant,” 318. Although prohibited to lease land for agriculture, the Issei could lease land for commercial or residential purposes.

<sup>148</sup> Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism*, 100.

<sup>149</sup> Ichioka, *Before Internment*, 14.

<sup>150</sup> Toyotomi Morimoto, *Japanese Americans and Cultural Continuity: Maintaining Language and Heritage* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), 146.

<sup>151</sup> Shigeo Imamura, *Kamikaze Tokko taiin ni natta Nikkei Nisei* [A Nisei who joined the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps], trans. Ken Oshima (Tokyo: Soshisha, 2003), 19–22.

In response to the intensifying anti-Japanese movement, the goal of the Japanese language schools became a major debate issue within the Japanese American community. The president of the Southern California Japanese Language School Association urged the “Americanization” of the Japanese language schools in the mid-1920s:

Although the moral training of the children can be greatly accomplished by the presentation of good Japanese racial traits, we must not forget that we are educating American citizens. We must study more diligently in order to select character traits which will be suitable to the American nationality.<sup>152</sup>

The mainland United States also debated on foreign language schools then. According to V. S. McClatchy, an advocate of the abolishment of Japanese language schools, the prominent Japanese immigrant leaders with Christian faith such as Abiko Kyutaro, Professor Ichihashi Yamato, and Reverend Tajima Kengo, supported his ideas, which included opposition to the existence of Japanese language schools and ban on those who could not speak English from teaching Japanese to Nisei who were undergoing English-learning process.<sup>153</sup> Although the Japanese Christians encouraged *gaimenteki doka* for the Issei who had no right to be naturalized, they considered it inappropriate for the Nisei who were natural-born citizens. Meanwhile, some Japanese Christians interpreting the “American civilization as the embodiment of Christianity,” considered the Japanese civilization inferior to the American civilization.<sup>154</sup>

Notably, more Japanese language schools were affiliated with Buddhist rather than with Christians in Hawaii and mainland United States. For instance, among the twenty-four Japanese language schools in the West Coast states, nine schools were

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<sup>152</sup> Quoted in John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900–1942* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 160.

<sup>153</sup> Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism*, 73.

<sup>154</sup> Ryo Yoshida, “1913 Alien Land Law and Japanese Christians in California,” *The Social Science* 47 (August 1991): 4.

affiliated with the Buddhist in 1912.<sup>155</sup> In terms of regional differences, the Nisei in California tended to be Buddhists while the Nisei in the Northwest tended to be Christians. Importantly, approximately twenty percent of the Issei were Christians whereas nearly one-half of the Nisei were Christians, which partly resulted in widening the “cultural gap” between two generations on the eve of World War II.<sup>156</sup>

Meanwhile, for the most Nisei schoolchildren, attending the Japanese language schools was an order from their parents. Many Nisei were indeed reluctant to go to the Japanese language schools and to follow the strict discipline.<sup>157</sup> In answer to the question about the Japanese language school during the interview of the Manzanar National Historic Site and the Densho, Victor Ikeda of Seattle who used to attend the Japanese language school run by the Japanese community said “[w]e went [to Japanese language school] because I think we were supposed to go; we had to.” According to Ikeda, teachers of the Japanese language schools were often mothers of students.<sup>158</sup> The Nisei, while attending schools, studied diligently to learn Japanese language and traditions; however, some regarded it was unnecessary for the Nisei to study Japanese and thus paid no attention to such schools.<sup>159</sup>

Brought up to be filial to their parents, it was quite common for the Nisei children

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<sup>155</sup> Comparing the younger Nisei (born after 1920) and the older Nisei (born prior to 1920), Kurashige pointed out that 45 percent of the younger Nisei were Christians while 38 percent were Buddhists. On the other hand, 42 percent of the older Nisei were Buddhists while 20 percent were Christians. Then, 28 percent of the younger Nisei received college education while 19 percent of the older Nisei did, according to Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival, 1934–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 31.

<sup>156</sup> Paul R. Spickard, *Japanese Americans: The Formation and Transformations of an Ethnic Group* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 78.

<sup>157</sup> Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 159.

<sup>158</sup> Victor Ikeda, interview by Richard Potashin, November 6, 2007, Densho ID: denshovh-ivictor-01-0012, Manzanar National Historic Site Collection, Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (accessed January 10, 2010).

<sup>159</sup> Ito, *Hokubei Hyakunenzakura* [One hundred years of cherry trees in North America], 693.

to obey whatever their parents said just as their Japanese counterparts. Growing up in the Japanese community at the same time attending the public schools, the prewar Nisei were “sufficiently Japanese at home, yet sufficiently American in the outside world,” according to Paul Spickard, a professor of history and Asian American studies.<sup>160</sup> In her autobiography entitled *The Invisible Thread*, a Japanese American writer Yoshiko Uchida described her experiences as a Nisei growing up in Berkeley, California. Revealing Nisei’s dualism, Uchida explained how the Nisei unconsciously became more Japanese in nature while perceiving herself an American:

A lot more of me was Japanese than I realized, whether I liked it or not. I was born in California, recited the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag each morning at school, and loved my country as much as any other American—maybe even more. Still, *there was a large part of me that was Japanese simply because Mama and Papa had passed on to me so much of their own Japanese spirit and soul.* Their own values of loyalty, honor, self-discipline, love, and respect for one’s parents, teachers, and superiors were all very much a part of me.<sup>161</sup>

The Japanese exclusionists such as V. S. McClatchy whose father was the founder of the *Sacramento Bee* viewed the Japanese language schools with hostility. In his *Japanese Immigration and Colonization* (1921), he argued “Japan not only claims as her citizens all Japanese born on American soil, but she takes great care that they grow up really as Japanese citizens, with all the ideals and loyalty of the race, untouched by the nations prevalent in this country, which would weaken that loyalty.”<sup>162</sup> Arguing the Japanese would “never cease being Japanese,” McClatchy condemned the Japanese pride in the Yamato race for making the Japanese “unassimilable” into the mainstream.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Spickard, *Japanese Americans*, 77.

<sup>161</sup> Yoshiko Uchida, *The Invisible Thread* (Englewood Cliffs: Julian Messner, 1991), 13, emphasis mine.

<sup>162</sup> Valentine Stuart McClatchy and Japanese Exclusion League of California, *Japanese Immigration and Colonization: Skelton Brief* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 52.

<sup>163</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, *Japanese Immigration Hearings*, 68th Cong., 1st sess.



### ***High Academic Achievement, Low Occupational Opportunity***

The Issei sought to rear their children to be fine Americans through the intellectual method based on Japanese values on education. In other words, the Issei believed that higher education would facilitate the Nisei to succeed in the world, and dedicated their every effort for providing learning opportunities for their children. As a result, the Japanese children would have the longest school education of all groups. The ratio of the Japanese children of age 7 to 20 attending school was lower than that of native White children in 1910 as the U.S. census data indicated. Nevertheless, the ratio of the Japanese children of age 14 to 20 attending school was higher than that of the foreign-born White children as shown in Figure 3.6.<sup>164</sup> It indicated that the Issei parents invested on the education of the Nisei with all their heart and mind and strength.

Under unfavorable social conditions, the Issei parents tried to save money for providing higher education to the Nisei instead of providing allowance money. As Ichihashi Yamato pointed out, the Issei supported the Nisei education because what they learned would stay in their head while money would be gone once they spent.<sup>165</sup> In response, young Nisei came to believe that higher education and diligence were “essential passport” to attain social success.<sup>166</sup> Indeed, the Issei’s value on education was derived from Confucian tradition that granted upward social mobility through achieving higher academic background.

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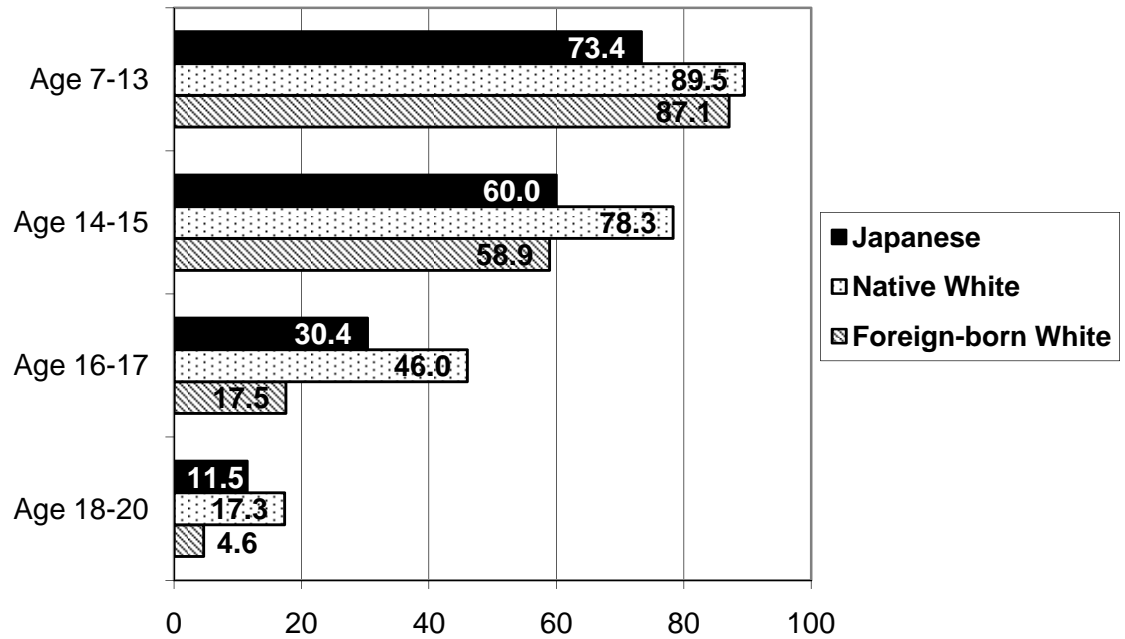
(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), 5–6, quoted in Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, 99.

<sup>164</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Volume II, Population: General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), table 2, p. 1044.

<sup>165</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 6–7; Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 361.

<sup>166</sup> Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, 61; Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 169.

Figure 3.6 Ratio of Japanese and White Children Attending School, 1910



Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Volume II, Population: General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), table 2, p. 1044.

Meanwhile, the illiteracy rate of the Japanese of ten years of age and over was the lowest among the nation's nonwhite groups, according to the *Thirteenth Census of the United States* as seen on Table 3.5.<sup>167</sup> Japanese immigrants had achieved the high literacy level in the short period of time because of their universal education system in Japan. Less than ten percent of the Japanese in the United States were illiterate whereas almost half of the Native Americans, about thirty percent of Blacks, and sixteen percent of Chinese were illiterate.<sup>168</sup> This result shows how much the Meiji government focused on universal education to catch up with the West.

<sup>167</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Volume I, Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), table 1, p. 1186.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

Table 3.5 Illiteracy Rate of Nonwhite Population of 10 Years and Up, 1910

Classification	Total Number (Ten Years and Up)	Illiterate	
		Number	Percentage
Japanese	67,661	6,213	9.2 %
Chinese	68,924	10,891	15.8 %
Native American	188,758	85,445	45.3 %
Black	7,317,922	2,227,731	30.4 %
All other	8,135	1,250	39.9 %

*Source:* United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Volume I, Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), table 1, p. 1186.

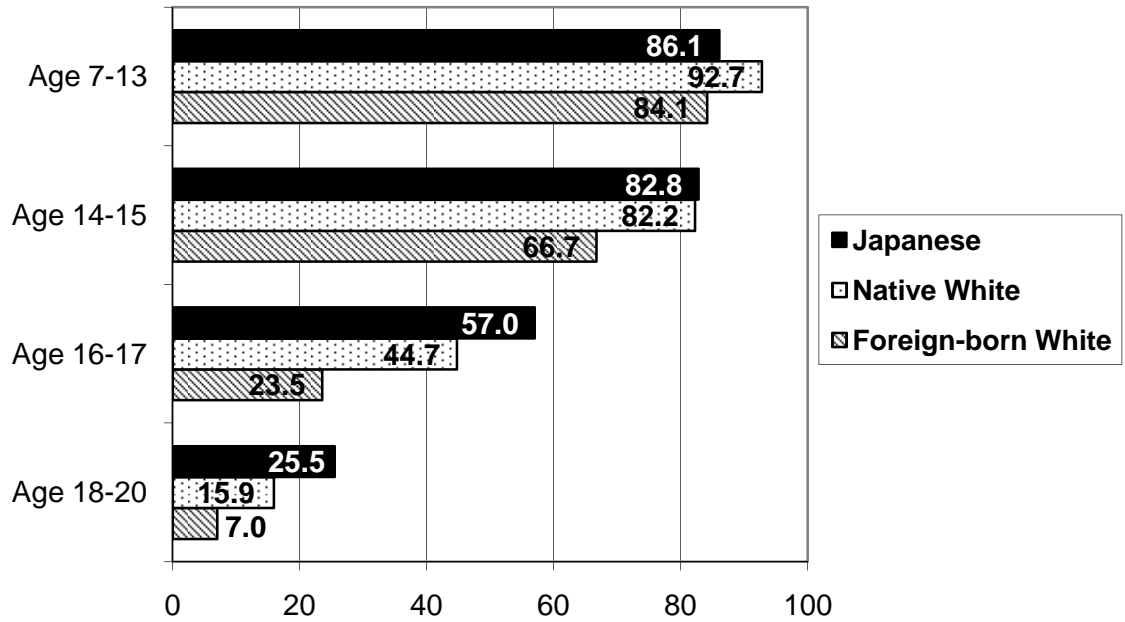
The number of the Japanese children attending school steadily increased and surpassed the level of the native white children by 1920, except the primary education (age 7 to 13).<sup>169</sup> Due to the provision of the Gentlemen’s Agreement that allowed Japanese laborers already in the United States to bring their wives and children from Japan for family reunification, Japanese immigrants could establish families. Then, the establishment of the stable families largely contributed to improving the education level, and the enrollment ratio of the Nisei continued to increase in the 1930s.<sup>170</sup> Indoctrinated in the principles of *Kyoiku Chokugo*, the Issei parents firmly believed that the improvement of social status through success in education would bring honor to the Yamato race. The next two figures illustrate the transition of the Nisei education level due to the Issei’s extraordinary emphasis on education for Nisei’s success.

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<sup>169</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Volume II, Population: General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), table 2, p. 1044. Significantly, the Chinese American children marked the highest education level.

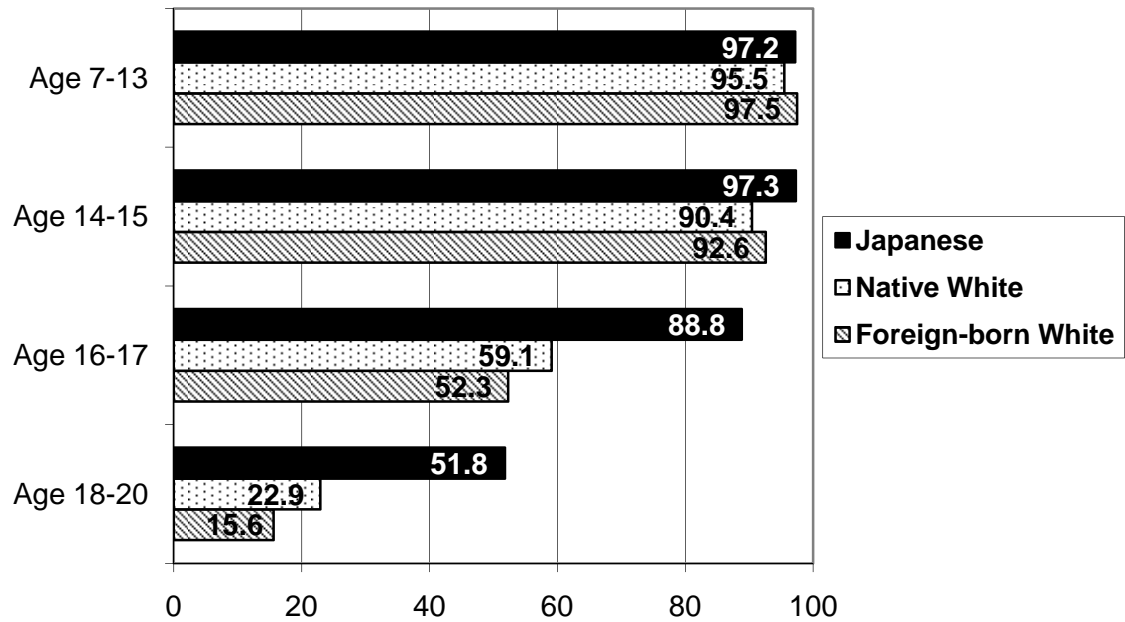
<sup>170</sup> Charles Hirschman and Morrison G. Wong, “The Extraordinary Educational Attainment of Asian-Americans: A Search for Historical Evidence and Explanations,” *Social Forces* 65, no.1 (1986): 2.

Figure 3.7 Ratio of Japanese and White Children Attending School, 1920



Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Volume II, Population: General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), table 2, p. 1044.

Figure 3.8 Ratio of Japanese and White Children Attending School, 1930



Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Volume II: General Report Statistics by Subjects* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), table 7, p. 1096, and table 11, p. 1100.

As shown in Figure 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8, the ratio of Nisei attending high schools increased sharply, from 30.4 percent (1910) to 57.0 percent (1920) to 88.8 percent (1930). Moreover, the Nisei attending colleges more than doubled each decade between 1910 and 1930, from 11.5 percent (1910) to 25.5 percent (1920) to 51.8 percent (1930).<sup>171</sup>

The Nisei's racial background appeared to be a huge handicap for their employment opportunity.<sup>172</sup> As the number in the census records indicated, the educational level of the Nisei was by no means inferior to both the native and foreign-born white Americans. Considering only the higher-level of education and achievement at school would facilitate Nisei's assimilation, the Issei parents dedicated their hard-earned money for the education of their citizen children. In response, the most Nisei studied hard and earned superior grades. According to Miyamoto, eight Nisei students were valedictorians and six were salutatorians in the nine high schools in Seattle between 1930 and 1937.<sup>173</sup> The Issei's belief that 'education would grant one's wish' came from the Meiji Japan's value on education based on *Kyoiku Chokugo*, which they brought with them when immigrating into the United States. Therefore, in reaction to the racial discrimination, the Issei parents attempted to help the Nisei upgrade their social status through providing opportunities for higher education so that Nisei could become respectable persons.<sup>174</sup>

Indeed, the Nisei's intention to get higher education varied, and they tended to be

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<sup>171</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Censuses of the United States, 1910–1930*.

<sup>172</sup> Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 360–361.

<sup>173</sup> Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, 54.

<sup>174</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 2–3 (preface).

“more pragmatic” and realistic. A considerable number of Nisei decided to go to college for simply not to become agricultural laborers like their Issei parents.<sup>175</sup> Simultaneously, recognizing the existence of deep-rooted racism toward the Japanese, they considered higher education would someday help them become successful regardless of their race. Meanwhile, a Nisei stated that he studied diligently because he not only “felt it was the thing to do” but also wanted to make his parents happy through getting good grades.<sup>176</sup> For Japanese who set a high valuation on learning, achieving good grades was one of the best ways to show their filial piety.

Issei’s passion for Nisei education further intensified after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 until Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor. When the U.S. Congress decided to close the door for the Japanese immigration completely in 1924, the Issei were convinced that they had to demonstrate their ability to assimilate into the mainstream society. Then, rather than focusing on their personal gain, they came to think their mission as parents was to raise their Nisei children to be respectable Americans. In other words, they determined to sacrifice their self-interest for the establishment of a firm basis on the American soil for the citizen Nisei.<sup>177</sup> As the American scholars has already pointed out, the Japanese Issei parents particularly gave greater attention to the education of the Nisei children than other ethnic groups and raised the costly educational expenses by their hard toil. In consequence, the generation gap between the Issei (aliens) and the Nisei (citizens) further widened.<sup>178</sup>

By 1940, the native-born Japanese Americans who were 25 years old and over

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<sup>175</sup> Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 161.

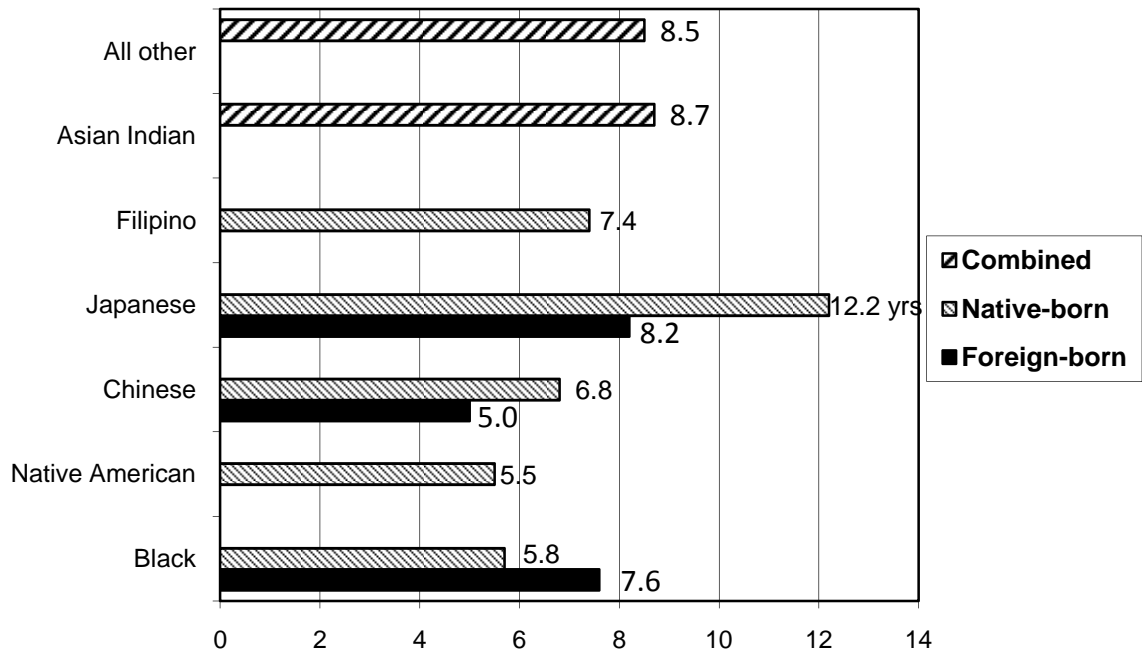
<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

<sup>177</sup> Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi* [A social history of alien residents], 192.

<sup>178</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 27–28.

recorded the longest median school years completed among the nonwhite population in the United States as shown in Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9 Median Years of School Completed by Nonwhite Population, 1940 (over the age of 25)



Source: United States Department of Commerce, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: Characteristics of the Nonwhite Population by Race* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), table 6, p. 34.

According to the “Nonwhite population 25 years old and over, by years of school completed, race, and sex, for the United States, by regions, urban and rural: 1940” in the *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, the Nisei’s median years of school completed numbered 12.2 years whereas all races 8.6 years, the white Americans 8.7 years, and the black and other races 5.7 years.<sup>179</sup> Revealing the educational status of the entire U.S.

<sup>179</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970. Part 1* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), series H618-647, p. 881. White male had 8.7 median years of school completed and white female had

population (over the age of 25), the statistics on median years of school completed illustrated that the Nisei, as compared to any other groups, attained an exceptionally high level of education by 1940.

By the time Nisei went out into the world, they came to realize that mainstream Americans did not welcome the Nisei and that their economic opportunity and social acceptance were as limited as their Issei parents.<sup>180</sup> Difficulties of finding employment appeared to be a major problem surrounding the grown-up Nisei by the 1930s due to their “alien” features.<sup>181</sup> Because of the Great Depression, it seemed harder for the newly graduates to find jobs; however, their white classmates who barely graduated could find jobs while the Nisei with honors and brilliant achievement often had no choice but to go back to the farm.<sup>182</sup> Although attaining high levels of education from prestigious universities, the majority of the Nisei ended up in agriculture employed as farm hands, laborers, or clerks at vegetable stores.<sup>183</sup> Deep-rooted discrimination against the Japanese prevented the college-trained Nisei from obtaining professional or skilled jobs. In consequence, the most Nisei obtained unskilled jobs, receiving lower wages than the white American classmates did. Disappointed at the denial of their acceptance, the process of job-searching and subsequent rejection well demonstrated the grown-up Nisei’s dilemma. The *Kobe Shimbun*’s correspondent in New York, Tatsuji Hiraoka, described that the real situation of Nisei was “more miserable” than the native Japanese

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8.8 median years. More specifically, the native white in the Pacific Coast states had 10.1 median years of school completed, according to U.S. Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *Wartime Exile: The Exclusion of the Japanese Americans from the West Coast* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 93.

<sup>180</sup> Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 169.

<sup>181</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 4–5.

<sup>182</sup> Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 169.

<sup>183</sup> Hiraoka Tatsuji, correspondent in New York, “Hokubei no Honpo imin (7): nayami o idaku Beikoku umare no Nihonjin” [Japanese in North America (7): Problems of American-born Japanese], *Kobe Shimbun* [Kobe Daily] (Hyogo), September 4, 1926.



had previously thought.<sup>184</sup> While a series of anti-Japanese legislations prevented the Issei from economic success, employment discrimination hindered Nisei's progress.

The following Table 3.6 and 3.7 illustrate the employment situation for the Japanese Americans by decades between 1900 and 1940 except 1910 when the U.S. census reported figures combining the Japanese employed and the Chinese employed.

Table 3.6 Occupations of Japanese Men in Mainland US, 1900–1940

Occupation	1900	1920	1930	1940
Agriculture*	5,345 (23.9%)	23,860 (45.4%)	22,454 (47.3%)	17,733 (42.9%)
Extraction of minerals	168 (0.8%)	1,119 (2.1%)	680 (1.4%)	–
Manufacturing**	826 (3.7%)	6,424 (12.2%)	3,508 (7.4%)	3,962 (9.6%)
Transportation	6,277 (28.1%)	4,273 (8.1%)	2,290 (4.8%)	–
Trade	198 0.9%	4,510 (8.6%)	6,732 (14.2%)	9,125 (22.1%)
Public service	–	119 (0.2%)	89 (0.2%)	–
Professional services	132 0.6%	1,150 (2.2%)	1,641 (3.4%)	1,254 (3.0%)
Domestic & personal services	9,058 (40.5%)	10,363 (19.7%)	9,351 (19.7%)	4,491 (10.9%)
Clerical work	–	796 (1.5%)	744 (1.6%)	–
Non-farm labor	–	–	–	4,499 (10.9%)
Other	336 (1.5%)	–	–	258 (0.6%)
Total men employed	22,340 (100.0%)	52,614 (100.0%)	47,489 (100.0%)	41,322 (100.0%)

\* Agriculture includes forestry, animal husbandry, farmers, farm laborers, fishermen, gardeners, nursery, florists, fruits growers, and lumbermen.

\*\* Manufacturing includes lumber mills.

Source: Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 70–71.

<sup>184</sup> *Kobe Shimbun* [Kobe Daily], September 4, 1926.

Table 3.7 Occupations of Japanese Women in the Mainland US, 1900–1940

Occupation	1900	1920	1930	1940
Agriculture*	13 (4.9%)	1,797 (34.0%)	2,041 (30.3%)	2,525 (37.7%)
Servants**	151 (56.8%)	1,409 (26.6%)	1,195 (17.7%)	690 (10.3%)
Personal services***	57 (21.4%)	951 (18.0%)	1,463 (21.7%)	1,579 (23.6%)
Trade (clerks, saleswomen)	9 (3.4%)	369 (7.0%)	946 (14.0%)	683 (10.2%)
Dressmakers	23 (8.6%)	124 (2.3%)	121 (1.8%)	–
Manufacturing	8 (3.0%)	378 (7.1%)	348 (5.2%)	801 (12.0%)
Professionals (teachers, nurses)	5 (1.9%)	145 (2.7%)	329 (4.9%)	214 (3.2%)
Clerical work	–	75 (1.4%)	271 (4.0%)	–
Other	–	41 (0.8%)	27 (0.4%)	201 (3.0%)
Total women employed	266 (100.0%)	5,289 (100.0%)	6,741 (100.0%)	6,693 (100.0%)

\* Agriculture includes farm and nursery labor.

\*\* Servants include cooks, chambermaids, domestic servants, etc.

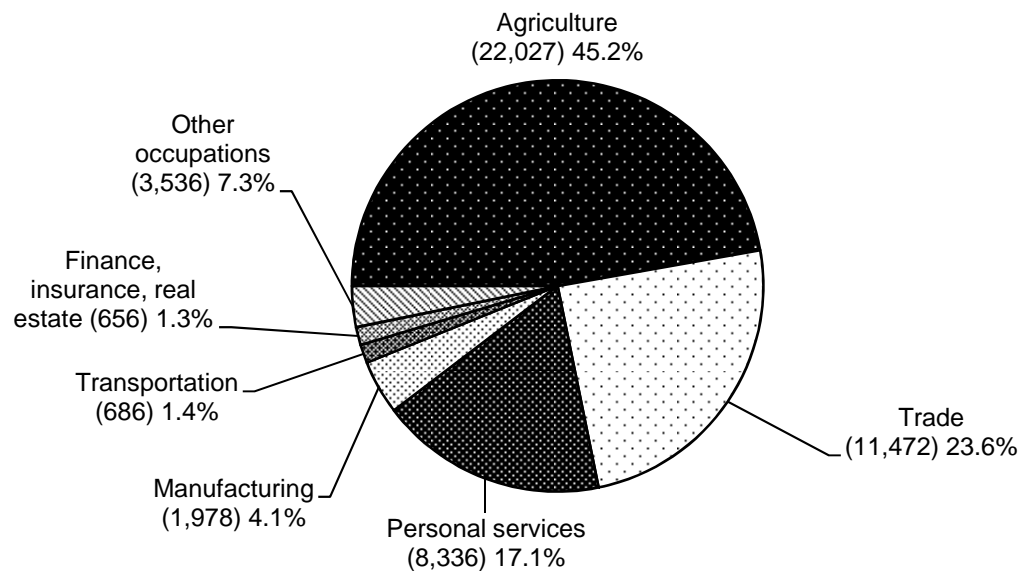
\*\*\* Personal services include waitresses, lodging house keepers, barbers, laundry operatives, etc.

Source: Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 72–73.

As shown in Table 3.6 and 3.7, the majority of the Japanese men and women engaged in unskilled labor such as agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, nursery, manufacturing, and domestic and personal services. Although the number of grown-up Nisei increased, the ratio of white-collar and professional workers remained considerably low among the Japanese Americans. It indicated that the Nisei's higher education did not help them obtain the white-collar or professional occupations. Especially, nearly half of the Japanese men and women found jobs in agriculture or services until 1940. To limit the figures to occupational distribution of the employed Japanese in California, Oregon,

and Washington, there were 48,691 employed Japanese over fourteen years of age; of whom 22,027 (45.2%) engaged in agriculture, 11,472 (23.6%) in trade, 8,336 (17.1%) in personal services, 1,978 (4.1%) in manufacturing, 686 (1.4%) in transportation, 656 (1.3%) in finance, insurance, real estate, and 3,536 (7.3%) in other various occupations. Only 0.3 percent or 123 Japanese were government employees in 1940.<sup>185</sup>

Figure 3.10 Occupational Distribution of Japanese in California, Oregon, and Washington, 1940



Source: United States Department of War, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 407.

Researching on the Issei and Nisei's occupational distribution in Los Angeles in 1934, John Modell provided more specific and detailed analysis of Nisei's discouraging job situation.<sup>186</sup> Although recording the longest median years of school completed, the

<sup>185</sup> United States Department of War, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 407.

<sup>186</sup> John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900–1942* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

reality motivated the Nisei to look for jobs in Japan or within the Japanese community in America. The mainstream Americans still saw the Nisei not as American but as Japanese; therefore, Japan's military expansion, such as the creation of Manchukuo, could negatively affect the Nisei's progress in many aspects.

Table 3.8 Occupational Distribution of Japanese in Los Angeles, 1934

Occupation	Issei		Nisei	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Fruits and vegetable stands	900	19.67%	2,750	61.78%
Produce wholesalers	141	3.08%	203	4.56%
Produce retail stores	56	1.22%	157	3.53%
Laundry operatives	270	5.90%	80	1.80%
Nursery workers	210	4.59%	50	1.12%
Groceries stores	440	9.62%	48	1.08%
Chinese restaurants	200	4.37%	35	0.79%
Car repair services	28	0.61%	32	0.72%
Gardeners	1,500	32.78%	20	0.45%
Dentists	11	0.24%	15	0.34%
Restaurants	160	3.50%	15	0.34%
Hotels	305	6.67%	10	0.22%
Beauty salons	10	0.22%	10	0.22%
Insurance agents	43	0.94%	7	0.16%
Lawyers	0	0.00%	6	0.13%
Drugstores	9	0.20%	5	0.11%
Florists	105	2.29%	5	0.11%
Physicians or surgeons	26	0.57%	3	0.07%
Barbers	162	3.54%	1	0.02%
Total	4,576	100.0%	4,451	100.0%

Source: John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles 1900–1942* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), cited in Teruko Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi: kindai Amerika to Nihonjin imin* [A social history of alien residents: modern America and Japanese immigration] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan, 1995), 198.

Based on the data collected by 4,576 Issei and 4,451 Nisei in Los Angeles, Modell illustrated that the Nisei engaging in professional jobs were relatively few regardless of their high academic achievement. It also indicated that most Nisei could not take advantage of their higher education and English skills. Because of “glass ceiling,” their employment opportunity was very limited. Although some Nisei started their own business, the majority of Nisei being ethnic minority ended up concentrating in agriculture related jobs just like their Issei parents. According to the special situation reported by *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* on October 27, 1941, 99 percent of the Nisei were forced to seek employment in the Japanese community. Despite graduating from college with honors, some became chauffeurs while others became ice carriers.<sup>187</sup> It was the background the Japanese language schools flourished during the 1930s. Finding jobs in Japan or the Japanese communities in America could be their employment opportunities, but they needed to acquire proper Japanese language skill in order to do so.

In 1940, the pattern of the Nisei’s occupations showed no significant difference. As Modell pointed out, a small percentage of the Nisei held professional occupations in Los Angeles City and the rest of Los Angeles County. According to Modell, only 3 percent of Nisei males and 5 percent of Nisei females in Los Angeles City and 1 percent of Nisei males and 5 percent of Nisei females in the rest of Los Angeles County had either professional or semi-professional occupations.<sup>188</sup> In the City, the majority of Nisei still found jobs established by the Issei and their private enterprise. On the other hand, a

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<sup>187</sup> “Nichibei kankei to dai Nisei” [US-Japan relations and the Nisei], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], October 27, 1941.

<sup>188</sup> Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*, 130. The employment situation was virtually the same in the East Coast where the anti-Japanese sentiment was not as serious as the West Coast. Kelly Kuwayama, an elite Princeton graduate, could not find a job at an American corporation, according to Masayo Duus, *Buriea no kaihoshatachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1983), 203.

considerable number of Nisei in the rest of County engaged in “unpaid” family labor.<sup>189</sup>

Table 3.9 Occupational Distribution of Nisei in Los Angeles, 1940

	Los Angeles City		Rest of Los Angeles County	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Professionals, semi-professionals	3	5	1	2
Proprietors, managers, and officials	12	4	8	2
Clerical, sales	37	35	19	22
Craftsmen, foremen, and operatives	13	12	5	2
Non-farm laborers	20	2	6	.5 <
Domestic service	3	19	2	16
Other service	4	15	1	3
Farmers, farm managers	2	.5 <	13	1
Paid farm laborers	3	2	18	10
Unpaid family laborers	3	5	27	41
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles 1900–1942* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 130.

Simultaneously, the Issei parents hoped the Nisei children to be proud of their ethnic heritage by learning the Japanese language and culture so that they would not feel subservient to white Americans. What the Issei worried the most was the consequences of Nisei growing up and living in America without having “ethnic pride.” Therefore, Stockton’s Japanese language school taught *Shushin* for promoting ethnic pride in order to prevent Nisei from becoming subservient, discontented, and despairing in the face of racial discrimination.<sup>190</sup> Watanabe Hana, a teacher of the Japanese language school in

<sup>189</sup> Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*, 130.

<sup>190</sup> Kumei, *Gaikokujin o meguru shakaishi* [A social history of alien residents], 199.

Los Angeles recalled that she was deeply moved when the Nisei became proud of Japan after 1932 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles. Those Nisei who insisted they were not Japanese began to say they were Japanese and expressed their happiness to see the Japanese national flag hoisted.<sup>191</sup> The third president of *Nihon Seimei* 日本生命 (Nihon Life Insurance Company), Hirose Suketaro declared that he saw *Yamato Damashii* in Issei and that spirit was transmitted to Nisei by blood although Nisei never went to Japan.<sup>192</sup>

*Osaka Mainichi Shimbun's* article on October 13, 1939 reflected the Nisei's standing point as well as their attitude toward their parents' homeland. The report was about the Japanese-made airplane *Nippon* (meaning "Japan" in Japanese) landing on Los Angeles airport on September 3, 1939. About 30,000 Japanese came to the airport to welcome *Nippon* by waving the Rising-Sun flags. When they saw the national flag of Japan on the wings of *Nippon*, Japanese were moved to tears because of their overwhelming joy.<sup>193</sup> Representing the Nisei, a thirteen-years-old Yasuo Harada from the Dai Ichi Rafu Gakuen (First Los Angeles Japanese Language School) sent a "words of welcome" to the airplane company as follows:

We were eagerly waiting after hearing about an all-Japanese made and operated airplane *Nippon* would flying here. We were really happy that *Nippon* arrived here in Southern California safely. We sincerely welcome *Nippon*.

We felt miserable to hear that most airplanes in Japan were bought from foreign countries. Also, we were disappointed to hear that many pilots fell frequently in Japan. Yet, since the China Incident began, Japanese airplanes are defeating China, and China would have no more airplanes. In addition, the number of Russian airplanes shot down

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<sup>191</sup> "Amerika umare no dai Nisei no ikumichi" [The future of the American-born Nisei children], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* [Tokyo Asahi Daily], March 13, 1933.

<sup>192</sup> Suketaro Hirose, "Niju kokuseki mondai wa kaigai hattenjo iyoiyo kouryo no yoari" [Question on dual citizenship needs more consideration for the overseas development], *Osaka Jiji Shimpō* [Osaka Current News], May 24, 1934.

<sup>193</sup> Letter, Yasuo Harada to the airplane company, quoted in "Nihon eraina: kangeki sasagu hojin dai Nisei" [Impressed by Japan: Nisei dedicating their deep emotion], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka daily News], October 13, 1939.

by Japan during the frequent military confrontations passed more than one thousand. During this busy time, *Nippon* is demonstrating the superiority of Japanese airplanes in five continents. What a great undertaking! We are incredibly happy. We, the Nisei were impressed by Japan when we first saw the Japanese airplane. We really understand what our father, mother, and [Japanese language school] teachers' saying. *We will study harder to be the fine Japanese Americans so that we do not bring shame to the people of the great Japanese nation. . . .* Please show this fine airplane to British and Germans as well as Americans. On behalf of every student of the Japanese language schools in Southern California, let me congratulate by saying *Nippon banzai*.<sup>194</sup>

According to the analysis of Arthur Ramey, supervisor of student teachers at Tule Lake Relocation Center, “the nisei, is a product of two cultures: their home background and their American environment. For the great majority, the American culture is the stronger influence. Their education, their occupations, contacts, their recreation all incline in that direction. As they mature, they realize that their chances for happiness and success in this country are increased by the extent of their adjustment to it. In fact, in their anxiety to be American, they tend to throw overboard some of the fine elements of Japanese culture.”<sup>195</sup> Meanwhile, Nobu Naito believed that a “higher culture” was attainable by combining the Japanese virtues with the Nisei’s American background.<sup>196</sup>

In 1940, 315 Japanese language schools existed in mainland: 37 schools in Washington and Oregon; 133 schools in Northern and Central California; 126 schools in Southern California; and 19 schools in Colorado and Utah.<sup>197</sup> The following Figure 3.10 illustrates the number of Japanese language schools by regions and phases. The initial phase indicates years 1902–1908, establishing phase 1909–1927, and golden age 1927–1942.

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<sup>194</sup> *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], October 13, 1939.

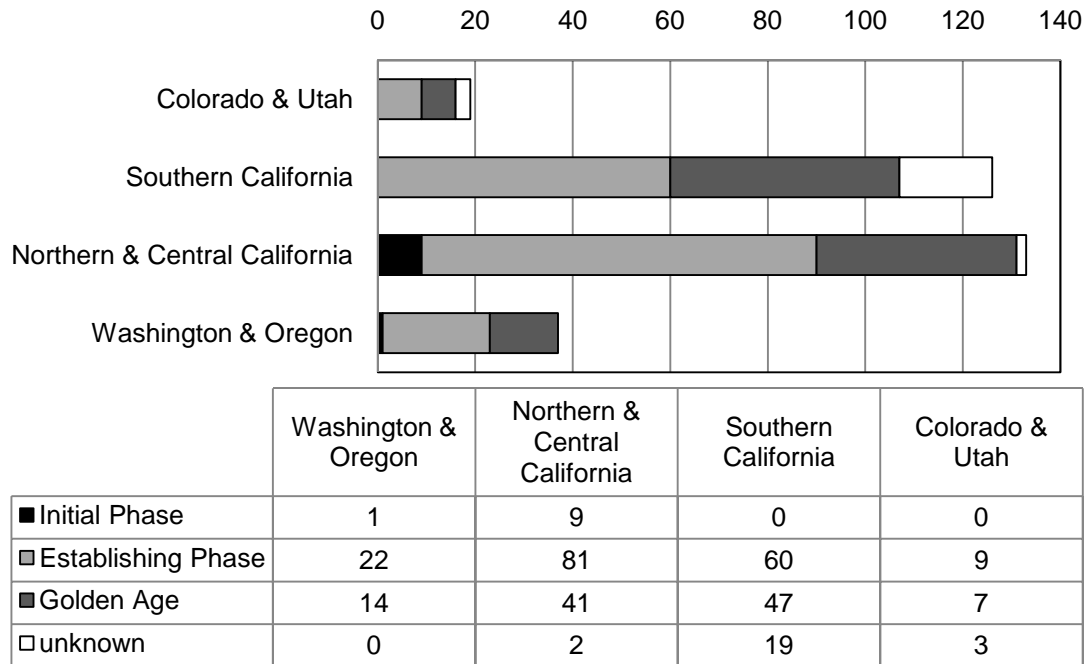
<sup>195</sup> Arthur Ramey, “Cultural Conflict,” in *The Nisei Mind, Part VI*, 87, Tule Lake Incarceration Camp, California, 1943, Library of Congress, microfilm Reel No. 12, Shelf No. Np 2452, [http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao\\_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-i65-00428](http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-i65-00428) (accessed January 2, 2009).

<sup>196</sup> Nobu Naito, “Our Issei Parents,” in *The Nisei Mind, Part VI*, 92.

<sup>197</sup> Kato, *Beikoku Nikkeijin Hyakunenshi* [A history of one-hundred years of the Japanese Americans in the United States], 124–130.



Figure 3.10 Japanese Language Schools by Regions and Phases, 1940



Source: Shinichi Kato, *Beikoku Nikkeijin Hyakunenshi: Zaibei Nikkeijin hatten jinshiroku* [A history of one-hundred years of the Japanese Americans in the United States: Record of the development of Japanese American in the United States] (Los Angeles: Shin Nichibei Shimbunsha, 1961), 124–130.

During the initial phase, only ten schools were established on mainland that indicated not many school-aged Nisei existed by then. On the other hand, 172 schools were founded during the twenty-year-period of establishing phase—the years that marked the most severe anti-Japanese sentiment and legislation including the California Alien Land Laws and Immigration Act of 1924. As Figure 3.2 shows, the Nisei increased in number due to the active practice of “picture bride” marriage that stimulated births and family establishment. Then, additional 109 schools were established during the golden age that lasted from 1927 to 1942.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>198</sup> Kato, *Beikoku Nikkeijin Hyakunenshi* [A history of one-hundred years of the Japanese Americans in the United States], 124–130.

Table 3.10 Number of Japanese Language Schools, Teachers, and Students on Mainland United States, 1940

State(s)	Schools	Teachers		Students	
	Total	Total No.	Avg/school	Total No.	Avg/school
Washington (15) & Oregon (22)	37	97	2.6	3,244	87.7
Northern & Central California	133	277	2.1	6,924	52.1
Southern California	126	376	3.0	9,849	78.2
Colorado (8) & Utah (11)	19	36	1.9	871	45.8
Total	315	786	2.5	20,888	66.3

Sources: Shinichi Kato, *Beikoku Nikkeijin Hyakunenshi: Zaibei Nikkeijin hatten jinshiroku* [A history of one-hundred years of the Japanese Americans in the United States: Record of the development of Japanese American in the United States] (Los Angeles: Shin Nichibei Shimbunsha, 1961), 124–130; “Nichibei kankei to dai Nisei” [US-Japan relations and the Nisei], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* (Osaka Daily News), October 27, 1941.

Since 1930, a considerable number of the Kibei began to return to the United States for several reasons. Some prominent Japanese attempted to resolve the situation. According to the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*'s report on September 20, 1936, Inukai Kyutaro 犬飼久太郎 (age 62) who was president of the Inukai Shokai 犬飼商会 (Inukai Trading Company capitalized at \$ 200,000) and the Kokusai Boeki Kabushiki Kaisha 国際貿易株式会社 (International Trading Corporation, capitalized at \$75,000) proposed to build five-hundred *sukiyaki* restaurants across the nation to provide employment for 10,000 grown-up Nisei. Obtaining higher education and degree, the Nisei were qualified for many respectable occupations; however, racial discrimination had hindered them from becoming government officials, teachers, or even salespersons in the mainstream. As a result, these Nisei sought employment at the Japanese stores, yet their job

opportunities was quite limited. Therefore, observing numbers of Chinese immigrants who made a fortune by operating Chinese restaurants, Inukai tried to imitate the successful case in America.<sup>199</sup>

Simultaneously, the Issei farmers whose average age had reached fifty-four years old sought young Japanese boys who would diligently work in their farms as their successors. The Japanese community leaders hoped that bringing back the Nisei residing in Japan, which numbered no less than 60,000, to the United States would benefit the community through establishing both political and economic foundations. First of all, the Nisei being American citizens had voice in politics to represent their group while the Issei did not. Second, educated in Japan, they were familiar with the Japanese ethics, and the leaders hoped they would culturally inspire the Nisei growing up in the United States. Meanwhile, it was a great opportunity for the Nisei in Japan because Japanese then were suffering from a severe recession caused by the Great Depression, and the unemployment developed into a serious problem as well. Although prestigious jobs were not open to the Nisei, plenty of jobs such as farming, fishing, and horticulture, which the Nisei growing up in America would not prefer, were available in southern California.<sup>200</sup>

In addition, the difficulty of finding grooms for the marriageable age Nisei girls became a great worry for the Japanese community in the 1930s. Culturally, the Issei parents wanted their children to find Japanese partners. Moreover, the anti-

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<sup>199</sup> “Shushoku nan no dai Nisei ichiman nin ni gohyakken no ‘sukiyaki-ya: dai kaisha soritsu no dai keikaku’” [Five-hundred “Sukiyaki restaurants” for 10,000 Nisei who encountering the difficulty of finding employment: A grand plan to establish a big company], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], September 20, 1936. Sukiyaki is a Japanese one-pot dish of thin beef strips cooked with vegetables, mushrooms, *tofu*, and soy sauce.

<sup>200</sup> “Rafu ni ‘dai Nisei tengoku’: Nihon sodachi no seinen ni kibe o shorei” [Paradise in Los Angeles for the Nisei: Encouraging the young men growing up in Japan to return to the United States], *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* [Osaka Asahi Daily], October 10, 1936.

miscegenation laws prevented them from marrying persons from other racial background. As a measure, the Wakayama *kenjinkai* (prefectural association) of Southern California requested the Sumitomo Bank to send their contribution of 10,000 yen to Wakayama prefecture to facilitate the return of the Nisei to the United States as many as possible. According to the report of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, other *kenjinkai* seemed to follow the Wakayama *kenjinkai*'s manner.<sup>201</sup> By 1940, the Nisei's median age reached 20.<sup>202</sup>

In the 1930s, many Kibei Nisei who turned to the draft age determined to go back to the United States to evade conscription.<sup>203</sup> Although they were American citizens by birth, at the same time, they were Japanese citizens because of their dual citizenship status. In addition, it was not easy for the Nisei to maintain their American citizenship once they served Japanese military. Educated in Japan, the Kibei did not have as good command in English as the Nisei raised in America. Possessing firmness of character based on the *Nippon Seishin*, the Kibei had a tendency to flatly refuse to deal with the Nisei born in the mainland and Hawaii.<sup>204</sup> Receiving education both in Japan and in America during their younger days, the Kibei had acquired the Japanese ethics and values, and they appeared to be in-between Japanese and American.<sup>205</sup> Because of their educational background in Japan, the Kibei who were the small portion of the Japanese Americans tended to have problem adjusting to American culture once they returned from Japan.

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<sup>201</sup> *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* [Osaka Asahi Daily], October 10, 1936.

<sup>202</sup> "Nichibei kankei to dai Nisei" [US-Japan relations and the Nisei], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], October 27, 1941.

<sup>203</sup> William T. Masuda, "A Participatory Study of the Self-Identity of Kibei Nisei Men: A Subgroup of Second Generation Japanese American Men," Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Francisco, 1993.

<sup>204</sup> "Daitoa senso to zaibei dai Nisei: Nihon o minaosu kokikai: Kagayaku senka o nanto miru?" [Pacific War and the Nisei: A good chance to reconsider Japan: How to view the brilliant military achievement?], *Hochi Shimbun* [News] (Tokyo), February 24, 1942.

<sup>205</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 61.

### *Meaning of Americanization for the Japanese Americans*

It is important to note that Americanization, according to the most Issei's view, was not to adopt the ordinary American values and behavior but to become "best American citizen, who will not only participate in American life, but also contribute their distinct part in this cosmopolitan civilization."<sup>206</sup> By maintaining the cultural strengths of "Yamato" race such as diligence, patience, politeness, and strong loyalty, they sought to rear the Nisei to be the "best" American citizens of all races.<sup>207</sup> Simultaneously, for the Nisei in Hawaii, Americanization did not intend to cut off their cultural ties with Japan. In fact, hoping to promote the friendly US-Japan relations, the Nisei actively sought to learn from "great Japan" so that they could be *Taiheiyo no Kakehashi* ("A Bridge across the Pacific").<sup>208</sup> Regarding themselves as American citizens not as Japanese subjects, the Nisei pledged allegiance to the United States while preserving their "cultural, social, and emotional ties with Japan." As Monobe pointed out, the Nisei were "100 percent Americans" in terms of their nationality; however, they were culturally to be the "Bridge across the Pacific."<sup>209</sup>

Although having no right to become American citizens, the Issei parents wished their Nisei children to be fine Americans. An Issei immigrant in Denver named Sakura Toyozo whispered his last will to four sons in his last moments: "You are Japanese, my sons, but you are citizens of this country, whose soil has blessed us. Conduct yourselves

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<sup>206</sup> *Administration of Immigration Laws: Hearings* (66th Cong., 2d sess.), 661.

<sup>207</sup> Takie Okumura, *Hawai ni okeru Nichi-Bei mondai kaiketsu undo* [Campaign to solve the Japan-US problem in Hawaii] (Honolulu: Naigai Shuppan, 1937), 157.

<sup>208</sup> Shibusawa Eiichi Seien Kinen Zaidan Ryumonsha hen, *Shibusawa Eiichi denki shiryō* [Materials for the biography of Shibusawa Eiichi], vol. 37 (Tokyo: Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryo Kankokai, 1960), 423.

<sup>209</sup> Monobe, "Senkanki ni okeru Hawai Nikkei shimin no seiji shiso to sono katsudo," 123.

with dignity and honor this country of your birth.”<sup>210</sup> Toyozo encouraged his sons to behave right as American citizens and to be loyal to their mother country.

The response to the establishment of the Japanese language schools characterized their definition of “Americanization” as well as their attitude toward achieving assimilation. Utilizing the Japanese cultural and traditional values such as diligence, patience, politeness, and extraordinary loyalty, both Buddhist and Christian Japanese leaders in Hawaii initially tried to achieve assimilation by turning themselves into better Americans. On the other hand, placing an emphasis on Christian values, more specifically adopting the ideals of WASP, the Christian Japanese in mainland made efforts to achieve assimilation into the mainstream society. In so doing, the immigrants were encouraged to abandon their language and culture, and to adopt the English language and American culture.<sup>211</sup>

Following the building up pressure for Americanization and anti-Japanese movement, the number of Japanese converting to Christianity increased for promoting, in Ichioka’s words, *gaimenteki doka*—demonstrating themselves being externally or superficially Americanized.<sup>212</sup> Since the Issei had no right to become naturalized U.S. citizens, they preferred to become Christians to minimize the impact of anti-Japanese sentiment as well as to demonstrate their ability to assimilate into American society by applying the Meiji spirit of *chukun aikoku* (Loyalty and Patriotism).<sup>213</sup> To this extent, assimilation, Americanization, and Christianization meant nearly the equivalent to the eyes of Issei. Interestingly, the Japanese Christians Churches emphasized “ethnic”

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<sup>210</sup> John R. Ward, “Opportunity to Prove Loyalty Given Nisei,” *Reading Eagle* (Pennsylvania), April 18, 1943.

<sup>211</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 77.

<sup>212</sup> Ichioka, *The Issei*, 185–187.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 184–185.

consciousness/solidarity rather than their “denominational” consciousness/solidarity.<sup>214</sup> Obviously, for the majority of Japanese immigrants, conversion to Christianity was socially motivated rather than religiously motivated, and it was more likely a passport to gain social acceptance.

### *The Nisei’s Dilemma of Dual Citizenship*

The dual citizenship status had brought grief to the Nisei. Although they loved America and determined to serve their country at all costs, the public was suspicious about their loyalty because of their dual citizenship status.<sup>215</sup> In fact, their dual citizenship deprived them of employment opportunities, especially after the Great Depression that caused massive unemployment.

Based on the Japanese Nationality Act, the Japanese government had granted citizenships to all children of Japanese parents regardless of their birthplaces. Until 1916 amendment, the law did not exist that allowed the foreign-born Japanese to renounce their Japanese citizenship. Finally, the foreign-born Japanese gained the right to do so with several provisions in 1916. In the case of Hawaiian-born Japanese, the applicant must be American citizen residing in Hawaii. While applicants (both male and female) under seventeen years of age could renounce their Japanese citizenship without restriction, male applicants over the age of seventeen had to perform military service in Japan unless they were exempted due to physically or mentally unfit or residing overseas until the age of 32. Additionally, they had to obtain consent from the secretary of the

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<sup>214</sup> Ryo Yoshida, “1913 Alien Land Law and Japanese Christians in California,” *The Social Science* 47 (August 1991): 15–16.

<sup>215</sup> “Hokubei no honpo imin, (8) Niko no kokumin no kokoro o motsu Niji kokusekisha no hiai” [Japanese immigrants in North America, (8) Sorrow of dual citizens having two hearts], *Kobe Shimibun* [Kobe Daily], September 5, 1926.

interior of Japan in order to legally renounce their Japanese citizenship.<sup>216</sup>

In addition, the applicant had to get the consent: “(a) If the applicant is under 15 years of age, he must obtain the consent of the parents or guardian. (b) If applicant is over 15 years of age, he should be first O.K.’d by the relatives. (c) If applicant is under 15 years and under guardianship of stepfather, stepmother, widow, or legal guardian whose consent is necessary, the legally appointed guardian should make the petition.”<sup>217</sup> Once obtaining the consent, the applicant had to prepare two copies of *koseki tohon* 戸籍謄本 (family register), Hawaiian birth certificates, the statements whether they had been to Japan or not, the dates of their parents’ arrival to Hawaii, and names of relatives living together. Additionally, if the applicant was fifteen to seventeen years old, the applicant had to send two copies of the consent in writing of guardian or relatives. Once all the materials were ready, the applicant took them to the Japanese Consulate of Honolulu to file the petition. Those who released his or her Japanese citizenship was indeed allowed to regain their citizenship depending on the circumstances that included one’s repatriation.<sup>218</sup> The Japanese Association facilitated the renunciation of Japanese citizenship by publishing an instruction pamphlet.<sup>219</sup>

The amendment of 1916 indeed remained problematic for the Nisei males over the age of seventeen because the Japanese government would not allow renunciation of their Japanese citizenship unless they completed their military duty. However, those who served in the Japanese military could lose their American citizenship rights. Concerned

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<sup>216</sup> *Bulletin, 1920, No. 16: A Survey of Education in Hawaii, 24.*

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>219</sup> *Zaibei Nihonjinkai, Shusseidoke Oyobi Kokuseki Ridatsu no Shiori* [A guide for birth report and expatriation] (San Francisco: Zaibei Nihonjinkai, 1922), cited in Ichioka, *Before Internment*, 19.



about its negative effect on US-Japan relations, *Jiji Shimpo* (Current News) called for the resolution of dual citizenship problem.<sup>220</sup> Then, the Japanese Association petitioned the Japanese government for the amendment so that the Nisei over the age of seventeen would not have to serve in the Japanese military.

The Nisei had to wait until the amendment of 1924 to the Japanese Nationality Act that allowed them to renounce their Japanese citizenship without any precondition. Afterwards, their parents had to notify the Japanese government if they wanted their children to have Japanese citizenship.<sup>221</sup> The amendment of 1924 finally straightened up the dual citizenship issue that had troubled the Nisei for a while. Following the enactment of the amendment, the renunciation of Japanese citizenship had actively taken place, and 32,079 Nisei renounced their Japanese citizenship between 1925 and 1933.

Table 3.11 Renunciation of Japanese Citizenship in Hawaii, 1925–1933

Year	Renunciation by Petition		Natural Renunciation		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1925	402	85	744	648	1,879
1926	430	108	1,842	1,751	4,131
1927	285	51	1,530	1,465	3,331
1928	334	32	1,582	1,443	3,391
1929	82	8	1,670	1,588	3,348
1930	218	18	1,662	1,547	3,445
1931	261	29	1,674	1,566	3,530
1932	902	346	1,734	1,601	4,583
1933	1,204	323	1,484	1,460	4,441
Total	4,118	1,000	13,922	13,039	32,079

<sup>220</sup> “Niju kokuseki mondai” [Question of dual citizenship], *Jiji Shimpo* [Current News] (Tokyo), February 21, 1916.

<sup>221</sup> Ichioka, *Before Internment*, 19.

Source: Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 461–462.

As Table 3.11 indicates, many Nisei, both male and female, renounced their Japanese citizenship in the years 1932 and 1933—the earliest years of the Great Depression that struck the U.S. economy producing millions of unemployment. By renouncing their Japanese citizenship, Japanese Americans determined to stress Americanization, at the same time they sought to demonstrate their loyalty to America by cutting off the legal tie with Japan.

### ***Chapter Summary***

The Japanese American community took great pride in the fact that there were virtually no Nisei criminals up until the outbreak of World War II, and it considered the non-existence of juvenile misconduct as “evidence of the good citizenship of this group.”<sup>222</sup> In fact, the Japanese family and community had made great effort to resolve troubles before the involvement of the authorities in order to keep up the reputation of the group.<sup>223</sup> Their social solidarity was essential to fight against racism. Although living in poverty, the Issei placed emphasis on the Nisei education with *Meiji no Seishin* (Meiji spirit—emphasis on strengthening national power for self-sustaining). As the principal of the first Japanese language school in the mainland, Seattle Kokugo Gakko, Takabatake Torataro pointed out that the Nisei were American citizens with respectable “Japanese Spirit” under the guidance of Issei teachers, the Japanese language schools played an

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<sup>222</sup> Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 163.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

important role in indoctrinating the Nisei with *Meiji no Seishin*.<sup>224</sup> Besides Japanese language, teachers taught extracurricular lessons in handcrafts and Japanese-style embroidery. They also offered training for homemaking including etiquette, customs, and traditions for Nisei girls.<sup>225</sup>

Following the Japanese mass emigration to the United States, numbers of Japanese language schools were established in Hawaii and mainland as the number of Nisei increased. Representing the Issei's cultural value, the Japanese language school as a whole remained a symbol of nationalism for the Issei parents.<sup>226</sup> Living with a sense of inferiority in America, the Issei's spiritual ties to their homeland further intensified as they encounter difficulty in assimilating into mainstream society.

During the initial phase of the Japanese language schools (1893 [Hawaii] / 1902 [mainland] to 1908), the schools aimed at educating Nisei schoolchildren to become "Japanese subjects." Meanwhile, during the establishing phase (1909–1927), in which the Japanese residents transformed from *dekaseginin* (temporary laborers) to permanent settlers, Japanese sought to raise Nisei to become Americans with the essence of Japanese culture. Contrary to their aim, it was the period when the Japanese exclusionists in California such as V. S. McClatchy discriminated the Japanese as "unassimilable" and the most "dangerous" residents,<sup>227</sup> and attacked the Japanese language schools as

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<sup>224</sup> Ito, *Hokubei Hyakunenzakura* [One hundred years of cherry trees in North America], 697–698. Established in 1902, the Seattle Kokugo Gakko engaged in educating 250 Nisei children in 1920, according to Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura, *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, 2005), 101.

<sup>225</sup> Ito, *Issei*, 603.

<sup>226</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 274–275.

<sup>227</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, *Japanese Immigration and Colonization: Skeleton Brief by Mr. V. S. McClatchy, Representative of the Japanese Exclusion League of California, on "Japanese Immigration and Colonization," Filed with the Secretary of State, 67th Cong., 1st sess., Document No.*

educational institutions that preventing the “Americanization” of Nisei children during the Americanization movement emerging in the 1910s. On the other hand, the Japanese in Hawaii fought in the Supreme Court for their rights to send their Nisei children to the Japanese language schools after attending public schools, and their victory in 1927 proved the legitimacy of such educational institutions and contributed to laying the foundation. Then, during the golden age of the Japanese language schools, the institution and curriculum showed a great improve.<sup>228</sup>

Importantly, most Nisei considered attending Japanese language schools as their filial duty. Two Nisei described their view on the Japanese language schools in *The Second Generation Oriental in America* written by William C. Smith in 1927. One of them said,

I didn't have a very constructive attitude toward the language school at this time. When I say this, I believe I express the attitude of the majority of children of those days. I derived much more pleasure from reading English readers than from reading Japanese books. It is the same with me now, but, of course, my opinion in regard to the importance of understanding one's mother tongue has changed considerably in later years.<sup>229</sup>

The other said, “I attended the Japanese School for seven years and during that time I have always ranked first and second in my classes. Nevertheless, I prefer the English School to the language school, so at night I used to study only the English book.”<sup>230</sup> As these Nisei described, most Nisei attended Japanese language schools not because they enjoyed learning Japanese language and ethics, but they were supposed to acquire the basic Japanese language skill so that they could communicate better with their Issei

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55, July 27, 1921 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 126; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Japanese Immigration Hearings*, 68th Cong., 1st sess., 5–6, quoted in Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, 99.

<sup>228</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 123.

<sup>229</sup> William C. Smith, *The Second Generation Oriental in America* (Honolulu: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927), 7.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

parents. Learning English which belonged to different linguistic family from Japanese was not an easy task for the employed Issei parents who had no time to get down to learn English seriously. Especially, their Issei mothers had hard time understanding English.<sup>231</sup> After all, the Japanese language school was successful in terms of teaching Japanese culture and proper manners; however, it did not achieve a significant success in teaching Japanese language to the Nisei. Importantly, although born into Japanese parents, Nisei considered themselves American, and they wanted to be regarded as Americans than the Japanese.<sup>232</sup> Therefore, for Nisei, learning Japanese language was not for their own will but for the sake of their Issei parents. The Nihonjin Kyoikukai argued that the Japanese language schools were necessary for “social efficiency and family organization.”<sup>233</sup>

The dilemma of the Japanese immigrants was indeed similar to that of Meiji leaders. In order to join the West, the initial Meiji leaders “threw off the culture of Japan for the efficiency of the West.”<sup>234</sup> They had denied or deemphasized Japanese cultural values and tried to westernize themselves by imitating the Western model. In that process, the idea that West was civilized/superior and Asia was uncivilized/inferior came to dominate the Japanese mind during the Meiji period that made the Japanese disdainful of other Asian countries. Thereafter, the Japanese leaders merely concentrated on catching up the West by modernizing the country; however, the Western countries never accepted Japan as a part of them because of the Yellow Peril myth that represented the racial prejudice against Asians. The origin of modern Japanese nationalism was unique

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<sup>231</sup> Reginald Bell, *Public School Education of Second-Generation Japanese in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935), 393.

<sup>232</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 175; Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Eaglewood: Prentice Hall Inc., 1969), 24–25.

<sup>233</sup> Bell, *Public School Education of Second-Generation Japanese in California*, 393.

<sup>234</sup> “Okuma, the President Monroe of Japan,” *Clinton Mirror* (Iowa), July 10, 1915.

in nature because it emerged as a result of an “inferiority complex.” Then, it evolved into the Japanese supremacy over Asian countries toward the end of World War II.

Japanese immigrants showed a strong will for assimilation; however, paradoxically, the more they sought assimilation by adopting American culture with emphasis on WASP values, the more the exclusionists opposed them to be a part of mainstream. In response, consisting of Nisei from Hawaii and mainland US that included those from the internment camps, the origin of 442nd RCT was traced back to their strong desire to demonstrate their loyalty to the United States. What contradicted the most was that the Japanese desired to assimilate into the mainstream; on the other hand, they—mostly Issei—had strong opposition to the white society. For example, the Japanese language schools and Nisei education based on Japanese value contradicted their “intention of assimilation.” Nevertheless, the Issei had to instill ethnic pride in Nisei’s mind to overcome racial discrimination. Although initially aimed at rearing the Nisei to be Japanese subjects, the Japanese language schools changed its educational policy and shifted to the educational institution that aided Nisei to be better Americans by the time of the passage of Immigration Act in 1924.

In the face of discriminatory legislatures such as the segregation of Japanese schoolchildren, Alien Land Laws, Japanese language school control acts, and the Immigration Act of 1924, the Japanese immigrants created their ethnic enclave for the self-defense, and the Japanese language was crucial for the reinforcement of their group solidarity that facilitated the eventual birth of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.<sup>235</sup> Acquiring from their Issei parents and the Japanese language school teachers, the Nisei had unconsciously adopted a great deal of Japanese values. As Louis Hunter indicated,

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<sup>235</sup> Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka* [Cultural assimilation on education], 251–252.

“No one can wholly divorce himself from the culture that nourished him in his youth, and no matter how much the Nisei may have hated the language schools, most of them attended the institutions and listened to Buddhist priests, fervently extol the virtues of patriotism (*aikoku-shin*) and selfless, single-minded dedication to duty (*giri*).”<sup>236</sup> The words “patriotism” and “duty” are important in this context, because both were the core of Japanese virtues that motivated the Nisei to serve the country at the cost of their lives during World War II.

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<sup>236</sup> Hunter, *Buddhism in Hawaii*, 188.

## CHAPTER IV

### UTILIZATION OF NATIONALISM

The previous chapter discussed the Meiji leaders' attempt to promote *Kokutai* (national polity/essence) by utilizing universal education. Because of the strong Confucian-based society, education was the core of the national unity, and the role played by schoolteachers were extremely important to achieve *fukoku kyohei* (enrich the country, strengthen the military) in terms of controlling the minds of schoolchildren. Therefore, schoolteachers became highly influential and the most respected group in Japan. Indeed, schoolteachers were not merely educators but also “public officers, official guardians of morality responsible to the state.”<sup>1</sup> Paying attention to prewar education and official publications, this chapter examines how Japanese nationalism had been constructed in the early twentieth century.

#### ***Kokutai no Hongi* 国体の本義 (“Fundamentals of Our National Polity”): Catalyst to Promote Ideological Uniformity among the Japanese**

In order to promote fighting spirit and loyalty to the state, the Ministry of Education published *Kokutai no Hongi* on May 31, 1937, which highlighted the unbroken imperial line and denounced democracy, liberalism, communism and anarchism.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 36; Shiro Shimada, *Dotoku kyoiku no kenkyu* [Study on moral education] (Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1986), 55.



Notably, *Kokutai no Hongi* incorporated the *Bushido* for pursuing national interest.<sup>2</sup>

*Bushido* may be cited as showing an outstanding characteristic of our national morality. In the world of warriors one sees inherited the totalitarian structure and spirit of the ancient clans peculiar to our nation. Hence, although the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism have been followed, they have been transcended. That is, although a sense of obligation binds master and servant, it has developed into spirit of self-effacement and of meeting death with perfect calmness. In this, it was not that death was made light of so much as that man tempered himself for death and in a true sense regarded it with esteem. In effect, man tried to fulfill true life by way of death. . . .

The warrior's aim should be, in ordinary times, to foster a spirit of reverence for the deities and his own ancestors in keeping with his family tradition; to train himself to be ready to cope with emergencies at all times; to clothe himself with wisdom, benevolence, and valor; to understand the meaning of mercy; and to strive to be sensitive to the frailty of Nature. . . . It is the same *bushido* that shed itself of an outdated feudalism at the time of the Meiji Restoration, increased in splendor, became the Way of loyalty and patriotism, and has evolved before us as the spirit of the imperial forces.<sup>3</sup>

It was a great contradiction in the history of modern Japan. While the primary goal of the Meiji Restoration was the abolishment of feudalism, in which the *bushi* 武士 (samurai) ruled the country. Nevertheless, the Meiji leaders heavily relied on the concept of *Bushido*, the very code of samurai, to attain military achievement during wartime. In other words, *Bushido* spirit was essential for militarily inferior Japan to pursue warfare as well as to keep the imperial institution.

*Kokutai no Hongi* played a leading role in promoting uniformity by setting the “ideological course for the Japanese people.”<sup>4</sup> Mostly drawing from the Japanese classics such as the *Kojiki* 古事記 (“Record of Ancient Matters”) and the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (“Chronicles of Japan”), the *Kokutai no Hongi* described the significance of *Kokutai* and served as the main text for ethics and the basis of the unique national

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<sup>2</sup> Monbusho (Ministry of Education), *Kokutai no Hongi* [Fundamentals of our national polity] (Tokyo: Naikaku Insatsukyoku, 1937).

<sup>3</sup> Monbusho (Ministry of Education, 1937), *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, ed. Robert K. Hall, trans. John Owen Gauntlett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 144–146.

<sup>4</sup> William Theodore De Bary, ed., *Sources of East Asian Tradition, vol. 2: The Modern Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 607.

ideology.<sup>5</sup> It is important to note that the *Kokutai no Hongi* was not always a chauvinist doctrine while emphasizing an unbroken line of emperors. The *Kokutai no Hongi* aimed to solve the problems that modern Japan was facing through adopting and upgrading Western concepts without ruining the Japanese traditions.<sup>6</sup>

Particularly placing emphasis on filial piety, the *Kokutai no Hongi* urged loyalty to the emperor by declaring, “The true characteristics of filial piety in our country are its perfect conformity with our national polity by heightening still further the relationship between morality and nature. Our country is a great family nation, and the imperial household is the head family of the subjects and the nucleus of national life. . . .”<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the *Kokutai no Hongi* defined Japan as a large family-state and the emperor as a father/sovereign head. Through the intensive indoctrination of the nation as an extension of family, the Japanese subjects shaped their unique nationalistic identity during the interwar period.

Essentially, the pride and values in Japanese culture extended to the overseas Japanese, namely the Issei—the first generation of Japanese immigrating to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. First of all, the Issei considering themselves as not immigrants but emigrants, they tended to keep closer spiritual and cultural ties with Japan in many aspects. They maintained a sense of duty to serve their country by remitting as much foreign currency as possible. Because the United States did not welcome the Japanese immigrants to become a member of *ie* (family/household), Issei inevitably kept a closer connection with their homeland. In

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<sup>5</sup> *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History*, s.v. “Kokutai 国体.”

<sup>6</sup> De Bary, ed., *Sources of East Asian Tradition*, vol. 2, 607, 611.

<sup>7</sup> Monbusho (Ministry of Education, 1937), *Kokutai no Hongi*, ed. Hall, trans. Gauntlett, 89–90; De Bary, ed., *Sources of East Asian Tradition*, vol. 2, 609.

order to return home after accumulating wealth, they were reconciled to a simple life which *Shushin* traditionally praised as a method of economy and frugality.<sup>8</sup> In fact, being ineligible to be naturalized U.S. citizens, many Issei thought about returning to Japan. At the same time, their cultural differences as well as racial discrimination deliberately prevented the Issei from assimilation into mainstream society. As Japanese subjects, the Issei continued to remit money to Japan and actively helped Japan's war efforts during the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars. Japanese in Hawaii remitted at least 1,000,000 yen in price at the time for supporting Japan's war against Qing China and Russia.<sup>9</sup> Besides donation of money, they sent *imonbukuro* 慰問袋 ("comfort bags") to the Japanese troops usually packed with necessities such as soaps and preserved food.<sup>10</sup>

The Issei-based associations actively supported their homeland up until Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. In response to the outbreak of Manchurian Incident in 1931, the Japanese Associations received about 17,000 *imonbukuro* from the Japanese residents.<sup>11</sup> When the war with China broke out in 1937, *fujinkai* 婦人会 (Women's Association) actively collected *imonbukoro* and sent them to Japanese soldiers to show their support for Japan.<sup>12</sup> According to Brian Masaru Hayashi's *For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren* (1995), the *fujinkai* in southern California with the help of the

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<sup>8</sup> Hiraoka Tatsuji, correspondent in New York, "Hokubei no Honpo imin (6): Teikyu seikatsu kirawaru" [Japanese in North America (6): Hated low standard of living], *Kobe Shimbun* [Kobe Daily] (Hyogo), September 3, 1926.

<sup>9</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 419.

<sup>10</sup> The *imonbukuro* were the gift packages which the Japanese civilians prepared to support Japan's war effort during wars.

<sup>11</sup> *Nichibei Shimbun* [Japanese-American News] (San Francisco), December 9, 1931.

<sup>12</sup> Brian Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to Present* (New York: Facts On File, 1993), 173.

Japanese Association had sent between 18,000 and 23,000 *imonbukuro* in the first half year of the war.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the Methodist Church's *fujinkai* in Los Angeles encouraged the Japanese to save money and donate it to the Japanese government to support Japan's war effort.<sup>14</sup> The contributions of these associations continued well into 1941, and Japanese-language newspapers in California often published the associations' efforts. For example, "March 13, 1941. Thirty-two bales of tinfoil were shipped to Japan through the Japanese Consulate General and were contributed by Japanese Associations of Fresno County, Kern County, Delano and San Bernardino," and "July 6, 1941. Central California Japanese Association announces the collection and transmission to the War Ministry of the sum of \$3,542.05."<sup>15</sup> As the Japanese-American press represented, the Issei's enthusiastic support for Japan and emperor worshipping ceremonies made the American public suspicious of Japanese in America stimulating "burning patriotism" and "all-out support of the Japanese Asiatic Co-Prosperity Program."<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, the Japanese in Hawaii managed to donate 3,000,000 yen.<sup>17</sup>

The exchange of the *imonbukuro* illustrated the "care for one another" which *Kyoiku Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education) had promoted. The *imonbukuro* indeed were not always sent to the soldiers in the front line. The soldiers in the front line, concerned about their fellow Japanese who had endured the long-term shortage of food

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<sup>13</sup> Brian Masaru Hayashi, *'For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren': Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 105-106.

<sup>14</sup> Hayashi, *For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren*, 106.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, *Hearings before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, 77th Cong., 1st sess., pursuant to H. R. 113, pt. 29*, quoted in the United States Department of War, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 10 (hereafter cited as *Final Report: 1942*).

<sup>16</sup> *Final Report: 1942*, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition], 419.

and necessities, packed the goods available in places where they stationed. Stuffing the *imonbukuro* with sugar, canned meat, milk for babies, leather goods, handkerchiefs and cotton back to Japan, the soldiers hoped the Japanese at home to do well. Deeply impressed by such warmth from the front, the homeland Japanese determined to lead more frugal life and to dedicate all their effort for the nation's achievement.<sup>18</sup>

Besides the existence of Japanese language schools, the celebration of Japanese national holidays resulted in spurring anti-Japanese sentiment. Nevertheless, the Issei's support for their homeland continued and they celebrated the Japanese national holidays including the New Year's Day, *kigen-setsu* (National Founding Day), *tencho-setsu* (Emperor's Birthday), and *Meiji-setsu* (Commemorating Emperor Meiji's Birthday). Still possessing *dekasegi* mind, their spirit was strongly tied to Japan while their bodies remained in the United States. The Issei always celebrated the Japanese national holidays in genuine Japanese style, and the Nisei schoolchildren had to skip public school because the Japanese community strongly urged attendance of the Japanese ceremonies.

New Year's celebration was significantly important for the Japanese American community. Longed for their homeland, the Japanese families celebrated the New Year in Japanese style. They decorated their houses with *kadomatsu* (literally "gate pine"—Japanese decoration of the New Year made of bamboo stalks, pine, and flowers) and *shimenawa* (literally "enclosing rope"—Shinto straw festoon decorated with cut paper). Organizations such as Japanese Associations, Japanese language schools, *kenjinkai*, Buddhists, and Christians held a celebration. During the celebration, they worshiped *Goshinei* (portraits of the emperor) and reverently read *Kyoiku Chokugo* just like the

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<sup>18</sup> "Mottai naya Sensen kara Imonbukuro" [Appreciated comfort bags from the battle line], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], March 24, 1942.

schools in mainland Japan. New Year holidays were important for Japanese organizations to raise funds. Through such events, the Japanese community reinforced group solidarity.

Their celebration style began to change to American style after 1920 due to the pressure from the Japanese exclusionists. Nevertheless, not all organizations gave up celebrating Japanese national holidays before the outbreak of World War II. According to John L. DeWitt's *Final Report, 1942*, the Japanese Association of Sacramento held a ceremony attended by three thousand Japanese in commemoration of the Japan's 2,600th National Founding Day on February 11, 1940.<sup>19</sup> Then, another Japanese organization in Lindsay, California, held a ceremony to celebrate 2,601st year of the National Founding with an emperor worshipping ritual. The ritual was conducted as follows: First, singing of *Kimigayo* (Japanese national anthem); second, opening of *Goshinei*; third, reciting of *Kyoiku Chokugo*; fourth, reading of Message of Reverence; fifth, making a bow to the direction of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo; and lastly, shouting *Banzai!* (Long live the Emperor!).<sup>20</sup> Living within the closed community, it became a mandatory social norm to participate the community's activities in order to maintain harmony and discipline to reinforce the social and ethnic solidarity. Although the Japanese Language School Association had shifted its Nisei education policy to facilitate their Americanization process, the Japanese community required Nisei to attend these emperor-worshipping ceremonies taken place at "almost every Japanese populated community in the United States . . ." before the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *Final Report: 1942*, 11.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 11n.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

### *Senjinkun: Sources of the Strength of Japan*

The strength of the Japanese soldiers came from the fact that they did not fear death when the moment came. Learning from the Japanese collective mind for achieving the national goal, a Nationalist and Prime Minister of Thailand Pibun Songgram (1897-1964) sought to maintain the independence from the European colonialists by implanting the *Nippon Seishin* (Japanese spirit). Pibun advocated the Japanese model for promoting patriotism among the Thais, and enthusiastically announced on December 8, 1941 that Japanese soldiers on the battlefield were invincible because they were not afraid of dying for bringing a victory for their nation.<sup>22</sup> On December 12, Pibun decided to sign the military alliance with Japan, and subsequently, Pibun declared war on the United States and Great Britain on January 25, 1942, strongly believing the cooperation with Japan and joining in her plan for the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as the right path for the country.<sup>23</sup>

Issued by Minister of the Army General Tojo Hideki 東條 英機 (1884–1948) on January 8, 1941 in order to discipline the Army for improper behavior and declining morale, the *Senjinkun* 戦陣訓 (“Field Service Code” or “Instructions for the Battlefield”) was a military code of imperial Japan mostly derived from the *Gunjin Chokuyu* (Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors), consisting of 32-pages. Since then, the Imperial Japanese Army required all soldiers to recite the *Senjinkun* composed of 2,700 characters.<sup>24</sup> The *Senjinkun* implanted in the soldiers a belief that death was preferable to retreat or surrender virtually forbade surrendering. The introductory part of the *Senjinkun*

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<sup>22</sup> “Manabe—Nippon Seishin: Eigo tsuiho, monosugoi Nihongo netsu: sakkon no Tai” [Learn Japanese spirit: Expelling English, staggering enthusiasm for learning Japanese: Recent Thailand], *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* [Osaka Daily News], March 24, 1942.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> It was not a required reading for the Imperial Japanese Navy.

states: “The battlefield is where the Imperial Army, acting under the Imperial command, displays its true character, conquering whenever it attacks, winning whenever it engages in combat, in order to spread the Imperial Way far and wide so that the enemy may look up in awe to the august virtues of His Majesty.”<sup>25</sup>

Having significant impact on the Japanese wartime mentality, the military used the *Senjinkun* to put the *Gunjin Chokuyu* into practice. The *Senjinkun* consisted of introduction, bodies, and conclusion, and the bodies consisted of three essential parts: Essential Part I had seven items, Essential Part II had eight items, and Essential Part III had two items.<sup>26</sup> The most well-known phrase of the *Senjinkun* appeared in the Item 8 of the Essentials Part II that emphasized honor, stating “A man of honor is strong. Keep always in mind the honor of your native communities, and strive to fulfill their expectations. Prefer death to a shameful life of captivity. Never leave a disgraceful name behind you at death.”<sup>27</sup> Originally formulated to improve the morality of the IJA that committed numbers of misconduct in China, a certain part of *Senjinkun* was infiltrated into the Japanese civilians. As a result, the civilians came to interpret that surrender was unbearable humiliation and that it was better to die honorably before taken

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<sup>25</sup> John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999), 277.

<sup>26</sup> *Notification concerning battlefield instruction*, Raikai Tsuzuri (Rikufu), 1941, classified at the end of calendar year, First laboratory, Ministry of War, The National Institute for Defense Studies, Ministry of Defense, Tokyo, Japan, Reference Code: C01005234000, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan (hereafter cited as JACAR), [http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS\\_STYLE=eng&ID=M2006083123000821728](http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS_STYLE=eng&ID=M2006083123000821728) (accessed June 4, 2009).

<sup>27</sup> Research Group in the Secretariat of the Ministry of Justice, *Instruction to Japanese Soldiers at the Front* (English) (No. 107), microfilm Reel No. 2200, Records of International Military Tribunal for the Far East on Class A War Crimes, Records of War Crime Tribunals, Records of War Crimes, Ministry of Justice, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo, [http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS\\_STYLE=default&ID=M2008081909472462378](http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS_STYLE=default&ID=M2008081909472462378) (accessed June 5, 2009). For the most part, the Item 8: Honor was interpreted as choose death rather than disgracefully killed. However, considering the precondition of the issuance as admonition to IJA, it could be interpreted as never commit war crimes or become war criminals in order not to bring disgrace posthumously.



prisoners. Saito Mitsu recalled that *Senjinkun* had been thoroughly implanted the general public and she said “I was not afraid of dying and so were others. We would rather die than being prisoners and humiliated. That part, the Japanese education was thoroughly conducted.”<sup>28</sup> Although the war situation worsened, surrender was never be or never could be their option in order to pursue the “national unity” ideology. Japanese in this period did not think of individuals; they placed emphasis on social solidarity to bring up the maximum war effort against the military and financially more powerful America. The young Japanese soldiers understood that it was their duty as Japanese subjects to sacrifice their lives for the happiness of their countrymen as well as their families and loved ones. Their sense of duty surpassed their fear of death in wartime.

Honor was an important part of wartime Japanese virtue coming from the *Bushido*; therefore, becoming a prisoner of war was not only dishonorable but also unpatriotic. Unpatriotic or un-Japanese civilians who showed a decline in *Nippon Seishin* were called *hikokumin* 非国民 (traitor), and they could be completely excluded from the society. Thus, no Japanese wished to become *hikokumin* in any way in order to prevent having the whole of Japan against him. The family of *hikokumin* had to endure the severe criticism from the public as well. During wartime, draft evasion was the certain way to become a *hikokumin*. Saito Mitsu recalled that her neighbor had a draft-age son. Conspiring with his mother, the son sought to evade conscription and hid in the space under the floor. Then, the military police called *kenpei* 憲兵 came into their household, pulled him out, and shot him to death in front of his mother.<sup>29</sup> Once the Japanese males received a draft card known as *akagami* 赤紙 (literally “red paper” due to Japanese draft

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<sup>28</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 15, 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 10, 2010.

card was postcard size red paper), they must serve the military duty as the Japanese subjects. On the departure, the drafted Japanese declared that they will render good service to their country and their neighbors sent them off shouting “*Tenno heika banzai!*” (Long live the Emperor!)<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, instructing schoolchildren to become patriotic, teachers transformed *Shushin* courses into more nationalistic forms as schoolchildren’s grades went up. The primary duty of the teachers of the time was to teach schoolchildren to die willingly for the emperor. From their early ages, they were programmed to serve their country to the best of their ability although it might cost their lives. Deifying the emperor, most Japanese indeed interpreted *the war was for the emperor* rather than for military advance or national defense.<sup>31</sup>

In order to infiltrate *Senjinkun* among the public, the News Department of Ministry of War created the *Senjinkun Karuta* (traditional Japanese playing cards).<sup>32</sup> The following Figure 4.1 shows the example of *Senjinkun Karuta*. The pair 1 promotes harmonious unity. Drawing a samurai warrior, the pair 2 emphasizes dedication to *chuko* (loyalty and patriotism) as Japan’s beautiful moral principles. Meanwhile, displaying the Rising-Sun flag with the Imperial Japanese Army, the pair 3 promotes the valor in battlefield. The pair 4 urges to have sense of propriety, the pair 5 encourages the civilians to work diligently and never to become lazy, and the pair 6 firmly orders to chase the enemy thoroughly.

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<sup>30</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 12, 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 31, 2010, emphasis mine.

<sup>32</sup> “Senjinkun Karuta” [Traditional Japanese playing cards on Field Service Code], Senso Taiken Bunko, Gallery, Nara Kenritsu Toshokan Johokan [Material for Experience of War, Gallery, Nara Prefectural Library Information Center], <http://www.library.pref.nara.jp/sentai/gallery002/gallery002003.html#MAIN> (accessed May 20, 2010).

Figure 4.1 *Senjinkun Karuta*



Source: “Senjinkun Karuta” [Traditional Japanese playing cards on Field Service Code], Senso Taiken Bunko, Gallery, Nara Kenritsu Toshokan Johokan [Material for Experience of War, Gallery, Nara Prefectural Library Information Center], <http://www.library.pref.nara.jp/sentai/gallery002/gallery002003.html#MAIN>.

In addition to playing cards, picture-story shows, slogans, posters, as well as propaganda films for children and adult came out and all of them glorified Emperor and military. Those who criticized or disobeyed were arrested or punished. Anti-British and anti-American propaganda controlled the Japanese wartime mentality.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Shigeo Imamura, *Kamikaze Tokko taiin ni natta Nikkei Nisei* [A Nisei who joined the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps], trans. Ken Oshima (Tokyo: Soshisha, 2003), 45–46.

On September 11, 1940, Home Ministry of Japan properly initiated *Tonarigumi* 隣組 (Neighborhood Association) in order to facilitate the civilian mobilization and thought control. In general, every five to ten households organized into a *Tonarigumi*, and all Japanese were required to join *Tonarigumi* in order to get food rations. *Tonarigumi* were responsible for raising a national loan, national savings, collecting metal, performing civil defense including fire-fighting and anti-air-raid drills.<sup>34</sup> “Bucket relay” was regularly practiced as a part of fire-fighting drill and “bamboo spears drill” for home front. It was mandatory for all members of *Tonarigumi* and pregnant women were not exempt from the drills.<sup>35</sup> *Tonarigumi* played an important role in motivating mutual assistance and patriotism. The Japanese government issued seven precepts which set *Tonarigumi* to interfere every corner of Japanese daily life that included “Rise early, give thanks for what you have, always cooperate with the authorities, render public service, be punctual, encourage thrift and enhance physical and spiritual discipline.”<sup>36</sup> Providing detailed



Figure 4.2 *Tonarigumi* Meeting, 1941

Source: *Shashin Shuho*, no. 182, August 20, 1941, p. 20, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704700/YA104700/0193/index.djvu>.

<sup>34</sup> “Shashin Shuho” ni miru Showa no Sesō [Showa Period through the “Photographic Weekly”], JACAR, [http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/topics/topics03\\_03.html](http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/topics/topics03_03.html) (accessed March 3, 2010).

<sup>35</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 15, 2010. A samurai proverb said “Forward, even with only a spear,” quoted in Inoguchi and Nakajima, *The Divine Wind*, 119.

<sup>36</sup> *Japan at War* (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1980), 57.

instruction during a regular meeting, *Tonarigumi* also worked to prevent crimes to maintain public order. Figure 4.2 shows the *Tonarigumi*'s regular meeting that discussed the installation of burglar alarms.

### ***Prelude to World War II***

Since the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and subsequent establishment of Japan's puppet state called Manchukuo,<sup>37</sup> the Japanese government actively devised a new medium to enlighten the public for the *kyokoku icchi* 举国一致 (“national unity”). Under the *zentai shugi* 全体主義 (totalitarianism), individualism could not coexist, and the “individual was to find spiritual oneness with the whole society; his welfare would be realized through the nation's welfare, his freedom through the nation's freedom and strength in world affairs. The nation would now represent a collective will and collective ideals.”<sup>38</sup> The Japanese collective mind was the key to the creation of wartime mentality considering suicide attack as a legitimate war strategy. Nevertheless, the government needed powerful agents to direct the entire populace into such state of mind to pursue total war, and the Cabinet magazines were utilized to achieve the goal.

In order to mobilize the nation into war, the Japanese government limited thought and expression to suppress criticism of the war. Through the promulgation of the *Chian*

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<sup>37</sup> The Manchurian Incident (満州事変) is widely known as the Liutiaogou Incident (柳条湖事変) or September 18 Incident (九一八事変) in China. It began when an unidentified bomb damaged the South Manchurian Railway in Mukden, which Japan was constructing. Then, the Japanese Kwantung Army which guarded the railway started occupying Manchuria in September 1931 despite the Japanese government's opposition to the action. In February 1932, a puppet state called Manchukuo was established with the last emperor of the Qing dynasty Puyi as the chief executive. Puyi became Emperor of Manchukuo on March 1, 1934. The Manchurian Incident was the prelude to the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937.

<sup>38</sup> Gregory James Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 203.

*Ijiho* 治安維持法 (Peace Preservation Law) in 1925, it attempted to control and to monitor every corner of daily lives of the civilians. In 1933 alone, 14,622 civilians were arrested for the violation of the Peace Preservation Law and those prosecuted were 1,285. In response, the government decided to increase the number of judges and public prosecutors.<sup>39</sup> In November, one of major pro-military political parties in prewar Japan, *Rikken Minseito* 立憲民政党 (Constitutional Democratic Party) decided to tighten the thought control to enhance nationalism by promoting *Kokutai*.<sup>40</sup>

Additionally, the Japanese government informally set up the *Joho Inkai* 情報委員会 (Information Committee) in 1932 in order to regulate the domestic public opinion. In the 1930s, a great number of private magazines and pamphlets made their first appearance, and the government became cautious about the influence of these private publications on the public opinion. Especially, the government feared private publications implanting democratic and liberal ideas into the Japanese minds that could be obstacle for the “national unity.” At the beginning, preparing for the ideological warfare, the *Rikugunsho* 陸軍省 (Ministry of War of Japan) published a pamphlet entitled *Kokubo no Hongi to Sono Kyoka no Teisho* (Fundamental Principles of National Defense and Proposals for its Reinforcement) on October 10, 1934 that denounced individualism, liberalism, and internationalism as the enemy of the national unity while emphasizing the unification of public opinion. The pamphlet starts with a strong pro-war statement that “Battle is the father of creativity and the mother of culture.”<sup>41</sup> Entitled the *Resolution of*

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<sup>39</sup> “Nippon Seishin koyo no shiso taisaku o kettei” [Taking a measure to enhance Japan Spirit], *Jiji Shimpo* [Current News] (Tokyo), November 17, 1933.

<sup>40</sup> “Shiso hanzai bokumetsu: hankenji daizoin ni iken icchisu” [Eradicating thought crimes: agreeing to drastically increase the number of judges and prosecutors], *Jiji Shimpo* [Current News] (Tokyo), April 27, 1933.

<sup>41</sup> *Rikugunsho* (Ministry of War of Japan), *Kokubo no Hongi to Sono Kyoka no Teisho*

*the Subjects*, the Item 5 of the Article 5 emphasized national defense as the “obligation” and “joy” of the Japanese subjects, and demanded Japanese efforts for the “continuation of the imperial country, the expansion of the *Nippon Seishin*, and the establishment of a permanent peace of the world.”<sup>42</sup>

Two years later, the Naikaku Joho Inkaei 内閣情報委員会 (Cabinet Information Committee) began publishing a propaganda magazine called *Shuho* 週報 (Weekly Report) in October 1936 in order to unify public opinion in favor of the national policy. Initially sold at five sen, the *Shuho* had similar contents with the *Kanpo* 官報 (Official Gazette) and was mostly read by the intellectual class.<sup>43</sup> Significantly, the main function of the *Shuho* was the indoctrination of the national policy among the liberals of the educated and middle class who tended to oppose fascism.<sup>44</sup> Frequently placing advertisements in the major Japanese presses such as *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the *Shuho* became the dominant magazine besides the *Kanpo* by the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941.<sup>45</sup> Easily purchased at bookstores, newspaper stands, station stalls, and the *Kanpo* stores, the *Shuho* successfully eliminated low-priced rival magazines and pamphlets not only by suggesting lower price but also by

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[Fundamental Principles of National Defense and Proposals for its Reinforcement] (Tokyo: Rikugunsho Shinbunsha, 1934), 1, JACAR, [http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS\\_STYLE=default&ID=M2006090103085062710&](http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS_STYLE=default&ID=M2006090103085062710&) (accessed June 25, 2009).

<sup>42</sup> Rikugunsho (Ministry of War of Japan), *Kokubo no Hongi to Sono Kyoka no Teisho* [Fundamental Principles of National Defense and Proposals for its Reinforcement], 46, JACAR, [http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS\\_STYLE=default&ID=M2006090103085062710&](http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS_STYLE=default&ID=M2006090103085062710&) (accessed June 25, 2009).

<sup>43</sup> 100 sen = 1 yen. Issue Nos. 1 to 438 were sold at five sen, except No. 90 at 8 sen, and Nos. 439 to 443 at 10 sen.

<sup>44</sup> Soone Park, “The Cabinet Information Bureau and Its Publications in Wartime Japan, 1931–1945,” *Journal of Mass Communication Studies* 44 (March 1994): 105. According to Park, the middle class consisted of urban office workers, highly-educated men, journalists, liberal intellectuals, and students.

<sup>45</sup> Johokyoku, *Johokyoku no Soshiki to Kino* [Organization and Function of the Information Bureau], in *Kokka Sodoishi: Shiryō hen dai-4* [A history of the National Mobilization, Material No. 4], ed. Junkichi Ishikawa (Fujisawa: Kokka Sodoishi Kankokai, 1976), 176.

imitating their readership, format, as well as their distribution method.<sup>46</sup> Although initially published for the intellectual readership, the middle class came to comprise the majority of the readership of the *Shuho* by the early 1940s.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile, first published on February 16, 1938, the *Shashin Shuho* 写真週報 (Photographic Weekly), another governmental magazine for public relations, played an important role in propagating the national policy to the general public with numerous pictures that had emotional appeal to them. Published by the Naikaku Johobu 内閣情報部 (Cabinet Information Division), it had a strong influence on preparing the mind of the Japanese subjects for the total war mobilization.<sup>48</sup> Costing only 10 sen per copy, *Shashin Shuho* was available at the Kanpo stores, bookstores, and station stalls and it effectively taught the national policy to the civilians. Having a circulation of 200,000, the *Shashin Shuho* was the most widely read graphic magazine in East Asia by March 1941.<sup>49</sup>

The Naikaku Johokyoku 内閣情報局 (Cabinet Information Bureau) effectively passed down the government policies because *Shashin Shuho* greatly appealed to the readers of all classes. According to the survey of the Cabinet Information Bureau, 10.6 people on average had read a copy of *Shashin Shuho*.<sup>50</sup> It indicated at least 2 to 3 million Japanese regularly read the magazine. While 62 percent of the readers were men, women were 38 percent of the readers. In addition, 65.6 percent of the readers were younger

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<sup>46</sup> Park, "The Cabinet Information Bureau and Its Publications in Wartime Japan," 107–108.

<sup>47</sup> Johokyoku, *Johokyoku no Soshiki to Kino*, in *Kokka Sodoinshi: Shiryo hen dai-4*, 176.

<sup>48</sup> The Naikaku Joho Iinkai was renamed the Naikaku Johobu in 1937, which was again renamed the Naikaku Johokyoku in 1940.

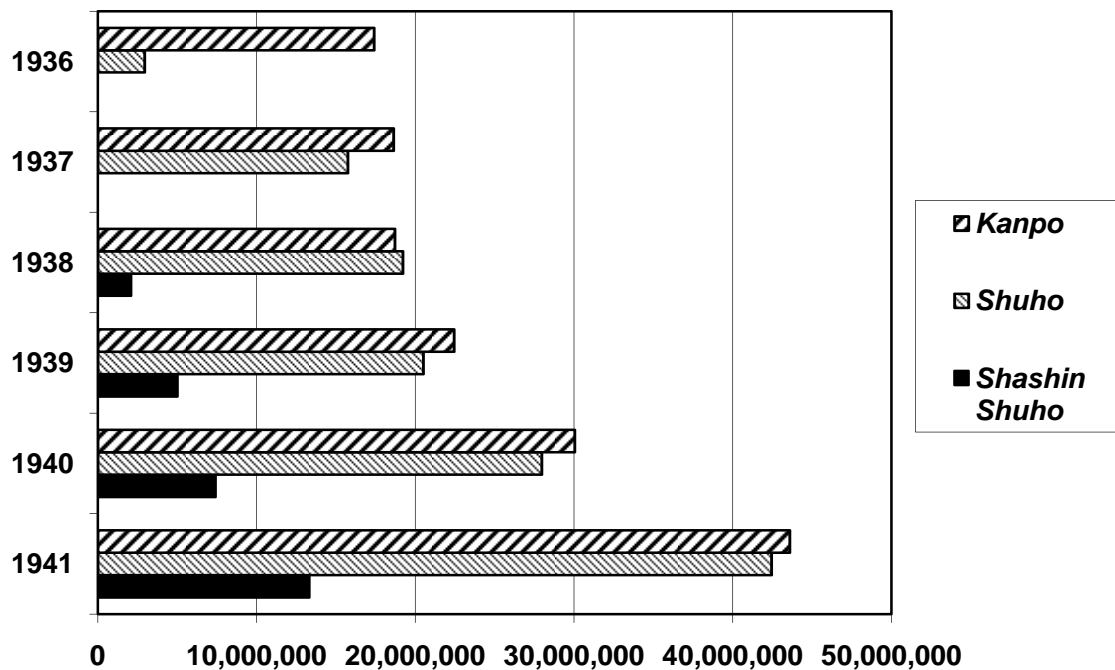
<sup>49</sup> Naikaku Johokyoku (Cabinet Information Bureau), *Johokyoku no soshiki to kino* [Organization and function of the Cabinet Information Bureau], May 1, 1941, 63, Reference Code A06031104700, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A06031104700/001-058/index.djvu> (accessed April 2, 2009). One of the most popular graphic magazines, *Asahi Graph* had a circulation of only several tens of thousands as a result of tight media control by the early 1940s.

<sup>50</sup> "Issatsu o nannin de yomudeseu" [How many people are sharing and reading a copy of the magazine?], *Shashin Shuho*, no. 193, November 5, 1941, p. 16, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704701/YA104701/0359/index.djvu> (accessed April 2, 2009).



than twenty-five years old. Furthermore, the number of circulation continued to increase and finally reached 300,000 by April 1942.<sup>51</sup> The increased circulation of the *Shashin Shuho* contributed to unifying public opinion. By 1942, the government succeeded in applying thought control by dominating domestic journalism. As a result, freedom of press virtually did not exist in the beginning of 1940s.

Figure 4.3 Annual Circulation of *Kanpo*, *Shuho* and *Shashin Shuho*, 1936–1941



Source: Naikaku Insatsu-kyoku, *58th-62nd Annual Reports*, in Soone Park, “The Cabinet Information Bureau and Its Publications in Wartime Japan, 1931–1945,” *Journal of Mass Communication Studies* 44 (March 1994): 109.

As Figure 4.3 indicates, the circulation of the *Shuho* increased in proportion to the *Kanpo* between 1936 and 1937. The drastic increase in the circulation of the *Shuho* largely

<sup>51</sup> *Shashin Shuho*, no. 214, April 1, 1942.

attributed to the establishment of the *Shimbun Zasshi Yoshi Tosei Iinkai* 新聞雑誌用紙統制委員会 (Newspaper and Magazine Paper Regulation Committee) on May 17, 1940, under the control of the Cabinet Information Division.<sup>52</sup> Because of the strict control over the distribution of paper by the Newspaper and Magazine Paper Regulation Committee, the number of the private publications dropped sharply. On the other hand, backed by the government, the sales of magazines such as the *Shuho* and the *Shashin Shuho* soared to 150% between 1940 and 1941.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, the bookstores and newspaper stands that relied on the sales of the private publications fell into financial difficulties. The bookstores and newspaper stands had no choice but to sell the government publications actively to maintain their business. As a result, the government publications virtually became available at any stores and stands.

Meanwhile, first published in the early 1938, the *Shashin Shuho* steadily increased its circulation and rose to be one of the most read magazines by all classes and ages of the public due to its friendly format. Simultaneously, the Paper Regulation fatally affected the development of democratic and liberal journalism in the wartime Japan. For example, 6,431 pamphlets (both private and government) were published in 1941; however, the number reduced to 3,696 within one-year-period.<sup>54</sup> In other words, the government laid the foundations of the stricter thought control for the national unity through the Paper Regulation that eliminated a considerable number of private publications after 1940.

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<sup>52</sup> “Shinbun zasshi yoshi tosei iinkai secchi ni tomonau kakugi ryokai jiko” [Cabinet agreement on the establishment of the Newspaper and Magazine Paper Regulation Committee], May 17, 1940, National Diet Library of Japan, [http://ndl.go.jp/horei\\_jp/kakugi/txt/txt00236.htm](http://ndl.go.jp/horei_jp/kakugi/txt/txt00236.htm) (accessed June 20, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Park, “The Cabinet Information Bureau and Its Publications in Wartime Japan,” 109.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

As Figure 4.3 illustrates, *Shashin Shuho* played a critical role in implanting the basic principle that the public interest came before the private interest. *Shashin Shuho* actively encouraged national savings and its no. 18 (June 15, 1938) dedicated entirely to cover the importance of national savings to pursue the war. The Cabinet Information Bureau hired numbers of prominent photographers such as Kimura Ihei 木村伊兵衛 (1901–1974), Domon Ken 土門 拳 (1909–1990), and journalists such as Oya Soichi 大宅 壮一 (1900–1970) who produced photographs and articles strikingly appealing to audiences.

Figure 4.4 Japanese National Gymnastic Exercise



Source: *Shashin Shuho*, no. 1, February 16, 1938, pp. 11–12, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A06031059600/001-013/index.djvu>.

The first issue of *Shashin Shuho* had a photo covering two facing pages in which Japanese children were performing the *Kokumin taiso* (National gymnastic exercise) with a waving national flag and the symbol of Japan, Mount Fuji, on the background.<sup>55</sup> Utilizing pictures with glorifying effects, the *Shashin Shuho* had emotional appeal to all generations of readers. Furthermore, the pictures could effectively transmit the national policy to the civilians without any delay.

The *Shashin Shuho* played an important role in selling war bonds called *Hokoku-Saiken* 報国債券 (Patriotic Bonds) and collecting voluntary contributions from the Japanese—including children’s allowance to entrepreneurs’ property—for the maximum war effort. The war bonds and contributions were used to build various aircrafts entitled *Hokoku-go* 報国號 (Patriotism) such as Mitsubishi A5M (Type 96 Carrier Fighter and predecessor of Zero fighter), Nakajima B5N (Type 97 Carrier Attack Bomber), Aichi D3A (Type 99 Carrier Dive-Bomber), and Mitsubishi A6M2 Zero (Type 0 Model 21 Carrier Fighter). On September 20 known as *Kokubi* 航空日 (Aviation Day), attended by Navy Minister Oikawa Koshiro, Army Minister Tojo Hideki, and 300,000 spectators, the aircraft contribution ceremony was held in Haneda Airfield, Tokyo. Living without wasting anything, the Japanese managed to contribute sixteen *Hokoku-go* to the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) and thirty-five *Aikoku-go* 愛国號 (Patriotism) for the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA). These fifty-one Mitsubishi A5M were the fruits of the Japanese people’s war efforts in the home front.<sup>56</sup> As shown in Figure 4.5, the grand ceremony

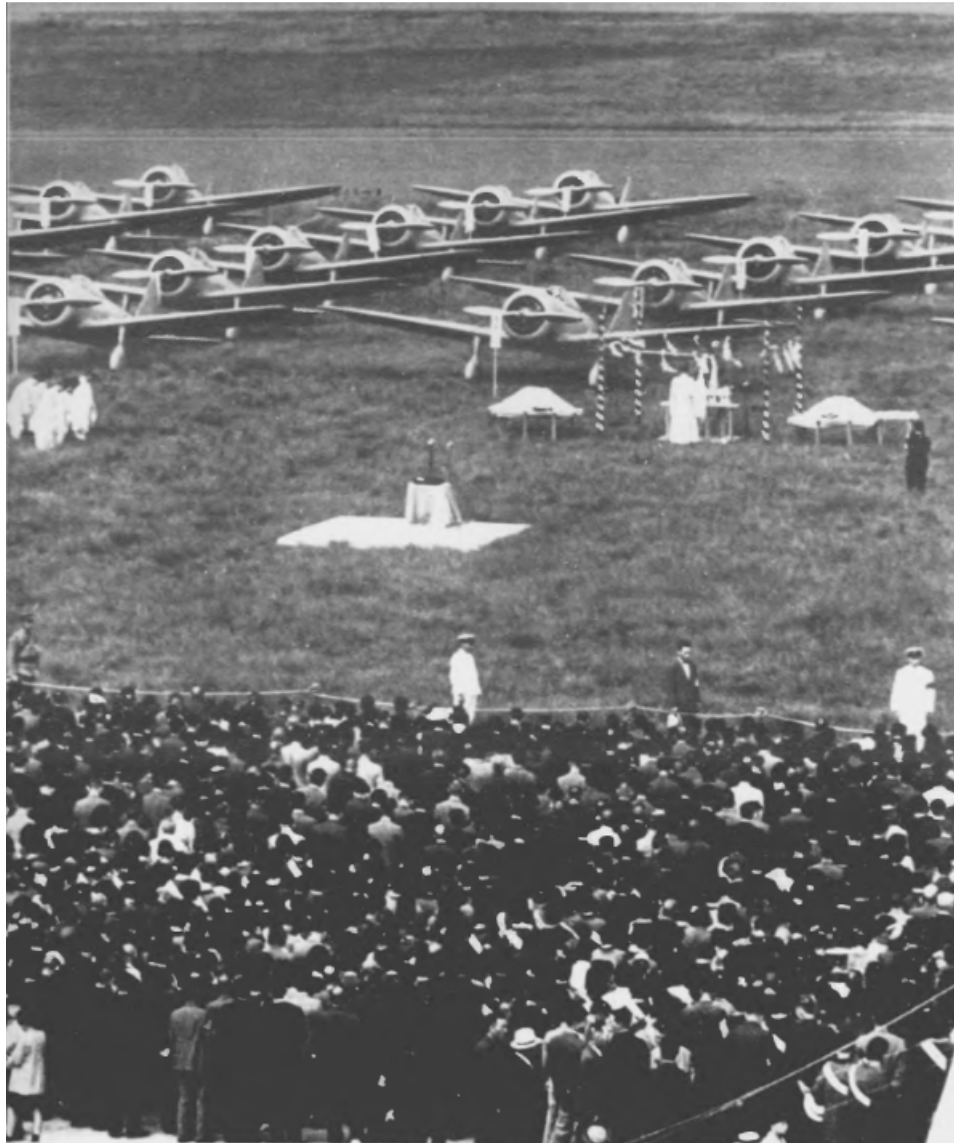
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<sup>55</sup> *Shashin Shuho*, no. 1, February 16, 1938, pp. 11–12, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A06031059600/001-013/index.djvu> (accessed May 1, 2010).

<sup>56</sup> *Shashin Shuho*, no. 188, October 1, 1941, p. 17, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704701/YA104701/0283/index.djvu> (accessed August 5, 2010). Known as the code name “Claude,” Mitsubishi A5M Type 96 was the first monoplane carrier-based fighter in the world. The name of aircraft was based on *koki* 皇紀 (imperial calendar)—the mythical founding of Japan by

was carried out by the Shinto priests. A Shinto straw festoon decorated with cut paper was installed around the chief priest performing ritual. The photograph indicates that State Shinto had dominated every aspect of national affair.

Figure 4.5 Contributed Aircrafts, Haneda Airfield, 1941



Source: *Shashin Shuho*, no. 188, October 1, 1941, p. 17, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704701/YA104701/0283/index.djvu>.

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Emperor Jimmu. *Koki* 1 is equivalent to 660BC in the Western calendar. The adoption of the Zero fighter was in *Koki* 2600 (1940), and the name of the aircraft was derived from the last digit of *Koki* 2600.

The dramatic photographs with nationalistic slogans easily mobilized the Japanese civilians into a total war. For instance, just after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the *Shashin Shuho* published a striking page shown in Figure 4.6 that proclaimed Japan's entering war with the United States and Great Britain, and appealed to the public that "all Japanese indebted to the imperial country should hold their sword and gun in their heart! Now, our enemies are the United States and Great Britain! Send them to a graveyard!"<sup>57</sup>

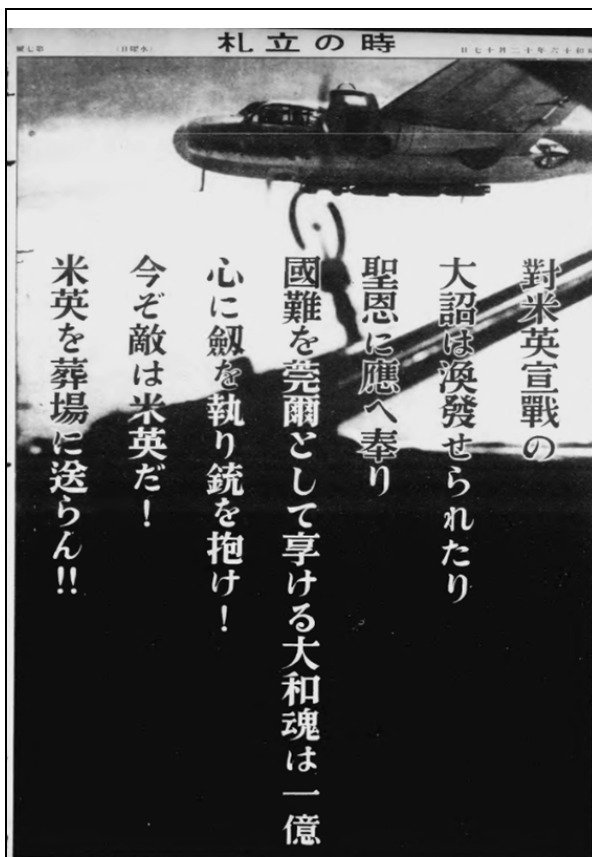


Figure 4.6 Reporting the Declaration of War against the United States and Great Britain

Source: *Shashin Shuho*, no. 199, December 17, 1941, p. 2, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704701/YA104701/0439/index.djvu>

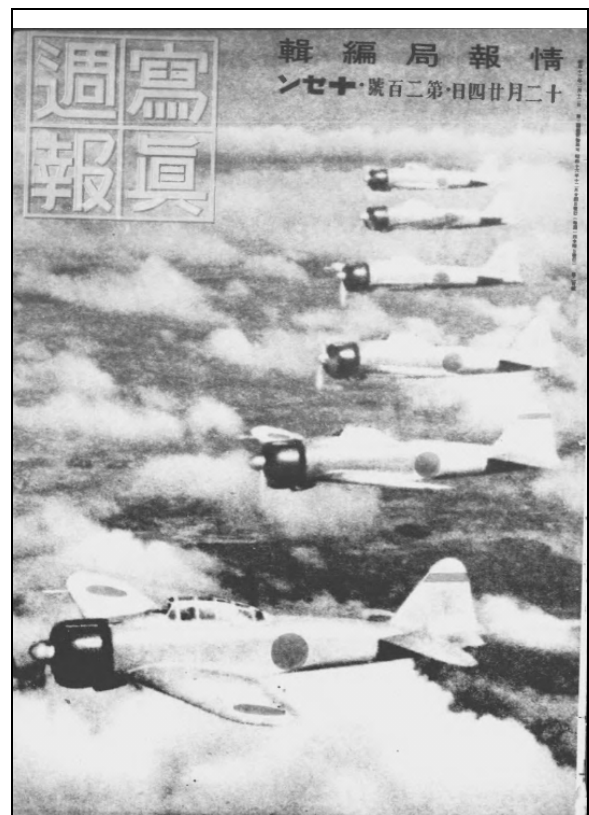


Figure 4.7 Six Zero fighters in line (Mitsubishi A6M Type 0 carrier fighter Model 21 [Zeke])

Source: *Shashin Shuho* no. 200, December 24, 1941, cover page, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704702/YA104702/0452/index.djvu>

<sup>57</sup> *Shashin Shuho*, no. 199, December 17, 1941, p. 2, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704701/YA104701/0439/index.djvu> (accessed April 2, 2009).

Published on December 24, 1941, the cover page of *Shashin Shuho* no. 200 (Figure 4.7) was the picture of six Zero fighters in parallel lines.<sup>58</sup> Such glorified Zero fighters' photograph greatly impressed the young boys and stimulated them to join the IJN to become naval aviators.

The Zero fighters appeared on the *Shashin Shuho* for many times because they were not only the dignity of the IJN but also the pride of Japanese people of all generations, including women and children. *Shashin Shuho* frequently published the glorified photographs of Zero and Naval Air Force. Therefore, the Zero fighter successfully embodied the Imperial Japan's fighting spirit, namely the *Yamato Damashii*. Without a doubt, the Zero fighter had tremendous appeal to the Japanese women in the home front as well. The cover page's slogan read: "It is the time to show our capability in building Zero fighter to people who looked down on women!"<sup>59</sup> Obviously, women's morale rose and they were steadily



Figure 4.8 Women building Zero fighter

Source: *Shashin Shuho*, no. 320, May 10, 1944, cover page, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704805/YA104805/0842/index.djvu>

<sup>58</sup> *Shashin Shuho* no. 200, December 24, 1941, JACAR, [http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?REFCODE=A06031079500&IS\\_STYLE=default&image\\_num=13](http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?REFCODE=A06031079500&IS_STYLE=default&image_num=13) (accessed May 2, 2010).

<sup>59</sup> *Shashin Shuho*, no. 320, May 10, 1944, cover page, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704805/YA104805/0842/index.djvu> (accessed May 2, 2010).

preparing for the coming of the war on the home front.

The national slogan of *ichioku tokko* 一億特攻 (literally, “One Hundred Million [Japanese] as a Special Attack Force”) utilized by December 1944 resulted in converting every civilian into a collective suicidal unit. One of the major Japanese press *Asahi Shimbun* constantly deified the Kamikaze pilots who were “sacrificing their lives to cleanse a polluted world.” When the U.S. air raids of mainland Japan began in spring 1945, a concept of *ichioku tokko* was transformed into *ichioku gyokusai* 一億玉碎 (One Hundred Million [Japanese] for Honorable Suicide; literally “one hundred million shattering like a jewel”) that encouraged the civilian to choose honorable death rather than surrender.<sup>60</sup> It meant an all-out fight to the death.

In addition, weekly publishing influential pamphlet such as *Shuho* and *Shashin Shuho*, the Cabinet Information Bureau backed by the major Japanese press, played a crucial role in propagating the concept of *ichioku gyokusai* so that the civilians would raise the morale and make endless effort to maintain the idea of *jinchu hokoku* and *chukun Aikoku*—loyalty and patriotism. Originally, the term *gyokusai* (honorable suicide also known as “banzai charge”) was used after Japan’s defeat at the Battle of Peleliu on the Pacific Island and the government announcement compared the unit’s suicidal attack to jewel.<sup>61</sup> By that time, the death meant nothing special to the eyes of Japanese. As Japan’s surrender seemed a matter of time, they hope to die gracefully rather than dying

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<sup>60</sup> Michael A. Weiner, *Race, Ethnicity and Migration in Modern Japan, Volume 1: Race, Ethnicity and Culture in Modern Japan* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 66.

<sup>61</sup> Fought between the United States and Japan from September 15 to November 27, 1944, the Battle of Peleliu, also known as the Operation Stalemate II, was one of the bloodiest battles of the Pacific War. While the U.S. forces suffered over 10,000 casualties, the Japanese lost 12,000 men in action.



in vain in the home front.<sup>62</sup>

Toward the end of war, the Japanese government and press actively beautified death including honorable suicide, and the civilians were prepared to die for their country. In the name of emperor, the government could mobilize the public both physically and spiritually. Saito Mitsu, a World War II survivor, recalled her wartime mentality that she was not afraid of dying because she understood the war was inseparable from death. Saito said “it was definitely the war for the emperor. All of us believed that the emperor was the god.”<sup>63</sup> The military government propaganda backed by *Kyoiku Chokugo* and *Shushin* successfully directed the civilian to fight against their enemy fearlessly even though it cost their own lives. Real Admiral Kurihara Etsuzo further declared that “to die for the Emperor is to live, then will the Japanese people bring tremendous power into play (and greatly add to the Nation’s war power).”<sup>64</sup>

### ***Chapter Summary***

For Japan, which possessed weaker military and material power, spiritual strength and strict discipline became the sources of Japanese military’s strength. In order to maximize the civilian efforts, *Kokutai no Hongi* was promulgated in 1937 that revived *Kokutai* theory that defined the emperor as the father of a family-state called Japan. Exploiting the Japanese value on filial piety by indoctrinating the emperor cult, the Japanese leaders required the Japanese subjects to offer all what they had for the national cause, including their very lives. The issuance of *Senjinkun* in 1941 was a sign of the

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<sup>62</sup> Masayasu Hosaka, “*Tokko*” to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2005), 120–122.

<sup>63</sup> Personal contact with Saito Mitsu, May 10, 2010.

<sup>64</sup> Quoted in Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 484.

coming of a total war. To make sure the national interest took precedence over the private interest, the Cabinet Information Bureau actively utilized propaganda through the effective photographic weekly called *Shashin Shuho*. Wartime Japanese government expected unconditional dedication of the Japanese subjects for the country's goal. To make up the shortage of resources, the government devised *Shashin Shuho* to make an appeal to the public for cooperation. To win the war at any cost, *Shashin Shuho* stimulated the public to save all their income for producing more bombs, artillery shells, tanks, and torpedoes.<sup>65</sup>

Meanwhile, the Meiji Japanese immigrants brought their national pride and values into America, and most Issei tended to view themselves Japanese, not Japanese-Americans. Although they lived in America, their spirit was still attached to their homeland. They continued to celebrate Japan's national holidays, read *Kyoiku Chokugo*, and sing *Kimigayo*. When Japan's war with China broke out, the Issei organized themselves and earnestly supported Japan's war effort as the overseas Japanese subjects who valued the idea of *jinchu hokoku* and *chukun aikoku* the most.

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<sup>65</sup> *Shashin Shuho*, no. 225, June 17, 1942, pp. 2–9, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704703/YA104703/0777/index.djvu> (accessed May 2, 2010).

## CHAPTER V

### CULTURAL ORIGIN OF THE KAMIKAZE SPECIAL ATTACK CORPS

The examination of the influence of the Cabinet magazines since the late 1930s in the previous chapter revealed that aesthetic photos and slogans produced for the government to pursue national polity drastically affected the course of Japan's development during World War II. Japanese wartime propaganda succeeded in preparing the civilians for the coming of a total war. Paying attention to the last letters and diaries of Kamikaze pilots as well as the accounts of Kamikaze survivors, this chapter examines the origin of the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps from a cultural point of view. The point I wish to emphasize in this chapter is that Kamikaze pilots were not fanatics; their motivation for the suicide mission was certainly derived from their love of their country (patriotism), and not from their desire for revenge.

#### ***Background***

The Special Attack Corps was widely known as Kamikaze ("divine wind") by foreigners; however, *Shimpu* ("divine wind") was the official name given to the unit that was formed ten months before the end of World War II. The mispronunciation appeared among Westerners since both words used exactly the same Chinese letters (神風). The word *Kamikaze* was initially used for describing legendary typhoons that saved Japan

twice from the fierce Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century. To Japanese living under Shinto tradition, *kami* is “the innumerable gods, spirits, powers and energies which govern various aspects of the natural world and the social order.”<sup>1</sup>

The concept of Kamikaze attack was mostly traced back to the *Bushido*—the way of the warrior, which taught that surrender was dishonorable. It emphasized “loyalty to one’s superior, personal honor, and the virtues of austerity, self-sacrifice, and indifference to pain.”<sup>2</sup> The *Bushido*, derived from the Japanese way of thinking that combined Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto, had a tremendous influence on the making of the modern Japanese military as well. The military treatise included the seminal discipline, “The way of the warrior is [finally] revealed in the act of dying.”<sup>3</sup> It meant that the soldier would lose his dignity as a warrior if he was captured and became a prisoner of war. Therefore, suicide was logically accepted as a way of performing honorable death for the “failed hero.”<sup>4</sup> While the Western world recognized the honorable status of prisoners of war, in *Bushido*, surrender was considered to bring shame and dishonor to a soldier and his family. Therefore, the refusal to surrender was a distinctive phenomenon of the Japanese based on their cultural values.<sup>5</sup>

In *Taiheiyo Senki* (Record of the Pacific War), Inoguchi Rikihei and Nakajima Tadashi describe the emergence of Kamikaze corps through examining the social norms during the intensive war years. According to Inoguchi and Nakajima, World War II was

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice Pinguet, *Voluntary Death in Japan* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993), 326.

<sup>2</sup> “Bushido,” *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Ivan I. Morris, *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>5</sup> During World War II, five million German soldiers surrendered to the Allied forces in Europe. On the other hand, in the Pacific, less than 5 percent of Japanese soldiers ever surrendered. The rest of the soldiers fought to the death, instead.

significantly different from previous wars. First, Japanese civilians were united in their support of total war against the Allied Powers; virtually everyone participated in the war effort. Second, they noted the transformation of naval warfare from the battleship-centered fleet to aircraft carrier-centered fleet strategy and the transition to naval aviation, which played a crucial role in the Pacific Theater.<sup>6</sup> In comparison with the superior U.S. air forces, the combat strength of the Japanese air force was far behind them in terms of technology and numbers toward the end of the war.

By 1944, the Allied forces began bombing the cities in Japan when Saipan (Northern Mariana Islands) became under the U.S. control.<sup>7</sup> Toward the end of the war, the U.S. bombing on mainland Japan intensified, killing thousands of civilians and destroying large sections of densely inhabited urban areas. The anguished Japanese military was desperate to stop these fierce raids. The Navy suffered a shortage of planes and they recycled every usable part to repair as many Zero fighters as possible. In this terrible situation, what they could rely upon was the quality of the wartime Japanese people based on their spiritual and mental strength. Inoguchi and Nakajima insist that the fanatical nationalism gave birth to the Kamikaze corps in the last phase of the war. All Japanese civilians were mentally prepared for death at any time.<sup>8</sup> The soldiers, honoring the ancient tradition of *Bushido*, were ready for the final dive, and consequently “death was the companion of the Kamikaze pilot.”<sup>9</sup>

Vice Admiral Onishi Takijiro, commanding the Navy’s First Air Fleet in the

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<sup>6</sup> Rikihei Inoguchi and Tadashi Nakajima, *Taiheiyo Senki: Kamikaze Tokubetsu Kogekitai* [Record of the Pacific War: Kamikaze Special Attack Corps] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 1967); Paul Henry Oehser, ed., *The United States Encyclopedia of History* (New York: Curtis Books, 1967), 2236.

<sup>7</sup> Occupied by the Japanese since World War I, Saipan had been colonized in the 1920s and 1930s.

<sup>8</sup> Inoguchi and Nakajima, *Taiheiyo Senki* [Record of the Pacific War], 252.

<sup>9</sup> Masatake Okumiya and Jiro Horikoshi, *Zero!* (New York: Dutton, 1956), 266

Philippines, came to be known as the “father of the Kamikaze corps.”<sup>10</sup> Onishi, realizing the conventional attacks were no longer effective, declared, “In my opinion, there is only one way of assuring that our meager strength will be effective to a maximum degree. That is to organize suicide attack units of Zero fighters, armed with 250-kilogram bombs, each plane to crash-dive into the enemy carrier. . . .”<sup>11</sup> In 1944, suffering the lack of raw materials, Japan somehow managed to build 28,180 aircraft which amounted only 54 percent of what they had initially intended. On the other hand, the U.S. had produced 96,318 aircraft in that year.<sup>12</sup> The fighting strength of two countries was poles apart, and IJN’s air power was nearly exhausted. Then, Onishi declared that “[t]he purity of youth will usher in the Divine Wind.”<sup>13</sup> Onishi, believing the Kamikaze attack would give the young pilots chance to die beautifully, called the attack as “sympathy.”<sup>14</sup>

In fact, rather than an order from above, the idea of suicide missions first came from the pilots who had been frustrated by their insufficient fighting power. Lower ranking officers first suggested the suicide attack to destroy U.S. ships in the face of high-performance U.S. fighter planes.<sup>15</sup> Urged by brave young pilots, naval commanders came to view Kamikaze attack as an unavoidable strategy, knowing its evil.<sup>16</sup> The suicide mission finally became an official strategy of the Navy on October 17, 1944. The

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<sup>10</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1947), 350.

<sup>11</sup> Onishi quoted in Elaine Landau, *Suicide Bombers: Foot Soldiers of the Terrorist Movement* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2007), 74.

<sup>12</sup> Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1983), 350.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Maxwell Taylor Kennedy, *Danger’s Hour: The Story of the USS Bunker Hill and the Kamikaze Pilot Who Crippled Her* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 127.

<sup>14</sup> Daizo Kusayanagi, *Tokko no Shiso Onishi Takijiro den* [Biography of the Father of the Kamikaze: Onishi Takijiro] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1972), 28.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Boyd and Peter J. Richerson, *Culture and the Evolutionary Process* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 204.

<sup>16</sup> Ryunosuke Kusaka, *Rengo Kantai Sanbocho no Kaiso* [Memoir of First Air Fleet Chief of Staff] (Tokyo: Kowado, 1979), 294.

suicide squads were called the *Shimpu Tokubetsu Kogekitai* 神風特別攻撃隊 (commonly known as Kamikaze Special Attack Corps). Instead of hoping that *kami* (god) would generate a divine wind, the Navy counted on the Kamikaze pilots to perform miracles. In fact, Onishi intended the suicide mission to be voluntary not by force after explaining his new strategy. Despite Onishi told the Captain of the 201st Flying Corps, Commander Tamai that the execution of the mission to be voluntary, not by order, the very first Kamikaze unit was formed by Tamai's order as a *Yokaren* (Japanese Naval Preparatory Flight Training Program) trainees Takahashi and Inoue observed. Takahashi said "Commander Tamai ordered our 10th *Yokaren* graduate to carry out suicide attacks." Meanwhile, Inoue recalled that Tamai reported them about the Allied Powers landing of Leyte Gulf and said "there is no other way but to send the 10th *Yokaren* graduate to carry out suicide attacks."<sup>17</sup> Taking advantage of a sense of obligation in relationship between teacher and student, Tamai appointed the first Kamikaze unit.<sup>18</sup> Commander Tamai asked Lieutenant Seki Yukio, the seventieth graduate of the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy, to be the commanding officer of the first official Kamikaze unit known as *Shikishima-tai* on October 20.<sup>19</sup> Along with *Shikishima-tai*, the Navy created three other units: *Yamato-tai*, *Asahi-tai*, and *Yamazakura-tai*.<sup>20</sup> Seki was a 23-year-old experienced pilot and got married right before his appointment. Vice Admiral Onishi told the pilots of

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<sup>17</sup> Kohi Jukkikai, ed., *Chiru sakura nokoru sakura* [Falling cherry blossoms and remaining cherry blossoms] (Kohi Jukkikai, 1972), 335–336.

<sup>18</sup> Tadao Morimoto, *Tokko: gedo no tosotsu to ningen no joken* [Special Attacks: Heretical command and human condition] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1992), 130.

<sup>19</sup> Ikuhiko Hata and Yasuho Izawa, *Japanese Naval Aces and Fighter Units in World War II*, trans. Don Cyril Gorham (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1989), 112, 253. *Shikishima* is an ancient poetic name for Japan; *Yamato* is the traditional name for Japan; *Asahi* is the rising sun; and *Yamazakura* is the wild cherry blossoms.

<sup>20</sup> The names of the first Kamikaze squad were derived from a patriotic poem of a scholar of *Kokugaku* (National Learning) Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) that read: *Shikishima no Yamato-gokoro o hito towaba, asahi ni niou yamazakura hana* (If asked about the spirit of Japan, I would say it was the wild cherry flowers catching the light of the morning sun).

these four units in the airfield on Luzon Island:

Japan is in grave danger. The salvation of our country is now beyond the powers of the ministers of state, the General Staff, and lowly commanders like myself. It can come only from spirited young men such as you. Thus, on behalf of your hundred million countrymen, I ask of you this sacrifice, and pray for your success. You are already gods, without earthly desires. But one thing you want to know is that your own crash dive is not in vain. Regrettably, we will not be able to tell you the result. But I shall watch your efforts to the end and report your deeds to the Throne.<sup>21</sup>

Without any coercion, the number of volunteers exceeded the number of planes available at the beginning. According to Maurice Pinguet's *Voluntary Death in Japan*, "there was no shortage of volunteers, in fact there was a waiting list" since everyone desired to carry out the mission.<sup>22</sup> A number of former Kamikaze survivors confirmed that becoming Kamikaze pilots was voluntary action and there was no forcible order involved.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, the experienced pilots were rejected to be Kamikaze pilots since the Navy needed them as flight instructors and escort pilots, guiding the Kamikaze pilots to their targets.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, many Kamikaze pilots were university students in their early twenties, recruited as a result of repeal of deferments. Known as *Gakuto Shutsujin* 学徒出陣 (meaning student soldiers or departure of students for the front), they were usually college students of the humanities because engineering and science students were allowed to pursue their studies.<sup>25</sup> They were the intellectual group of Kamikaze pilots who left writings of what they really thought or perceived about the suicide

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<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Rikihei Inoguchi, Tadashi Nakajima, and Roger Pineau, *The Divine Wind: Japan's Kamikaze Force in World War II* (1958; repr., Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1994), 19; Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*, 286–287; Evan Thomas, *Sea of Thunder: Four Commanders and the Last Great Naval Campaign, 1941–1945* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 302; Edward Jablonski, *Wings of Fire* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972), 176.

<sup>22</sup> Pinguet, *Voluntary Death in Japan*, 227.

<sup>23</sup> Kanji Suzuki, *Tokko kara no seikan* [Survival from the Special Attack] (Tokyo: Kojinsha, 2005), 205; Shigeo Imamura, *Kamikaze Tokko taiin ni natta Nikkei Nisei* [A Nisei who joined the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps], trans. Ken Oshima (Tokyo: Soshisha, 2003), 157.

<sup>24</sup> Boyd and Richerson, *Culture and the Evolutionary Process*, 204.

<sup>25</sup> It was very rare for the prewar Japanese youth to go on to university; therefore, mostly the elites tended to be the *kamikaze* pilots in the beginning.



mission, which I examine later in this chapter.

In addition to drafting students to produce reserve officers, the Navy recruited boys aged fifteen to seventeen into the *Yokaren*, which directly drew from the civilian population.<sup>26</sup> In order to get into the *Yokaren*, trainees had to pass a competitive entrance examination. Growing up under the prewar Japanese education system in the 1930s, these young men thought it was natural to defend their country at all costs; therefore, they willingly applied to be Kamikaze pilots to fulfill their duty and die honorably. According to the recruitment officer, every *Yokaren* pilot desired to go on the mission. Being desperate to be appointed, some filled out their applications with their own blood, and others kept reminding the officers to select them. Occasionally, the high officials made decisions after examining their family situations so that they could avoid selecting a man who was the only child of his family as well as who had his own family.<sup>27</sup>

There was a tragic story about Fujii family. First Lieutenant Hajime Fujii was an instructor at Kumagaya Army Aviation School, and was responsible for the character building that emphasized loyalty and patriotism. He was strict but a very dedicated instructor who wished to carry out the Kamikaze attack along with his students. He was not the kind of man who would let only his students die. Nevertheless, the Army leaders rejected his petition to be a Kamikaze because Fujii had a duty to train students and because he had a family. Then, Fujii's wife, Fukuko, respecting her husband's determination, jumped into the freezing Arakawa River on December 14, 1944, along with their young daughters, Kazuko at age 3 and Chieko at age 1.<sup>28</sup> Believing that their

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<sup>26</sup> Osamu Tagaya and John White, *Imperial Japanese Navy Aviator, 1937–45* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002), 5.

<sup>27</sup> Inoguchi and Nakajima, *Taiheiyo Senki* [Record of the Pacific War], 244.

<sup>28</sup> Yasukuni Jinja, ed. *Sange no Kokoro to Chinkon no Makoto* [Spirits of heroic dead and

existence caused him trouble, she committed suicide so that Fujii could freely die with his students.<sup>29</sup>

On October 21, before the first Kamikaze sorties, the pilots drank water together from a sake cup at what all believed to be their final parting. Lieutenant Seki, who was about to conduct the first Kamikaze attack, sang a traditional warrior song with twenty-three young pilots who graduated from the *Yokaren*, “If I go away to sea, I shall return a corpse awash; If duty calls me to the mountain, A verdant sword will be my pall; Thus for the sake of my emperor, I will not die peacefully at home.”<sup>30</sup> They were not expected to return, and fuel tanks of their Zero fighters were half filled for a one-way mission; however, bad weather postponed the first Kamikaze attack by the *Shikishima-tai* for four days.<sup>31</sup>

On October 24, Seki expressed his honest opinion about this mission to Onoda Masashi at the riverside near the Mabalacat Airfield [also known as the Clark Air Base] on Luzon Island in the Philippines, who was a correspondent of the Imperial Japanese Navy, “There is no more hope for Japan, if it has to kill such a skillful pilot like myself. I can hit an aircraft carrier with a 500-kilogram bomb and return alive, without having to make suicide plunge.” He emphasized, “If it is an order, I will go. But I am not going to die for the emperor or for Imperial Japan. I am going for my beloved wife. If Japan loses, she might be raped by Americans. I am dying for someone I love most, to protect

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devotion to repose of souls] (Tokyo: Yasukuni Jinja, 1995), 123–125.

<sup>29</sup> Yasukuni Jinja, ed. *Sange no Kokoro to Chinkon no Makoto* [Spirits of heroic dead and devotion to repose of souls], 123–125; Sanae Sato, *Tokko no machi, Chiran: saizensen kichi o irodotta Nihonjin no sei to shi* [Town of the Special Attack Corps, Chiran: life and death of the Japanese who colored the front-line base] (Tokyo: Kojinsha, 2003), 171–184.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas, *Sea of Thunder*, 302.

<sup>31</sup> The *Shikishima-tai* made sorties on 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th; however, the pilots could not locate the U.S. fleet due to the continuous bad weather. It is said that after setting their mind, it was mentally hard for them not to carry out the mission.

her.”<sup>32</sup> Seki’s final action took place on the next day, in the midst of the Battle of Leyte Gulf – the largest naval battle in modern history.<sup>33</sup>

Although accepting the order, he was very cynical about the suicide mission at this point. Training for the carrier-based bomber, Seki was not a fighter pilot.<sup>34</sup> Seki was discontented with the strategy that led to “inevitable death” because he was not trained to become a Kamikaze but to fight in the air bravely.<sup>35</sup> However, Seki concluded that it was worth throwing himself into the unprecedented mission in order to protect his loved ones from the possible threat from enemies following the defeat of Japan.<sup>36</sup> Resignation with a good grace was another characteristic of the Japanese. Right before the sortie, Seki handed his bank-notes to a nearby officer and asked him to send them to Japan for building more planes.<sup>37</sup> Led by Seki, the *Shikishima-tai* sank the U.S. aircraft carrier *Saint Lo* and damaged three others.<sup>38</sup>

A letter written by another Kamikaze pilot, Matsuo Isao (age 23), Flight Petty Officer First Class of the 701st Air Group, reflected the wartime mentality of the Japanese people who believed in the emperor cult.

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<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalism: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 166.

<sup>33</sup> Fought between Japan and the Allied Powers in the Pacific Theater from October 23 to 26, 1944, the Battle of Leyte Gulf is commonly known as the Second Battle of the Philippine Sea, consisting of four interrelated battles – the Battle of Sibuyan Sea, the Battle of Surigao Strait, the Battle of Cape Engao, and the Battle off Samar. The Allied Powers aimed at cutting off Japan’s oil supply in Southeast Asia. The Imperial Japanese Navy, on the other hand, was trying to thwart the Allied invasion of the Philippines.

<sup>34</sup> Inoguchi, Nakajima, and Pineau, *The Divine Wind*, 11.

<sup>35</sup> Morimoto, *Tokko: gedo no tosotsu to ningen no joken* [Special Attacks: Heretical command and human condition], 131.

<sup>36</sup> Inoguchi, Nakajima, and Pineau, *The Divine Wind*, 49–50. For a long time, Lieutenant Seki’s honest expression was not allowed for publication by the Navy officers, considering it could demoralize succeeding units.

<sup>37</sup> Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*, 287.

<sup>38</sup> Chris Bishop, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Weapons of World War II* (New York: Metro Books, 2002), 394. Although the *Shikishima-tai* was officially recognized as the first Kamikaze attack in the Navy, the *Kikusui-tai* carried out the first Kamikaze attack on October 25, 1944—three hours before the *Shikishima-tai*.

Please congratulate me. I have been given a splendid opportunity to die. This is my last day. The destiny of our homeland hinges on the decisive battle in the seas to the south where I shall fall like a blossom from radiant cherry tree. I shall be a shield for His Majesty [Emperor] and die cleanly along with my squadron leader and other friends. I wish that I could be born seven times, each time to smite the enemy. How I appreciate this chance to die like a man! . . . I shall return in spirit and look forward to your visit at the Yasukuni Shrine. . . . May our death be as sudden and clean as the shattering of crystal.<sup>39</sup>

Most of the last letters written by the Kamikaze pilots mentioned that they were honored to die for the emperor. Nevertheless, in these cases, the word “emperor” tended to represent not only the emperor himself but also their families, friends, and fellow citizens to a large extent. As the *Kokutai no Hongi* declared, the emperor was regarded a head of the *Kokka* (family-state) called Japan.

Because of the prewar *Shushin* education that emphasized *Kokutai* (emperor-centered national polity), some Kamikaze pilots showed fanatical loyalty to the emperor and carried out the suicide attacks; however, most of them did not volunteer to simply die for the emperor but to defend a big family called “Japan” which their parents, brothers and sisters, wives, and girlfriends belonged. As a member of the big family, they felt a sense of duty for protecting their family and countrymen by sinking or damaging the warships and taking the lives of thousands enemies with them. In the letter to his daughter, Lieutenant Uemura Masahisa expressed his parental love.

Yasuko, you often laughed when you looked at my face. You slept in my arms, and we bathed together. Yasuko, when you grow up and want to know about me, ask your mother and Aunt Kayo. I also left my photo album at home for you. It was I who named you Yasuko. I thought of you as becoming a gentle, kind-hearted, and sensible person.

I want to see you grow up to be a fine bride, but even though I die without your knowing me, you must not feel sorrow. When you get older and want to see me, come to *Kudan* and pray with all your heart so that my face will appear before you. I think you are a happy person. You look exactly as I am, so when people see you, they often say that they feel like seeing me. Your aunt and uncle treat you so well for you are their only

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<sup>39</sup> Isao Matsuo, “Last Will written on 28 October 1944,” quoted in Inoguchi, Nakajima, and Pineau, *The Divine Wind*, 200–201.

hope. And your mother, your happiness is her whole life.

Whatever becomes of me, never think of yourself as a child without a parent. I will be always watching over you. Be good, and be the kind of person whom others will like. When you get older and begin to think about me, please ask someone to read this to you.

P.S. The toy doll you had as a baby, I took with me in my airplane as an amulet - this way you are always with me. I tell you this because I think it would be hard if you are not aware of it.<sup>40</sup>

Due to the effort of the government sponsored anti-American propaganda, Uemura strongly believed that a U.S. invasion of Japan would result in a terrible fate for his daughter. As a member of the *Yamato-tai*, Uemura died on October 26, 1944 in the Philippines at age 25. He was a graduate of the Rikkyo University, one of the most prestigious universities in Japan.

Through the examination of Kamikaze pilots of different background, it is clear that not only nationalism but also anti-American propaganda played an important role in shaping the wartime Japanese mentality. Especially, after the fall of Saipan, the Japanese government further emphasized the Japanese racial purity, thus Japanese people came to view Americans in racist terms. For example, October 1944's issue of *Manga Nippon*, a popular Japanese magazine, stated:

It has gradually become clear that the American enemy, driven by its ambition to conquer the world, is coming to attack us, and as the breath and body odor of the beast approach, it may be of some use if we draw the demon's features here. Our ancestors called them Ebisu or savages long ago, and labeled the very first Westerners who came to our country the Southern Barbarians. . . . Since the barbaric tribe of Americans are devils in human skin who come from the West, we should call them Saibanki, or Western Barbarian Demons.<sup>41</sup>

The word "devil" was important in this context, because it reflected how the Japanese civilians thought of Americans by then. Such anti-American propaganda

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<sup>40</sup> Tokkotai Senbotsusha Irei Heiwa Kinen Kyokai, "Itoshi ko e", *Tokko* vol. 43 (May 2000): 13-14; Nicholas Voge, trans., "Last-Letters – Kamikaze Pilots," *Manoa* 13, no. 1 (2001): 121.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986), 247.

eventually gave rise to a wartime ideology called *ichioku tokko* by December 1944 that aimed at converting every civilian into a collective suicidal unit.

### *Official Strategy of the Imperial Japanese Forces*

The birth of the Kamikaze special attack corps was largely attributed to the government's new medium known as "propaganda" that overwhelmingly promoted *Kokutai* theory. The Kamikaze pilots came to think that sustaining *Kokutai* was equivalently important to protect their families. The wartime government made use of the *Shashin Shuho* to glorify the sacrificial death. Thus, the *Shashin Shuho* was partly responsible for the birth and prevalence of the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps toward the end of World War II. The first story on the Kamikaze appeared on the issue on November 15, 1944. On the title page of the *Shashin Shuho* no. 347, a portrait of the first Kamikaze pilot, Lieutenant Seki Yukio 関行男 (1921-1944) with valiant looks appeared. It published Seki's shout that encouraged suicidal attacks. Seki shouted right before his sortie, "We are not the pilots of bombers. Mind you, we are the



Figure 5.1 Lieutenant Seki Yukio

Source: *Shashin Shuho*, no. 347, November 15, 1944, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704806/YA104806/1052/index.djvu>.

bombs.”<sup>42</sup> Although known as the first official Kamikaze pilot, Seki was not the first pilot to carry out the suicide attack. On October 21 and 23, two pilots of the *Yamato-tai* left for the suicide mission but their military results were unknown.<sup>43</sup>

Simultaneously, the Japanese military utilized a series of wartime propaganda, which constantly emphasized how horrible the Allied Powers were and warned of the devastation of Japanese civilization if Japan allowed their invasion. It also recommended suicide if a capture by the enemy seemed inevitable. Following the Navy adoption of the strategy, the Kamikaze became the official strategy of Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) as well. On April 6, 1945, 400 aircraft flew out from Kyushu in order to launch the largest Kamikaze attack on the U.S. invasion forces. During the Battle of Okinawa between April and June, 2,198 Kamikaze pilots perished.<sup>44</sup> Although the Kamikaze attacks damaged many warships, they could not sink any aircraft carriers, battleships, or cruisers. In fact, the United States suffered the heaviest casualties in the Battle of Okinawa, losing 10,000 men, thirty warships, three merchant ships, 368 damaged ships (including 12 carriers and 10 battleships), and 763 destroyed aircraft (458 in combat).<sup>45</sup> The Kamikaze attack was not an effective military strategy regarding the great loss of the young lives and aircrafts; however, it had an ability to psychologically affect the Americans and weaken their fighting morale.

Believing that dying on behalf of a hundred million countrymen was more

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<sup>42</sup> *Shashin Shuho*, no. 347, November 15, 1944, title page, Reference Code A0603109411, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan (hereafter cited as JACAR), <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shusen/djvu/a06031094100/index.djvu> (accessed April 2, 2009).

<sup>43</sup> Katsuhiko Hara, ed. *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: last letters of the Special Attack Corps], in corporation with Yasukuni Shrine (Tokyo: KK Besto Serazu, 2007), 98.

<sup>44</sup> Pinguet, *Voluntary Death in Japan*, 326.

<sup>45</sup> Michael Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures, 1618–1991* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2002), 840; Gordon L. Rottman, *Okinawa 1945: The Last Battle* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002), 84; idem, *World War II Pacific Island Guide: A Geo-Military Study* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), 444.

honorable and meaningful than being killed by the enemy air raids, the majority of Kamikaze pilots never regretted conducting their suicide missions. In all, 3,853 pilots of the Special Attack Corps<sup>46</sup> between age seventeen and twenty-five sacrificed their lives and they were believed to become the *Gunshin* (war-god or divine soldiers) enshrined in the Yasukuni Shrine, which marked the peak of ultra-nationalism.

The interpretations of these last letters vary depending on who reads them. Some scholars such as Kuwahara Keiichi and Mori Shiro argue that these letters written by Kamikaze pilots just before their sorties did not reflect what they really had in their mind. According to them, as the war situation was further aggravated due to their strategy becoming less and less effective, the Navy had to draft the Kamikaze pilots because the number of volunteers drastically decreased. By the outbreak of Battle of Okinawa in June 1945, the pilots knew that their suicide attacks would not change the course of war and the defeat of Japan was a matter of time; however, they had no choice but to carry out their missions when the higher officers intimidated them.<sup>47</sup> Simultaneously, the wartime hysteria and the media played significant roles in glorifying the Kamikaze attacks; therefore, the pilots could no longer escape from the death.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, in the state of despairing war, one came to seek death rather than hopeless life that would come after the defeat of Japan.<sup>49</sup> As a result, volunteers for the Kamikaze attacks were plentiful.

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<sup>46</sup> Hara, ed. *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: last letters of the Special Attack Corps]. The number includes 2,516 IJN soldiers and 1,337 IJA soldiers.

<sup>47</sup> Keiichi Kuwahara, *Katararezaru tokko kichi kushira: seikan shita tokko taiin no kokuhaku* [Untold Special Attack Base, Kushira: Confession of Survived Kamikaze Pilots] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 2006), 149.

<sup>48</sup> Shiro Mori, *Tokko towa nanika* [What is the Special Attack Corps?] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 2006), 214.

<sup>49</sup> Morimoto, *Tokko: gedo no tosotsu to ningen no joken* [Special Attacks: Heretical command and human condition], 12.



In contrast, most scholars argue that persons who were facing death were not likely to write dishonest letters and wills. Some point out that there were other reasons that young men decided to volunteer the Kamikaze attack. First of all, filial piety had a significant influence on their decision.<sup>50</sup> Once enlisted as Kamikaze pilots, their families could receive special treatment from the government such as receiving the title “*homare no ie*” (a household of honor), extra food rations, pensions, and having their photos in the newspapers.<sup>51</sup> Through their self-sacrifice, they just wanted to give their families and countrymen a chance to live longer. They believed that the Kamikaze attack was probably the only way to overcome Japan’s lower productivity and inferior military technology. Unfortunately, their sacrifice was not able to prevent the coming of Japan’s defeat.

Kamikaze survivors such as Hijikata Toshio who was in the 13th Naval Reserve Officer Training Course supported the latter argument. As a fighter pilot, Hijikata hesitated to carry out the Kamikaze mission because “a fighter pilot’s duty was to fight [not to crash onto an enemy battleship].” Hijikata argued that although he was defeated, he would accept that his enemy was more skilled than he was, and would die after praising his enemy. Despite volunteering for three times, Hijikata expressed that he had never understood the nature of Kamikaze special attack that led to inevitable death.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Confucius taught four virtues of sincerity, benevolence, filial piety, and propriety and insisted that filial piety consisted of obedience, respect, and loyalty to one’s parents.

<sup>51</sup> Jean Larteguy, *The Sun Goes Down: Last Letters from Japanese-Suicide Pilots and Soldiers*, trans. Nora Wydenbruck, (London: W. Kimber, 1956), 128.

<sup>52</sup> Interview, June 21, 2006, Zero shiki kanjo sentoki: tokko to chokuan: Dai 203-ku 303 Hiko-tai Hijikata Toshio, Kaigun Taii [Zero (Type 0 Carrier Fighter): Special Attack and Cover: 203 Air 203rd Navy Flying Corps, 303rd Air Group, Captain Toshio Hijikata], in *Tokko: saigo no shogen* [Special Attack Corps: the last statements], comp. “Tokko saigo no shogen” Seisaku Iinkai (Tokyo: Asupekuto, 2006), 221–276.

## *Filial Piety*

For the young Kamikaze boys, one of the common regrets of the Kamikaze that appeared in their last letters was that they had no chance to be devoted to their parents. Largely due to the prewar education that emphasized filial piety as the strict duty of the children, many Kamikaze pilots suffered leaving their parents without performing their filial duty. Nevertheless, they tried to convince themselves that they were going to perform the maximum filial duty by sacrificing their lives for protecting the nation, the big family of theirs. In a sense, the Kamikaze were the victims of the Japanese culture that defined surrender was worse than death.

Many Kamikaze pilots were anxious about their mothers who would suffer great sorrow of losing their sons. Lieutenant Yonezu Yoshitaro who carried out the suicide attack on November 13, 1944, wrote to his stepmother before his sortie; “Please forgive impiety of departing before you. Yet, I firmly believe that my deceased mother and you will feel happy that Yoshitaro will serve the Emperor and become a guardian spirit of the Yasukuni Shrine. However, I feel pain to give you sorrow in your old age. Forgive me please.”<sup>53</sup> Lieutenant Kitamura Tokutaro (Nihon University), the Navy Reserve student, left a last letter that asked his mother to give up her short-lived, unfilial son. Then, Kitamura described his father about the importance of his mission to protect the nation.<sup>54</sup>

Most Kamikazes did not plead for their life, and as they had been taught, they were filial to their parents and affectionate to their brothers and sisters. Takase Tsuyoshi who was Flight Petty Officer and a member of Kamikaze *Kenmu-tai* wrote to his sisters

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<sup>53</sup> Yonezu Yoshitaro, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 117–118. Translation by me.

<sup>54</sup> Kitamura Tokutaro, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 220–221. Translation by me.

as follows:

Dear sisters

Your brother, getting place to die, will go to fight bravely as a soldier. Sisters, don't mourn your brother's death. Although my body will no longer exist, my soul will be always with you, I am living for eternal justice. Stand firm without mourning over me. . . . Take care of our parents. My last words for you are to be filial to your parents, and to be loyal to the emperor. . . . Your brother is exciting about dying. Sisters, take care of yourselves. Live happily forever. Thinking of your faces, I am going to the front.<sup>55</sup>

Takase also expressed his regret that he had no chance to repay an obligation to his parents and asked them to consider him a filial son who would die for the divine country.<sup>56</sup> In his letter to his sister, another Flight Petty Officer named Miyazaki Masaru (age 19) said, "Yasuko-chan, you don't know your brother who became a member of Special Attack Corps, your brother don't know Yasuko-chan as well. You must be afraid of air raids every day. Your brother will attack the enemy by crashing into the huge mother ship. Then, sing '*Gochin Gochin*' (*Gochin* means sinking with a terrific explosion) with Fumiko-chan and make your brother happy."<sup>57</sup>

Due to the activation of *Gakuto Shutsujin*, many elite university students were assigned for the special attack mission. During the entire course of the Kamikaze attacks, about 85 percent of all Kamikaze pilots were navy flight reserve students who were mostly university students because the military commanders sought to retain well-trained elite pilots in case of the Allied Powers' invasion of mainland Japan.<sup>58</sup> In *Kamikaze no*

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<sup>55</sup> Takase Tsuyoshi, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 222–223. Translation by me.

<sup>56</sup> Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 222–223.

<sup>57</sup> Miyazaki Masashi, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 230.

<sup>58</sup> Katsuya Susaki, *Kamikaze no shinjitsu: Tokkotai wa tero dewa nai* [The truth of the Kamikaze: Special Attack Corps are different from terrorism] (Tokyo: Kojinsha, 2004), 107. Enlisted on September 30, 1943, the 13th reserve students numbered 5,199. In total, 1,616 student soldiers died; of whom, 448 in Kamikaze attacks. Combining the number of pilots of the Imperial Japanese

*shinjitsu* (The truth of the Kamikaze), Susaki Katsuya, who was a former Kamikaze pilot, introduced a last letter of Ensign Onishi Masanori (Tokyo University) who wrote down his thoughts in his last diary on April 12, 1945:

The Imperial Japanese Navy Ensign Onishi Masanori at the age of 24 would die honorably for the sovereign empire at Okinawa today. There is no will to write down now. Every word and deed as well as letters was all my will. I am ashamed of being not able to be dutiful to my parents who had loved me for over twenty years; however, in case of the national emergency, dying as a member of the Special Attack Corps in this grand operation is a great honor and a great filial piety.<sup>59</sup>

Because many were students with elite academic backgrounds, some Kamikaze pilots already realized they were nothing but consumption articles.

Mostly born in the late Taisho period 大正時代 (1912–1926) succeeding Meiji period, the Kamikaze with college education were more liberal than previously thought. Indeed, Taisho was the period when Japan experienced liberal movement known as Taisho Democracy.<sup>60</sup> Uehara Ryoji (Keio University), who was born in Taisho 11 (1922) and killed in a special attack in Okinawa in 1945, left a will to his parents that illustrated how a reserve student became unafraid of his death. Although the educated reserve students supported liberalism, their loyalty to the nation and filial piety became more important criteria for them in time of national emergency.

To my dear Father and Mother:

I was so lucky ever since I was given my life some twenty years ago that I was brought up never deprived of anything. Under the love and affection of my loving parents, and with constant encouragement from my wonderful elder brothers and younger sisters, I was so fortunate to spend such happy days. I say this in face of the fact that at times I had a tendency to act in a spoiled and selfish manner. Throughout, of all of us siblings, I was the one who caused you, Father and Mother, the most worry. It pains my

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Naval Academy and reserve students, there were 769 Kamikaze attacks; of which, 653 were carried out by the reserve students—85 percent.

<sup>59</sup> Ensign Oishi Masanori, quoted in Susaki, *Kamikaze no shinjitsu*, 68–69. Translation by me.

<sup>60</sup> During the Taisho period, Japan continued to gain international influence and liberalism emerged at home. Significantly, Japan was moving toward representational government, lowering the tax qualification for voting.

heart that my time will come before I can return, or try to return, any of these favors I received. *But in Japan, where loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety are considered one and the same thing, and total loyalty to the nation is a fulfillment of filial piety, I am confident of your forgiveness.*

As a member of the flying staff, I spent each and every day with death as the premise. Every letter and each word I wrote constituted my last will and testament. In the sky so high above, death is never a focus of fear. Will I in fact die when I hit the target? No, I cannot believe that I am going to die, and, there was even a time when I felt a sudden urge somehow to dive into a target. The fact of the matter is that I am never afraid of death, and, to the contrary, I even welcome it. The reason for this is my deep belief that, through death, I'll be able to get together again with my beloved older brother, Tatsu. To be reunited with him in heaven is what I desire the most. I did not have any specific attitude toward life and death. My reasoning amount to an attempt to give a meaning and value to death, something that would have to stem from a person's utter fear of an uncertain death. My belief is that death is a passage leading to reunion with my loved ones in heaven. I am not afraid to die. Death is nothing to be afraid of when you look at it as just a stage in the process of ascending to heaven.

Succinctly speaking, I have always admired liberalism, mainly because I felt that this political philosophy was the only one to follow were Japan really to survive eternally. Perhaps this sort of thinking seems foolish' but it is only because Japan is currently drowned in totalitarianism. Nevertheless, and this state of affairs notwithstanding, it will be clear to any human being who sees clearly and is willing to reflect on the very nature of his or her humanity that liberalism is the most logical ideology.

It seemed to me that a nation's probable success in the prosecution of a war would, on the very basis of that nation's ideology, be clearly evident even before the war was fought. It would in fact be so obvious that eventual victory would clearly be seen to belong to the nation that holds a natural ideology, i.e., an ideology which in its way is constitutive of human nature itself.

My hope of making Japan like the British Empire of the past has been utterly defeated. At this point, therefore, I gladly give up my life for Japan's liberty and independence. . . .<sup>61</sup>

Considering loyalty to the nation as the same thing as filial piety, they finally found a meaning in their sacrificial death. Uehara described how reserve students perceived the prosperity of their homeland:

I am keenly aware of the tremendous personal honor involved in my having been chosen to be a member of the Army Special Attack Corps, which is considered to be the most elite attack force in the service of our glorious fatherland.

My thoughts about all these things derive from a logical standpoint which is more or less the fruit of my long career as a student and, perhaps, what some others might call a liberal. But I believe that the ultimate triumph of liberty is altogether obvious. As the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce [1866–1952] has proclaimed, “liberty is so

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<sup>61</sup> Uehara Ryoji, quoted in Nihon Senbotsu Gakusei Kinen-Kai [Japan Memorial Society for the Students Killed in the War—Wadatsumi Society], comp., *Listen to the Voices from the Sea: Writings of the Fallen Japanese Students*, trans. Midori Yamanouchi Rynn and Joseph L. Quinn (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2000), 236–237, emphasis mine.

quintessential to human nature that it is absolutely impossible to destroy it.” I believe along with him that this is a simple fact, a fact so certain that liberty must of necessity continue its underground life even when it appears, on the surface, to be suppressed—it will always win through in the end.

It is equally inevitable that an authoritarian and totalitarian nation, however much it may flourish temporarily, will eventually be defeated. In the present war we can see how this latter truth is borne out in the Axis Powers [the alliance of Japan, Germany, and Italy] themselves. What more needs to be said about Fascist Italy? Nazi Germany too has already been defeated, and we see that all the authoritarian nations are now falling down one by one, exactly like buildings with faulty foundations. All these developments only serve to reveal all over again the universality of the truth that history has so often proven in the past: men’s great love of liberty will live on into the future and into eternity itself.

Although there are aspects to all this which constitute something the fatherland has reason to feel apprehensive about, it is still a truly wonderful thing to feel that one’s own personal beliefs have been validated. On every front, I believe that ideologies are at the bottom of all the fighting that is going on nowadays. Still further, I am firmly convinced that the outcome of each and every conflict is predictable on the bases of the ideological held by the opposing sides.

My ambitious hope was to have lived to see my beloved fatherland—Japan—develop into a great empire like Great Britain in the past, but that hope has already been dashed. If those people who truly loved their country had been given a fair hearing, I do not believe that Japan would be in its present perilous position. This was my ideal and what I dreamt about: that the people of Japan might walk proudly anywhere in the world.

In a real sense it is certainly true that a pilot in our special aerial attack force is, as a friend of mine has said, nothing more than a piece of the machine. He is nothing more than that part of the machine which holds the plane’s controls—endowed with no personal qualities, no emotions, certainly with no rationality—simply just an iron filament tucked inside a magnet itself designed to be sucked into an enemy air-craft carrier. The whole business would, within any context of rational behavior, appear to be unthinkable, and would seem to have no appeal whatsoever except to someone with a suicidal disposition. I suppose this entire range of phenomena is best seen as something peculiar to Japan, a nation of unique spirituality. So then we who are nothing more than pieces of machinery may have no right to say anything, but we only wish, ask, and hope for one thing: that all the Japanese people might combine to make our beloved country the greatest nation possible.

Were I to face the battles that lie ahead in this sort of emotional state, my death would be rendered meaningless. This is the reason then, as I have already stated, that I intend to concentrate on the honor involved in being designated a member of the Special Attack Corps.

When I am in a plane perhaps I am nothing more than just a piece of the machine, but as soon as I am on the ground again I find that I am a complete human being after all, complete with human emotions—and passions too. When the sweetheart whom I loved so much passed away, I experienced a kind of spiritual death myself. Death in itself is nothing when you look upon it, as I do, as merely a pass to the heaven where I will see her once again, the one who is waiting there for me.

Tomorrow we attack. It may be that my genuine feelings are extreme—and extremely private! But I have put them down as honestly as I can. Please forgive me for writing so loosely and without much logical order. Tomorrow one believer in liberty and liberalism will leave this world behind. His withdrawing figure may have a lonely look about it, but I assure you that his heart is filled with contentment.

I have said everything I wanted to say in the way I wanted to say it. Please accept my apologies for any breach of etiquette. Well, then.

--Written the night before the attack.<sup>62</sup>

The Kamikazes accepted the reality that cost their lives because the Japanese commonly perceived their lifespan as fifty years. Living for twenty years, they could give up their lives to protect their loved ones. For example, the Navy Reserve student, Iinuma Takeshi (Yokohama Special School) wrote on April 12, “It is a miracle that I could have lived a half of my life—twenty-five years—without accident while one’s life is said to be fifty-years.”<sup>63</sup> Another Navy Reserve student, Makino (Meiji University) believed that one’s life was twenty years in wartime, and he was twenty-three years, living three extra years. Therefore, in his letter he declared he had such a luxurious life and would perish happily without any regret.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, Mikuriya Takuji (a student of Kagoshima College of Commerce) wrote down his firm decision on March 12, 1945: “If we may sacrifice. Only on the foundation laid by a strong fine sacrifice, the great Buddhist temple is built.”<sup>65</sup>

Being a university student meant so much in the pre-war Japan that placed a great emphasis on Confucian and Neo-Confucian values. Unlike many American students, very few Japanese students could go on to university then. Therefore, they had privilege in society just being university students. They were highly respected and at the same time they were expected to contribute to the national progress. Notably, the flight reserve students had more liberal visions on the world affair since they had not received training

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<sup>62</sup> Uehara Ryoji, quoted in Nihon Senbotsu Gakusei Kinen-Kai, comp., *Listen to the Voices from the Sea: Writings of the Fallen Japanese Students*, 7–8.

<sup>63</sup> Iinuma Takeshi, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 242.

<sup>64</sup> Makino, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 246.

<sup>65</sup> Mikuriya Takuji, quoted in Hosaka, “*Tokko*” to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese], 83. Translation by me.

in the Naval Academy. Most reserve students felt a strong sense of “*noblesse oblige*”—the belief that the privileged and wealthy are obligated to act with honor, generosity, and kindness and to help the less privileged and poor.<sup>66</sup> They wished their suicide mission would save millions of Japanese people who led a frugal life for buying many *Hokoku-Saiken* 報国債券 (war bonds) to build aircrafts. In reaction to the strenuous efforts of civilians, they decided to die for their country.

Another motive for carrying out the suicide mission for them was not to bring disgrace to their families. In his will prepared five months prior to his Kamikaze attack, a naval reserve student Koyama Seiichi (Chuo University) wrote that as a man of Japanese, serving the emperor attained his long-cherished ambition. Firmly believing that a family’s prosperity went along with the rise of the nation, nothing could be better than bringing an honor to his house.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, in his last will, Flight Petty Officer Araki Kazuhide (age 19) expressed his gratitude to parents and his determination to die without dishonoring his family. Araki said, “I will go to the last with a smile on my face.”<sup>68</sup>

### ***Patriotism/Loyalty***

As subjects of Japan, the Kamikaze pilots ultimately considered the suicide attack as a part of their obligation to the nation. Recent scholarship points out that most of them died for the country, not for the Emperor. Hiroshima Peace Institute’s Yuki Tanaka argued that not many diaries, letters, or wills of Kamikaze pilots expressed their “loyalty

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<sup>66</sup> “Tokko saigo no shogen” Seisaku Inkaei, comp., *Tokko: saigo no shogen* [Special Attack Corps: the last statements]. “*Noblesse oblige*” is French term, meaning “nobility obligates.”

<sup>67</sup> Koyama Seiichi, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 247–248.

<sup>68</sup> Araki Kazuhide, quoted in Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 246.



to the emperor.”<sup>69</sup> Written on April 12, 1945, the following diary of Otsuka Akio (age 23) expressed his honest opinion about the suicidal mission: “The press call us living gods. How silly they are. . . . We are not dying for fun. . . . I am not dying of my own will. . . . I am worried sick about the future of the nation. The bomb which I carry is the bomb that will protect you. . . . Who but I will carry out such a mission?”<sup>70</sup> In his diary on April 25, Otsuka declared that human happiness could be grasped by a person’s thinking. He told his family that there was nothing to be sad about his death because he would do his best for his family if some of his family died.<sup>71</sup> Right before his sortie, Otsuka noted that a party of Japanese visited the airfield yesterday, and on the way home, they kneeled down on the ground and prayed for their successful mission. Therefore, Otsuka felt a sense of duty to accomplish his mission without failing.<sup>72</sup> Born in 1922 in Tokyo, Otsuka was the Navy’s Ensign Cadet who died as a Kamikaze at Okinawa on April 28, 1945. Another diary written by Sasaki Hachiro (Tokyo University) on June 11, 1945 disclosed how the reserve students came to consent to the suicide attack:

Mr. Ouchi also says that I should never give any thought to being killed in action. He says that to die under any circumstances outside of those dictated by one’s own responsibility is either mere heroism or a temporary emotional high, both of which are foolish. He says too that he does not wish to be killed in the service of a reactionary cause, and that neither would he be impressed by anyone who dies in such a way. He tells me that he is not impressed by the story of Byakko-tai [the “White Tiger Troops,” Aizu Band’s young boys’ suicide-attack squad in the Boshin War of 1868] or by Shinsengumi [the “Newly Chosen Group,” an assassination team organized by the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1863 under the famed Isamu Kondo]. *In my opinion, however, my going to fight in a war can also be considered an honorable duty.* I think that, for a young man

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<sup>69</sup> Yuki Tanaka, “Japan’s Kamikaze Pilots and Contemporary Suicide Bombers: War and Terror,” *Japan Focus*, November 25, 2005, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Yuki-TANAKA/1606> (accessed January 5, 2009).

<sup>70</sup> Hosaka, “*Tokko*” to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese], 44–46.

<sup>71</sup> Otsuka Akio’s diary on April 25, 1945, quoted in Nihon Sembotsu Gakusei Shuki Henshuu Iinkai, *Kike wadatsumi no koe* [Listen to the voices from the sea] (1949; repr., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983), 265. Translation by me.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted in Hosaka, “*Tokko*” to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese], 46. Translation by me.

living in Japan at this point in history, the opportunity to participate in the actual making of history is an extraordinary honor. I approached the study of economics as though my life depended on mastering it, simply because I had chosen that discipline of my own free will and considered it my duty. In addition to pursuing my studies, I was fortunate enough to be blessed with superior physical strength and perhaps a greater capacity than most for putting it to practical use; as a result, this means that I also have the honorable obligation to dedicate myself to the nation.—I look upon both of these duties as sublime in nature. I am not certain as to whether the whole tone of our war effort is reactionary or otherwise. I can only say that such and such duties and responsibilities are assigned to us and that our only goal is to live up to them. Whether or not the cause is reactionary, my wish is to do my very best. I wish to die most beautifully as a person in the midst of a supreme effort. Perhaps Byakko-tai was reactionary, but their death was truly sublime—ultimate beauty in itself. As for me, I am not overly concerned with matters of form and style, and neither do I wish to be known by future historians as a great man. *As an unknown member of society, my only option is to live and die while remaining faithful to my duties and responsibilities.*<sup>73</sup>

What is immediately apparent in this diary is that the Kamikazes were obedient to a Japanese proverb that said “Life is as the weight of a feather compared to one’s duty.”<sup>74</sup> Kamikaze diaries revealed that their fear of death had transformed into a sense of responsibility for succeeding their mission. Patriotism was the cause of the young Japanese to volunteer for the Kamikaze mission. In the United States about the same time, the young Nisei volunteered to join the 442nd Regimental Combat Team to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism just like Kamikaze pilots, which I will examine in the next chapter.

After the fall of Saipan, the higher military officers realized that Japan’s defeat was a matter of time. Nevertheless, afraid of getting blame for the inevitable defeat, neither IJA nor IJN commanders suggested surrendering. By the time of the Kamikaze special attack putting into practice, even army and naval cadets knew that there was very slight chance for Japan to win the war. Particularly, based on their knowledge and university education, the reserve students who were familiar with world affairs clearly

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<sup>73</sup> Sasaki Hachiro, quoted in Nihon Senbotsu Gakusei Kinen-Kai, comp., *Listen to the Voices from the Sea: Writings of the Fallen Japanese Students*, 122, emphasis mine.

<sup>74</sup> Japanese proverb, quoted in Inoguchi and Nakajima, *The Divine Wind*, 1.

saw the existing huge gap in fighting strength between the United States and Japan. Nevertheless, the Kamikaze sacrificed their lives to end the war. Many reserve students resolved that they would help rebuild ideal Japan by protecting the mainland from the Allied invasion at the cost of their lives. As a Kamikaze wrote down in his diary about a conversation with a soldier in the train, the Japanese civilians could do nothing but to depend on the Kamikaze special attack to improve the devastating war situation because Japan was far behind from the Allied Powers in terms of military technology and weaponry.<sup>75</sup> In the face of the superior fighting strength of the Allied Powers, what they could rely upon was the spiritual strength of the Kamikaze.

### ***Imamura Shigeo the Nisei Kamikaze***

Although not widely known, there was a Nisei Kamikaze. Imamura Shigeo 今村 茂男 (1922–1998) was a Nisei who served in the Imperial Japanese Navy and became a Kamikaze pilot during World War II. Born into the Issei parents in San Jose in 1922 and lived in San Francisco for ten years, Imamura returned to Japan with his family in 1932, a year after the Manchurian Incident. Attending Japanese school, Imamura's life style and values had completely changed in the first five years of his stay in Japan through the intensive prewar education programs. Like other boys in wartime Japan, Imamura was eager to join the military and to serve Japan. Imamura, who used to be an ordinary Nisei boy thinking of himself "American," transformed into a Japanese patriot, in his words "110% Japanese."<sup>76</sup> There was no Americanism left in Imamura at that moment and he

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<sup>75</sup> Susaki, *Kamikaze no shinjitsu*, 106.

<sup>76</sup> Imamura, *Kamikaze Tokko taiin ni natta Nikkei Nisei* [A Nisei who joined the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps], 79, 123.

would sacrifice his life to defend the imperial Japan.<sup>77</sup> Voluntarily joining the Navy, Imamura became a reserve naval aviator and was ready to die as a Kamikaze. Despite the fact that the first sons and married men were exempted from the inevitable death of Kamikaze mission, Imamura who was the first son volunteered for the Kamikaze mission because he thought dying for his country was the *only right thing to do*. Imamura's squadron prepared to take off on the Kamikaze mission on July 30, 1945; however, it was cancelled and he had no chance to make a suicide attack on the enemy ships before the end of war.<sup>78</sup>

In his memoir, Imamura described that “what they strongly believe in at one point in life, even to the extent of wanting to sacrifice their lives for the cause, may not be so believable in later life.”<sup>79</sup>

### ***Cultural Identity of the Kamikaze***

Examining from the cultural point of view, Ivan Morris argues the Japanese morality motivated the Kamikaze to sacrifice their lives in defense of their “divine country.” The young soldiers who had privilege and got respect from the society had a strong sense of obligation to serve for the benefit of their community. As many reserve students described their decision to carry out the suicide mission as “*noblesse oblige*,” they reasoned their existence within the community. Thus, they could give priority to the benefit of their community even though it required their self-sacrifice, ultimately the inevitable death. Whenever and wherever the country required, they were ready to fulfill

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<sup>77</sup> Imamura, *Kamikaze Tokko taiin ni natta Nikkei Nisei* [A Nisei who joined the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps], 157.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, emphasis mine.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

their duty at any cost.<sup>80</sup> It was the unique Japanese way of demonstrating their patriotism derived from the *Bushido* spirit. As a Kamikaze survivor Ena Takehiko (former Navy flight reserve student) described, they were still attached to their promising life, but they were prepared to accept their grievous destiny. Ena interpreted their self-sacrifice for the community as “beautiful custom unique to Japan.”<sup>81</sup> Another Kamikaze survivor who enlisted as Navy’s reserve student and piloted *Oka* (MXY-7 Navy Suicide Attacker), Suzuki Hideo recalled, “Before destructively damaged [by the enemy], I hoped that the war could be ended on Japan’s favorable terms in exchange for my life.”<sup>82</sup>

As a duty, the Japanese soldiers who had *Yamato Damashii* (soul of Japan; unchanged loyalty) emphasizing indomitability, valor, grace, and nationalism, these educated elites and young pilots died defending their country from the invasion forces. Yoshida Shoin, a military and political philosopher and teacher, was the first who used the term for describing the Japanese national pride.<sup>83</sup> During World War II, the IJA used the term implying “fighting spirit of Japan” to motivate the soldiers. Westerners would not understand Japanese determination for carrying out suicide attacks.

The birth of the Kamikaze attack was the inevitable consequence for the imperial Japan that called for the establishment of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

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<sup>80</sup> Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*, 276–334.

<sup>81</sup> Interview, June 14, 2006, 97-shiki kanjo kogeki ki [Nakajima B5N (ccode name: Kate)], Kamikaze Tokugetsu Kogekitai Dai-san Shoki-tai: Ena Takehiko Kaigun Shoi [Kamikaze Special Attack Corps 3rd Shoki Unit: Ensign Takehiko Ena], in *Tokko: saigo no shogen* [Special Attack Corps: the last statements], comp. “Tokko saigo no shogen” Seisaku Inkai, 189–210.

<sup>82</sup> Interview, April 5, 2006, Oka, Dai 721-ku Oka-tai Suzuki Hideo Kaigun Taii [721st Naval Air Corps (also known as Divine Thunder Corps), Oka Corps, Captain Hideo Suzuki], in *Tokko: saigo no shogen* [Special Attack Corps: the last statements], comp. “Tokko saigo no shogen” Seisaku Inkai, 9–40.

<sup>83</sup> Yoshida Shoin educated the major figures in the Meiji Restoration such as Ito Hirobumi and Yamagata Aritomo. In the late nineteenth century, he was treated as a restoration hero, and in the 1930’s and 1940’s, considered as an advocate of oversea expansion and anti-foreignism. *Yamato damashii* became a talisman for ultranationalists.

regardless of their inferior national power.<sup>84</sup> The commanders exploited the distinct Japanese characteristics of “aesthetics of death.” Culturally, Japan had a tradition of honoring bravery against hopeless odds. The prewar education often indoctrinated the young to be fearless in death through the tale of a warrior who had loyally defended the emperor. A loyalist hero, Kusunoki Masashige committed *seppuku* (a.k.a. *harakiri*: ritual suicide) in 1336 while he was fighting for the emperor so that he could avoid intolerable humiliation of capture.<sup>85</sup> For the Japanese, according to Morris’s *The Nobility of Failure*, “death has a particular psychological significance, since it epitomizes the very sense of his existence.” ‘One’s way of dying’ writes a famous samurai scholar, ‘can validate one’s entire life.’”<sup>86</sup> The *seppuku* tradition continued through World War II. Following Japan’s unconditional surrender, Vice Admiral Onishi Takijiro known as the “father of the kamikaze corps” committed *seppuku* on August 16, 1945, to accept responsibility for his grievous error.<sup>87</sup> On September 11, General Tojo attempted to commit suicide not by *seppuku*, but by shooting his chest with an American .32-caliber automatic pistol; but he failed to die.

Whereas the majority of Westerners tended to disregard the suicide attack as nonsensical or barbaric, some Americans spoke of Kamikaze in terms of high praise. On April 12, 1945, Captain William M. Callaghan held a military funeral for a 19-years-old Kamikaze pilot named Ishino Setsuo. The young Kamikaze had crashed into the USS *Missouri*. The American officer sought to acknowledge and praise Ishino’s willingness to die in combat as a warrior. After his retirement, Callaghan said that he had honored

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<sup>84</sup> Morimoto, *Tokko: gedo no tosotsu to ningen no joken* [Special Attacks: Heretical command and human condition], 120–121.

<sup>85</sup> Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*, 14.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Saburo Sakai, Martin Caidin, and Fred Saito, *Samurai!* (New York: Dutton, 1957), 256.

the Kamikaze pilot for his “bravery and sacrifice of his life.”<sup>88</sup>

### *Cultural Significance of sakura 桜 (Cherry Blossoms)*

In fact, “*sakura*” 桜 (cherry blossoms) had a significant cultural influence on the Japanese people that glorified the voluntary death. For instance, the telegraphic message that notified the execution of *gyokusai* was “*sakura sakura*.”<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile, the Imperial Japanese Navy’s shoulder straps, collar badges, cap badges, and accessories were decorated with *sakura* motif.

For the Japanese people, *sakura* has come to affect one’s sense on death. Becoming the Japanese national flower, “*sakura*” contains so many meanings for Japanese since the ancient period of the country. *Sakura* was a symbol of beauty, transient, and even death. Onishi, the father of the Kamikaze, succeeded in aestheticizing the suicide attack by naming the Kamikaze corps, planes, and bombs with variety of *sakura*. Accordingly, Onishi gave names to nine Kamikaze squadrons including *Yamazakura-tai* 山桜隊 (mountain sakura corps), *Hatsuzakura-tai* 初桜隊 (first sakura corps), *Wakazakura-tai* 若桜隊 (young sakura corps), *Hazakura-tai* 葉桜隊 (leaf sakura corps, referring to cherry trees without flowers), *Oka-tai* 桜花隊 (sakura in full bloom corps), *Sakon-tai* 左近隊 (cherry tree planted left side of the imperial palace), *Yoshino-tai* 吉野隊 (a place famous for sakura), *Daini Oka-tai* 第二桜花隊 (second sakura in full bloom corps), and *Sakura i-tai* 桜井隊 (sakura good corps).<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> *The Beaufort Gazette* (South Carolina), April 13, 2001.

<sup>89</sup> Taiheiyo Senso Kenkyukai, *Taiheiyo Senso Hayawakari* [Quick reference to World War II] (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 2007), 118.

<sup>90</sup> Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 164.

Kamikaze anthem, *Doki no Sakura* 同期の桜 (literally, “Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class”), strengthened the morale of the Kamikaze pilots that read:

You and I are cherry blossoms from the same class.  
We bloomed at the same flight school.  
Once in bloom, the petals are ready to scatter.  
Let’s scatter beautifully for the Motherland.<sup>91</sup>

As Emiko Onuki-Tierney pointed out, cherry blossom had been the symbol of life, death, encounter, departure, as well as beauty for centuries. 27-year-old and the 13th Imperial Japanese Navy’s Lieutenant Yamada Tetsuo (Rikkyo University), a reserve naval aviator, wrote his will: “Father, mother, Mariko, Emiko, and Toshiko, I appreciate your great kindness for the last twenty-seven years. I will perish with cherry blossoms.”<sup>92</sup> Another reserve naval aviator and the Sub-Lieutenant Miyauchi Sakae (age 23) declared that he would protect the country at all costs and that a wild cherry tree would be a reincarnation of him.<sup>93</sup> During the Battle of Okinawa, many Kamikaze pilots carried a branch of cherry blossoms when they flew their mission. Located near the Chiran Air Base in Kagoshima, Chiran High School’s girl students who gave the Kamikaze send-off, shook branches of cherry blossom in April 1945.<sup>94</sup>

In addition, a Special Attack glider, having a *sakura* painted on the side body, were named *Oka* meaning *sakura* in full bloom, and its bomb, *sakura-dan* (sakura bomb). For the Kamikaze pilots who accepted the *Bushido*, *sakura* was a symbol of their insight. If they had to die, they wished to perish like *sakura* because blooming for a brief period, *sakura* fall at the very height of its beauty representing both beauty and transient.

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<sup>91</sup> Cited in Albert Axell and Hideaki Kase, *Kamikaze: Japan’s Suicide Gods* (Harlow: Longman, 2002), 56.

<sup>92</sup> Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], 18–20.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 32–35.

<sup>94</sup> Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), Plate 7.



Impressed by the way of *sakura*, the young Kamikazes chose to live their lives fully in the face of defeat.

### ***Reconsidering the Kamikaze Special Attack***

The real motivation of the young boys to become Kamikaze pilots had been distorted in the course of the prewar and postwar policy in Japan. During the critical phase of World War II, the Kamikaze pilots' last letters were used to promote the wartime effort of the Japanese subjects for the preservation of the *Kokoku* 皇国 (Imperial Country). When the war against the United States broke out, the Cabinet Information Bureau allowed the media to report only what the *Daihonei* 大本營 (Imperial Headquarters) announced. Moreover, following the stance of the Cabinet Information Bureau, the press constantly beautified the suicidal attacks by deifying the Kamikaze. As a well-known Showa historian Hosaka Masayasu pointed out, the press, rather than reporting the fact of each event, tended to devote a lot of space to portray the suicidal mission as if it was a "piece of tragedy."<sup>95</sup> Indeed, if reporting anything other than official announcements, the press had to be ready for the forced closure at any time.<sup>96</sup>

On the other hand, their last letters were used to deemphasize militarism as well as to criticize the wartime Japanese regime. A member of the editorial committee of *Kike wadatsumi no koe* (Listen to the voices from the sea), a collection of memoirs written by the fallen student soldiers, witnessed that the editorial committee intentionally omitted the text that praised the Japanese militarist/imperialist regime. Published during the

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<sup>95</sup> Hosaka, "*Tokko*" to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese], 64–67.

<sup>96</sup> "War Responsibility—delving into the past (21) / Media helped fan support for war," *Daily Yomiuri Online*, August 15, 2006, <http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/dy/features/0007/21.htm> (accessed May 4, 2009).

Allied Occupation of Japan, some of the phrases omitted from the memoirs included “Let’s meet at the Yasukuni Shrine” and “*Dai Nippon Teikoku Banzai!* (Long live the great Empire of Japan).” Therefore, edited to meet the demand of the Occupation forces and their policy, these memoirs rarely reflected what the student soldiers wanted the bereaved to know about their real thought.<sup>97</sup>

During the wartime, the military censored both incoming and outgoing mail of the soldiers in order to control the public opinion for gaining total cooperation. Therefore, letters with criticism of the war or the military would never pass the censorship. It resulted in producing last will and letters which gave impression that they were fanatical nationalists and emperor worshippers who did not plead for their lives. For example, an anonymous Navy Ensign who carried out a suicide attack on April 29 left a diary that he felt happy to sacrifice his life for the emperor on his birthday.<sup>98</sup>

In terms of strategy to win the war, the Kamikaze attack was ineffective as their war results indicated. From the military point of view that counted on returning alive, the Kamikaze Special Attack was the worst strategy because no returning was expected from the mission. On the other hand, glorified by the Cabinet publishing media such as the *Shuho* and *Shashin Shuho*, the Kamikaze pilots’ sacrificial death effectively persuaded the Japanese civilians to offer every effort for maintaining the national policy. The commanders exploited the valor of young pilots who were willing to die for their nation to fill in the technological gap between the United States and Japan.

Objectively judging the suicidal attack from today’s standpoint, it seemed the

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<sup>97</sup> Nihon Sembotsu Gakusei Shuki Henshuu Inkai, *Kike wadatsumi no koe* [Listen to the voices from the sea] (Todai Kyodo Kumiai Shuppanbu, 1949); Hosaka, “*Tokko*” to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese], 79–80.

<sup>98</sup> Cited in Hosaka, “*Tokko*” to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese], 90.

Kamikaze were either brave wartime heroes or the victims of the wartime hysteria and the Japanese militarist government; however, the Kamikaze pilots perceived themselves neither heroes nor victims. They were just like a Japanese civilian with a bamboo spear who was faithful to the *Senjinkun* that urged *gyokusai* over disgraceful surrender. In fact, Hirohito perceived the death by suicide attack was equivalent to or nothing different from the death in combat. While the first meant “inevitable death,” the other did not always lead to death.<sup>99</sup>

After all, the Kamikaze pilots were exploited with the hope of ending the war with favorable terms. Not only the higher-ranked military commanders but also Kamikazes (especially graduates of universities) clearly knew that Japan had no chance to win the war. Afraid of uttering the reality, the commanders did not know how to end the war without getting the blame for the defeat. Meanwhile, strongly believing in a chance of Japan’s victory, General Anami Korechika 阿南 惟幾 (1887–1945) and young military officers sought to fight until the annihilation of the very last Japanese (*ichioku gyokusai*). Rather than actively making overtures of peace, the most military leaders passively waited the Allied Powers to call for the end of war.<sup>100</sup> They believed it would imply Japan’s unconditional surrender, which they wanted to avoid somehow. Meantime, thousands of the Kamikazes in both IJN and IJA sacrificed their lives merely to end the war. According to Tsunoda Kazuo of the 582 Air Group, Admiral Onishi decided to utilize suicide attacks as an official strategy only for the Battle of Leyte Gulf to achieve three goals. First, in order to make peace with the Allied Powers, Japan had to demonstrate that Japanese would continue fighting until the death of last soldiers.

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<sup>99</sup> Hosaka, “*Tokko*” to *Nihonjin* [Special Attack Corps and the Japanese], 52.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 225–226.

Second, in order to preserve Japanese race in case of Allied occupation, it was essential to give an impression that Japanese were dreadful. Third, for the restoration of Japan, Onishi wished Hirohito to make peace with the Allied Powers.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, the Kamikaze attack was transformed into the regular strategy that lasted until the end of the war.<sup>102</sup>

### ***General Tojo Hideki: The Last Fighter for the Honor of the Country***

As I have examined, the Kamikazes sacrificed their lives for the continuation of Japan as well as for protecting their beloved ones from the Allied invasion and its aftermath. While the Kamikazes perished during the battle, Tojo had to fight for the honor of Japan and the Japanese people after the end of the war at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (May 1946–November 1948; hereafter Tokyo War Crimes Trial). As a part of the policies on the Allied occupation of Japan, the Tokyo War Crimes Trial was “constructed as a purely political and diplomatic event.”<sup>103</sup> In other words, the trial played a leading role in shaping the course of Japan’s postwar recovery and subsequent development.

Conducted by the justices from the victorious Allied Powers, the trial was not for the pursuit of justice, but for the punishment of Japanese wartime leaders. Tojo was well acknowledged that he could not avoid death penalty by any means. Tojo, like the Kamikaze pilots, was not afraid of dying for the nation at any time.

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<sup>101</sup> Tsunoda Kazuo, quoted in Morimoto, *Tokko: gedo no tosotsu to ningen no joken* [Special Attacks: Heretical command and human condition], 172.

<sup>102</sup> Along with Vice Admiral Ugaki Matome 宇垣 纏 (1890–1945) who determined to carry out the Kamikaze mission to show *Bushido* spirit, some Kamikaze pilots made a sortie after Hirohito’s surrender speech on August 15, 1945 (Japan time).

<sup>103</sup> Kei Ushimura, “Pal’s ‘Dissentient Judgment’ Reconsidered: Some Notes on Postwar Japan’s Responses to the Opinion,” *Japan Review* 19 (2007): 216.



Figure 5.2 General Tojo Hideki

Source: Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, National Diet Library, Japan, <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/datas/142.html?c=0>.

Indeed, some facts on the trial indicated that the trial was nothing but a revenge tragedy. For example, the high-ranking naval officers who were responsible for Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 could escape the death sentence that included Shimada Shigetaro 嶋田 繁太郎 (1883–1976) who was the Navy Minister at the time of the attack. On the other hand, Hirota Koki 広田 弘毅 (1878–1948) was a civilian who served as Foreign Minister and the 32nd Prime Minister of Japan, yet he was charged as a Class A war criminal and sentenced to death by hanging.<sup>104</sup>

Tojo tried to be faithful to what he had insisted during the war—Item 8 of the Essentials Part II of the *Senjinkun* that stated, “. . . Prefer death to a shameful life of captivity. Never leave a disgraceful name behind you at death.”<sup>105</sup> Expecting to receive a notice from the Japanese authority before his arrest, Tojo promptly attempted suicide by

<sup>104</sup> Masaki Kobayashi, *Tokyo Saiban International Military Tribunal for the Far East* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2004). DVD video.

<sup>105</sup> Research Group in the Secretariat of the Ministry of Justice, *Instruction to Japanese Soldiers at the Front* (English) (No. 107), microfilm Reel No. 2200, Records of International Military Tribunal for the Far East on Class A War Crimes, Records of War Crime Tribunals, Records of War Crimes, Ministry of Justice, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo, [http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS\\_STYLE=default&ID=M2008081909472462378](http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS_STYLE=default&ID=M2008081909472462378) (accessed June 5, 2009). For the most part, the Item 8: Honor was interpreted as choose death rather than disgracefully killed. However, considering the precondition of the issuance as admonition to IJA, it could be interpreted as never commit war crimes or become war criminals in order not to bring disgrace posthumously.

shooting his own heart when the GHQ officials arrived his house without a previous notice. It was quite unfortunate for Tojo who attempted to kill himself to be resuscitated by the military medics. Because of his unsuccessful suicide attempt, he had to disgrace not only himself but also his family. The type of humiliation Tojo received was similar to that of the failed Kamikaze pilots who had to return to the air base due to various causes, including bad weather, mechanical trouble, and failure to locate the enemy ships.

For Tojo, Hirohito was the Supreme Being and the father of the big family state called Japan according to the *Kokutai* theory. Although Tojo was frequently portrayed as infamous autocratic figure, Hirohito had given a considerable degree of trust on Tojo before the war began and even after the war ended. Concerned about Hirohito getting blame for the war, the postwar Japanese government had concealed the important materials, including Hirohito's opinion about the opening of war and his praise of Tojo. Analyzing Tojo's ability to control the influential IJA, Hirohito appointed Tojo to be the 40th prime minister of Japan, succeeding Prince Konoé Fumimaro 近衛 文麿 (1891–1945).<sup>106</sup> Appointed as prime minister and insisted to start from scratch, Tojo devoted all his energy to continuing negotiations with the United States for avoiding the outbreak of war. As a result, the pro-war Japanese accused Tojo of being coward and sent him messages such as “Tojo the coward,” “Coward should resign,” and “Defeat the American and British Devils.”<sup>107</sup> Hirohito was indeed the one who wanted to keep Tojo as prime minister even after Japan began to lose major battles. Evidently, Hirohito did not expressed anything critical about Tojo in his soliloquy released in 1946 among the top

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<sup>106</sup> Hiroshi Yoshida, *Showa Tenno no Shusenshi* [A history of Emperor Showa's war termination] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 139.

<sup>107</sup> Shinichi Sakamoto, *Rajio no senso sekinin* [Responsibility for the war on the radio] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyujo, 2008), 185.

GHQ staff that was to explain his conduct during wartime. Despite clearly declaring that he had no intention to defend Tojo, Hirohito, to some extent, aimed at removing misunderstandings on Tojo. In so doing, Hirohito passively praised Tojo being loyal and hardworking.<sup>108</sup>

The first scholar to give much attention to the humane side of Tojo Hideki was Sato Sanae. Until Sato published her detailed study on Tojo, he was always portrayed as a totalitarian, militarist, or warmonger, and was compared with Adolf Hitler because of his outfit, especially the long boots. In addition, the Japanese naturally came to consider Tojo was responsible for the Japan's involvement in World War II and its aftermath once the Allied occupation began. Nevertheless, as Tojo testified, he was not a dictator but a dutiful leader who always devoted himself to satisfy the emperor, namely Hirohito. Tojo took all the possible blame that would become disadvantage to the emperor or the Japanese wartime action. According to Hirano Motokuni, then a reporter of the *Chunichi Shimbun* who succeeded in



Figure 5.3 Tojo shows mercy to war orphans

Source: *Shashin Shuho*, no. 266, April 7, 1943, p. 3, JACAR, <http://www.jacar.go.jp/shuhou/DjVu/A2704801/YA104801/0223/index.djvu>.

<sup>108</sup> Hidenari Terasaki and Mariko T. Miller, *Showa Tenno dokuhakuroku: Terasaki Hidenari Goyogakari nikki* [Emperor Showa's Soliloquy and the diaries of Terasaki Hidenari] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1991).

associating with the Tojo family members during the postwar years, Tojo only agreed to accept an attorney who would plead based on the following three points: “First, this war was a war for self-defense; second, Hirohito was not responsible for the war; and third, this war was a war of national liberation of the East.”<sup>109</sup>

During the pleading of the Tokyo War Crimes Trial, Tojo faced an ultimate dilemma. As a Japanese subject with rigid samurai virtue, Tojo desired to prove his thorough loyalty to the emperor. Meanwhile, in order to prevent Hirohito’s prosecution as a war criminal, Chief Secretary to the Privy Seal Matsudaira Yasumasa 松平 康昌 (1893–1957) asked Tojo to testify that he disobeyed the emperor’s will and started the war in December 1941. Despite such a request severely disillusioned Tojo, he consented readily and promised to meet the demand by testifying at a court that he acted against the emperor and initiated the war against the United States and Great Britain if it helped to secure the status of Hirohito.<sup>110</sup> In the Sugamo Prison, Tojo wrote a poem on January 11, 1948, that read: “*Efumi shite / Ikurumo kuyashi / Oizakura / Chirutoki shireyo / Kaze sasoumama*” (To prove loyalty / Living is regrettable / Old cherry tree / Should know when to fall / As wind calls).<sup>111</sup> The poem reflected Tojo’s indomitable spirit in the face of adversity. Although Tojo remained loyal to the emperor all his life, he could not help feeling a sense of humiliation regarding what had been happening to him at that point.

After all, Tojo, just like other Japanese, was a subject of the emperor who had a sense of indebtedness to his country. On November 12, the day of verdict, Tojo asked his wife to give the following message to Miura Giichi 三浦 義一 (1898–1971), a poet and

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<sup>109</sup> Quoted in Motokuni Hirano, *Senso sekinin ware ni ari: Tojo Hideki fujin memo no shinjitsu* [I have a responsibility for the war: the truth of Mrs. Tojo Hideki’s notes] (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1995), 113.

<sup>110</sup> Hirano, *Senso sekinin ware ni ari* [I have a responsibility for the war], 144–149.

<sup>111</sup> Quoted in Hirano, *Senso sekinin ware ni ari* [I have a responsibility for the war], 178–180.



renowned advocate of *Kokutai*: “I am thankful that this trial is ending without too much trouble for the Emperor; that I have great confidence in the human race and so I am very optimistic about its future; and that he should please use his influence for the reconstruction of the nation.”<sup>112</sup> At last, sentenced to death by hanging, Tojo and six others, who had fought for the defense of their country, fell victim to the war on December 23, 1948—the fifteenth birthday of Akihito, then crown prince.

More than twenty years passed since Hirohito had passed away in January 1989, and various wartime accounts have begun to be published and revisionist interpretation on Hirohito and the Pacific War have been developed. It seemed no relation between the Kamikaze and Tojo in terms of their wartime roles; however, both fought for defending the ones they cared although the death was their inevitable fate. Both Kamikazes and Tojo had spiritual strength to overcome the fear of death because they determined to give priority to the benefit of their community/country/emperor over their own interest.

Sato revealed in her 1995 publication that after the fall of Saipan, Tojo Cabinet dissolved for taking responsibility, and Tojo received the imperial rescript from Hirohito that read, “Joining my war’s command, you fulfilled your duties well.”<sup>113</sup> It indicated as much as Tojo worshipped Hirohito and respected his opinion, Hirohito trusted Tojo from his heart at least before the war ended. Not only the emperor but also the lord keeper of the privy seal Kido Koichi 木戸 幸一 (1889–1977) acknowledged Tojo was the most loyal soldier of all to the emperor, and both believed that Tojo would be the only one who

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<sup>112</sup> Quoted in Courtney Browne, *Tojo: The Last Banzai* (New York: Paperback library, 1967), 235. Miura was known as the most influential right wing figure.

<sup>113</sup> Quoted in Sanae Sato, *Tojo Hideki fuin sareta shinjitsu* [Tojo Hideki’s unsealed truth] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1995), 133.

could carry out the imperial will.<sup>114</sup> Meanwhile, Kido recommended Tojo to succeed Konoe Fumimaro, a member of imperial family, as Prime Minister of Japan so that the imperial family would not get into any trouble once the war broke out. Although Tojo was widely recognized as the initiator of the war, it was not the Tojo Cabinet but the Konoe Cabinet that decided to prepare for war against the United States. Furthermore, Chamberlain Kinoshita Michio 木下 道雄 (1887–1974) recorded that Hirohito said, “There is nobody who would ever carry out my opinion immediately. . . . In short, contrary to Konoe who is a good listener but never carries out [my opinion], Tojo is a bad listener but he immediately discusses which makes people hate him.”<sup>115</sup> Most importantly, Article XI of Chapter I of the Meiji Constitution declared “The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.”<sup>116</sup> It clearly indicated that it was not Tojo but Hirohito who was responsible for both authorizing and ending the war.

As the earlier analysis illustrates, while the Kamikaze pilots determined to sacrifice their lives in the national emergency, Tojo actually decided to sacrifice his life for protecting the emperor from the humiliation of being tried as a war criminal in the Tokyo War Crimes Trial. A 1998 movie entitled *Puraido: unmei no toki* (Pride: The Fateful Moment) portrayed Tojo’s three years of struggle after the defeat of Japan until the end of the trial in detail. Tracing the causes of the war and the process of the Tokyo War Crimes Trial, the movie portrayed Tojo as the “last Kamikaze.” Obviously, Tojo did not deliberately crashed onto an enemy battleship with a bomb like the real Kamikaze pilots; however, he fought in the Tokyo Trial in order not to bring disgrace to the

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<sup>114</sup> Terasaki and Miller, *Showa Tenno dokuhakuroku* [Emperor Showa’s Soliloquy], 103–113.

<sup>115</sup> Michio Kinoshita, *Sokkin Nisshi* [The Diary of a Chamberlain] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1990), February 12, 1946.

<sup>116</sup> Hirobumi Ito, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan*, trans. Miyoji Ito (Tokyo: Insetu Kyoku [Government Printing Office], 1889), 24.

emperor and the Japanese people in exchange for his life.<sup>117</sup>

After all, held in haste, the trial by the victors lacked the thorough examination and preparation for making fair judgment. Moreover, there were some Japanese betrayers without virtue such as ex-Major General Tanaka Ryukichi 田中 隆吉 (1893–1972) who testified against their fellows for their advantage further made the trial abhorrent. Like the Kamikaze pilots who fought the internal and external oppressors, Tojo had to fight both oppressors not for saving his life but for the national dignity. Japanese values on the emperor system was expressed best by Tojo's last conversation with his family when he said: "It is a miracle that one blood line has ruled a country for two thousand years and more. This miracle remains. Our forefathers fought for power among themselves but not one tried to overthrow the Imperial Family. There were rivals, but they put the royal line above all else. In the blood of the Yamato race there is a great tide."<sup>118</sup> From this viewpoint, one may say that the continuance of the emperor system and Japan's postwar reconstruction were indebted to the real patriots like Tojo who selflessly sacrificed their lives for a better future of the country.

### ***Chapter Summary***

The Kamikaze pilots were young men and they struggled when they came to think death as reality. It is a wrong interpretation that they did not fear death from the beginning to the end. Although they tried not to express their fear of death openly, they indeed underwent mental conflict to overcome the fear. The emperor cult motivated the

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<sup>117</sup> Shun'ya Ito, Hiro Matsuda, Yudai Kato, Michiru Oshima, Masahiko Tsugawa, Scott Wilson, Ronny Cox, Gitan Otsuru, and Naho Toda. *Puraido: unmei no toki* [Pride: The Fateful Moment]. Tokyo: Toei Video Company, 1998. VHS video.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Browne, *Tojo: The Last Banzai*, 235.

Japanese to defend their “divine country” at any cost; yet it was not the main reason for Kamikazes to volunteer for the suicidal mission. The main reason for the birth of the Kamikaze special attack corps was their filial duty, which they had learned in the *Shushin* courses since they were small children. Yet, it was an undeniable fact that the emperor cult had a tremendous spiritual influence on the wartime Japanese morale, and it would continue in the postwar Japan even during the Allied occupation of Japan (1945–1952).

In order to obtain the maximum effort from the entire Japanese population, the military exploited the Japanese virtues of filial piety, patriotism and loyalty through the glorification of Kamikaze and honorable suicide. In terms of their will to protect the nation, which they were indebted, there was no spiritual difference between the Kamikaze pilots and Tojo. It was the characteristic of Japanese wartime mentality that one could accept the death as their fate and self-sacrifice as their long-cherished desire. Some journalists and scholars may compare the Kamikazes with the Islamic suicide bombers; however, their dedication to the mission was fundamentally different. While the Kamikazes crash-dived into only military targets, the Islamic suicide bombers aimed at killing as many civilians as possible. Contrary to the presumption of the Kamikazes were fanatical emperor worshippers, they were mostly liberal arts majors of prestigious universities. Producing many poems that reflected their state of mind after becoming members of Kamikaze Corps, they were more humane and saner than previously thought. Clearly illustrated in their last wills and diaries, their sense of duty grew out of love and care for their families and country.

## CHAPTER VI

### CULTURAL ORIGIN OF THE 442ND REGIMENTAL COMBAT TEAM

“Japanese are willing and ready to assimilate.” Count Okuma Shigenobu, Prime Minister of Japan, were certain that Japanese “would be a valuable asset to the United States because the Japanese are intensely loyal and have a keen sense of obligation” and “would fight bravely for their adopted country. All they demand is the opportunity to be adopted.”<sup>1</sup>

#### ***Background***

The Nisei, comprising about sixty-three percent of the Japanese American population, identified themselves as Americans rather than Japanese.<sup>2</sup> Born in America, they had U.S. citizenship, went to American public schools, had American friends, and spoke English just like other Americans. In the “Questionnaire on the Japanese problem” in 1920, George Shima, President of the Japanese Association of America, Stockton, California, described how the Japanese Americans had closer ties to the United States than to Japan: “We have cast our lot with California. We are drifting farther and farther away from the traditions and ideas of our native country. Our sons and daughters do not know them at all. They do not care to know them. They regard America as their home.”<sup>3</sup> The Nisei were indeed Americans, at the same time they were Japanese in terms of their

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<sup>1</sup> “Premier Okuma Says Japan Wants Justice,” *New York Times*, June 18, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Jere Takahashi, *Nisei/Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 35.

<sup>3</sup> Eliot Grinnel Mears, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), 471; Rosemary Wallner, *Japanese Immigrants, 1850–1950* (Mankato: Blue Earth Books, 2002), 18.

attitude and cultural background.

The Nisei by the 1920s and 1930s, unlike many second-generation European immigrants, encountered the reality that they had no better chances to succeed in the mainstream society than their Issei parents. Although they were U.S. citizens and adapted to the American lifestyle, they had to make more efforts to be accepted as “Americans” in the larger society because of their “Japanese” race defining them as lower-class citizens.<sup>4</sup> In 1929, a group of professionals consisting of Nisei established the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) to fight for the civil rights of Japanese Americans as well as to improve their social and economic status.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, the Nisei on the mainland had been already taking action to improve the situation of Japanese Americans as early as the 1920s. The Nisei had established several organizations whose purpose was to pledge their allegiance to the United States. At the start, the Nisei living in California organized the American Loyalty League (ALL) in San Francisco in May 1923 with the help of the *Nihonjin-kai* 日本人会 (Japanese Associations). Headed by Thomas T. Yatabe who was a Nisei dentist in Fresno, the ALL encouraged the improvement of relations with the white Americans while emphasizing the Nisei’s patriotism and loyalty to the United States.<sup>6</sup> Similar organizations emerged in Seattle led by the educated Nisei. Integrating these organizations that promoted assimilation and Americanization in response to the rise of anti-foreign sentiment in the United States, the JACL was established in 1929, and the first National JACL convention

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<sup>4</sup> Takahashi, *Nisei/Sansei*, 36.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Arden Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States* (New York: Morrow, 1980), 187.

<sup>6</sup> Brian Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to Present* (New York: Facts On File, 1993), 46. Supported by the Japanese government, the *Nihonjin-kai* was an organization that aimed at helping the Issei immigrants as well as protecting their interests.

was held in Seattle in 1930. In the National JACL convention of 1940, the prominent leader of the JACL Mike M. Masaoka (1915–1991) addressed the “Japanese-American Creed” that emphasized “patriotism, pride and trust in America.”<sup>7</sup>

The following is the “Japanese-American Creed” written by Masaoka:

I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this nation. I believe in her institutions, ideals, and traditions; I glory in her heritage; I boast of her history; I trust in her future. She has granted me liberties and opportunities such as no individual enjoys in this world today. She has given me an education befitting kings. She has entrusted me with the responsibilities of the franchise. She has permitted me to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak, and act as I please—as a free man equal to every other man.

Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people. True, I shall do all in my power to discourage such practices, but I shall do it in the American way: aboveboard; in the open; through courts of law; by education; by proving myself to be worthy of equal treatment and consideration. I am firm in my belief that American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of action and achievement, and not on the basis of physical characteristics.

Because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me, and because I have received innumerable benefits from her, I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and in all places; to support her constitution; to obey her laws; to respect her flag; to defend her against all enemies, foreign or domestic; to actively assume my duties and obligations as a citizen, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America.<sup>8</sup>

In the second paragraph, Masaoka expressed his belief that Americanism was beyond the racial issue, arguing their distinct racial background would not make the Nisei “disloyal” Americans. Meanwhile, the third paragraph of the creed showed the influence of Confucianism and *Bushido* on the formation of their wartime psychology that made them bold and fearless. Attending both American public schools and Japanese language schools, the Nisei possessed both American and Japanese values as the creed illustrated.

Despite the Nisei’s effort to show their Americanism, Japan’s attacked on Pearl

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<sup>7</sup> Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History*, 182–184.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Bill Hosokawa, *JACL in Quest of Justice* (New York: Morrow, 1982), 279–280.

Harbor on December 7, 1941, marked the beginning of more hardship for the Japanese Americans. Because their Japanese features were not different from their very enemy, the Nisei were classified as either 4-C (enemy aliens) or 4-F (unfit for military service), and the Nisei who had served the U.S. military were either segregated or discharged and deprived of their right to fight for their country. Accordingly, 317 Nisei who served in the Hawaiian Territorial Guard were discharged in January 1942.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, comprising 157,000 or 37.3 percent of the Hawaiian population of 421,000 by then,<sup>10</sup> ethnic Japanese in Hawaii were in different situation. In 1942, there were 122,188 Nisei in Hawaii while there were 62,865 Nisei in the mainland United States.<sup>11</sup> In Hawaii, the incarceration of persons of Japanese ancestry was virtually impossible without deteriorating the Hawaiian economy; therefore, only those who were considered dangerous, such as the leaders of the Japanese community, were arrested and only 981 individuals were sent to the mainland and interned.<sup>12</sup>

Two months after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, that authorized the removal of more than 110,000 ethnic Japanese from the West Coast within the military zone, incarcerating nearly 90 percent of all Japanese population in the mainland United

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<sup>9</sup> Go For Broke National Education Center, "Historical Information: Timeline," [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_timeline.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_timeline.asp) (accessed July 4, 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Roger Daniels, Sandra D. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 135. Of whom, about 35,000 were non-citizens and nearly 68,000 held dual citizenship.

<sup>11</sup> "Daitoa senso to zaibei dai Nisei: Nihon o minaosu kokikai: Kagayaku senka o nanto miru?" [Pacific War and the Nisei: A good chance to reconsider Japan: How to view the brilliant military achievement?], *Hochi Shimbun* [News] (Tokyo), February 24, 1942.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas K. Takeshita and Kaname Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki: Nikkei Amerikajin no shiminken tososhi* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes: A history of the citizenship and Civil Rights Movement of the Japanese Americans] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1983), 35–36.



States.<sup>13</sup> First, the U.S. Army detained the uprooted Japanese in one of seventeen “assembly centers” (temporary detention centers) run by the Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA),<sup>14</sup> where some Japanese families had to live in horse stables at racetracks. Backed by the wartime hysteria, the government and military proceeded the incarceration of Japanese Americans on the plea of “military necessity.”

Subsequently to the completion of the relocation centers across the country, the evacuees were dispatched to one of ten relocation centers in California, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Arkansas, run by the War Relocation Authority (WRA).<sup>15</sup> Additionally, those considered as dangerous enemy aliens including the Issei leaders such as the Japanese language school teachers, Buddhist monks, and persons who associated with the Japanese Consulate were detained at the facilities run by the Department of Justice and the U.S. Army.<sup>16</sup> Notably, most of the interned were natural-born U.S. citizens and many of non-U.S. citizens were permanent residents who had no right to become citizens due to the existing Naturalization Laws that had prevented the Japanese

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<sup>13</sup> Of 110,000, about 70,000 were U.S. citizens. The number of internees eventually rose to 120,313 that included 5,981 new births inside relocation centers, 1,735 people sent from internment and detention camps run by the Department of Justice, 1,275 from institutions, 1,118 from Hawaii, and 219 voluntary residents. According to United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 8. The U.S. Census records were utilized to help the War Department figure out who to remove from the military zone. Additionally, the Census Bureau provided names and addresses of individual Japanese Americans, according to Steven Holmes, “Report Says Census Bureau Helped Relocate Japanese,” *New York Times*, March 17, 2000. Raymond Okamura criticizes the Census Bureau for not protecting confidentiality of the Japanese American census takers in his article, “The Myth of Census Confidentiality,” *Amerasia Journal* 8, no. 2 (1981): 111–120.

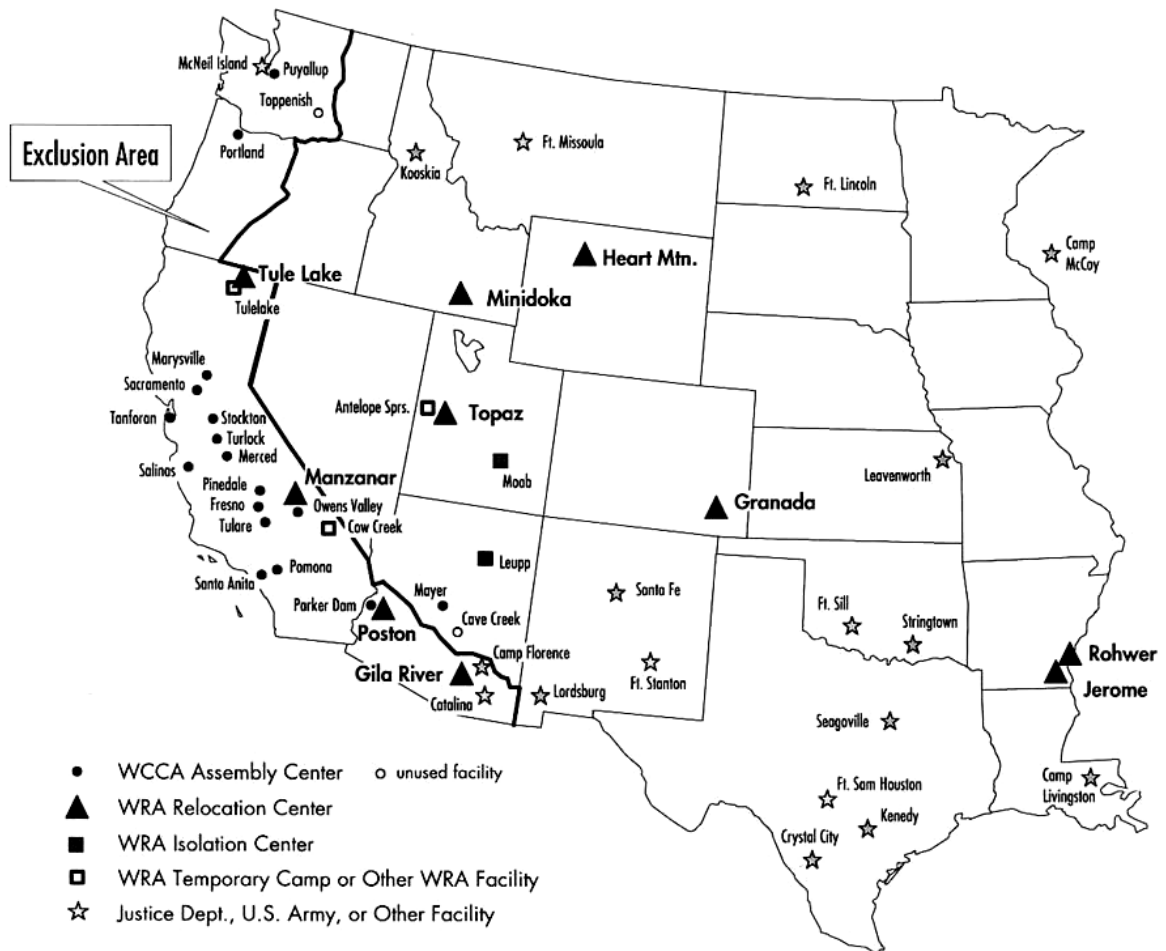
<sup>14</sup> The U.S. Military established the WCCA for facilitating the evacuation of the Japanese and Japanese Americans to the relocation centers.

<sup>15</sup> Issued by President Roosevelt on March 18, 1942, Executive Order 9102 authorized the establishment of the War Relocation Authority, a civilian authority whose task was to execute the relocation of the Japanese Americans to the War Relocation Centers.

<sup>16</sup> Jeff F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, in Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Services, U.S. Department of the Interior, [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/anthropology74/ce1.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce1.htm) (accessed July 4, 2009).

immigrants from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens based on their race. According to the brief estimates, due to the evacuation order, the Japanese Americans lost between three to ten billion dollars' worth of property.<sup>17</sup>

Figure 6.1 Sites in the Western U.S. Associated with the Relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II



Source: Jeff F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, in Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Services, U.S. Department of the Interior, [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/anthropology74/images/figure1.1.jpg](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/anthropology74/images/figure1.1.jpg) (accessed July 4, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Frank Abe, Lawson Fusao Inada, George Takei, and Mako, *Conscience and the Constitution* (Hohokus, NJ: Transit Media, 2000). DVD video.

Figure 6.2 War Relocation Centers during World War II

Relocation Center	Established (1942)	Closed (1945)	Days of Operation	Maximum Internees
Poston (AZ)*	May 8	November 28	1,301	17,814
Tule Lake (CA)**	May 27	March 21, 1946	1,394	18,789
Manzanar (CA)***	June 21	November 21	1,270	10,046
Gila River (AZ)	July 20	November 10	1,210	13,348
Minidoka (ID)	August 10	October 28	1,176	9,396
Heart Mountain (WY)	August 12	November 10	1,187	10,767
Granada (CO)	August 27	October 15	1,146	9,318
Topaz (UT)	September 11	October 30	1,147	8,130
Rohwer (AR)	September 18	November 30	1,170	8,475
Jerome (AR)	October 6	June 30	634	8,497

\* Poston was comprised of three units: Camp I, Camp II, and Camp III.

\*\* Tule Lake was converted to a segregation center in September 1943.

\*\*\* Manzanar was initially run by WCCA as an assembly center, but transferred to WRA in June 1942.

*Sources:* United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 17; Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Salvage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 88; Thomas K. Takeshita and Kaname Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki: Nikkei Amerikajin no shiminken tososhi* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes: A history of the citizenship and Civil Rights Movement of the Japanese Americans] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1983), 32.

Under the circumstances, the Nisei in Hawaii having the same appearance with their enemy in Asia had to take some action to demonstrate their patriotism. Declaring “Hawaii is our home; the United States our country. We know but one loyalty and that is to the Stars and Stripes. We wish to do our part as loyal Americans in every way possible, and we hereby offer ourselves for whatever service you may see fit to use us,” the Hawaiian Nisei formed the Varsity Victory Volunteers (VVV) on February 25 to

show their firm devotion to supporting the country's war effort.<sup>18</sup> By joining the VVV, the Nisei tried "to prove their loyalty" to their country.<sup>19</sup> Being ethnic Japanese, the Nisei virtually lost their right to bear arms. However, forming "a volunteer labor battalion,"<sup>20</sup> members of VVV mostly composed of students at the University of Hawaii offered their labor and service to start on "to fight a twofold fight for tolerance and justice."<sup>21</sup>

Upon the order by General George C. Marshall on May 26, 1942, the U.S. Army established the Hawaiian Provisional Infantry Battalion comprising the Nisei from Hawaii including those who had been discharged from the Hawaiian Territorial Guard. Later designated as the 100th Infantry Battalion, the first all-Japanese American segregated military unit was formed and 1,432 Hawaiian Nisei left for mainland on June 5, 1942, without saying goodbye to their families and friends.<sup>22</sup> Transferred to Camp McCoy in Wisconsin, they completed an intensive fourteen-month combat training. Then, the 100th Battalion went up to the front line in Italy after sent to North Africa in June 1943. Demonstrating their loyalty to the United States, they did not hesitate to fight bravely in the front line. As a result, the 100th Battalion recorded exceedingly high

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<sup>18</sup> "Historical Information: 442nd Regimental Combat Team," Go For Broke National Education Center, [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_veterans\\_442nd.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_veterans_442nd.asp) (accessed July 4, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> "Sports Went Out Window At Hawaiian University When War Came to Door," *The Pittsburgh Press*, June 7, 1942.

<sup>20</sup> "Japanese-Americans in Oahu Labor Corps: Hawaii University Students Volunteer for War Work," *New York Times*, February 26, 1942, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Letter on January 30, 1942, reprinted in Yutaka Nakahata and Ralph Toyota, "Varsity Victory Volunteers: A Social Movement," *Social Process in Hawaii* 8 (November 1943): 31.

<sup>22</sup> Go For Broke National Education Center, "Historical Information: Timeline," [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_timeline.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_timeline.asp); Military Intelligence Service Research Center, National Japanese American Historical Society, [http://www.njahs.org/misnorcal/resources/resources\\_glossary.htm](http://www.njahs.org/misnorcal/resources/resources_glossary.htm) (accessed July 4, 2009). The 100th Infantry Battalion joined the 442nd Regimental Combat Team on June 10, 1944 and became its 1st battalion; however, they could keep their original designation because of their morale and excellent military record.

casualty rate during combat in Italy and became known as the “Purple Heart Battalion” after the Battle of Monte Cassino against Germans in the early 1944.<sup>23</sup> Like the majority of the Kamikaze pilots, the majority of Nisei soldiers of the 100th Battalion were highly educated. Most of them graduated high school, of whom 12 percent attended college and 5 percent were college graduates. On the intelligence test for enlistment, they scored an extraordinary IQ score of 103 on average.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, the Nisei in mainland had to endure more severe restrictions. First, the War Department ordered not to enlist Japanese Americans into the armed forces on the West Coast on March 30, 1942. The language school of the Military Intelligence Service established in San Francisco had to be moved out of the Military Zones to Camp Savage in Minnesota.<sup>25</sup> Simultaneously, the Nisei on the mainland United States expressed their enthusiasm to fight for their country despite the presumption about the incarcerated Nisei becoming disloyal to the United States.

Led by Mike Masaoka, the JACL worked to overcome the prejudice by cooperating with governmental policy and supporting the authority. In November 1942 in Salt Lake City, two delegates from each relocation camp met with the WRA in order to discuss how to improve the camps’ conditions. Appointed as the national executive secretary of JACL, Mike Masaoka, then 27-year-old, called for the creation of a segregated volunteer unit to demonstrate their loyalty to America. Suggesting the

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<sup>23</sup> 442nd Veterans Club, *Go for Broke, 1943–1993* (Honolulu: s.n., 1993), 19; Hawaii Nikkei History Editorial Board, comp., *Japanese Eyes, American Heart: Personal Reflections of Hawaii’s World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 4. The “Purple Heart” is a decoration awarded to the injured during the battle. Before given the name “Purple Heart Battalion,” the 100th Battalion was called “guinea pig” battalion.

<sup>24</sup> Masayo Duus, *Buriea no kaihoshatachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1983), 40.

<sup>25</sup> Go For Broke National Education Center, “Historical Information: Timeline,” [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_timeline\\_1942.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_timeline_1942.asp) (accessed July 4, 2009). By June 1942, 147 Nisei graduated MISLS.

creation of a “suicide battalion” by the Nisei volunteers, Masaoka hoped that if the Nisei showed their total allegiance to the United States, their Issei parents and families in the internment camps would receive better treatment. Representing the view of JACL and the majority of the Japanese Americans in the camps, that the submission to authority would be a proof of their loyalty, Masaoka declared:

If, in the judgment of military and Federal authorities, evacuation of Japanese residents from the West Coast is a primary step toward assuring the safety of this Nation, we will have no hesitation in complying with the necessities implicit in that judgment. But, if, on the other hand, such evacuation is primarily a measure whose surface urgency cloaks the desires of political or other pressure groups who want us to leave merely from motives of self-interest, we feel that we have every right to protest and to demand equitable judgment on our merits as American citizens.<sup>26</sup>

The JACL succeeded in lobbying the government to permit the Nisei to serve in the U.S. armed forces. On January 28, 1943, the War Department announced the creation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team—another segregated unit composed of the Nisei volunteers from the mainland and Hawaii. Finally, the Nisei attained the “‘democratic right’ to die for the United States even if they were deprived of the equally basic right to live normally within its constitutional laws.”<sup>27</sup>

As a part of the initial recruiting, on February 8, 1943, the WRA administered the Loyalty Questionnaire<sup>28</sup> to all internees over seventeen years of age and older. Composed of thirty questions, Questions 27 and 28 came to confuse many internees. Question 27 asked, “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?” Question 28 asked, “Will you swear unqualified

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<sup>26</sup> *Hearings Before the Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*, Part 29, February 21 and 23, 1942 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1942): 11137–11148.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel I. Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, with a foreword by James A. Michener (New York: Walker/Weatherhill, 1971), 32.

<sup>28</sup> There were two forms: (1) DSS Form 304A (1-23-43) called “Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry” was for the draft-age male citizens, and (2) WRA Form 126A for the female citizens and aliens—the Issei.

allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attacks by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?”<sup>29</sup> Especially, Question 28—often regarded as the loyalty oath—divided the Nisei into two groups. The U.S. Army categorized those who answered “yes” to Question 28 as “loyal” and “no” as “disloyal.”<sup>30</sup> Those who answered “no” to both questions became known as “No-No Boy.” Question 28 troubled many Issei who had no right to be naturalized U.S. citizens because they would become stateless if they answered “yes” to the question that indicated their renunciation of Japanese citizenship. Reared with Confucian principles, the Nisei struggled whether they should be loyal to their parents or to their country.

Then, civilians, politicians, and organizations in the West Coast states reacted negatively and protested against the Nisei serving in the armed forces of the United States.<sup>31</sup> Kept under files of John McCoy, Assistant Secretary of War, in the National Archives and Record Administration, some letters from protesters violently expressed their anti-Japanese feeling and groundless accusations due to wartime hysteria. For example, W. E. JaRue of San Francisco wrote:

Your idea for forming regiments of supposedly patriotic American Japs, is the most abominable [*sic*] thing that has been forced on the American people by the New Deal bureaucrats. Dont [*sic*] you know there isnt [*sic*] any loyal Japs, except to the Japs. Remember Pearl Harbor, Bataan, Corregidor, The Philipines [*sic*], our dead service men, our Prisoners in the hands of the Japs. Why not put these Babies at slave labor and feed them on rotten fish and a little rice, like they do our boys? We are disgusted that

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<sup>29</sup> “Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry,” Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943, in the Ikeda Family Collection, Densho ID: denshopd-p72-00004, Densho Digital Archive, [http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao\\_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-p72-00004](http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-p72-00004) (accessed March 2, 2010).

<sup>30</sup> Department of the Interior, *The Evacuated People: A Qualitative Description*, 162; Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement During World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 85.

<sup>31</sup> 442nd Regimental Combat Team Historical Society, “Protests against the Formation of 442nd,” <http://www.the442.org/protestsagainst442nd.html> (accessed March 3, 2010).

you even foster such a thought. We want every Jap in this country eliminated after the War. We are too soft hearted. Put these Jap traitors on a chain gang at hard labor. Do not take a chance on them fighting with our Soldiers. If you carry this Army plan out, we are really going to be sore.<sup>32</sup>

The most Californians were convinced that the Issei would never become assimilated with mainstream and the same things would apply to the Nisei. Like JaRue, Rose Kalich of Watsonville expressed her skepticism about the Nisei's loyalty to the United States in her letter to the Office of Assistant Secretary of War Department dated on April 13, 1943. Believing every Issei was "fanatically devoted to the country of his origin and to his emperor," Kalich regarded the Nisei being loyal to Japan rather than to the United States.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, some Americans propagandized that the Japanese were buying up American land and that the life of the interned Japanese was not bad at all. For instance, Mrs. Paul Hatcher of Kansas argued:

The Japanese in relocation camps are being given privileges that American Citizens are not allowed. They are also buying up land and will be permanently located all over the United States when the war is over. Don't allow these Japanese to become citizens [and] buy land. Don't allow them to go to our colleges while our boys are being sent all over the world to fight the Japs. . . . It is bad for the morale of the citizens on the home front. It seems like the government is trying so hard to be fair to the Japanese that it is being unfair to our country. I believe the Japanese should all be sent back to Japan as soon as the war is over for the safety of the future Americans and a lasting peace. . . .<sup>34</sup>

Finally, with President Roosevelt's approval, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team was officially activated on February 1, 1943 under the command of Colonel Charles W. Pence.<sup>35</sup> In his letter to the Secretary of War, Roosevelt declared:

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<sup>32</sup> 442nd Regimental Combat Team Historical Society, "Protests against the Formation of 442nd," <http://www.the442.org/protestsagainst442nd.html> (accessed March 3, 2010).

<sup>33</sup> Letter to William P. Scobey, General Staff Executive officer for Assistant Secretary McCloy from Mrs. Rose Kaldich of Watsonville, California, March 10, 1943, quoted in 442nd Regimental Combat Team Historical Society, <http://www.the442.org/protestsagainst442nd.html> (accessed March 3, 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Letter to Secretary of War Stimson from Mrs. Paul Hatcher of Plains, Kansas, April 2, 1944, quoted in 442nd Regimental Combat Team Historical Society, <http://www.the442.org/protestsagainst442nd.html> (accessed March 3, 2010).

<sup>35</sup> Thelma Chang, *"I Can Never Forget": Men of the 100th/442nd* (Honolulu: Sigi



No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of his ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry. A good American is one who is loyal to this country and to our creed of liberty and democracy. Every loyal American citizen should be given the opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution—whether it be in the ranks of our armed forces, war production, agriculture, government service, or other work essential to the war effort.<sup>36</sup>

The Nisei tried to win acceptance in American society by demonstrating a higher degree of loyalty than ordinary Americans. As Rudy Tokiwa described, many Nisei did not want to be considered that they were “more loyal to Japan than to the United States.”<sup>37</sup>

One of the prominent scholars in the history of Japanese Americans, Roger Daniels, declared that the Japanese Americans were 200 percent patriotic Americans.<sup>38</sup> In all, 33,330 Nisei served in the U.S. military during World War II while their families were kept behind barbed wire.<sup>39</sup>

The United Press dispatch reported on April 23, 1943 that:

According to WRA tabulations, 95 per cent of the total Japanese-American population is loyal to this country. A number are working in war industries, including two in factories making bomb sights and others in airplane plants. Thousands of American-Japanese are serving in the armed forces; more thousands are now being recruited. The commander of a battalion of these soldiers reports:

“I’ve never had more whole-hearted, serious-minded co-operation from any troops.”

The War Department says this is typical, and a War Department adds: Americans of Japanese blood . . . are wanted because the government and the army are convinced of their loyalty.<sup>40</sup>

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Productions, 1991), 102.

<sup>36</sup> Letter to the Secretary of War from President Roosevelt, Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, UW Libraries microfilm A7378, Reel 3, Box 3, Frame 782, Item 3814, cited in Densho, Densho ID: denshopd-i67-00094, Densho Digital Archive, [http://densho.org/assets/sharedpages/primarysource/primarysource.asp?id=402&display\\_format=3&section=archive&text=1](http://densho.org/assets/sharedpages/primarysource/primarysource.asp?id=402&display_format=3&section=archive&text=1) (accessed January 5, 2010).

<sup>37</sup> Rudy Tokiwa Interview II, Segment 22, interviewd by Tom Ikeda and Judy Niizawa, July 2 and 3, 1998, Densho ID: denshovh-trudy-02-0022, Densho Digital Archive, [http://www.densho.org/assets/sharedpages/primarysource/primarysource.asp?id=92&display\\_format=4&section=learning&text=1&mediaType=video](http://www.densho.org/assets/sharedpages/primarysource/primarysource.asp?id=92&display_format=4&section=learning&text=1&mediaType=video) (accessed October 10, 2010).

<sup>38</sup> Roger Daniels, quoted in Frank Abe, et al., *Conscience and the Constitution*.

<sup>39</sup> *Pacific Citizen* (Salt Lake City), April 10, 1944.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in Frank Hijikata, “The Heart and Mind,” in *The Nisei Mind, Part VI*, 94, Tule Lake

The 442nd Regimental Combat Team initially consisted of the 442nd Infantry Regiment, the 522nd Field Artillery Battalion, and the 232nd Engineer Combat Company. Following the arrival of 2,686 Hawaiian Nisei at Camp Shelby on April 13, the Nisei volunteers started training at Camp Shelby in Mississippi on May 10, 1943.<sup>41</sup> At first, there were conflicts between the Nisei from Hawaii and the Nisei from the mainland due to their difference in life experiences and environment. Nevertheless, they began to develop a sense of comradeship through the military training program. Growing up in different parts of the country, they had different values; however, they came to understand each other better especially after the Hawaiian Nisei's visits to the internment camps where the mainlanders' families were held.

*Bushido* and Confucianism deeply influenced the development of Nisei's cultural practices and ideals in many occasions. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and the evacuation of the persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast became inevitable through the authorization of the Executive Order 9066, the JACL was first to cooperate with the authority despite the deprivation of their liberty and privilege of citizenship. The leaders of JACL consisting of the Nisei who were taught to respect the authority found no reason to oppose the evacuation order.<sup>42</sup> Instead of protesting against the order, the JACL perceived it was a duty of the citizens to be obedient and loyal to the authority. In reaction to the total cooperation of the Japanese Americans, the *Florence Times* reported

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Incarceration Camp, California, 1943, Library of Congress, microfilm Reel No. 12, Shelf No. Np 2452, cited in Densho Digital Archive, [http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao\\_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-i65-00428](http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-i65-00428) (accessed January 2, 2009).

<sup>41</sup> Israel A. S. Yost, Monica Elizabeth Yost, and Michael Markrich. *Combat Chaplain: The Personal Story of the World War II Chaplain of the Japanese American 100th Battalion* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 158.

<sup>42</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 33.

that “the Jap citizens have been good. Too good. They have recognized they’re on the spot and they have moved out of their former homes without making any fuss or starting any lawsuits.”<sup>43</sup> Simultaneously, Americans became more suspicious about the Japanese being obedient and argued that it was “impossible to tell a good Jap from a bad Jap.”<sup>44</sup>

In reaction to the JACL’s cooperation with the WRA, radicals including the anti-American Issei and Kibei who were disillusioned with the Executive Order 9066 accused the JACL leaders of being the “U.S. government’s *inu*.”<sup>45</sup> In Japanese, the word “*inu*” had two meanings—“dog” or “spy,” depending on the context. Setting up the Coordinating Committee for Defense for providing the information to the U.S. Naval Intelligence even before the war with Japan started, the leaders of the Southern District of the JACL became accused of being *inu* as early as the mid-1941.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, the “*inu* accusations” further intensified when the JACL leaders met in Salt Lake City and determined to petition the government for the Nisei’s right to serve in the armed forces in November 1942.<sup>47</sup> Considered the mastermind of the Nisei’s draft, then the president of the JACL Kido Saburo (1902–1977) was attacked in a dark and received a serious injury upon his return to the relocation center in Poston, Arizona.<sup>48</sup> The Nisei considered it was natural for the citizens of the United States to serve their country in time of emergency, regardless of their rights being neglected unjustly for a time.<sup>49</sup> Representing the majority

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<sup>43</sup> Peter Edson, “Behind the Scenes in Washington,” *The Florence Times* (Alabama), April 17, 1942.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 79.

<sup>46</sup> Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage* (1946; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 52.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 79.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

of the Nisei, the JACL under the strong influence of Mike Masaoka determined to encourage voluntary enlistment for the service in hope of their loyalty would contribute to liberating the Japanese Americans from the internment camps as well as restoring their rights and freedom.<sup>50</sup>

Regarded as dangerous “enemy aliens,” the Issei had no choice but to follow whatever the direction of the U.S. government. In fact, despite treated like luggage with number tags attached, some Issei including Kiyasu Kunisada appreciated the forced evacuation and internment that, according to Kiyasu, had protected the vulnerable Issei from possible danger during the uncertainty of wartime. After Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, anti-Japanese feeling on the West Coast further intensified and basic living of the Japanese Americans was threatened by wartime hysteria.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, the Nisei were natural-born American citizens and the Constitution was supposed to protect their civil rights regardless of their race. The elderly Issei with no children tended to show their strong support for Japan’s war effort, but the young Nisei almost all alleged loyalty to the United States.<sup>52</sup> According to Fujii Yoshito, some internees locked in a deserted barrack got crazy and attempted to mire the United States economically by consuming as much food as possible.<sup>53</sup> Between December 1944 and the early 1945, 5,589 Nisei renounced their U.S. citizenship, and many non-citizens (especially the elderly) were

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<sup>50</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 34.

<sup>51</sup> Amerika ni watatte kaigyoi: Kiyasu Kunisada (Ehime-ken shusshin, 1904 nen tobei)” [Becoming a practitioner after coming to America: Kunisada Kiyasu (coming from Ehime in 1904)], in *Issei to shite Amerika ni Ikite* [Living in America as first-generation Japanese Americans], ed. Takao Kitamura (Tokyo: Soshisha, 1992), 125.

<sup>52</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 46.

<sup>53</sup> “Dekasegi ka Amerika Eiju wo Wakerumono: Fujii Yoshito (Hiroshima-ken shusshin, 1915 nen tobei)” [Issues that separated Dekasegi and Permanent Settlement: Fujii Yoshito (coming from Hiroshima in 1915)], in *Issei to shite Amerika ni Ikite* [Living in America as first-generation Japanese Americans], 208.

against the closure of the camps.<sup>54</sup> In Tule Lake segregation center (converted in September 1943), the Issei and Kibei attempted to psychologically shake the Nisei by emphasizing the fact that the loyal Nisei, despite their allegiance to the U.S., had been treated as prisoners just like the Issei and Kibei internees.<sup>55</sup>

Although called “War Relocation Centers,” the ten camps set by the WRA were undoubtedly concentration camps as Daniels argued. The purpose and nature of the camps were distinct from the Nazi’s “concentration camp”; however, both Japanese and German camps incarcerated persons solely based on their ancestry.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, located on desolate lands, surrounded by barbed wires, and guarded by sentries, the internment camps were nothing but “concentration camps” as Takeshita argued in *Yamato-Damashii to Seijoki* (Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes).<sup>57</sup> Harry H. L. Kitano, a former internee, asserted that relocation camps were concentration camps in most senses.<sup>58</sup> Some Nisei such as Frank Hijikata argued that evacuation made many loyal Nisei into “apathetic, bitter, questionable Americans.” It was not the “Nipponism” but the evil of evacuation that made some Nisei disloyal.<sup>59</sup>

Despite being forcibly removed from their house and having lost most of their belongings, most Japanese Americans remained obedient to the authority. Taught in the Japanese language schools as an essential curriculum, *Shushin* (moral education) played

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<sup>54</sup> Donald E. Collins, *Native American Aliens: Disloyalty and the Renunciation of Citizenship by Japanese Americans During World War II* (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1985); Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 47.

<sup>55</sup> Drew Pearson, “The Washington Merry-Go-Round,” *Nevada State Journal* (Reno), January 13, 1943.

<sup>56</sup> Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1971).

<sup>57</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 31.

<sup>58</sup> Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Eaglewood: Prentice Hall Inc., 1969), 34.

<sup>59</sup> Hijikata, “The Heart and Mind,” 95.

an important role in raising the Nisei to be filial and to respect elders, teachers, and authority. Isao Horinouchi recalled that the *Shushin* was virtually a class on Confucianism, and that “Apart from the formal course, moral principles were woven into the general curriculum and into school life in any way the ingenuity of the education could devise. Although it was formally taught in school, one was constantly reminded both at home and in the community of his duty to respect his parents, teachers, and all elders.”<sup>60</sup> As Horinouchi emphasized, the Japanese moral values were deeply infiltrated into the mind of Nisei. For example, townspeople living near the Camp McCoy recalled that the Nisei soldiers were kind to elders.<sup>61</sup>

Learning to be obedient to the authority and to give priority to their country’s goals during the *Shushin* class at the Japanese language schools, the Nisei were accustomed to accept the order from above and they could endure the loss of their property, businesses, and liberty. Nevertheless, one unbearable thing for the patriotic Nisei was to be questioned their loyalty to the United States—their very country—because of their race. In the concept of *Bushido* and Confucianism that shaped the Nisei identity, two indispensable virtues were loyalty and honor. Therefore, they were enthusiastic about proving their loyalty and fighting for honor. Anthropologist John W. Connor described the Nisei identity as a fusion of traditional Japanese customs/values and American ideas/attitudes.<sup>62</sup>

Derived from Confucianism that placed emphasis on the family, filial piety—a sense of duty not to let their parents down—made the Nisei mentally strong at critical

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<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: W. Morrow, 1969), 159–160.

<sup>61</sup> Duus, *Buriea no kaihoshtachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres], 41.

<sup>62</sup> John W. Connor, “Acculturation and Family Continuities in Three Generations of Japanese Americans,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 36, no. 1 (February 1974): 159–165.

moments. Born to Japanese parents who had immigrated to Hawaii from Hiroshima, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Motoso Sakakida (1920–1996) was a Hawaiian Nisei undercover agent who served in the U.S. military that dispatched him to the Philippines to spy on the Japanese nationals and their activities long before Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor. Recruited into the Counter Intelligence Corps in Hawaii as a sergeant, Sakakida played an important role in gathering information of the Japanese community in Manila by pretending to be Japan’s side. After taken prisoner, Sakakida endured torture by the Japanese and succeeded in freeing 500 Filipino allies from a prison camp.<sup>63</sup> During the nine months of torture, Sakakida kept his mouth shut because he had a firm sense of mission.<sup>64</sup>

Raised by their Issei parents and educated by Japanese language teachers whose moral code remained the Meiji Japanese, the Nisei would not stand still in the relocation centers as their own country’s prisoners of war. As examined earlier, the Nisei were raised to be loyal Americans by applying Japanese cultural values. Although remaining Japanese nationals, the most Issei parents devoted themselves raising the Nisei children to become better Americans. Therefore, it was a great humiliation for the Nisei to be treated as enemy aliens. As Arthur Ramey pointed out, life inside relocation center had been “especially hard on the nisei from a cultural point.” The life inside the relocation center brought the generation conflict into sharp relief, and the Nisei faced traditional Japanese society and the real nature of the Japanese people.<sup>65</sup> The Nisei could not wait

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<sup>63</sup> “American Spies Deserve Medals,” *The Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), August 19, 1995, A12; *Toledo Blade* (Ohio), January 26, 1996.

<sup>64</sup> “Japanese-American Fought as POW Spy,” *The Times-News* (Hendersonville), December 8, 1991, 13A.

<sup>65</sup> Arthur Ramey, “Cultural Conflict,” in *The Nisei Mind, Part VI*, p. 88, Tule Lake Incarceration Camp, California, 1943, Library of Congress, microfilm Reel No. 12, Shelf No. Np

the end of war without taking any action. They would rather prefer to serve their country to remove the disgrace that had attached to their names due to being persons of Japanese ancestry. Sakakida's mother told his son, "In the event that my motherland [Japan] goes to war in America, just remember that America is your country. Your father and your uncles served in the Japanese Army with honor and I do not want you to return from service in the U.S. Army in disgrace."<sup>66</sup> Although their Nisei children were incarcerated just like other Issei immigrants, most Issei parents (especially fathers) with *Meiji no Seishin* (Meiji spirit) were ready to send their sons to the battlefield.

The former Japanese Prime Minister Okuma Shigenobu had made an important comment on the characteristics of the Japanese as early as 1916. In response to the fact that the long-lasting American discrimination against the persons of Japanese ancestry existed, Okuma indicated that the Japanese Americans would be the most loyal American citizens when the country needed them, and he strongly urged the American public to treat Japanese Americans without discrimination.<sup>67</sup>

A quarter century after his comment on the Japanese Americans, Okuma proved himself being right about the loyalty of the Japanese American as well as the way of Japanese. For instance, when the U.S. Army expected 1,500 volunteers from Hawaii's Japanese Americans, more than 10,000 Hawaiian Nisei volunteered in the first three days. Within a week, the number of volunteers reached more than 15,000 and the army

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2452, cited in Densho Digital Archive, [http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao\\_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-i65-00428](http://archive.densho.org/ArchiveAssets/dao_text.aspx?&v=d&i=denshopd-i65-00428) (accessed January 2, 2009).

<sup>66</sup> Military Intelligence Service Research Center, National Japanese American Historical Society, "Timeline: Japanese American History," <http://www.njahs.org/misnorcal/timeline/timeline.htm> (accessed July 7, 2009).

<sup>67</sup> "Premier Okuma Says Japan Wants Justice," *New York Times*, June 18, 1916.



accepted 2,500 volunteers from Hawaii after all.<sup>68</sup> The supervisor of WRA in Denver, Harold S. Choatean informed that the new policy allowed the loyal Japanese Americans in the relocation centers “to serve the cause of American democracy either on the production front or in the army.”<sup>69</sup> At last, the Nisei behind barbed wire got chance to prove their loyalty by the voluntary enlistment. Retired army officers recalled the members of the 442nd RCT as “the most willing soldiers they had ever seen.”<sup>70</sup>

The Nisei soldiers fought for accomplishing two missions; to defend America and to “prove to the nation that Japanese Americans cherished their American birthrights and would ‘go for broke’ to preserve the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution for all its citizens.”<sup>71</sup> Ironically, many Issei parents received their children’s remains in the internment camps. These Nisei bravely fought for the very country that denied their rights as American citizens.

### ***Filial Piety***

A great number of draft-aged Nisei volunteered for the armed forces because they were raised to be self-sacrificing for their country. They unconsciously adopted the Japanese ideal of patriotism derived from the twelfth virtue of *Kyoiku Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education), which reads, “Should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State,” urging selfless sacrifice in wartime.<sup>72</sup> The Meiji-minded Issei

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<sup>68</sup> Dennis M. Ogawa, *Kodomo no tame ni – For the Sake of the Children: The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978), 405.

<sup>69</sup> John R. Ward, “Opportunity to Prove Loyalty Given Nisei,” *Reading Eagle* (Pennsylvania), April 18, 1943.

<sup>70</sup> “The ‘Go-For-Broke’ Boys,” *Toledo Blade* (Ohio), July 6, 1946.

<sup>71</sup> Dorothy Matsuo, *Boyhood to War: History and Anecdotes of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1992), 1–2.

<sup>72</sup> United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1907*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office,

parents argued that discrimination and racism that they had encountered should not hinder the Nisei from serving their country and pursuing their duty and obligation as U.S. citizens. Accordingly, Chester Sakura from Eatonville, Washington, and his three other brothers decided to volunteer for services because his father told them to “live and fight to uphold the United States” in case of a war should break out between Japan and the United States. Influenced by her brothers, Chester’s sister Grace Sakura made her mind to enlist in the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps. Despite the fact that their very country denied of their rights and liberty, many Nisei determined to serve the United States. Chester said, “We have not lost faith in America and we are ready to discharge our responsibility to the United States, to our children and to all future Japanese-Americans.”<sup>73</sup> In response to the Sakura brothers’ patriotism, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson (1867–1950) wrote to their mother Sakura Misa that “their action in volunteering for service in the combat team consisting of loyal Americans of Japanese descent is a splendid example of true Americanism.”<sup>74</sup> The Sakura family demonstrated that the Nisei did place an emphasis on the Japanese traditional values such as diligence, patience, and loyalty. U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye’s father being a traditional Issei had the same attitude toward the national emergency. Before leaving for mainland, Inoue’s father talked about *on* 恩 (obligation) —one of the most important values in Japanese culture— with his beloved son:

The Inouyes have great *on* for America. . . . It has been good to us. . . . I would never have chosen it to be this way—it is you who must try to return the goodness of this

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1908), 468; “Kyoiku Chokugo no Juni no Tokumoku” [Twelve Virtues of the Imperial Rescript on Education], Meiji Jingu (Meiji Shrine), <http://www.meijijingu.or.jp/about/3-4.html> (accessed July 7, 2009).

<sup>73</sup> Quoted in John R. Ward, “Opportunity to Prove Loyalty Given Nisei,” *Reading Eagle* (Pennsylvania), April 18, 1943.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

country. You are my first son and you are very precious to your mother and to me, but you must do what must be done. If it is necessary, you must be ready to [die]—Do not bring dishonor on our name.<sup>75</sup>

For the Issei, the country was as important as their own families based on the *Kokutai* (national essence) theory, which described families comprising the country—*Kokka*—the biggest unit of family. Fathers of Sakura and Inouye taught their Nisei children to be loyal to the United States, which they were indebted, emphasizing it as Nisei’s natural duty and obligation as American citizens to serve the United States. Just like their Issei parents, most Nisei considered “one can never let himself down without letting the family down at the same time,” according to a survey of Japanese Americans in San Francisco and Los Angeles conducted by Harry Kitano in 1963.<sup>76</sup>

As a 442nd veteran Tom Kawaguchi pointed out, the Japanese culture of *haji* 恥 (shame) played a critical role in shaping the morale of the 442nd regiment mostly composed of men with high education and “a strong sense of pride.”<sup>77</sup> Kawaguchi affirmed that:

All of us were scared, no question about it. None of us felt like heroes, but we didn’t want to bring shame upon our families. . . . I think the Japanese culture really came into play, all the things that we were taught as kids—honesty, integrity, honor. And *haji*, “not bringing shame on the family.” Your upbringing and culture are there and they are not something you talk about. But it was very noticeable among all the boys. . . .<sup>78</sup>

Besides patriotism, loyalty, and obligation, the Nisei’s desire to bring honor to their families played a crucial role in encouraging their enlistment. Although it might cost their lives, many Nisei determined to fight with honor and dignity in order not to

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<sup>75</sup> Quoted in Daniel Ken Inouye and Lawrence Elliot, *Journey to Washington* (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 85.

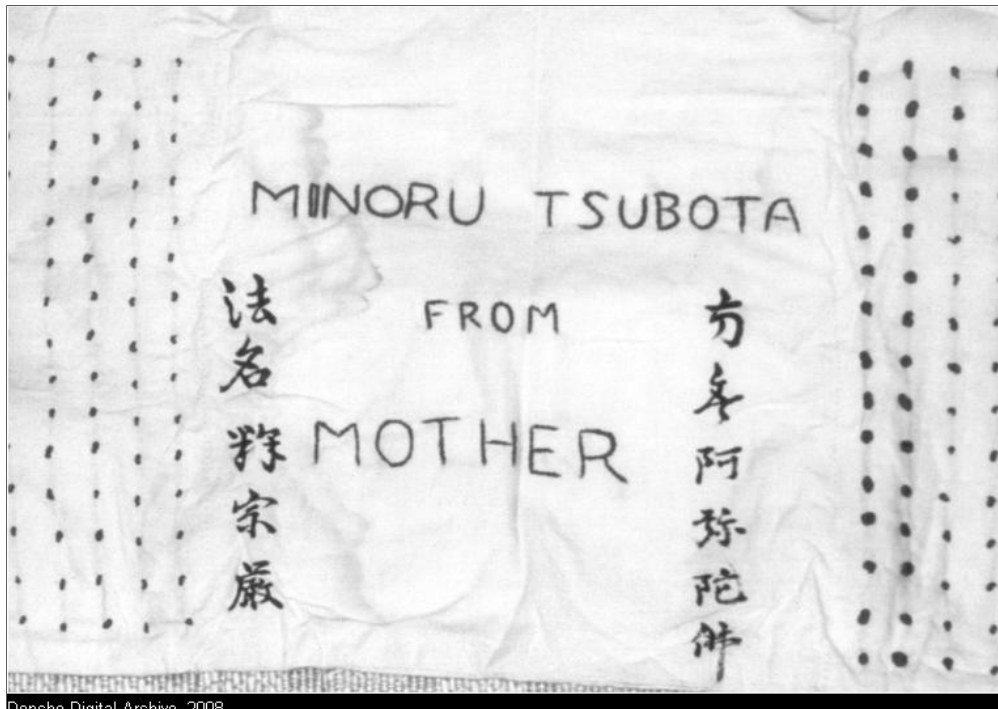
<sup>76</sup> Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*, 157 (appendix: table 4).

<sup>77</sup> “Tom Kawaguchi, Topaz, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, France, Italy,” quoted in John Tateishi, *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (New York: Random House, 1984), 182.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

bring shame to their families. Issei mothers did not feel easy about sending their young sons to battlefield, especially, if they were under-aged boys. Wishing her son's safe return, a mother of a Nisei soldier in Tule Lake camp made a *Senninbari* 千人針 (literally “a thousand-person-stitch” indicating a thousand-stitch waist band). *Senninbari* was a Japanese charm created to protect a soldier in the battle. Each stitch was sewn by one thousand different women, and each knot represented those who stitched it. Each stitch symbolized a woman accompanying the soldier going into battle. Tsubota's *Senninbari* had his Buddhist name (left) and “Namu Amida Butsu” (right)—meaning ‘Hail to the Buddha,’ the invocation of the Buddha Amitabha—written in calligraphy.<sup>79</sup>

Figure 6.3 *Senninbari* created for Minoru Tsubota, 1943



Source: *Senninbari*, “thousand-stitch belt,” Tsubota Family Collection, Densho ID: denshopd-p105-00008, 442nd Regimental Combat Team/100th Infantry Battalion, Densho Digital Archive.

<sup>79</sup> *Senninbari*, “thousand-stitch belt,” Tsubota Family Collection, Densho ID: denshopd-p105-00008, 442nd Regimental Combat Team/100th Infantry Battalion, Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/Resource/popupenlarged.aspx?i=denshopd-p105-00008> (accessed April 12, 2010).

Many Nisei soldiers did not understand the significance of *Senninbari* when they received it; however, they eventually came to wear it around their waists. “Doc” Miyamoto, a medic of the 442nd RCT also wore a *Senninbari* made by his mother.<sup>80</sup> Otherwise, they usually carried an amulet of the Hongwanji Temple sent by their families.<sup>81</sup> In Japan, many Kamikaze pilots wore white *Senninbari* besides the Rising Sun headband and white scarf. Nisei Kamikaze Imamura Shigeo had received *Senninbari* from his mother which was prepared by a girl named Michiko.<sup>82</sup> *Senninbari* symbolized the women who stitched accompanying the Kamikaze pilots when they carry out suicide attacks. A Kamikaze pilot wrote his last poem that read: “On my last attack / I am not alone, / For my *senninbari* / Is tied to my waist.”<sup>83</sup>

Simultaneously, religious faith, namely Buddhism, had psychological impact on Nisei’s wartime behavior. A member of the Counter Intelligence Corps Richard Sakakida who endured the harsh torture by the Japanese Imperial Army described how the Japanese culture and religious faith had influenced the Nisei’s wartime mentality:

The Japanese have always been known for their stoic acceptance of fate, even in the face of death. They refer to it as a capacity for *gaman*, or endurance, something that my parents and Buddhist teachers taught me as I was growing up in Hawaii. As early as I can remember, we were taught that it was shameful to cry when faced with physical pain, and I was determined to show him that on that score, I was just as Japanese as he was. I stared him right in his eyes. I also vowed that if I ever survived the war, I would someday hunt him down. At that moment, I felt that I could kill him. . . .

To this day, I don’t know how I endure the ordeal. Perhaps it was my Buddhist upbringing that made me turn inward, looking for inner strength to counter the pain that had already reached an almost unbearable level. Fortunately, my rebelliousness and Buddhist faith held me in good stead. . . .<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Duus, *Buriea no kaihoshatachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres], 302.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>82</sup> Shigeo Imamura, *Kamikaze Tokko taiin ni natta Nikkei Nisei* [A Nisei who joined the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps], trans. Ken Oshima (Tokyo: Soshisha, 2003), 123.

<sup>83</sup> Cited in Albert Axell and Hideaki Kase, *Kamikaze: Japan’s Suicide Gods* (Harlow: Longman, 2002), 56.

<sup>84</sup> Hawaii Nikkei History Editorial Board, comp., *Japanese Eyes, American Heart*, 166–167.

Although it was for their country, leaving their Issei parents inside the camps weighed heavily on their conscience. A Nisei soldier asked his comrade, “Please rescue my parents from the anti-Japanese [movement] in exchange for my life.” Most Nisei, like traditional Japanese men, believed that “a real man is one who adequately supports his wife and family under all conditions.”<sup>85</sup> The Nisei soldiers had to win battles for keeping a promise with their comrades, improving the status of their Issei parents, as well as for their country at the same time.<sup>86</sup>

After the war ended, the 442nd RCT veterans began to work for gaining citizenship for their Issei parents.<sup>87</sup> Because the Nisei regiment risked their own lives under the Stars and Stripes regardless of being interned in the camps, many Americans came to sympathize them.<sup>88</sup> And, the public came to feel a strong sense of responsibility to defend the loyal Japanese Americans and the rights of their Issei parents. It required the yellow-skin Nisei “120 percent Americanism” to be accepted as Americans.<sup>89</sup> To achieve that, the Nisei paid a considerably high price, but their heroism contributed to improving the social status of Japanese Americans. Significantly, the Nisei’s great military records opened the door for the Japanese American population, who turned out to be the majority of elected officials in Hawaii, and Daniel Inouye and then Spark Matsunaga were elected as the United States Senators.<sup>90</sup> The improvement in their status

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<sup>85</sup> Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*, 156 (appendix: table 4).

<sup>86</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes] 109.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>90</sup> Spark Masayuki Matsunaga (1916–1990) was an original member of the 100th Infantry Battalion and was wounded twice in combat while serving with the 442nd RCT, and served as Democratic U.S. Senator from 1977 and 1990, according to Matsunaga’s biography written by Richard Halloran, *Sparky: Warrior, Peacemaker, Poet, Patriot: A Portrait of Senator Spark M. Matsunaga* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2002).

was prominent not only in politics but also in economic perspectives. For instance, the prewar Japanese Americans were confined to employment such as plantation laborers, factory workers, or small shop owners at most. Nevertheless, many Japanese Americans gained access to professional occupations and various business activities in the postwar period.<sup>91</sup>

### *Comradeship*

Educated with Japanese ethics, the 442nd regiment had a slogan “Go For Broke!”—meaning ‘risk all’ derived from a term of Hawaiian Japanese dice game—just like the slogan of the Japanese military “*Uchite shi yamamu*” (Smite till death! Or, I will destroy once and for all) that bolstered the fighting spirit and morale.<sup>92</sup> First Class Petty Flying Officer Nobuo Tani who was a member of the first Kamikaze unit named *Shikishima-tai* said it was time to make a suicide attack on an enemy battleship, and “although my body would sink with Zero, I will be reborn seven times and destroy once and for all (*Uchite shi yamamu*).”<sup>93</sup> Their slogans were similar in idea and expression derived from the Japanese way of thinking. In order to rescue their comrades, they risked their own lives by carrying out the “suicidal mission.” Fighting along with their Japanese American comrades, they developed strong ties. For instance, these war veterans use a term “we” instead of “I” when they talk about their wartime experiences. This is an

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<sup>91</sup> Wallace Turner, “Coast Show Recalls Nisei Valor in War,” *New York Times*, March 27, 1981, 14(A).

<sup>92</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 37. “*Uchiteshi yamamu*” was a phrase derived from a Japanese classic the *Kojiki* (古事記, “Record of Ancient Matters”). “Go for broke” is indeed a gambling term meaning “go for it,” “bet everything you have,” “all or nothing,” or slung for “shoot the works.” Like their Issei fathers, Nisei soldiers from Hawaii enjoyed gambling with dice during their spare time.

<sup>93</sup> Katsuhiro Hara, ed., *Chinkon: Tokubetsu kogekitai no isho* [Requiem: the last letters of the Special Attack Corps], in cooperation with Yasukuni Shrine (Tokyo: KK Besuto Serazu, 2007), 101–102.

example of the military culture that turns individuals into “a team.”<sup>94</sup> Although they feared combat at the start, they could be exceptionally brave when they saw their comrades killed by the enemies before their very eyes.<sup>95</sup>

For the Nisei, their enemy was not only Nazi Germans but also a commander who placed less value on the lives of Nisei soldiers. Nevertheless, the Nisei soldiers remained faithful to their duty based on the spirit of *chukun aikoku*. After intensive training in Camp Shelby, the 442nd RCT left for Europe in June 1944, and went to France for combat in October 1944. The 442nd RCT’s victory in the battle for Bruyeres in the Vosges Mountains in France became a significant breakthrough by seizing the stronghold of Nazi Germans. Then, commonly known as the “rescue of the Lost Battalion,” the 442nd regiment’s rescue mission of the Texan Battalion of the 36th Infantry Division surrounded by Nazis in the Vosges Mountains was one of the famous stories that illustrated the Nisei’s strong sense of comradeship coming from group-minded tradition of the Japanese. In order to serve for the national interest, Nisei were raised to offer selfless sacrifices in wartime.

Although other regiments of the 36th Division such as the 141st and 143rd were supposed to pursue the rescue mission, the 442nd alone, ordered by the division commander Major General John Dahlquist, rushed the enemy’s position and incurred 800 casualties including 140 dead during the fierce six-day operation for bringing back 211 Texans alive. Ironically, the Nisei regiment’s casualties in the battle were more than the actual lives they rescued.<sup>96</sup> For example, a 442nd veteran Chester Tanaka recalled that K

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<sup>94</sup> Pat Morita, Steve Rosen, and Terri DeBono, *Beyond Barbed Wire: Untold Stories of American Courage* (Monterey, CA: Kit Parker Films, 1997).

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Tateishi, *And Justice for All*, xxv; “Nisei Soldiers Helped Rescue Lost Battalion,” *Los*



Company started out with 187 men and by the time reaching the trapped Texans, only seventeen men of the 442nd left, meanwhile starting out with 185 men, I Company was reduced to eight.<sup>97</sup> Suffering heavy casualties, the survivors of the 442nd expected to be relieved immediately. Contrary to their expectation, Dahlquist further forced them to advance for the next nine days in order to secure their holding. Thus, both Nisei soldiers and their white officers interpreted the rush order by Dahlquist was motivated by racial bias against the Nisei regiment. A 442nd veteran testified that they were sent to the battlefield without being informed about the estimated number of Nazis they had to combat. In other words, the 442nd RCT was ordered to “commit in daylight across the open field which is pure suicide.”<sup>98</sup> Although they knew that it could lead to death in combat, the 442nd RCT followed the command and pursued a series of suicidal missions regarding them as their duty. Therefore, they kept their troubles to themselves, never asked questions, never showed they were hurting, or never brought shame on their families as their parents had taught them throughout their life.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile, on the other side of the earth, the Kamikaze pilots were carrying out suicide attacks just like the 442nd determined to “go for broke.”

The entire campaign at Vosges Mountains—liberation of towns of Bruyeres and Biffontaine and rescue of the “Lost Battalion”—that virtually lasted non-stop for thirty-four days resulted in the 442nd RCT’s high casualties.<sup>100</sup> One of the major reasons that

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*Anges Times*, November 7, 1944; “US Japs Rescue ‘Lost Battalion’ of Texas’ 36th,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1944.

<sup>97</sup> Wallace Turner, “Coast Show Recalls Nisei Valor in War,” *New York Times*, March 27, 1981.

<sup>98</sup> Morita, Rosen, and DeBono, *Beyond Barbed Wire*.

<sup>99</sup> Go For Broke National Education Center, “Rescue of the Lost Battalion,” [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_campaigns\\_rescue.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_campaigns_rescue.asp) (accessed May 6, 2010).

<sup>100</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Asian Pacific American Heritage Month, 106th Cong., 2d. sess., *Congressional Record*, vol. 146, pt. 6 (May 15, 2000): H7886 (hereafter cited as *Congressional*

enabled the 442nd to endure such a fierce campaign was their strong sense of comradeship. While raised by the Issei parents, they inherited the Japanese cultural values found in the “twelve virtues” of *Kyoiku Chokugo*, namely *yuai* (affection toward brothers and sisters) and *hoyu no shin* (trust in friends). Tom Kawaguchi described how the Nisei cared about each other in combat:

. . . when we were in combat, we were looking after each other constantly, and we would worry about each other. We knew that we were going to be left out there if anybody ever got hit; somebody would come after us. We had the buddy system. . . . It was a teamwork, and we felt secure with each other.<sup>101</sup>

The 442nd regiment had to wait until November 17 to be relieved, by which time the number of killed and wounded in combat outnumbered the survived.<sup>102</sup>

The comradeship of the 442nd regiment deeply impressed their fellow Americans. These rescued Texans, remaining without food for five days, cried with joy and relief when the 442nd regiment rescued them in exchange for their own lives. The heroism of the 442nd on October 30 was announced, and Private Walter Yattaw who did not expect the Nisei regiment would rescue the “lost battalion” said, “It really was ironical that we were so glad to see the Japanese . . . but, boy, they are real Americans.”<sup>103</sup>

While the anti-Japanese sentiment remained strong in the home front, the Nisei’s comrades—most of them Caucasians—had changed their attitude toward the Nisei soldiers who just loved the United States as much as they did. Private First Class Phillip E. Lerman of Milwaukee who had fought along with the Nisei regiment against Germans

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*Record*, vol. 146, pt. 6). The so-called “Lost Battalion” was the 1st Battalion of the 141st Regiment composed of the Texas National Guard unit.

<sup>101</sup> “Tom Kawaguchi, Topaz, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, France, Italy,” quoted in Tateishi, *And Justice for All*, 183.

<sup>102</sup> Go For Broke National Education Center, “Rescue of the Lost Battalion,” [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_campaigns\\_rescue.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_campaigns_rescue.asp) (accessed May 6, 2010).

<sup>103</sup> “Unit of Japanese Americans Relieved Yank ‘Lost Battalion’,” *The Milwaukee Journal* (Wisconsin), November 6, 1944, M-5.

in Italy witnessed the valor of the Nisei and confirmed their Americanism. According to Lerman's letter to his wife written in Italy, "Those of us who have had the privilege to fight alongside the Nisei look upon him as a brother, a comrade who has fought and suffered with us as Americans." Lerman argued that his company's offensive was successful because of the Nisei regiment's "diversionary action" on the Ligurian coast. Lerman described that the Nisei regiment "did not stop to consider what you would do or say. They picked up their weapons and savagely advanced against the Nazi."<sup>104</sup> Their valiant charges immediately evoked admiration from their fellow American soldiers. Regardless of their own safety, the 442nd RCT rushed into the enemy, just like the samurai made a dash fearlessly to defend their lord.

Their wartime comradeship greatly contributed to improving the postwar treatment of the Japanese Americans in the United States. Although the deep-rooted California racism was never eradicated, the most Americans sympathized what they had to go through: accusation of disloyalty, discharge from the military, incarceration without trial, and draft into military. Under the circumstance, only choice they had was self-sacrificing for their country and they had no space for fearing death. In the wartime-internment documentary film entitled *Beyond Barbed Wire*, one of the 442nd veterans recalled, "So many of us died; we lost so many friends. Not afraid of death . . . they say 'you're the only guys can take it.'"<sup>105</sup>

### ***Patriotism/Loyalty***

After Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the commanding general of the Western

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<sup>104</sup> "Tells How Nisei Regiment Fought Germans in Italy," *The Milwaukee Journal*, July 5, 1945, M-22.

<sup>105</sup> Morita, Rosen, and DeBono, *Beyond Barbed Wire*.

Defense Command and the Fourth Army, John L. DeWitt (1880–1962) declared that “A Jap is a Jap” and called for the evacuation of the Japanese and Japanese Americans from the West Coast for “military necessity.” Just like the leading figure of the Japanese exclusionist V. S. McClatchy had said that the Japanese “never cease being Japanese.”<sup>106</sup> Regardless of Nisei soldiers’ dedication in combat, some Americans—both individual and organization level—continued to be suspicious about Nisei. While training in Camp Shelby, the Mississippians thought the Nisei odd because they were not only “foreign” but also “colored.”<sup>107</sup> Meanwhile, the Nisei regiment guarded German prisoners of war who worked on farms in Alabama and heard the Alabama farmers saying that they would feel “better” if the German prisoners guarding “Japs.”<sup>108</sup>

Although joining the armed forces to serve their country, the Nisei suffered a sense of humiliation at various situations. Because of their Japanese ancestry, they had to endure discriminatory treatment while training at Camp McCoy. Suspicious of Nisei’s loyalty to the United States, the army at first did not provide real weapons to Nisei soldiers and kept them under strict surveillance. Thus, the Nisei were training and marching with wooden guns, and most humiliatingly, they played a role of enemy Japanese soldiers during field practices. In addition, when the President Roosevelt visited the barracks, the Nisei were confined in a room and could not meet President. Such discrimination must have been unbearable for the young patriot Nisei. When the news about the all-Nisei 100th Infantry Battalion’s great success at the Battle of Monte

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<sup>106</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, *Japanese Immigration Hearings*, 68th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), 5–6, quoted in Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 99.

<sup>107</sup> “Real Americans,” *Pittsburgh Press* (Pennsylvania), July 7, 1946, editorial page.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

Cassino arrived, the Nisei soldiers of the 442nd finally got permission to train with real guns—steel rifles.<sup>109</sup> The 442nd RCT veteran Dorothy Matsuo recalled in his biography entitled *Boyhood to War* (1992): “We were also guarding the prisoners of war with wooden guns. Then we petitioned. Every member of the 100th Battalion signed the petition to the President of the United States to return us our arms and send us to war against the Japanese, so we can prove our loyalty to our country.”<sup>110</sup>

Not all Americans opposed the Nisei’s voluntary unit. Especially, after the great achievement of the 100th Battalion at the Battle of Monte Cassino, their comrades began to open their hearts and admire their determination. “We are Iowa boys of the 34th Division, and have fought side by side with the boys of Japanese descent. . . . We know plenty of folks that call themselves Americans that have done much less to prove they give a hang about their country. There have been times when these Japanese, as you call them, have saved many lives, only because they have proven themselves better Americans than some that were not of Japanese descent.”<sup>111</sup> The heroism of the 100th Battalion represented the Nisei’s dedication for the United States; it soon contributed to improving the treatment of the 442nd RCT training at home.

George Sakato whose Distinguished Service Medal was upgraded to the Medal of Honor in 2000 recalled that although the 442nd RCT was “used like cannon fodder,” he was “willing to die” for his country.<sup>112</sup> Many Nisei shared his opinion, and volunteered

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<sup>109</sup> 442nd Veterans Club, *Go for Broke*, 25; David A. Neiwert, *Strawberry Days: How Internment Destroyed a Japanese American Community* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 181.

<sup>110</sup> Matsuo, *Boyhood to War*, 33.

<sup>111</sup> Quoted in C. Douglas Sterner, *Go For Broke: The Nisei Warriors of World War II Who Conquered Germany, Japan, and American Bigotry* (Clearfield: American Legacy Historical Press, 2008), 23.

<sup>112</sup> Anne McDermott, CNN Los Angeles Correspondent, “Clinton Awards Medals of Honor to Asian-American World War II veterans, June 21, 2000, CNN.com, <http://edition.cnn.com/2000/US/06/21/medal.of.honor/index.html> (accessed May 1, 2010).

to enlist combat troops in order to demonstrate their loyalty to their country with their famous slogan, “Go For Broke.”<sup>113</sup>

It was largely due to the great effort and sacrifice of the 442nd RCT that the American public finally began to treat Nisei as “true” Americans not as “Japanese-Americans.” Truman’s speech upon the return of the Nisei soldiers clearly indicated the end of a phase of racial discrimination against the Japanese Americans in exchange for their great sacrifice for the nation, which had betrayed them and their families. The 100th/422nd RCT remains the most decorated military unit in the history of the United States.

Despite the 442nd’s distinguished military achievement in the European theater, deep-rooted anti-Japanese sentiment was not completely eradicated in the early postwar society. Democratic U.S. Senator from Hawaii, Daniel Inouye who lost his right arm in fierce combat in Italy told his early postwar experience in his autobiography published in 1967.<sup>114</sup> Hospitalized for twenty months, Inouye went to a barbershop after discharge from a rehabilitation center in San Francisco. At the entrance of the shop, a barber and Inouye had the following conversation:

“Are you Chinese?” . . .  
“I’m American,” I said.  
“Are you Chinese?”  
“I think what you want to know is where my father was born. My father was born in Japan. I’m an American.” . . .  
“Don’t give me that American stuff,” he said swiftly. “You’re a Jap and we don’t cut Jap hair.”<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 41.

<sup>114</sup> Daniel Ken Inouye and Lawrence Elliot, *Journey to Washington* (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 207–208; Glenn F. Bunting, “Lawmakers Share Personal Stories Panel Backs Wartime Internee Payment,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 18, 1987; Rudi Williams, “21 Asian American World War II Vets to Get Medal of Honor,” *American Forces Press Service*, May 19, 2000, United States Department of Defense, <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=45192> (accessed

Despite the fact Inouye wearing full uniform with brilliant military decorations including distinguished unit citations, to the eye of San Francisco barber Inouye was not a patriot but a hateful “Jap.” Meanwhile, Kelly Kuwayama with his Princeton and Harvard Business School degrees had hard time finding a job in the postwar years on the East Coast where hostility towards the Japanese American was believed to be lesser than on the West Coast.<sup>116</sup>

The Nisei veterans encountered discriminatory treatment mainly in the West Coast states, but their comrades and army officers who fought with the Nisei and acknowledged their heroism began to appeal to the public for the better treatment of the Nisei soldiers. Then, an application for membership in a Veterans of Foreign Wars submitted by a wounded 442nd veteran was rejected in Spokane, Washington. Informed about the unjust treatment of Nisei veteran, Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy praised the 442nd regiment’s bravery and patriotism stating that “Wherever one goes among troops in Italy praise for the battle prowess, skill and bravery of these soldiers is heard. They have more than justified every faith which the war department and the country reposed in them. It really is incongruous that anyone should be called upon to defend the rights of American Japanese soldiers who served their country so steadfastly and with zeal.”<sup>117</sup>

Although the 442nd received many military decorations through their outstanding military achievement in exchange for their heavy casualties, Private Sadao Munemori had been the only Japanese American veteran receiving a Medal of Honor (posthumously) until the review of records took place from 1996 to 2000 by the U.S. Army under the

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March 3, 2010).

<sup>116</sup> Duus, *Buriera no kaihoshatachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres], 328.

<sup>117</sup>“McCloy Voices Tribute to Nisei,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, August 8, 1945, M-2.

leadership of Army Secretary Louis Caldera.<sup>118</sup> Based on the review of records, President Bill Clinton signed documents approving the U.S. Army to upgrade twenty 100th/442nd veterans' Distinguished Service Crosses to Medals of Honor—the highest award for valor—fifty-five years after the end of World War II.<sup>119</sup> Upon the great news from Secretary Caldera, Shizuya Hayashi, an 82-year-old 442nd veteran in Pearl City, Hawaii, expressed his feeling: “It was hard to believe it. . . . During the war, we didn’t think about medals. We just wanted to do our job. I was surprised they gave us medals.”<sup>120</sup> Another 442nd veteran Rudy Tokiwa said, “There’s a lot of us never came home. But I think in thought they are home. The guys went overseas and gave their lives to prove that we are Americans. And we’ve all got to be thankful.”<sup>121</sup> President Clinton declared at the special ceremony for the award recipients on the White House South Lawn on June 21, “They risked it all to win it all.” Clinton continued, “They risked their lives above and beyond the call of duty and in doing so, they did more than defend America. . . . In the face of painful prejudice, they helped to define America at its best.”<sup>122</sup> Meanwhile, Democratic U.S. Senator Daniel Akaka from Hawaii made remarks on President Clinton’s approval of awarding Medals of Honors to the 442nd veterans as

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<sup>118</sup> U.S. Congress authorized the U.S. Army to review the records of 104 Asian American World War II veterans in 1996, and the Nisei veterans with the Distinguished Service Crosses were under review. On April 5, 1945, Private Munemori sacrificed himself to protect his comrades by smothering the explosion of an enemy grenade with his body, according to Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 412–413.

<sup>119</sup> *Congressional Record*, vol. 146, pt. 6: H7887; Rudi Williams, “22 Asian Americans Inducted into Hall of Heroes,” *American Forces Press Service*, June 28, 2000.

<sup>120</sup> *Congressional Record*, vol. 146, pt. 6 H7887. Hayashi was Army Private and awarded a Medal of Honor for his heroic action in Italy on November 29, 1943. Hayashi killed twenty enemies and took four prisoners.

<sup>121</sup> Quoted in Go For Broke National Education Center, “Nisei Legacy,” [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_campaigns\\_nisei.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_campaigns_nisei.asp) (accessed February 3, 2010).

<sup>122</sup> President William J. Clinton’s Comments Honoring Asian American Medal of Honor Recipients, June 21, 2000, cited in the U.S. Army Center of Military History, “President William J. Clinton’s Comments Honoring Asian American Medal of Honor Recipients,” [http://www.history.army.mil/html/moh/clinton\\_apmoh.html](http://www.history.army.mil/html/moh/clinton_apmoh.html) (accessed March 3, 2010); “22 Asian-American War Heroes Receive Medals of Honor,” *Lodi News-Sentinel* (California), June 22, 2000.



follows:

The number of nominations made by the Army and approved today underscores the reason I sought this review: to dispel any doubt about discrimination in the process of awarding the Medal of Honor. The 100th/442nd fought with incredible courage and bravery in Italy and France. . . . The fact that the 100th/442nd saw such fierce and heavy combat, yet received only one Medal of Honor award, and then only posthumously and due to Congressional intervention, raised serious questions about the fairness of the award process at the time.

Unfortunately, Asian Pacific Americans were not accorded full consideration for the Medal of Honor at the time of their service. A prevailing climate of racial prejudice against Asian Pacific Americans during World War II precluded this basic fairness, the most egregious example being the internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans. The bias, discrimination, and hysteria of that time unfortunately had an impact on the decision to award the military's highest honor to Asians and Pacific Islanders.<sup>123</sup>

Awarding the Medals of Honor, which the heroic Nisei soldiers should have received for their valor a half century ago, President Clinton played an important role in not only retrieving the 100th/442nd veterans' honor but also relieving the Japanese community as a whole by dramatically rewriting the military history of the United States. One of the recipients of the Medal of Honor was U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye who was then Army Sergeant and lost his arm while leading his platoon against Germans in Italy. Inouye dedicated his Medal of Honor to his family members and comrades.<sup>124</sup>

According to the information provided by the National Japanese American Historical Society and Go For Broke National Education Center, the 100th/442nd RCT fought eight major campaigns in Europe from September 1943 to May 1945, receiving 18,143 individual decorations. The following Table 6.1 details the decorations received by the Nisei regiment in World War II, which was currently updated in 2000 during the Clinton Administration:

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<sup>123</sup> Daniel Akaka: United States Senator for Hawaii, "Statement of U.S. Senator Daniel K. Akaka on the Medal of Honor Award to 21 Asian Pacific American Heroes of World War II," May 12, 2000, <http://akaka.senate.gov/press-releases.cfm?method=releases.view&id=fcce4c96-5395-4cca-abfe-8d2be8d39e77> (accessed March 15, 2010).

<sup>124</sup> Rudi Williams, "21 Asian American World War II Vets to Get Medal of Honor," *American Forces Press Service*, May 19, 2000.

Table 6.1 Decorations Received by the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team

Number	Decorations
21	Congressional Medals of Honor
52	Distinguished Service Crosses*
560	Silver Stars**
28	Oak Leaf Clusters in lieu of second Silver Star
7	Presidential Unit Citations (highest award for combat units)
1	Distinguished Service Medal
22	Legion of Merit Medals
15	Soldier's Medals
4,000	Bronze Stars
1,200	Oak Leaf Clusters in lieu of second Bronze Star
9,486	Purple Hearts (Casualties)
12	French Croix de Guerre with 2 Palms in lieu of second awards
2	Italian Crosses for Military Merit
2	Italian Medals for Military Valor

\* Including nineteen Distinguished Service Crosses upgraded to Medals of Honor in June 1, 2000.

\*\* Including one Silver Star upgraded to a Medal of Honor in June 1, 2000.

*Sources:* National Japanese American Historical Society, "Research on 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team," <http://www.nikkeiheritage.org/research/442.html> (accessed July 4, 2009); Go For Broke National Education Center, "Historical Information: Military Record of the Military Units," [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical.asp) (accessed July 4, 2009).

Because of their loyalty to the country to which they were indebted, the Nisei soldiers and MIS became called "YANKEE SAMURAI" with great admiration. Meanwhile, because their commanders sought to achieve outstanding military results, the Nisei had to suffer heavy casualties. In that circumstance, an American of Korean ancestry, Lieutenant Young Oak Kim was different from other commanders. Instead of risking his soldiers for the military decoration, Kim focused on saving as many lives of his soldiers as possible. In so doing, Kim sometimes opposed the orders from the higher

officers. Because of Kim's great dedication to his soldiers, the Nisei showed their respect to Kim and began to call him "Samurai Kim."<sup>125</sup> For the Nisei the term "Samurai," representing heroism, was the best compliment for Lieutenant Kim. It also reflected how the Nisei perceived the samurai and traditional Japanese culture—the *Bushido*.

Would it be another regiment that would make a dash at the enemy's position or break through the enemy lines just like the 442nd RCT did? Like the Kamikaze pilots, they were obedient to the order and showed their respect for authority. Despite some of their families kept behind barbed wires like prisoners, the member of the 442nd RCT did what they could do the best. In addition, their fellow-Americans and military officers could not stop admiring Nisei's valor and great sacrifice because the 442nd made possible what seemed impossible in the front line. During the Po Valley Campaign that the 442nd joined on April 5, 1945, the 2,500 men of the 442nd successfully breached the unbreakable Gothic Line—the major German defense of line in Italy that held back the Allied Forces for six months—in 32 minutes.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, heavy casualties—9,486 casualties including 650 killed in combat—were inevitable to achieve such a superb military record.<sup>127</sup> For the Nisei who had the same appearance as their Japanese enemy, demonstrating their valor in the battlefield was probably the most effective way to show their loyalty to the United States. "I don't know any other country. When war broke out with Japan, I was ready to fight the enemy, and I had no qualms about whether it was Japanese or German or whatever. This was my country and I wanted to defend it," said

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<sup>125</sup> Duus, *Buriera no kaihoshatachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres], 147–148.

<sup>126</sup> Go For Broke National Education Center, "Gothic Line and Po Valley Campaign," [http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history\\_historical\\_campaigns\\_gothic.asp](http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_campaigns_gothic.asp) (accessed July 4, 2009); 442nd Veterans Club, *Go for Broke*, 26, 75; Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 409; Sterner, *Go For Broke: The Nisei Warriors*, 104–114.

<sup>127</sup> "Go for Broke" Exhibition Brochure (San Francisco: Presidio Army Museum, 1981), 21.

Tom Kawaguchi, who was in the Topaz relocation center and joined the 442<sup>nd</sup> RCT.<sup>128</sup>

Their behavior reflected the strong influence of *Bushido*, which a samurai showed his loyalty to his lord even though the odds were against him. Throughout the 18 months of combat, Nisei units suffered an extraordinary casualty rate of 314%, which meant that soldiers would be injured more than once and return to the battlefield again and again.<sup>129</sup>

Table 6.2 represents the casualties of the 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team’s combined in eight major battles in the European theater.<sup>130</sup>

Table 6.2 Battle Casualties of the 100th/442nd RCT

Campaign	Killed in Action	Wounded in Action	Missing in Action	Total
Naples-Foggia Campaign	139	442	3	584
Rome-Arno Campaign	239	1,016	17	1,272
Rhineland Campaign-Vosges	160	1,220	42	1,422
Rhineland Campaign-Maritime Alps	11	102	2	115
Po Valley Campaign	101	922	3	1,026
Total	650	3,702	67	4,419

Source: U.S. Army Mediterranean Theater of Operations Information-Education Section. *The Story of the 442nd Combat Team, Composed of: 442nd Infantry Regiment, 522nd Field Artillery Battalion, 232nd Combat Engineer Company*, 1945.

Ironically, “the question of loyalty had been most powerfully answered by a battlefield record of courage and sacrifice.”<sup>131</sup> The effort of the Nisei regiment

<sup>128</sup> Tom Kawaguchi, quoted in Tateishi, *And Justice for All*, 180–181.

<sup>129</sup> *Congressional Record*, vol. 146, pt. 6: H7886.

<sup>130</sup> Incorporating the 100th Battalion on June 10, 1944, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team was composed of the 2nd Battalion, 3rd Battalion, 552nd Field Artillery Battalion, and 232nd Combat Engineer Company.

<sup>131</sup> United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982), 254.

significantly contributed to alleviating anti-Japanese feeling among the American public.<sup>132</sup> In the peace celebration on V-J Day, the Army command made the Nisei regiment to lead the front position because they were “accustomed to be out in front in battle.” The 168th Infantry Regiment expressed their admiration for the Nisei’s “heroic and meritorious achievements.”<sup>133</sup> One of the 442nd veterans, Masato Nakagawa recalled that “it was a high price to pay . . . to prove our loyalty which was by no means an easy [task].”<sup>134</sup> President Harry Truman declared, “You fought for the free nations of the world; you fought not only the enemy, you fought prejudice – and you won.”<sup>135</sup>

In addition to the 100th/442nd RCT, about 6,000 Nisei served in the Military Intelligence Service and Counter Intelligence Corps. Refer to as “an American secret weapon of World War II,” the Nisei MIS served in all major battles in the Pacific as translators and obtained valuable information that “saved over one million lives and shortened the war by two years,” according to Major General Charles Willoughby, intelligence chief for General Douglas MacArthur.<sup>136</sup> Although the efforts of Nisei MIS have not widely recognized due to the nature of their duty, they were as patriotic as the Nisei regiment. Fifty years after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Sakakida recalled, “I never considered myself a hero. In those days, we considered what I did to be my

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<sup>132</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 39.

<sup>133</sup> “Japanese-American Heroes,” *The Pittsburgh Press*, August 21, 1945, Editorial page.

<sup>134</sup> Testimony, Masato Nakagawa, Chicago, September 23, 1981, in United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied*, 258.

<sup>135</sup> Merle Miller, *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman* (New York: Berkley Publishing Corporation, 1974), 301; Takaki, *Double Victory*, 165; Chester Tanaka, *Go for Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442d Regimental Combat Team* (Richmond: Go For Broke, 1982), 171.

<sup>136</sup> Quoted in “Japanese-Americans Helped Allied Win World War II,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (Florida), December 12, 1994. The Nisei MIS translators interrogated 14,000 Japanese prisoners and translated twenty million captured documents.

duty, period.”<sup>137</sup> Sakakida continued that “Some of the American officers might have been wary at first, but my loyalties weren’t torn . . . I was raised in Hawaii. I spoke their language. I ate the same things they did. I was American.”<sup>138</sup>

### ***Significance of the Fred Korematsu Case and the Fair Play Committee***

The case history of Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu (1919–2005) revealed the cultural values and behavioral characteristics of the Japanese Americans during World War II. The analysis of the Korematsu case highlighted that “twelve virtues” of *Kyoiku Chokugo* remained the foundation of moral education of the Nisei children although the Rescript itself no longer appeared in textbooks specially compiled for the Japanese language schools in 1913.<sup>139</sup>

Fred Korematsu from San Leandro, California, was probably the most famous so-called “No-No boy.” Refusing to obey the Executive Order 9066 issued shortly after Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor in order to stay with his Italian-American girlfriend, Ida Boitano, Korematsu was arrested, convicted of violating the evacuation order by the military, and placed in Tanforan Assembly Center (a horse racetrack) in California and later in a war relocation center at Topaz, Utah.<sup>140</sup> Regarding the internment of Japanese Americans without any evidence of espionage or sabotage as wrong, Korematsu, supported by Ernest Besig who led the American Civil Liberties Union of San Francisco, decided to challenge the constitutionality of the evacuation order.<sup>141</sup> Besig warned

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<sup>137</sup> “Japanese-American Fought as POW Spy,” *The Times-News* (Hendersonville), December 8, 1991, 13A.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ichioka, *Before Internment*, 14–15.

<sup>140</sup> Steven A. Chin, *When Justice Failed: The Fred Korematsu Story* (Austin: Raintree Steck-Vaughn, 1993).

<sup>141</sup> Ordered by President Roosevelt, Curtis B. Munson, Special Representative of the State

Korematsu that a chance of winning the case was quite low due to “wartime hysteria, prejudice against Japanese Americans and judicial reluctance to upset military decisions”; however, Korematsu determined to fight the case.<sup>142</sup> Korematsu expressed his view on the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans in his statement prepared for Besig:

Assembly Camps were for: Dangerous Enemy Aliens and Citizens; These camps have been definitely an imprisonment under armed guard with orders shoot to kill. In order to be imprisoned, these people should have been given a *fair trial* in order that they may defend their loyalty at court in a *democratic way*, but they were placed in imprisonment without any fair trial! Many Disloyal German and Italians were caught, but they were not all corralled under armed guard like the Japanese—is this a racial issue? If not, the Loyal Citizens want fair trial to prove their loyalty? Also their [*sic*] are many loyal aliens who can prove their loyalty to America, and they must be given fair trial and treatment! Fred Korematsu’s Test Case may help.<sup>143</sup>

Depriving Japanese Americans of “the right of a speedy trial,” the evacuation order was the violation of the Fourth and Fifth Amendments—“the due process of law” clause.<sup>144</sup> Korematsu stressed that the evacuation program completely violated the Constitutional rights of 70,000 native-born Americans of Japanese ancestry in the Pacific Coast area.<sup>145</sup> In response to his appeals to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1943

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Department investigated the loyalty of Japanese Americans in Hawaii and West Coast in October and November 1941. Known as the Munson Report, a twenty-five-page document, reported that “there is no Japanese ‘problem’ on the Coast” because “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. . . . 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.” Quoted in United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, with a foreword by Tetsuden Kashima (1982; repr., Washington, D.C.: The Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, 1997), 52–53.

<sup>142</sup> Peter H. Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 97.

<sup>143</sup> Korematsu’s statement to Besig, quoted in Irons, *Justice at War*, 99, emphasis mine.

<sup>144</sup> “Evacuation Challenged,” *Berkeley Daily Gazette* (California), June 22, 1942. In order to avoid internment, Korematsu underwent plastic surgery so that he would be looked like a “Spaniard.” Nevertheless, he was found a guilty of entering the military zone in the West Coast on September 8, 1942, according to *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), September 9, 1942.

<sup>145</sup> *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214, 216 (1944); “Review Army Order,” *Berkeley Daily Gazette* (California), March 27, 1944.

and to the Supreme Court in 1944, both courts ruled in favor of Dewitt's exclusion order on the pretext of national security or "military necessity." Justice Murphy and two others denounced the exclusion order as a "legalization of racism."<sup>146</sup> The court decisions justified the violation of the Fourteenth Amendment—right to equal protection of the law—for the "compelling state interest." By challenging the exclusion order, Korematsu pursued his rights as a U.S. citizen at any cost. In consequence, Korematsu was alienated from Japanese community inside camp and had to endure a solitary life for a while.

Surveying the cultural background of the Japanese Americans, there were numbers of reasons that Korematsu became isolated within the Japanese community. Tanaka Chikako researched Japanese American values and categorized the common behavior of Japanese Americans based on three characteristic books written by the Nisei authors: (1) Harry H. L. Kitano's *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (1969; translated by Isamu Uchizaki in 1974); (2) Bill Hosokawa's *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (1969); and (3) Daniel I. Okimoto's *American in Disguise* (1971; translated by Seiji Yamaoka in 1984).<sup>147</sup> Social scientist Kitano examined Japanese American experiences by applying social science methods. Hosokawa, a journalist, recorded the Nisei's experiences with their internment experiences. Meanwhile, political scientist Okimoto was the first Nisei to write of his wartime experiences in his autobiography that

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<sup>146</sup> Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214, 216 (1944); "Upholds DeWitt on Evacuations: California Appeals Court Rules Action against Japanese Constitutional," *New York Times*, December 3, 1943; "Jap American Appeals Army Ouster Order," *Los Angeles Times*, February 10, 1944; "Right to Hold Nisei Goes to High Court," *New York Times*, October 13, 1944; Lewis Wood, "Supreme Court Upholds Return of Loyal Japanese to West Coast," *New York Times*, December 19, 1944.

<sup>147</sup> Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Eaglewood: Prentice Hall Inc., 1969) Translated by Isami Uchizaki as *Amerika no naka no Nihonjin: Issei kara Sansei made no seikatsu to bunka* (Tokyo: Tokyo Keizai Shinposha, 1974); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: W. Morrow, 1969); Daniel I. Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, with a foreword by James A. Michener (New York: Walker/Weatherhill, 1971) Translated by Seiji Yamaoka as *Nikkei nisei ni umarete: Kamen no Amerikajin* (Tokyo: Saimaru Shuppankai, 1984).



dealt with feelings and difficulties the Nisei encountered. Divided into six categories by Tanaka, these books illustrated the characteristics of Japanese American values regarding fate, authority, Protestant ideals, improvement of Japanese American's social standing, development of human relations within the Japanese American community, and what the family should be.<sup>148</sup> Table 6.3 recreated, revised, expanded, and translated Tanaka's chart that lists page numbers dealing with the six categories and their items. Adding a column for Korematsu for marking items that he had violated, I will examine the causes that isolated Korematsu from other Japanese Americans during wartime.

Table 6.3 Values and Behavioral Character of Japanese Americans

Category I: Toward Fate		Kitano	Hosokawa	Okimoto	Korematsu's Violation
A	Submission to fate.	43, 45, 146		38, 89*	42
B	Accept the status quo as "It can't be helped." <i>(shikataga nai)</i>	45, 108, 206*		35, 38, 89*	42, 68, 81
C	Compromise.	45, 79, 107, 113, 205*		17, 39, 50*	42
D	Endure. " <i>gaman</i> " (suppression of anger and emotion)	64, 69, 109, 146, 208*	xvii, 159,	17, 39, 104, 50*, 89*	54

Category II: Toward Authority		Kitano	Hosokawa	Okimoto	Korematsu's Violation
A	No defiance to keep status quo.	33, 197*	505	17, 39, 50*	54
B	Have absolute respect for authority.	33, 83	172, 505	38, 39	67-68
C	Give authority priority over individual rights.	33, 45, 75, 197*	xvi	37, 89*	45, 54
D	Obeys the law.	33, 75	495	39	45, 51
E	Have little interest in social and political affairs.	44	510	8, 230*	

<sup>148</sup> Chikako Tanaka, "Nikkeijin gakushu ni okeru kachikan · kodo tokusei no toriage kata" [Taking up values and behavioral characteristic in the learning of Japanese Americans], in *Tabunka shakai Amerika ni okeru kokumin togo to Nikkeijin gakushu* [Multicultural education for national integration in multicultural America], ed. Takeo Morimo (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1999), 142.

Category III: Toward Protestant Ideals		Kitano	Hosokawa	Okimoto	Korematsu's Violation
A	Diligent.	24, 35, 76, 107, 116, 146	111, 495	17-18, 51, 53, 50*, 110*	
B	Frugal.		xiv, 495	17, 53, 129, 50*, 110*	
C	Put emphasis on success, progress, and achievement.	35, 214*		17, 41, 127, 50*, 110*	

Category IV: Toward the Improvement of Social Status of Entire Japanese Americans		Kitano	Hosokawa	Okimoto	Korematsu's Violation
A	Put emphasis on the unity/solidarity of Japanese American community.	16, 67, 79	163	18, 37, 38, 66*	66
B	Devote oneself to an honor of the entire Japanese American community.	81, 208*	163	18, 66*	66
C	Endure racial prejudice without a complain.			18, 54, 66*	68, 84
D	Assimilate into the norms of American society.	80, 142		18, 66*	
E	Act as a role model.	23, 146		18, 41, 53, 149, 66*	66
F	Nisei have to be successful to compensate the Issei's sacrifice.			18, 66*	
G	Put emphasis on higher education as a means to upward social mobility.	22, 55-57, 141	175	17, 18, 31, 41, 50, 50*	
H	Accommodate oneself.	146, 196*		54	

Category V: Toward Making Relationship in Japanese American Community		Kitano	Hosokawa	Okimoto	Korematsu's Violation
A	Fulfill his/her obligation and responsibility for the group.	79, 107, 205*	172	37, 89*	66
B	Modest, reserved, and belittle oneself. ( <i>enryo, hige, kenson</i> )	102-5, 195*	xvi, 162	132, 89*	
C	Avoid conflict / tolerate, compromise, and sympathize.	79, 205*	172	17, 7*, 50*	66
D	Interested in thoughts and feelings of others and others view on him/her.	198*	xv, 172	7*	66
E	Not express his/her thoughts clearly.	135, 139, 208*	172	135, 7*, 210*	
F	Put emphasis on obligation, loyalty, humanity, duty, and honesty.	102-4, 147, 195*	xvi	37, 92*	51, 66
G	Respect for elders (including teachers).	146, 196*	160, 172	3, 18, 132	
H	Have firm standard moral values.	107, 112-3	547	18, 66*	
I	Not a goal-oriented but a model-oriented while emphasizing competition.	214*		49, 133	

Category VI: Toward What a Home and Family Should be		Kitano	Hosokawa	Okimoto	Korematsu's Violation
A	A clear division of roles between men and women. (based on patriarchy)	60, 65, 67, 202*	162, 163	103, 4*	
B	Devote oneself to his/her family and make efforts to get a good reputation.	44, 67	163, 495	133	63, 66
C	Put emphasis on family interest more than self-interest.	65, 67	495		42
D	Put emphasis on the unity of family.	66, 67	162	18, 127, 50*	42
E	Pay his/her respects to parents.		xvi, 160		
F	Come up to his/her parents' expectation.	66	161, 163	50, 9*	42, 63, 66
G	Filial piety; fulfill obligation to parents and never brings shame on parents.	66, 67, 104	xv, 160, 163, 495	18, 127, 132, 66*	42, 63, 66

Note: For Kitano and Okimoto's works, page numbers with asterisk indicate Japanese edition.

*Sources:* Chikako Tanaka, "Nikkeijin gakushu ni okeru kachikan · kodo tokusei no toriage kata" [Taking up values and behavioral characteristic in the learning of Japanese Americans], in *Tabunka shakai Amerika ni okeru kokumin togo to Nikkeijin gakushu* [Multicultural education for national integration in multicultural America], ed. Takeo Morimo (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1999), 142, modified; Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Eaglewood: Prentice Hall Inc., 1969) Translated by Isami Uchizaki as *Amerika no naka no Nihonjin: Issei kara Sansei made no seikatsu to bunka* (Tokyo: Tokyo Keizai Shinposha, 1974); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: W. Morrow, 1969); Daniel I. Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, with a foreword by James A. Michener (New York: Walker/Weatherhill, 1971) Translated by Seiji Yamaoka as *Nikkei nisei ni umarete: Kamen no Amerikajin* (Tokyo: Saimaru Shuppankai, 1984).; Steven A. Chin, *When Justice Failed: The Fred Korematsu Story* (Austin: Raintree Steck-Vaughn, 1993).

As Table 6.3 reveals, Korematsu's wartime behavior was quite exceptional compared to the Japanese American community that considered the evacuation as their fate and accepted the decision of the government without discontent. Analyzing Korematsu's values and behavioral patterns, he was not necessarily "disloyal" to the United States. Although condemned as "disloyal," Korematsu was then one of the most Americanized Nisei of all. Believing in American democracy and justice, Korematsu decided to challenge the authority in court. Meanwhile, Korematsu could be considered "disloyal" to the Japanese cultural traditions that the Japanese American community had

practiced. Korematsu's faith in American concept resulted in causing serious friction with those around him including his own family.

As the Categories IV and V indicate, the Japanese were and have been strongly group-oriented people, and one is supposed to be cooperative with members of the community. Moreover, it was a tacit understanding among the Japanese Americans that one should give the public interest priority over self-interest. The same was true at the family level. Each family member was naturally expected to give priority to the interests of his/her family.<sup>149</sup> In the case of Korematsu, he violated items C, D, F, and G of Category VI in order to escape internment and to marry Ida. Although anxious about Korematsu's safety and family separation, his parents allowed him to go because nothing would change his love for Ida.<sup>150</sup> Unfortunately, soon after Korematsu's arrest, his relations with Ida ended. Moreover, his relationship to parents went bad because he brought shame on his family and brought down the reputation of the Korematsu family. Educated in Meiji Japan, his Issei father judged things from the perspective of Japanese culture; therefore, he placed emphasis on loyalty and never tolerated disgrace to his family.<sup>151</sup>

The reactions of Japanese Americans to their incarceration reflected their differences in cultural values. While Korematsu resented the fact that "any American citizen can be held in prison or concentration camps without a trial or a hearing," his father regarded the disobedience to the law as an evidence of "lack of loyalty" and suing

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<sup>149</sup> Traditionally, a family (household) or "*ie*" is the primary social and kinship unit, and the Japanese attached importance to family unity because it was Shinto's one of four affirmations. Although Issei was not affected with State Shinto like their Japanese counterparts, non-ideological part of Shinto infiltrated into the Issei's way of life.

<sup>150</sup> Chin, *When Justice Failed*, 26–48.

<sup>151</sup> Tanaka, "Nikkeijin gakushu ni okeru kachikan · kodo tokusei no toriage kata," 150.

of the government should never took place in the first place (items C and D of Category II). As Tanaka pointed out, before questioning the justice of internment, Korematsu's arrest and act of challenging the authority was problematic for his father.<sup>152</sup> The Issei, trained to respect authority and to offer selfless sacrifice for the country while living in Japan, they considered it was natural for the Nisei to serve the country, namely the United States.

The Japanese Americans inside the relocation centers continued to practice group-oriented behavior that placed emphasis on cooperation and harmony. Reunited with his family at the Tanforan Assembly Center, the Korematsu family was sent to the relocation center at Topaz, Utah. Neglecting the Japanese cultural values, Korematsu failed to perform his social duties and caused conflict. Despite listening to some advice and opinions, Korematsu pushed his will through and was branded "disloyal." In so doing, he led his parents down, brought disgrace on his family, and he was completely isolated in the Japanese American community due to the violation of items A, C, D of Category V, and items D, F, and G of Category VI.<sup>153</sup> Losing the case at the Supreme Court in 1944, disillusioned Korematsu determined to keep it a secret even from his own children for a long period. Although Korematsu's behavior did not please the Japanese community, he incited the rise of civil rights movement to some degree. Nowadays, Korematsu is considered a champion of justice and liberty; however, back then he had to endure injustice and dishonor because he was too liberal, having faith in American democracy.

While the Nisei in the 442nd RCT were fighting abroad, the other Nisei chose to fight against injustice and discrimination at home. Most Nisei remained quiet and

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<sup>152</sup> Tanaka, "Nikkeijin gakushu ni okeru kachikan · kodo tokusei no toriage kata," 150.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 151.

showed no defiance toward the authority; some Nisei did not quietly endure the unjust internment and called for justice and democracy.<sup>154</sup> In February 1944, organized by Kiyoshi Okamoto and joined by Frank Seishi Emi and five others in Heart Mountain, Wyoming, the Fair Play Committee (FPC) was the only group organized to resist the draft among the ten internment camps.<sup>155</sup> The members of FPC appeared to be more American-minded than the Nisei serving in the 442nd RCT.<sup>156</sup> They were indeed different from “No-No boys”; but they did not try to prove their loyalty “by serving in the armed forces of the very government that was holding their families captive.”<sup>157</sup> Contrary to the JACL policy of cooperation with the government authority, the FPC refused to enlist until all their citizenship rights were restored and internment camps were closed.<sup>158</sup> On the *Fair Play Committee Bulletin* #3 on March 1, 1944, the committee made the following statements after citing the U.S. Constitution:

We, the members of the FPC are not afraid to go war—we are not afraid to risk our lives for our country. We would gladly sacrifice our lives to protect and uphold the principles and ideals of our country as set forth in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, for on its inviolability depends the freedom, liberty, justice, and protection of all people including Japanese-Americans and all other minority groups. But have we been given such freedom, such liberty, such justice, such protection? NO!! . . .

. . . We are not being disloyal. We are not evading the draft. We are all loyal Americans fighting for JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY RIGHT HERE AT HOME. So, restore our rights as such, rectify the injustices of evacuation, of the concentration, of the detention, and of the pauperization as such. In short, treat us in accordance with the principles of the Constitution.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> *Fair Play Committee Bulletin* #3, March 1, 1944, [http://www.pbs.org/conscience/resistance/we\\_hereby\\_refuse/04\\_fpc\\_3.html](http://www.pbs.org/conscience/resistance/we_hereby_refuse/04_fpc_3.html) (accessed March 4, 2010).

<sup>155</sup> Despite being interned for more than two years, only 300 Nisei resisted draft in 1944, according to Daniel I. Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, trans. Seiji Yamaoka (Tokyo: Saimaru Shuppankai, 1984), 84; Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History*, 162.

<sup>156</sup> Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History*, 17, 162. The leaders of FPC included Paul Nakadate, Isamu Sam Horino, Minoru Tamesa, Tsutomu Ben Wakaya, and Guntaro Kubota besides Okamoto and Emi.

<sup>157</sup> Emiko Omori, et al., *Rabbit in the Moon* (San Francisco: Wabi-Sabi Productions, 1999). VHS video.

<sup>158</sup> Ronald T. Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2001), 158.

<sup>159</sup> *Fair Play Committee Bulletin* #3, March 1, 1944.

Initially accepting the evacuation order without disobedience, the members of FPC behaved just like other “loyal” Nisei. Because of their emphasis on obedience and respect for authority (items B and C of Category II) as well as their belief in family unity (item C and D of Category VI) derived from Japanese values, they ended up inside an internment camp with their families.

Nevertheless, when the government required them to enlist, their American values and ideals which they had hidden inside took effect. Although it meant disobedience to the authority, FPC members determined to fight for their justice. Following the defiance of FPC, the Nisei inside the Heart Mountain camp showed various reactions. For instance, an editorial published in the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*<sup>160</sup> on March 11, 1944 described the FPC leaders as “one of the center’s most persistent and clever trouble-makers” who were confusing and distorting selective service. Following the JACL’s cooperation policy, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* editorial condemned the FPC that could damage the reputation of entire Japanese American internees of the Heart Mountain.<sup>161</sup> To the Japanese, the disgrace of a member of the community was the disgrace of the entire community.

It was a great paradox that the Nisei who maintained their Japanese values of loyalty and self-sacrificing for the nation contributed the Nisei being called “real” Americans. Meanwhile, the Nisei who had strong faith in American democracy and ideals ended up being called “disloyal” to the country. Based on the analysis of the

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<sup>160</sup> *Heart Mountain Sentinel* is a weekly published inside Heart Mountain relocation center between October 24, 1942 and July 28, 1945. *Heart Mountain Sentinel* was distributed to 6,000 households in the camp on Saturdays.

<sup>161</sup> “Our Cards on the Table,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* (Wyoming), March 11, 1944, editorial, p. 1, 4, Densho Digital Archive, Densho ID: denshopd-i97, <http://archive.densho.org/Resource/popupenlarged.aspx?i=denshopd-i97-00172> (accessed June 1, 2010).

Japanese American values and their behavioral patterns, it is clear that the Japanese culture played an important role in the process of the creation of 442nd Regimental Combat Team whose members demonstrated their “120 percent Americanism” by serving military in hope of improving the position of their Issei parents.<sup>162</sup> In *The 442nd Combat Team Presents: The Album 1943* produced by the Nisei at Camp Shelby, the members of 442nd RCT, “having a fierce pride and love” for the United States “with a deep determination to wipe out the stigma of the hyphenated American name, and to be simply called Americans,” volunteered to fight against the enemy with the battle cry, “THE YANKS ARE COMING!”<sup>163</sup>

### ***Chapter Summary***

In terms of their state of mind, so-called “loyal” Nisei who served in the armed forces were actually more Japanese in culture and practice than the “disloyal” Nisei known as “No-No boys” who did not allege loyalty to the United States and those who resisted the draft. During World War II, the determination of “loyal” Nisei was quite similar to that of Kamikaze pilots in Japan who offered their lives for their country as well as for their personal dignity—values derived from the *Bushido* and filial piety.

The Nisei had been raised by their Issei parents who had grown up in Japan mostly during the Meiji period; they were accustomed to Japanese cultural values through attending the Japanese language schools as well as their family environment. According

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<sup>162</sup> Takeshita and Saruya, *Yamato-damashii to Seijoki* [Yamato Spirit under the Stars and Stripes], 209.

<sup>163</sup> United States Army, *The 442nd Combat Team Presents: The Album, 1943* (Atlanta: Albert Love Enterprises, 1943), cited in 442nd Regimental Combat Team Historical Society, “Origins of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team,” <http://www.the442.org/protestsagainst442nd.html> (accessed April 3, 2010).



to Magner White's report, the Issei were "more Japanese than the Japanese themselves" because they became attached to the traditional mores without realizing the transformations in modern Japan.<sup>164</sup> In addition to the influences of their parents, many Nisei attended the Japanese language schools, which taught children how to read, write, and speak Japanese, and also taught "Japanese religious ideas, moralities, and viewpoints." These schools became considered "hotbeds of Japanese propaganda and anti-American intrigue."<sup>165</sup> For instance, in the 1920s in the state of Washington, the Wapato Language School met in the Japanese Association of America (JAA) building, had around 200 students.<sup>166</sup> In 1941, there were 248 Japanese language schools in California that taught 18,000 students the Japanese culture and emperor worship after public school hours.<sup>167</sup> On average, sixty-nine percent of Nisei boys and girls attended Japanese language schools for about three years.<sup>168</sup> Although the Issei parents wanted their Nisei children to be assimilated into mainstream society, they desired their children to understand the Japanese culture and tradition better so that they could be proud of themselves as well as their parents. Indeed, the common language bonded the Issei and Nisei more closely. These language schools served as a "unifying social organization" in

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<sup>164</sup> Magner White, "Between Two Flags," *The Saturday Evening Post*, CCXII (September 30, 1939), 14ff.

<sup>165</sup> Joseph S. Roucek, "American Japanese, Pearl Harbor and World War II," *The Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 4 (Autumn 1943): 640.

<sup>166</sup> Kazuo Ito, *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America*, trans. Shinichiro Nakamura and Jean S. Gerard (Seattle: Japanese Community Service, 1973), 603; Louis Fiset and Gail M. Nomura, *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest in Association with University of Washington Press, 2005), 59.

<sup>167</sup> Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, *Fourth Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*, House of Representatives, 77th Cong., 2nd sess., House Report No. 11086.

<sup>168</sup> Edward K. Strong, *Vocational Aptitudes of Second-Generation Japanese in the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1933), 116.

the community.<sup>169</sup>

There were some similarities between the “loyal” Nisei and the Kamikaze pilots regarding their wartime mentality. First of all, they devoted themselves to their nation’s victory at all costs. Observing the Nisei who hardly experienced a nervous breakdown, Chaplain Masao Yamada argued that their valor in combat came from the Japanese values which they inherited from their parents.<sup>170</sup> Like the Kamikazes, the Nisei’s determination to volunteer for the U.S. armed forces reflected the fundamental concepts of the Japanese culture such as *Bushido* and filial piety. In terms of *Bushido*, a war veteran who had internment experience, Nobuo Kikutani described that it was better to be killed than to be a coward.<sup>171</sup> Ben Tamashiro’s father encouraged his son by saying “Do your best, whatever it is – I don’t care if you come home in a coffin or not, just do your best.”<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, filial piety played an important role in motivating the Nisei to join the forces for some reasons. Concerned about his parents first, Takeshi Hori joined the military service and later recalled: “I had to take a chance, because if I don’t come back, my father could buy a farm by my insurance.”<sup>173</sup>

Like their Japanese counterpart, the 100th/422nd had *Yamato Damashii* (soul of Japan; unchanged loyalty) deep inside their hearts because of their growing environment. Evidently, a volunteer from Hawaii, Don Seki said, “I was motivated to show the *Yamato*

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<sup>169</sup> Edward K. Strong, *The Second-Generation Japanese Problem* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934), 202.

<sup>170</sup> Masao Yamada, quoted in Matsuo, *Boyhood to War*, 132–134.

<sup>171</sup> Nobuo Kikutani, interview by Japanese American Legacy Project, Digital Archive, <http://www.densho.org> (accessed April 5, 2010).

<sup>172</sup> Ben Tamashiro, quoted in Thelma Chang, *“I Can Never Forget”: Men of the 100th/422nd* (Honolulu: Sigi Productions, 1991), 97.

<sup>173</sup> Takeshi Hori, interview by Japanese American Legacy Project, Digital Archive, <http://www.densho.org> (accessed April 7, 2010).

*Damashii.*”<sup>174</sup> The young soldiers did their best not to bring shame to themselves, their families, and their country. Etsuo Kohashi, a sergeant in K Company of the 442nd RCT recalled that most of Nisei soldiers considered dying would be rather preferable than being taken as a prisoner of war in order to avoid shaming their families.<sup>175</sup> Stanley Akita, a former member of C Company who became a POW, recalled what he had learned from his grandfather:

My grandfather was a Russo-Japanese War veteran, I heard over and over again stories about Japanese soldiers so proud that they chose death rather than be captured. . . . When I was captured and had to throw down my rifle, I was almost in tears. I was in Stuttgart at the end of the war, and it was awkward to go back home as a former POW. I didn’t even talk about the war with my family. I was always followed by a feeling of guilt.<sup>176</sup>

Nobody ever tried to run away in order to prove themselves loyal soldiers. Senate Daniel Inouye from Hawaii, who lost his right arm in combat, said “I have no regrets. . . . It was a great honor serving my country.”<sup>177</sup> According to 442nd RCT veteran Matsuo Takabuki, “We did what we did because we knew we had to do it; the loyalty of our generation was in question. Trying to be the best was more important than just being brave.”<sup>178</sup> The 442nd veterans proved that *Nippu Jiji*’s statement in the 1910s was correct which declared that the Nisei would “never choose to neglect their obligation to America, even at the cost of their lives.”<sup>179</sup>

To the Nisei as a group who struggled to pursue Americanization, becoming a part of society was a significant step. Masao Watanabe, one of the 1,200 mainland Nisei

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<sup>174</sup> Duus, *Buriera no kaihoshatachi* [The Liberators of Bruyeres], 92.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 177–178.

<sup>176</sup> Quoted in Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and the 442nd* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 126.

<sup>177</sup> Konhei Murayama, “Postwar 60: Scope: Inouye Symbolizes Heroism of Japanese-Americans,” *Kyodo News International, Inc.*, June 15, 2005.

<sup>178</sup> Matsuo Takabuki, *An Unlikely Revolutionary Matsuo Takabuki and the Making of Modern Hawaii: A Memoir* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 43.

<sup>179</sup> *Nippu Jiji*, quoted in Louise Harris Hunter, *Buddhism in Hawaii: Its Impact on a Yankee Community* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 187.

who served in the 442nd RCT, described his reasons for volunteering after devastating evacuation experience. “I think we did the right thing in volunteering after being kicked in the butt,” said Watanabe. “Because, gee, if you’re going to live here, you’ve got to be a part of society. You’ve got to do what is expected of you. And I had no problem volunteering. I don’t know which was worse: being locked up in camp or going off to war. . . .”<sup>180</sup> For the mainland Nisei, they had two choices: remaining inside camps or serving the nation. Just like the Kamikaze pilots who determined to carry out the suicide attack to save the nation rather than waited for the day of defeat disgracefully, the Nisei decided to fight for their nation rather than staying behind the barbed wire. Bill Mauldin, a prominent war correspondent declared that “no combat unit in the army could exceed them in loyalty, hard work, courage, and sacrifice.”<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Masao Watanabe, Segment 18, Deciding to volunteer for the army: “I don’t know which was worse: being locked up in camp or going off to war,” Densho ID: denshovh-wmasao-01-0018, 442nd Regimental Combat Team/100th Infantry Battalion, Densho Visual History Collection, Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (accessed June 1, 2010).

<sup>181</sup> Bill Mauldin, *Back Home* (1947; repr., New York: Bantam Books, 1948), 164.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION: JAPANESE CULTURE

The Kamikaze Special Attack Corps and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team during World War II showed they had a number of similarities derived from the Japanese cultural and moral values. What made them so similar? Obviously, the legacy of the Meiji education system implanted Confucian teachings with strong emphasis on loyalty and filial piety. Early Meiji Japan was tenaciously worked toward modernization of the nation. To carry out modernization in an effective manner, the Meiji leaders utilized the education system that taught serving the nation at any cost was the obligation of Japanese subjects who were indebted to “divine country.” The Meiji Japanese were taught to believe that “Duty is heavier than a mountain, while death is lighter than a feather.”<sup>1</sup> In the process, they were programmed to give up their self-interests for the sake of the nation in time of emergency. Propagating the *Bushido* ideal, Japan had compensated for the technological and military gap with the West by drawing on the spiritual strength of the Japanese subjects during wars. Significantly, Japan’s victory over China and Russia transformed into their national pride and the Imperial Japanese Navy became a symbol of nationalism by the turn of the twentieth century.

Meiji education gradually cultivated the Japanese values regarding life and death.

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<sup>1</sup> *Gunjin Chokuyu* 軍人勅諭 (Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors), January 4, 1882.

For instance, *Kyoiku Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education) defined the Japanese as the subjects of emperor; the *Gunjin Chokuyu* (Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors) taught that one's commitment to the duty was more important than one's life.

Throughout the time, the Japanese view on death was transformed from “fear” to “obligation” toward the end of World War II. In the mind of Meiji Japanese, the influence of *Kyoiku Chokugo* was so great and the public shortly came to regard the rescript as their sacred book. It was possible in Japan because only small portion of Japanese were known to be religious and the rest of them were open to adopt *Kyoiku Chokugo* as their holy script. Evidently, it was mandatory for all schoolchildren to recite *Kyoiku Chokugo*, and a school principal sacrificed his life to save *Goshinei* (portraits of the emperor) from a fire at school.<sup>2</sup>

Because Meiji education system was so intensive, Japanese living either in Japan or overseas certainly maintained their unique ethnic identity. Surveying the history of Issei experiences, a Japanese American attorney and writer, Frank F. Chuman described the Issei as “bamboo” due to their fortitude against adversities.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, Daniel Okimoto said the Nisei were Japanese outside and American inside.<sup>4</sup> In other word, the Nisei were made up of the mixture of Japanese characteristics and American characteristics.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the Nisei are often labeled as “banana”—yellow on the outside, but white on the inside.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Masao Maruyama, *Nihon no Shiso* [Japanese Thought] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), 32.

<sup>3</sup> Frank F. Chuman, *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese Americans* (Del Mar: Publisher's Inc., 1976).

<sup>4</sup> Daniel I. Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, with a foreword by James A. Michener (New York: Walker/Weatherhill, 1971), 14–15.

<sup>5</sup> Keijiro Tanaka, *Kyoiku ni okeru bunkateki doka: “Nikkei Amerikajin no baai”* [Cultural assimilation on education: “Case of the Japanese American”] (Tokyo: Honpo Shoseki, 1986), 50.

<sup>6</sup> Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 173.

Without exception, Japanese residing in Hawaii and the mainland United States preserved their cultural values and tradition. Denied the opportunity of becoming naturalized U.S. citizens and proud of being Japanese, the Issei's cultural ties with Japan never changed. The Meiji educational institutions based on *Kyoiku Chokugo* had extraordinary influence on the formation of Issei's value system in America. There was no decline in *Nippon Seishin* (Japanese spirit) among the Issei who had played a leading role in the process of Nisei education. The Japanese American community developed strong "social solidarity" in order to survive on foreign soil. Labeled "unassimilable," they wished their Nisei children to be socially successful in America. In so doing, they believed that Japanese virtues derived from *Bushido* and Confucianism such as loyalty and filial piety would facilitate their children to be "better Americans," although such beliefs incited the anti-Japanese sentiment at the time of the Americanization movement. Based on the Issei's belief in the Meiji education's superiority over the American public education, a great number of Japanese language schools were established in Hawaii and the mainland United States. Using exactly the same textbooks as the Japanese schoolchildren were using and taught by teachers invited from Japan, the Nisei became bicultural unconsciously. As their Issei parents wished, the Nisei became Americans with Japanese values who gave priority to family unity and unconditional loyalty to the nation.

Generally, the Hawaiian Nisei were more imbued with Japanese cultural values and they did not try to be or immitate white people like mainland Nisei did. Being the ethnic majority in Hawaii, the Issei reared the Nisei to preserve Japanese virtues and to be proud of their Japanese race and heritage. Daniel Okimoto, a Nisei political scientist,

interpreted that “[i]n the presence of more Japanese and perhaps less anti-Japanese prejudice, Hawaiian Nisei seem to retain more of their racial identity, maintain a large and more cohesive ethnic community, and in general appear less frantic about Americanizing than those on the continent.”<sup>7</sup> It explains why more Hawaiian Nisei volunteered to serve in the U.S. military than the mainland Nisei, whose belief in democracy was shaken by the incarceration of Japanese Americans. Greater numbers of Hawaiian Nisei enlisted to fight for the United States partly because of no organized mass incarceration of Japanese Americans took place. Equally important, their emphasis on loyalty to the country was similar to that of Japanese Kamikaze pilots.

Raised by their parents who were people of the Meiji period in Japan, both Kamikazes and Nisei soldiers upheld Japanese moral discipline whether they were in Japan or in the United States. They called for the creation of these volunteer units. They found loyalty in obedience and submission rather than in protest. During World War II, Japanese nationalism was intertwined with State Shinto, and the Kamikaze suicide attacks turned into an official strategy in the front. In the home front, the Japanese were ready to carry out *ichioku tokko* (“One Hundred Million [Japanese] as a Special Attack Force”). The Kamikaze attack was certainly not an effective military strategy; however, their bravery and courage inspired both combatants and noncombatants to do their best for defending their country. Their sacrifices strengthened the morale of the Japanese people during the most critical phase of the war.

After Japan’s defeat in August 1945, the Kamikaze survivors suffered severe trauma and many of them kept silent for a long time, partly because they felt a sense of debt to those who had perished in the Kamikaze attack while they did not die due to a

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<sup>7</sup> Okimoto, *American in Disguise*, 148.



variety of reasons. Without understanding their feelings, the postwar education and media portrayed Kamikaze survivors as a symbol of ultranationalism, devastating war, and fanatical zealots who died in vain. When the Japanese video game company Capcom created “1943: The Battle of Midway” in 1987, the former Kamikaze pilots would not have felt easy about the concept of the game. To play “1943,” a player pilots a P-38 Lightning to attack the Japanese naval air force composed of Zero fighters in order to destroy the Japanese Air Fleet including the names of actual battleships such as *Yamato*, *Fuso*, *Nagato*, and aircraft carriers such as *Kaga*, *Akagi*, and *Hiryu*. Release of such a game indicated that postwar Japanese preferred to adapt American values, rather than preserving their traditional Japanese values. In the meantime, there has been a tendency in the recent society to reconsider the Kamikaze pilots as selfless heroes. For example, released in 2000, Capcom’s “1944: The Loop Master” allowed the players to pilot Zero fighters, and the names of the real battleship no longer appeared.

Meanwhile, the great achievements of the 442nd RCT in the European theater significantly improved the image of Japanese Americans and eventually led to the closing of the internment camps before the end of war and later the emergence of redress movements. Their efforts demonstrated their American patriotism but simultaneously showed that sacrifice for their families and country fulfilled their duty based on the concept of *Bushido* and Confucianism. They were in their early 20s but had considered foremost what would be best for their families and country. Japanese culture made them patient and obedient to their fate without discontent. Growing up under the Confucian tradition, the filial piety motivated these youth to volunteer for the common good. Evolved from the *Bushido* spirit, *Yamato Damashii* (soul of Japan; unchanged loyalty)

made them strong both spiritually and mentally.

Their virtues, namely loyalty and filial piety, remained supreme among the Issei, and Nisei raised by them unconsciously absorbed unique Japanese values. These cultural values essentially made them volunteer to defend their mother country at all costs.

Although the Americans condemned the Japanese language schools for preventing the Nisei's Americanization, ironically the hard-core Japanese cultural values that the Nisei absorbed from their parents, community, and language schools both directly and indirectly provided the 442nd a key for gaining recognition as "American" and escaping from "hyphenated American name." The 442nd regiment's pursuit of Americanism was strongly supported by the Japanese values. Inheriting the *Bushido* ideals, a strong sense of patriotism during World War II enabled them to go into mainstream society.

On the other hand, the fate of the liberal Japanese Americans who possessed more of American ideals such as Fred Korematsu and members of the Fair Play Committee turned out to be disillusioned. As Americans, they advocated democracy and demanded their rights as citizens, yet they could not win distinction like the 442nd RCT. The words of MIS veteran Karl Yoneda that "Enlisting was the best way to guarantee and protect our future" revealed the real intention of the Nisei who joined the U.S. military.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Similarities between the Kamikaze and the 442nd RCT***

The Japanese culture that resented shame made the soldiers mentally strong and mobilized them into the deadly battlefields without disobedience. The slogans of both

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<sup>8</sup> Karl Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1983), 145. Born in California to Japanese immigrant parents from Hiroshima and going back to Japan, Yoneda was a Kibei, who returned to the United States in 1926 to evade enlistment in the Imperial Japanese Army, and became an active labor organizer. He took the name "Karl" from Karl Marx.

units, “*Uchite shi yamamu*” (Smite till death! Or, I will destroy once and for all) and “Go for Broke” well represented their morale in combat. Rather than protesting against the decision of wartime relocation made by the government, the Nisei chose to obey the order despite realizing it violating their fundamental rights as Americans. While the “disloyal” including the “No-No boys” determined to fight for their liberty, the “loyal” determined to fight not only the war (external oppression) but also the racial prejudice (internal oppression). In other words, the “disloyal” Nisei who emphasized their individualism and demanded liberty were more Americanized than the “loyal” Nisei who sacrificed their lives not only for the sake of the country but also for winning honor by demonstrating their Americanism. Deprived of their liberty, the Nisei utilized the *Nippon Seishin* that they had learned from the Issei in order to win the war as well as to engage the American public’s sympathy for the unjustly interned Japanese Americans.

Like the 442nd RCT, the Kamikaze had suffered from both external and internal oppressions. While the Allied Powers were their “external” enemies whom they had to defeat, the national policy, which was totalitarianism and anti-liberalism, was their “internal” enemy that they had to endure. In addition, anti-intellectualism in wartime Japan, especially among the military officers, resulted in assigning numbers of highly educated reserve students to the Kamikaze attack for preserving the “professional” soldiers and pilots until the final battle on the mainland. Accordingly, the government domination of the media along with the strict censorship of newspapers aimed at the overall elimination of the liberal and democratic elements in the public. Ever since the war broke out, the college students majored in liberal arts, therefore, had been thorns in the military government’s side.

### ***Differences between the Kamikaze and the 442nd RCT***

Examined from cultural point of view, there are some differences between the Kamikaze pilots and the members of 442nd RCT. While the Kamikaze pilots had to prepare for the inevitable death to serve their country, members of the 442nd RCT had chance to come back alive. Moreover, the former was fighting for the losing side while the latter was fighting for the winning side, which made a tremendous difference in their postwar status and social relations. While the demobilized Kamikazes tended to seal the truth, the Nisei proudly passed down their stories to next generations. As the United States won the war, the Nisei simultaneously won liberty and voice in mainstream American society.

On the other hand, considered the embodiment of ultranationalism and dangerous element for the revival of Japanese militarism, the Kamikaze survivors had to endure humiliation of defeat and were no longer respected in the postwar society. Despite their traumatic wartime experiences, the majority of the Kamikaze survivors supported Japan's postwar reconstruction and economic development and rendered memorial service for the war dead. Meanwhile, a small number of Kamikaze survivors, losing sight of the goal in life, became desperate and engage in the anti-social conduct.<sup>9</sup> Occasionally, fake Kamikaze survivors, wearing naval aviator uniform, committed an outrage and plunder. As a result, the press began to critically refer to such former Kamikazes as “*tokko kuzure*” (degenerate Special Attack Corps) by the spring of 1946. In addition, the public hostility to the defeated Japanese government extended to the Kamikaze survivors whom they revered as the gods of war. Furthermore, the postwar education created a discriminatory

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<sup>9</sup> “Tokko saigo no shogen” Seisaku Iinkai, comp., *Tokko: saigo no shogen* [Special Attack Corps: the last statements] (Tokyo: Asupekuto, 2006), 220.

climate that branded the Kamikaze mission as “evil” and as time passed by the Kamikaze survivors had lost opportunities to tell the truth.<sup>10</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

Based on the Meiji teachings that set Japanese moral values, children of the Meiji parents developed similar characteristics. They placed weight on their role in the community and gave priority to the family unity and honor. As has been pointed out in the preceding chapters, filial piety and national loyalty were the core of their cultural identity. Based on the analysis of Hawaii’s Japanese language schools, it was obvious that the Japanese in Hawaii occupying more than 40 percent of island’s entire population could maintain more easily their traditional Japanese way of life and their moral values. They carried out a certain degree of “Japanization” of the American culture in terms of custom, education, religion, goods, clothing, decoration, architecture, landscape, and industry in Hawaii, enabling a cultural interchange between East and West.<sup>11</sup>

Significantly, a strong sense of filial piety shaped the character of the Kamikaze pilots and Nisei soldiers during World War II. As we have seen, the Japanese emphasis on filial piety had lived on in the Japanese American community. Therefore, in order to pursue their duty and obligation, the death even became fearless at a certain point. It was ironic that they had to rely on the physical means to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation. Their sense of debt to the countries made them carry out the suicide/suicidal mission, with the mind “If I don’t, who would do it?” From this point of view, one may

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<sup>10</sup> “Tokko saigo no shogen” Seisaku Inukai, comp., *Tokko: saigo no shogen* [Special Attack Corps: the last statements] (Tokyo: Asupekuto, 2006), 220.

<sup>11</sup> Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokai, *Nichibei Bunka Koshoshi, dai 5-kan: Iju-hen* [History of Japanese-American Cultural Relations, vol. 5: Immigration Edition] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1955), 597.

say that their sense of responsibility for succeeding their mission overcame their fear of death. They accepted death in hope of protecting their loved ones from the humiliating defeat. The concept of filial piety, loyalty, and patriotism played a crucial role in preparing not only the young Japanese soldiers but also the Nisei soldiers for sacrificing their lives for their countries, to which they were indebted. Relevant to this point is a “Yankee Samurai,”<sup>12</sup> Mitz Sakai’s following remark: “We were taught by our parents, believe it or not, that we owe our allegiance to the United States. They stressed that. They said to be the best Americans we could. Our loyalty belongs here.”<sup>13</sup>

The following is another illustration of the same point. During the Battle of Saipan (June 15–July 9), a Nisei linguist named Bob Hoichi Kubo had a conversation with persistent Japanese soldiers who refused to surrender. When the Japanese soldiers saw Kubo wearing American uniform, they asked him the reason to fight for the United States:

“Is there not a Samurai among you?” he replied. Then he recited an ancient verse familiar to all of them, in which a Samurai responds to his father, who has urged him to lead his forces against the Emperor.

“If to kin I am true, then disloyal to throne I would be, if loyal to throne I would be, then I untrue to kin I must be.”<sup>14</sup>

Acknowledging the Nisei’s absolute loyalty to the United States, the Japanese soldiers paid their respect and surrendered to Kubo. The purpose of this quotation is to show that the Japanese soldiers raised in Japan and the Nisei soldiers raised in America shared the common cultural values, which they inherited from their parents and communities.

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<sup>12</sup> “Yankee Samurai” is the nickname for the Nisei linguists who went through the Military Intelligence Service Language School training and served as interpreters, translators, and interrogators during World War II, according to Brian Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to Present* (New York: Facts On File, 1993), 231–232.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Doug Christensen, “Yankee Samurai Wants Tale Told,” *The Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), June 29, 1983, C-3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

On these grounds I have come to the conclusion that the distinctive Japanese culture notably influenced the formation of moral values that led to the creation of unforgettable voluntary units—the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team—during World War II that exposed their soldiers to exceptional dangers.

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Title of Study: CULTURAL ORIGINS OF THE KAMIKAZE SPECIAL ATTACK CORPS AND THE 442ND REGIMENTAL COMBAT TEAM DURING WORLD WAR II: A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE JAPANESE SOLDIERS RAISED IN JAPAN AND THE NISEI SOLDIERS RAISED IN AMERICA

Pages in Study: 308

Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: History

Scope and Method of Study: Motivated by nationalistic fervor, many young brave soldiers all over the world fought for their country at all costs during World War II. In Japan, the wartime hysteria and the desperation of the military to come up with a strategy that could stop the advance of the Allied Powers created the extraordinary suicide squad, known as Kamikaze Special Attack Corps, as an ultimate defensive weapon. In America, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, an all-Japanese American military unit, was created as the only way for Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) to demonstrate their loyalty and American patriotism. Comparing the Japanese soldiers raised in Japan and the Nisei soldiers raised in America, this study, rather than focusing on their military or political significance, examines the Japanese cultural influences on the creation of such volunteer units.

Findings and Conclusions: Raised by their parents who were people of the Meiji period in Japan, both Kamikazes and Nisei soldiers upheld Japanese moral discipline whether they were in Japan or in the United States. First, they shared similar educational background. Through the *Shushin* (moral education) courses, they learned Japanese virtues based on the *Kyoiku Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education). Second, they shared similar cultural values—filial piety and loyalty to the nation—that they inherited from their parents. Third, they culturally adopted *Bushido* as a code of conduct and a way of life for self-enlightenment. Lastly, they followed Confucianism that taught respect for parents and superiors, duty to family, and loyalty to friends. The concept of filial piety, loyalty, and patriotism played a crucial role in preparing not only the young Japanese soldiers but also the Nisei soldiers for sacrificing their lives for their countries, to which they were indebted. On these grounds I have come to the conclusion that the distinctive Japanese culture significantly influenced the creation of both unforgettable volunteer units that exposed their soldiers to exceptional dangers.

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