



Past Wrongs
Future Choices
PWFC Working Paper Series

**What Can Transnational History Do?:
On Archiving and Reading Japanese American Experiences
in the “Tule Lake Stockade Diary,” 1943-1944**

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This paper is circulated to the Past Wrongs, Future Choices partnership collective
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Thoughts, responses and questions most welcome!

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Introduction:

This working paper discusses what “transnational history” can do to historical knowledge production, using the example of Japanese American wartime incarceration. As a part of the *Past Wrongs Future Choices* research project, this paper explains the challenges involved in translation of the “Tule Lake Stockade Diary” and the importance of such an endeavour that made this text accessible to the English-speaking public. It also offers some transcultural readings of the text, which challenges the conventional US-centred interpretations of Japanese American internment/incarceration during World War II.¹ Broadening the scope of research of Japanese American history to include topics such as immigrant nationalism and the incarcerated’s allegiance to beliefs or entities other than a nation-state will elucidate the diversity of wartime experiences of the ethnic Japanese impounded in “American concentration camps.”² Such study will refute our tendency to reduce people to bearers of fixed categorical identities and reveal their complex humanity.

The wartime mass removal of 120,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast and their incarceration in inland concentration camps is one of the best documented incidents in the history of civil rights violations committed by the United States government. The government assessed all the property of Japanese Americans when it registered the “evacuees,” and compiled a set of inventory cards that recorded the property each person owned.³ The military and the War Relocation Authority (WRA) kept detailed records of life in the camps. The WRA created the Community Analysis Section, and this bureaucratic agent formed teams of researchers, including both non-Japanese and Japanese American sociologists and anthropologists, who observed and took field notes in all the camps. The WRA also had legal and demographic analysis teams, and they published official reports. The governmental records are accessible at the National Archives, and the WRA reports were compiled in a reprint series available at libraries.⁴

The wartime internment/incarceration of Japanese Americans is also an episode of racial injustice relatively well known to the public. Information about the contribution and sacrifice made by Nisei (second generation Japanese American)

soldiers have not only been publicly acknowledged by Presidential and Congressional awards, but also disseminated through popular movies and books.⁵ Even though there were decades of silence about the camps within Japanese American community after World War II, the Yellow Power movement, the repeal campaign of Title II (Emergency Detention Act), and the Redress movement encouraged the survivors of the camps to share their experiences with the larger society.⁶ Since the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which granted the camp survivors individual financial compensation and official governmental apology, Japanese Americans have been vocal in their efforts to prevent similar human rights violations in America.⁷ Many Japanese Americans talk about their wartime experiences for this purpose.⁸

Because the Redress movement was fought on the ground that Japanese Americans were loyal American citizens who were incarcerated solely on racial basis, the issues such as immigrant nationalism or pro-Japan sentiments within the community were obscured in public discourses. This tendency created discrepancy between the kinds of camp memories that tended to proliferate and those that did not. Among the ten War Relocation Centers, camps such as Manzanar and Poston are relatively well known, while Tule Lake had not been discussed much until recently. This camp deserves a special explanation, as it was the only camp designated to be a Segregation Center to confine the alleged “disloyal” Japanese Americans. Originally, Tule Lake was one of the ten War Relocation Centers built to house Japanese Americans excluded from the West Coast. In 1943, one year after mass incarceration was completed, the US government, in an attempt to recruit Nisei into military service, conducted a Loyalty Questionnaire, which asked the camp residents about their willingness to serve in the military and forswear their allegiance to the Emperor of Japan. Those who did not answer “yes-yes” to these questions were removed from the regular War Relocation Centers and were sent to the Tule Lake Segregation Center, while those who answered “yes-yes” in Tule Lake were moved to other War Relocation Centers.⁹ Approximately 18,000 people were incarcerated in Tule Lake at its peak.

The former incarcerated of the Tule Lake Segregation Center, along with draft registers, were ostracized from the community in postwar America, as John Okada’s

novel *No-No Boy* depicted.¹⁰ The Redress movement also silenced the stories of “the disloyal.” The existence of the Stockade was even harder to bring to public attention, as those incarcerated in this penal facility inside a Segregation Center were branded as “pro-Japan trouble makers.” It was not until the 21st century that the story of Tule Lake became widely known. Two documentary films, *From A Silk Cocoon* (2005) and *The Cats of Mirikitani* (2006), contributed to the popularization of the Tule Lake story.¹¹

Tule Lake poses a unique problem within the discourse around Japanese American citizenship and their loyalty to the United States. The American-born Nisei and Sansei (third generation Japanese Americans), comprising about three quarters of Japanese American population in the early 1940s, were legally American citizens. Issei (first or immigrant generation) were ineligible to citizenship because of their race, so they were legally the subjects of the Japanese Empire. Even though the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution guarantee citizenship to any person born in the United States, the conventional idea of citizenship relies on the premise that citizens owe allegiance to their nation in return for the protection and privilege they enjoy as full members of society.¹² An overt refusal to pledge allegiance to the nation-state at wartime generated serious ambivalence regarding the citizenship statuses of the incarcerated in Tule Lake.¹³ The Tule Lake Segregation Center was not a prisoners of war camp but was a legal limbo between two warring nations.

As such an ambivalent and transnational space, Tule Lake receded from the public memory of Japanese American internment/incarceration. The Tule Lake Stockade Diary, written by a prisoner in the stockade of the Tule Lake Segregation Center, is a contemporary, first-person account of life in this prison inside a prison camp. The text reveals information about the physical violence and mental as well as spiritual strife the inmates experienced. These are topics overlooked so far, even in the heavily documented history of Japanese American wartime incarceration.

(1) Challenges and Importance of Translation to Re-establish Humanity of “The Caged”

The author of the Tule Lake Stockade Diary, Tatsuo Ryusei Inouye, was a Kibei-Nisei, an American-born person of Japanese ancestry sent to Japan at a young age and

returned to the US.¹⁴ Born in Los Angeles in 1910, Inouye was sent to Japan when he was three years old, and received education there until he returned to the US in 1928. He learned Judo while in Japan and became a master practitioner. After he returned to the United States, he became a Japanese language school teacher in Lancaster, California. He married a Nisei, Yuriko Lili Sugimoto, in Lancaster in 1932. The family ran a grocery store near Downtown Los Angeles, registered under Lili's name.¹⁵ As one of the highest-ranking Judo masters in California, he was chosen to perform at the Judo demonstration in the Opening Ceremony of the 1936 Los Angeles Olympic Games. Tatsuo and Lili had two daughters when Pearl Harbor was attacked by Japan.

Inouye's FBI file shows that he was a dual citizen.¹⁶ He answered "No" to Question 27 of the Loyalty Questionnaire, which asked if he was willing to serve in the US military. He answered "Neutral" to Question 28 inquiring whether he would give unconditional allegiance to the US and forswear his loyalty to the Emperor of Japan. The family was removed from the Poston War Relocation Center and arrived in the Tule Lake Segregation Center on October 9, 1943.

Tatsuo Inouye was arrested in front of his family in the camp barrack on November 13, 1943. He was detained in the Stockade along with other camp residents who were suspected of being a part of the ring of dissident leaders and their sympathizers that incited a riot in the beginning of the month. The Stockade was under military supervision.¹⁷ Inouye kept a secret diary in the stockade and managed to bring the diary out with him at the time of his release on February 14, 1944. He was reunited with his family and stayed in Tule Lake until 1945. A third daughter, Nancy Kyoko, was born in Tule Lake on May 20, 1945. After the war, the family resettled in Los Angeles.

Tatsuo Inouye kept a diary for the entire war years. The original diary, handwritten in Japanese on notepads, are owned and stored in the house of Inouye's only surviving daughter, Nancy Kyoko Oda. Written in Japanese, the diary was not accessible for reading even to Inouye's own family. Because it was stored in a private household of a descendant, the existence of the diary was not known to historians or archivists. The English translation of the Stockade Diary, which covers the three months during which Inouye was incarcerated in the Stockade, was made public on the UCLA

Suyama project website.¹⁸ An accidental encounter between me, a Japanese scholar of Japanese American history, and Tatsuo Inouye's daughters in 2013 led to the discovery of this diary, resulting in its internet publication of the Stockade Diary five years later.

Historian Nayan Shah contacted Nancy Kyoko Oda, and read the unpublished draft of the translated diary to write one chapter in his book, *Refusal to Eat: A Century of Prison Hunger Strikes* (University of California Press, 2022). He devotes one line to the translation process of the diary:

His hand-written diary, translated in 2015 by a Japanese-language scholar commissioned by Inouye's by-then-elderly-daughter, reveals the complex last days of the January 1944 hunger strike. In particular, his diary entries show how some prisoners understood the hunger strike as a collective performance of heroic masculinity and drew on Japanese cultural and ethical codes that emphasize group loyalty, perseverance, and sacrifice of individual needs for a higher cause.¹⁹

Shah's explanation about the translation of this diary is not incorrect, but is not completely accurate. The translation was not done by a "Japanese-language scholar" but a Japan-based historian of Asian North America. Nor did Nancy Kyoko Oda commission the translation. Translation takes hundreds of hours and costs thousands of dollars.²⁰ Even when one is willing to spend the dollars, professional commercial translators cannot necessarily translate with full accuracy when the original materials are highly dependent on a particular historical context that requires special knowledge.²¹ For the translation of this diary to be successful and accurate, a researcher of Japanese American history with an expertise on World War II camp situations who could decipher a handwritten Japanese text was necessary.

Moreover, the raw foreign language historical material needed to be discovered or brought to a scholar, and its translation had to be recognized as a valuable academic endeavour so that the researcher's time and efforts would be devoted to that project. To cover the cost of the entire translation project, research grants had to be mobilized for hiring research assistants.²² It is difficult to meet all these conditions, and

this explains why the translation of this diary, which Inouye wished to publish while he was alive, took forty-five years to complete.

The translation of the diary started in 1973 when Nancy Kyoko Oda worked with her father to read and translate the diary after she went back to university and took Asian American Studies classes at the University of California, Los Angeles.²³ But she was raising a family at the time and the project had to be set aside. Forty years later in 2013, she and her sister Ernie-Jane Masako met me in the elevator at a hotel in Seattle, where the Japanese American National Museum hosted a conference on the 25th anniversary of the Japanese American Redress.²⁴ They explained to me about their father's diary. Since I was returning to Japan the following day, I asked Oda to digitally scan the pages and send them to me electronically after they return to Los Angeles. I read the text and found that Inouye's handwriting was legible, but it was difficult to understand the contents because many special terms used in the Stockade were spelled out in *katakana* (Japanese phonetic alphabet) in uniquely Japanese American ways.²⁵ In addition, cultural knowledge about prewar Japan was needed to comprehend Inouye's thoughts and humour, because he used many cultural metaphors in the text.

The first stage of this second attempt for translation was creating the transcription of the hand-written text. I hired two research assistants for this purpose. The next stage was to translate the transcribed text into English, which had roughly been translated by one of the RAs. As I worked on translation, I often had to see the original hand-written text to check if the transcription was correct. In the meantime, Nancy Kyoko Oda met David K. Yoo, Director of the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. He was interested in the content of the diary and decided to include it in the UCLA's Suyama Collection.²⁶ Once the full translation draft was completed, Martha Nakagawa, a Los Angeles-based journalist and a Tule Lake survivors' descendant, edited the draft and completed the English text. Nakagawa's profound knowledge about Tule Lake was indispensable to ensure the accuracy of translation. Finally, the English text was uploaded by a technical staff on the UCLA website, and it became public in 2018. The print book version was published by Nancy Kyoko Oda in 2020.²⁷ It was a long-overdue project that bore fruit as a result of an international research collaboration.

The Stockade Diary is only a part of Inouye's diary. The digitized and transcribed texts of the Tule Lake diary are in my possession, but the texts are not translated into English. The diary from Inouye's Poston days has been partially digitized. All the original hand-written diaries are at Oda's house. Where they will be stored in longer terms is not yet decided.

Aside from the importance and difficulty of translation which is an essential transnational task in doing transnational history, it is worthwhile to emphasize how foreign language sources can give human agency to trans-Pacific migrants' experiences that often get erased in studies that only rely on English language materials. A comparison between a photographic analysis and a textual analysis illuminates this point.

A Clem Albers' 1942 photograph captioned *Last Japanese Leave* shows a Japanese American family being taken away in a military truck from their home in San Pedro, California.²⁸

Photo 1: Clem Albers, "San Pedro, Last Japanese Leave" (1942)



In a paper titled "Animality and Detainment for US Security," Funie Hsu interrogates how borders between citizens and aliens, loyal Americans and disloyal enemies, and humans and non-humans, are manifested through the mechanism of detainment of racialized populations for national security.²⁹ Albers' photograph, Hsu

claims, “provides a visual representation of the uncertainty of life lived in that liminal space.”³⁰ She further writes, “Not only did this form of detainment mark Japanese Americans who were legal citizens of the U. S. as suspicious and perpetual foreigners, it also attempted to destabilize their humanity.”³¹ The horse stalls in the Assembly Centers, Hsu writes, “created spatial and philosophical borders between what was inscribed as the human world of so called ‘loyal’ American citizens and the non-human animal realm of the incarcerated ‘enemy’ Japanese and Japanese Americans.”³²

To highlight the state violence against a racial minority, Hsu highlights the caging of human beings during Japanese American removal. She claims that humans are reduced into animality when caged. However, humans still think and utter words while caged. Studies only using still photographs do not give voice to those who were caged, as the photos do not reveal what the world looked like from inside the cage.³³ To let “the caged” speak, translation is necessary because more often than not their languages are ones other than English. Not only literal translation but also transcultural interpretations are needed to thoroughly understand what happened and how people experienced their captivity. Texts such as the Tule Lake Stockade Diary provide a window through which we learn the experiences of “the caged” in their own words.

(2) Transcultural Reading of the Diary (1): Decoding Miscommunications among the Incarcerates, the Camp Administrators, and the FBI Agent

The Tule Lake Stockade Diary needs to be understood in the context of the confusion and disorder which resulted from the poor crisis management on the part of the War Relocation Authority at the face of the real unrest and the imagined threat induced by the pro-Japan faction in the camp.³⁴ In mid-October 1943, a farm truck overturned coming back from the field, killing one man and injuring several others. On October 25, farm workers started a strike. The camp authority brought in farmers from other camps and paid them higher wages than the standard camp wage scales, exasperating the Tule Lake residents. The discontent about the housing and social conditions escalated, and pro-Japan groups of men gained prominence in the camp.³⁵ Beating incidents among the camp residents occurred frequently.

The Inouyes arrived in Tule Lake on October 9. Tatsuo Inouye met with some other Judo practitioners, and found out that he was the eldest and of the highest ranking among them.³⁶ Since some rowdy young men were causing various disturbances in the camp, Inouye was asked to organize a team of security guards to maintain the order.³⁷ He declined the request and insisted that the unrest among young people resulted from their confinement; young people needed a place where they could enjoy sports. Inouye gathered Judo teachers and started planning a youth program. As they were preparing the opening of a *dojo* (training space for martial arts), the situation in the camp deteriorated.

On November 1, the WRA National Director Dillon Myer visited Tule Lake. The Representative Committee (Daihyo-sha Kai), a de facto negotiation group of the camp residents, met with Myer and the Project Director Raymond Best.³⁸ A crowd of 5,000 gathered around the administration building. The negotiation went on for three hours, and after the event the crowd dispersed without major unrest.

On the same day, however, a white medical doctor in the hospital was severely beaten by a group of men, and some of the administrative staff became frightened by the gathering crowd. On November 4, when some camp residents entered the administrative quarter to protest as they mistakenly believed that the camp food was being stolen, Director Best called in the military. Tanks were brought in, and soldiers with bayonets roamed throughout the camp. The Army searched the barracks, confiscating food and valuable goods. The authorities tried to identify the pro-Japan group that “incited” the riot. On November 13, Tatsuo Inouye was arrested.

Inouye’s diary describes the plight of camp residents in his interrogation by the FBI agent about the event on November 1:

FBI: Please tell me about the hospital.

Tatsuo Inouye (TI): I don’t know the details, but I can tell you the general atmosphere. On the second or third day after our arrival, my child suffered from a toothache. She was screaming in pain, so we called an ambulance. The hospital was pretty far, and it was a very cold day. But the ambulance never came, so we

wrapped our child and took her to the hospital ourselves. After we returned to our block, I asked my neighbor if the ambulance was always that slow, and he said to me, "Even when there is a patient in critical condition, the ambulance never comes. So they would not dispatch an ambulance for such a trivial symptom like a toothache." In fact, I heard that it was as if you were walking into death when you go to that hospital. You would end up dead being treated by a poorly skilled doctor. I know this is extreme, but from my own experience, I learned how bad the residents' feelings are.

Inouye's diary corroborates other records that the camp doctor at Tule Lake was distrusted by the residents. A group of residents decided to form an unofficial negotiation committee to bring the people's grievances to the authority, as they heard about the WRA National Director's visit.

TI: In the camp, they do not feel they can trust Mr. Best. If we explain the situation to Mr. Myer, we thought the camp life might change for the better.

FBI: Residents don't believe Mr. Best?

TI: To promise and not follow through is worse than not promising at all. It gives everyone a bad feeling.

FBI: I understand. Is that why everyone was waiting for Mr. Myer?

TI: Yes, Mr. Myer is a first-class gentleman in America. It is a Japanese common sense that gentlemen never lie. So everyone was waiting for Mr. Myer. The news that he was coming spread out and the whole camp went out to see him. This part of the story you already know. Some were there carrying babies; some women were pushing buggies, and there were many old people. It was so merry it was just like a picnic.

Inouye reveals that, despite the fact that he was not a part of Daihyo-sha Kai, he was in the room where the negotiation took place with the National WRA Director. He explains how this happened:

TI: As I watched the situation, something occurred to me. If one young man makes violence; others will follow. I don't like violence. The Japanese just had ordinary demands. That's all. I didn't think that the camp authority had any reason to deny their requests. I thought that a calm discussion would solve the problem. But if someone created a commotion, then I thought that the honor of the "great people (*dai kokumin*)," do you understand? The honor of the "great people" would be tainted. I practice judo. In case such violence occurs, I am duty-bound to stop it. I must preserve the honor of the Japanese. So I went to the entrance of the building. I was standing facing the crowd with the door right behind me. Then somebody said, "Come" or "Come in." I looked behind, and the door that was closed a moment ago was open. I entered as if I was sucked into the building.

In the room where the Daihyo-sha Kai members met Dillon Myer, Inouye recalls:

TI: I actually feel like an outsider. The Japanese there also stared at me wondering what I was doing there. But since I was there already, I gathered myself together, since I am a judo practitioner. I sat down on a chair without showing fear. I decided that I would listen to the representatives, and if they did not discuss the conditions of food and the hospital, which I was most concerned about, I thought I would speak up and explain it to Mr. Myer.

FBI: Did you sign the attendance sheet?

TI: Yes I did.

FBI: Ah, that's why they put you into stockade.

(...)

TI: The reason why I signed the paper is because Mr. Myer is an American gentleman and I am a Japanese gentleman so I signed it. Do you understand my feelings? Do you understand Japanese politeness?

FBI: I understand.

Inouye's account reveals that the negotiation between Japanese American delegates and the camp authorities were unsuccessful, and he was frustrated that the Daihyo-sha Kai was not bringing up the issues of living conditions in the camp. The diary reveals that Inouye felt responsibility for protecting his family, his community, and the honour of "his nation." Inouye also viewed gentlemen, regardless of race, as trustworthy. His definition of a gentleman was someone who did not lie or disappoint the people. He equated that honesty was politeness. He insisted that the fact that he signed the attendance sheet should prove his innocence. However, from the American perspective, the fact that he was in the room with the negotiation committee members showed that he was among the dissidents who brought grievances to the camp authority. This made him suspect in the views of keepers of the concentration camps.³⁹ The text illustrates a tragic transcultural miscommunication.

The FBI agent understood that Inouye was neither a threat to camp internal security nor a pro-Japan agitator. Nonetheless, Inouye was detained for three months, and the reason for his detention was never explained during or after the war.

(3) Transcultural Reading of the Diary (2): Food, Violence, and the "Alienation" of Japanese American Bodies

Tatsuo Inouye recorded in his diary every meal served as well as daily incidents and his thoughts. The diary shows the scarcity and poor quality of food, the prevalence of physical violence inflicted upon the detainees by army guards, and the intensification of distrust between the military and the detainees over time. The diary describes how tensions among detainees heightened, reflecting the worsening human relationships within the entire camp community.

It is noteworthy that Inouye wrote about food so meticulously. What did food mean to him as a "Japanese" and as an "American"? This section will discuss the relationship between food and war.

Lizzie Collingham's *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (2011) explains that during World War II, some 20 million people starved to death, a

larger number than the soldiers who died in combat.⁴⁰ Collingham explains that food security was a major motivation for the war, and that the production and supply of food were critical to the life, death, and the morale of citizens and soldiers. She points out that the Axis Powers, like Japan and Germany, starved many of their own soldiers and people to death, while the colonial powers, like the UK, extracted food resources from its colonies, causing starvation and famine in the colonies. This resulted in millions of death in India and other places.⁴¹ On the other hand, the war pushed unprecedented investment in the food industry in the United States.⁴²

The contrast between the food situation in Japan and that in the US was stark. The Japanese memory about food during the war centers upon the shortage of food and starvation.⁴³ Even the postwar popular culture in Japan reflected on the suffering children and soldiers due to the lack of food and medicine.⁴⁴

Photo 2: *Grave of the Fireflies* (2005)

Photo 3: *Soreike! Anpanman* (1988

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On the other hand, in the United States, the food industry transformed itself during World War II because the military was anxious about feeding the soldiers.⁴⁵ As the government had to counter the public apathy towards the war, it was essential to minimize American casualties. The rations for American soldiers were designed to contain enough calories and nutrients to perform strenuous physical activities. The

military invested heavily in the development of portable food, with calories, nutrients, and durability carefully calculated. The processed cheeses, cereal bars, snack foods, and retort packets sold today were originally designed to be carried by soldiers on the battlefield. Food advertisements during World War II reflected the scientification of food as well as the militarization of the home front.

Photo 4:

A Nestle Advertisement in *Life* (1942) ⁴⁶
(1943)⁴⁷

CHOCOLATE IS A Fighting FOOD!

MAXIMUM nourishment with minimum bulk has been the objective of the U. S. Army in selecting the food for our fighting men. This is why the chocolate bar has come into its own as every fighting front of the war. For there is more quick energy packed into the familiar chocolate bar than in contained in many recommended energy foods. It has become one of the answers to the problem of keeping the soldier supplied with food in modern, high-speed, mobile warfare.

In fact, today the important Type D Army Emergency Ration for use under extreme field conditions is a chocolate bar.

Delicious, nutritious and compact—chocolate is everybody's favorite, whether on the fighting front as an energy food, or on the home front as a quick pick-me-up.

Although serving our fighting men comes first, Nestlé's Chocolate Bars in the familiar Nestlé's wrapper, may still be found on dealers' shelves throughout the country.

COMPARATIVE ENERGY VALUES

Food	Calories
1 Medium Loaf (4 oz. Shaded)	175
1 Glass Milk (8 oz.)	147
2 Eggs	140
2 Thin Bread	200

NESTLÉ'S THE WORLD'S GREATEST NAME IN CHOCOLATE

Photo 5:

An Advertisement of pesticide



Despite the abundance of food in the wartime United States, food strained the WRA. Right-wing politicians disseminated misinformation to the public, claiming that Japanese Americans in the camps were being pampered and fed better than “Americans.”⁴⁸ Federal officials needed to appease antagonistic public feelings against the incarcerated, while placating the rising discontent within the camps about poor living conditions.

Food played a crucial role in the success or failure of camp management. In some camps, such as Gila River, the camp administration succeeded in boosting

agricultural production and improving substantially the food available to incarcerated. ⁴⁹ The camp provided fresh vegetables not only in Gila River but all other camps. Gila River also had a successful dairy industry, which provided not only nutritious food but also useful skills to the incarcerated to help them leave the camp. The improvement in the camp food quelled the tensions among the camp residents.

On the other hand, the administration in Tule Lake failed to provide food security and other welfare for the incarcerated, and suppressed the demands for improvement. Instead, the Tule Lake camp administration and the military weaponized food to subjugate so-called “trouble-makers” and general camp residents. Inouye’s Stockade diary revealed the rapid deterioration of food conditions:

November 14 (Day 2 of incarceration in the stockade. Stockade Population: 19)

Breakfast: Three fried eggs; coffee; bread; corn flakes.

Lunch: lettuce, raisin, coffee, cake, sparerib, biscuits, bread.

Dinner: Macaroni, tomato sauce, mashed potatoes, coffee, bread and peaches.

This was a feast Inouye hadn’t had since the forced eviction from his home. However, the food situation worsened quickly, as more people were forced into the Stockade. On November 16, the inmates were ordered to cook for themselves. On November 21, the lieutenant in charge ordered food for 30 people, but the stockade population had grown to 68. When the lieutenant was told about the shortage of food, he answered, “That’s none of my business.”⁵⁰ The next day:

Nov. 22, (Stockade Population: 83)

Breakfast: coffee, potato, 1 1/2 weenie, mush.

Lunch: Soup with beef, rice, tea.

Dinner: Stew (or something like it), rice, coffee.

Care packages arrived from the inmates’ families, including tobacco, persimmons, grapes, cakes, candies, Japanese sweets, and so on. Food was shared

among the cell-mates. Sending of cakes and candies were soon prohibited. By the end of November, the number of inmates exceeded 200:

December 20 (Stockade Population: 207)

Breakfast : coffee, bread

Lunch: rice, 1 teaspoon full of *nimono* (corned beef, potato), 2 pieces of beets

Dinner: rice, broiled salted mackerel, tea (they supplied 76 mackerels for 200 people and told us to use them for two meals)”

Scarcity of food and lining up outside for the daily roll call took a toll on the health of detainees, and conditions and morale in the Stockade further deteriorated. Those who the Army considered as particularly defiant were kept in the tent jail outside the building in the freezing cold weather. There were only 8 latrines for over 200 detainees. They could only shower once in several days. The latrines always had a long queue because everybody was constipated. A flu broke out, and many became sick.

On December 21, the camp residents sent abundant food to the Stockade for Christmas. Inouye documents meticulously what each camp block sent. The detainees enjoyed the feasts for a couple of days. On Christmas Eve, however, only bread and water was served as a punishment for the physical beating of one detainee by another. On December 26, Hayashi Tamotsu, a 25-year-old man transferred from Hawaii died of kidney failure in the camp hospital. He was ill since he was taken from Hawai'i, but the military refused to provide medical attention. His fellow inmates from Hawai'i requested to conduct his funeral in the Stockade as he had no friends in the camp. The army rejected the request. On the same day, the soldiers threw bread on the ground and ordered the detainees to pick it up and serve it as food. The detainees refused, and no other food was supplied. On the New Year's Eve, the detainees collectively decided to go on a hunger strike.

The food situation in Gila River and that in the Tule Lake Stockade illuminate the diversity in Japanese American incarceration experiences. The camps were all undoubtedly in America, but the diary reveals how some Japanese Americans

experienced this war like the Japanese in Japan and the Pacific battlegrounds, suffering from food scarcity, ideological repression, and physical abuse. The in-between-ness of the Stockade detainees was even reflected in the changes in their physical appearances as their bodies increasingly turned “Japanese.”

In the December 31 entry of the diary, Inouye described how the military reacted when the detainees refused to leave their cells for a roll call:

Five minutes passed. No one moved. We saw Lieutenant Colonel Austin consulting with Second Lieutenant Schafer. Then, the soldiers burst into our rooms, and we reluctantly trailed out. Snow started falling. It was fortunate that I had dressed warmly, prepared to enter the tent stockade. But still, that bone-chilling coldness is indescribable. Since shaved heads (*bozu gari*) had become popular, the snow fell on the many shaved heads and melted.

In the diary in earlier days, Inouye had explained the fact that head shaving was an act of defiance to the US military and a display of pro-Japan sentiment common among the Stockade detainees. On December 15, Inouye wrote to his wife, “Everyone cut their hair short in my room except me. It would be bad if I catch a cold.”

On the New Year’s Day, the detainees gathered in the field:

We pledged our loyalty to Japan, as we lived under pressure during the war in the United States. We were segregated and sent to Tule Lake. Then, we were illegally thrown into the stockade. The snow appeared silver like the pure heart and body that we carried. At 10 o’clock, we gathered in a field, close to the hospital. We faced towards Japan with utmost respect and took a deep bow. Then, we raised a cheer: *Dai Nippon teikoku, Banzai!* (To the great country of Japan, banzai!) We raised our hands and cheered, “banzai,” three times. How inspirational. We were moved to tears. We, then, immediately dispersed and returned to the barracks.

Inouye believed that the hunger strike would show “our Japanese heritage and

Japanese will.”⁵¹ He told the younger men suffering from hunger, “think about the Imperial soldiers stationed in the Aleuts.”⁵² He advised them to be strong because they were fighting against the immoral American soldiers for the honor of Japan. But his sense of pride and dignity in the Japanese spirit turned into distress and disappointment after six days. The detainees took a vote and decided to end the hunger strike. Inouye described the day when the strike ended:

I heard that some people disregarded those in charge and rushed into the kitchen. They, then, gorged themselves on the bread, despite our warning to conduct themselves as honorable Japanese. Someone counted up to 50 people doing this and then lost count. ... The chief guard second lieutenant, another lieutenant, and Mr. Cobol were all smirking. One of them said, “I know you are hungry.”

...

I sat down at a table and ate some bread and milk. I was filled with emotion and could not find words for it. Did we disgrace the Japanese honor because we wanted to eat this? At 12 o’clock in the afternoon, I ate some rice porridge.⁵³

Nayan Shah notes that the success or failure of a prison hunger strike depends on whether the strikers can get enough attention from the outside world that would pressure the captors to alleviate the oppression.⁵⁴ The captives in the Tule Lake Stockade expected that the American government might intervene because the American nationals held hostage in Japan might be harmed if Japanese Americans died in the Stockade under the supervision of the US military. In this case, however, the camp residents were also incarcerated, the American public had no sympathy for Tuleans; the Nisei in the Stockade were not under the protection from the Japanese government. The strikers had little leverage over the military even if they put their lives on the line. In this sense, the Tule Lake Stockade was indeed a “stateless” space, and those incarcerated in it were completely “rightless.”⁵⁵

Inouye did not lead the strike, but he was bitterly disappointed by this failure. For him, it showed the spiritual weakness and a lack of humility of those who called for

the strike and then voted to give up the cause prematurely. This was their defeat against the American authority. It was a shame on the Japanese.

Inouye's relationship with the Hokoku Seinen Dan, the group that supported the Japanese Emperor and encouraged renunciation of American citizenship, calls for attention. He was not a part of the Hokoku Seinen Dan, nor was he supportive of their nationalistic agitations that terrorized many Tule Lake residents. This is shown in the fact that Inouye refused to shave his head while all others in his cell did. He had defied peer pressure.

After the defeat of the hunger strike, however, he changed his mind: "I shaved my head. Everyone in my room had shaved their heads. I was the only one with hair. But I had lost, so I thought it was time for me to shave my head, too. 'Let's do it!'"⁵⁶ This text shows that Inouye did not shave his head because of his alignment with the pro-Japan faction but to show his sense of humility and dignity. He did not agree with the bravado of those who advocated for the hunger strike. If the shaved heads represented for Hokoku Seinen Dan their masculinity, patriotism, and loyalty to the Empire of Japan, the shaved head of Inouye stood for his acknowledgment of his defeat and humility. After the end of the hunger strike, he more or less kept to himself and read *Saikontan*, a 16th Century Chinese book of philosophical wisdom. His body might have turned into that of an "alien Japanese," but his mental and spiritual aspiration to maintain his "peace of mind" as a judo practitioner never faltered.

Photo 6: Hokoku Seinen Dan at Tule Lake



Photo 7: Wayne Collins' Photo of the Tule Lake "Trouble Makers"



(4) Transcultural Reading of the Diary (3): Transnational Identity of Tatsuo Inouye

Throughout his incarceration, Inouye saw himself as a Japanese living in the United States. He told his wife and daughters to be good “Japanese” as well. His February 1 diary reveals his inner thoughts on what kind of person he aspires to be. He also expressed his vision regarding the relationship between the colonial subjects in the Great Japanese Empire (*Dai Nippon Teikoku*), and the Japanese. He envisioned how his deeds could help improve the strained relationship:

Now that I am over thirty, I reflect upon my life, thus far. ... I am the type of person who always wonders about how I should conduct myself in the future. If my work ethics and attitude could convince one or two people in the occupied territories that the Japanese are trustworthy and that cooperating with the Japanese would lead to prosperity, it would make me happy. If such people should multiply from five to ten, to even one hundred, that would be a dream come true.

At the same time, he sympathizes with the imperial soldiers of Japan, fight a war against the United States and the rest of Asia.

When we think about those fallen Japanese soldiers in the battlefield, who had dedicated their lives to their home country, it would be unforgivable if we sought comfort only for ourselves and thought only of our own selfish interests.

On February 3, he wrote to his wife.

My records are good.

In the near future, we can be together so please do not worry. Do not forget that I am not the only person suffering in this situation but there are many.

- *You should beware of what you say. Misinformation always comes from bad or inaccurate rumors.*
- *Do not forget other people's kindness.*

- *Take good care of children.*
- *Please remember that you have pride in yourself.*

I am hoping to take advantage of this situation and study and strengthen my health. When I return to you, we might feel like a newlywed couple, and it might be a good thing.

On February 14, he was released from the Stockade and was reunited with his family.

Conclusion:

The Tule Lake Stockade Diary is a rare document that reveals what life was like in the prison inside a prison camp. It took 45 years, an accidental trans-Pacific encounter between Inouye's descendants and a Japanese scholar of Japanese North American history, and an international research collaboration to make this text accessible to the Inouye family and the world.

Even though many might think that everything about Japanese American wartime experiences are already well known, there are in fact many aspects of this historical injustice that are unexplored. As a matter of fact, the very idea that there may not be anything new to discover about Japanese American internment/incarceration is the product of the policing of historical memories and selecting certain ways to talk about the internment as legitimate, at the expense of other more unsettling narratives. Inouye's diary defies the hegemonic portrayal of Japanese Americans as "loyal American citizens who swore unconditional allegiance to the United States." He refused to take arms against Japan, and he refused to swear "unconditional" allegiance to either one of his home country at war with each other. At the same time, he was a loyal American citizen in the sense that he had American citizenship and he did not break any law. Perhaps what needs to be questioned is what loyalty to one's nation entails, rather than Inouye's internal ideological integrity as an honorable human being regardless of race and one's nation.

The Tule Lake Stockade Diary shows that food was an agent of both

oppression and resistance in the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans. Food played a crucial role in the carceral ruling of “enemy aliens.” In other camps, food was used as the biopower to manage and appease the impounded community. Food decided the fate of Japanese Americans. The abundance of food created the body of American citizens. The lack of food created the body of “starving enemy aliens,” not unlike those starving bodies in wartime Japan.

Inouye’s resistance is spelled out in the terms similar to the slogans used by the Japanese in Japan, which tried to overcome material deprivation with the spiritual strength. Of course, it was impossible to win a war by ignoring the material supply of soldiers, and as Collingham wrote, Japan, which starved its people for the Emperor, faced a disastrous defeat. Inouye’s cultural expression of resistance against his racial oppression as an American citizen shows that the Tule Lake Segregation Center stockade was a transnational space, although legally it was a “stateless” space.

Finally, this working paper reiterates the importance of translation and transcultural analyses. Still photographs of Japanese Americans might display the animality of the caged subjects. But the foreign language texts those caged people produced illuminate their humanity.

¹ In the past decade, the term “incarceration” is gaining support from the Japanese American and academic community than “internment.” National JAACL (Japanese American Citizens League) Power of Words II Committee, *Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II* (San Francisco: Japanese American Citizens League, April 27, 2013), 11, 13. Retrievable at <https://jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Power-of-Words-Rev.-Term.-Handbook.pdf>. However, this paper uses “internment/incarceration” to represent the fact that both Issei, who were Japanese nationals, and Nisei/Sansei, who were American citizens, were confined in various detention facilities during World War II. The comprehensive list of individuals confined in these detention facilities was created by Duncan Ryukun Williams and his team for the Japanese American National Museum in

2022. Information about this project, titled “Ireicho,” can be accessed in the following web page. <https://www.janm.org/exhibits/ireicho>. The names of the 125,284 camp survivors can be retrieved from the “Ireizo” website, <https://ireizo.com>.

² The term “concentration camp” has been used since the end of the 19th century for a detention facility that holds “groups of civilians outside a normal legal process,” according to a journalist historian Andrea Pitzer. Such camps have existed continuously around the world. Andrea Pitzer, *One Long Night: A Global History of Concentration Camps* (New York and London: Little, Brown and Company, 2017). However, since the term was used to describe the camps created for the extermination policy of the Jewish population in the areas under occupation by the Nazi Germany, the term came to be commonly associated with the “death camps” in the Holocaust. This caused the usage of this term for other historical events to invite resistance and protest. In the case of Japanese American WWII confinement, the usage of the term “concentration camps” became more or less acceptable after the JA community consulted the representatives of the Jewish organizations and survivors of the Holocaust and collectively decided to use the term. Eric L. Muller, “The Nazi Analogy in Japanese American Civil Rights Discourse,” *North Carolina Civil Rights Law Review*, 1: 1 (2021): 94-119.

³ This is the case in Canada as well. In Canada, the Custodian of Enemy Property recorded all the property of Japanese Canadians forcefully removed from the West Coast. The property records could be accessed in the database compiled by the Landscape of Injustice project. <https://loi.uvic.ca/archive/loiCollectionCustodianCaseFiles.html>.

⁴ United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *War Relocation Authority* (New York: AMS Press, 1971) is an 11 volume series of the reprint of the final report of the War Relocation Authority.

⁵ The valour of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and the 100th Infantry Battalion was popularized by movies such as *Go For Broke!* (1951) directed by Robert Pirosh, who received the Academy Award for its screenplay in 1951.

⁶ Masumi Izumi argues that the movement to repeal the Emergency Detention Act, or Title II of the Internal Security Act, provided the first wide-spread opportunity for Japanese Americans to speak about their incarceration experiences during World War II.

Masumi Izumi, *The Rise and Fall of America's Concentration Camp Law: Civil Liberties Debates from the Internment to McCarthyism and the Radical 1960s* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019).

⁷ Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Yasuko I. Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

⁸ One of the most active attempts to share the experience of Japanese American incarceration with the American public to address the issue of today's human rights violations related to the US immigration policies is a Japanese American social advocacy group, "Tsuru for Solidarity." <https://tsuruforsolidarity.org> Accessed January 20, 2023. Immediately after the 9.11 terrorist attack, Senshin Buddhist Temple, a Japanese American temple in Los Angeles expressed its support for the Muslim community by sharing their experiences after Pearl Harbor attack. This led to an inter-faith community events between Japanese American and Muslim American organizations. For details, see Masumi Izumi, "Seeking the Truth, Spiritual and Political: Japanese American Community Building through Engaged Ethnic Buddhism," *Peace and Change* 35: 1 (2010): 39-67.

⁹ Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946).

¹⁰ John Okada, *No-No Boy: A Novel by John Okada* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1957); John Okada, *No-No Boy*, introduction by Karen Tei Yamashita (New York: Penguin, 2019).

¹¹ Satsuki Ina, Stephen Holsapple, and Emery Clay III (directors), *From a Silk Cocoon: A Japanese American Renunciation Story* (DVD: Hesono O Productions, 2006); Linda Hattendorf (director), Masa Yoshikawa and Linda Hattendorf (producers), *The Cats of Mirikitani* (DVD: Lucid Dreaming, Inc. in association with the Independent Television Service, 2006). Barbara Takei and Judy Tachibana, *Tule Lake Revisited: A Brief History and Guide to the Tule Lake Concentration Camp Site* (San Francisco: Tule Lake Committee, Inc., 2012).

¹² This contractual concept of citizenship developed during the American Revolution in the late 18th century, as the colonists rebuked the idea of the subjects owing natural allegiance to the monarch. The question concerning the relationship between citizenship and allegiance continued to be debated in the United States after the independence. James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), Chapter 7, “The Idea of Volitional Allegiance,” pp.173-209.

¹³ Japanese American internment/incarceration generated a peculiar problem for the concept of American citizenship because the US government violated the rights of American citizens of Japanese ancestry without the individual assessment of loyalty at the early stage of the war. It was only after their mass incarceration was completed that Japanese Americans were subjected to individual assessment of their loyalty. The attitudes of the camp administration towards Japanese Americans differed from camp to camp. Naturally, the more oppressive the camp management was, the less likely that the incarcerated felt allegiance to the United States government, and it was impossible to distinguish between some Japanese Americans’ innate sense of affiliation with Japan from their resentment against the United States as a reaction to their mistreatment.

¹⁴ Tatsuo Ryusei Inouye and Nancy Kyoko Oda, *Tule Lake Stockade Diary*.

¹⁵ According to the “Urban Property Inventory” card created by the Evacuee Property Division of the War Relocation Authority, Lili Inouye owned one property at 4565 Matthews Street and another at 3413 Folsom Street in Los Angeles. The Folsom property in Downtown Los Angeles was where the family had a grocery store and a 7-room residence. The “Urban Property Inventory” cards are preserved and accessible in the War Relocation Authority records in the United States National Archives in Washington, D.C. The cards are sorted by the county, and is placed in alphabetical order based on family names.

¹⁶ Nancy Kyoko Oda obtained her father’s FBI files.

¹⁷ The War Relocation Centers were managed by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), a civilian federal agency with a Projected Director and the administrative personnel in each camp. The military guarded the camps from outside the camp but were not authorized to

interfere with the camp management or bring the army into the camp. The Tule Lake Segregation Center was also managed by the WRA, but after the incident in early November, the tanks and soldiers roamed around the camp searching inside the barracks. The presence of the military in the camp terrorized the residents and hardened the sentiment of the group of residents who endorsed their support for Japan. Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946).

¹⁸ The English translation of the Tule Lake Stockade Diary can be read in the UCLA Suyama Project Website, which was dedicated to the resisters in the history of Japanese American internment/incarceration. http://www.suyamaproject.org/dc_posts_es/tule-lake-stockade-diary/.

¹⁹ Nayan Shah, *Refusal to Eat: A Century of Prison Hunger Strikes* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2022), Chapter 5, “Solidarity and Survival in the Tule Lake Stockade.”

²⁰ Professional translation from Japanese to English costs between 20 cents to 25 cents per English word. A specialized translation such as the Tule Lake Diary’s hand-written text could cost even more.

²¹ Outside the English-speaking world, one of the major tasks for academic researchers is the translation of academic publications from English to a foreign language and, to a lesser degree, vice versa. In the discipline of American history in Japan, for example, literature review of the latest publications in the United States constitute the major part of the researchers’ presentations and publications rather than original research.

²² In the translation of the Tule Lake Stockade Diary, the costs for hiring two graduate students as research assistants and the researcher’s multiple travel costs between Japan and Los Angeles were covered by the research grant from Doshisha University and the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (KAKENHI) from the Japanese government.

²³ Nancy Kyoko Oda, “A Note on Translation Issues,” in Tatsuo Inouye and Nancy Kyoko Oda, *The Tule Lake Stockade Diary* website. http://www.suyamaproject.org/dc_posts_es/tule-lake-stockade-diary/.

²⁴ The details about this encounter is explained in the following article. Masumi Izumi,

“An Accidental Historian: My Journey in Research on Japanese North American Community Activism,” in Mari Yoshihara, ed., *Unpredictable Agents: The Making of Japan’s Americanists during the Cold War and Beyond* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2021), pp.179-182.

²⁵ For example, Inouye uses 「サーヂェン」 for “sergeant,” while in Japan, the term would be translated into an equivalent Japanese word 「軍曹」. In the diary text, 「バラック」 means “Block” while in ordinary Japanese 「バラック」 means “barrack” and “Block” would be spelled 「ブロック」. The spelling discrepancies occurred due to the difference between the language used by the Nikkei and that used by the Japanese in Japan. Not only the knowledge about prewar Japanese language but also the knowledge about the Nisei Japanese language was needed to understand the diary.

²⁶ The Suyama Project is a digital archive in the UCLA Library, funded by an anonymous donator to honour Mr. Eji Suyama, a veteran of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. The project collects and archives historical records related to the “resisters” in the Japanese American incarceration history. <http://www.suyamaproject.org>.

²⁷ Tatsuo Ryusei Inouye and Nancy Kyoko Oda, *Tule Lake Stockade Diary*, ed. Martha Nakagawa, trans. Masumi Izumi, illustration Ernie Jane Masako Nishii (Los Angeles: Tuna Canyon Detention Station Coalition, 2020).

²⁸ The full caption of this photograph reads, “San Pedro, California. Trucks were jammed high with suitcases, blankets, household equipment, garden tools, as well as children, all bearing registration tags as the last Redondo Beach residents of Japanese ancestry were moved to assembly center at Arcadia, California.” The photo was taken on April 5, 1942 by Clem Albers, a photographer hired by the War Relocation Authority to record the forced relocation of Japanese Americans residing in the restricted areas. Series, Central Photographic File of the War Relocation Authority, 1942-1945, Records of the War Relocation Authority, Record Group 210, United States National Archives and Records Administration.

²⁹ Funie Hsu, “Animality and Detainment for US Security: Transcending Species Borders for the Liberation of All Sentient Beings,” *Rondo 2* (2018): 18-25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Funie Hsu is a scholar with a multilingual family background, and in other published works she discusses the coloniality of English language in education. Funie Hsu, “The ‘Native English Speaker’ as Indigenous Replacement: California English Learner Classification Policies and Settler Grammar Expressions of Immigrant Nationhood,” *Educational Studies* 56: 3 (2020): 233-247; Funie Hsu, “Resisting the Coloniality of English: A Research Review of Strategies,” *CATESOL Journal*, 29: 1 (2017): 111-132.

³⁴ War Relocation Authority Community Analysis Section, “The Tule Lake Incident,” Project Analysis Series No.14, March 27, 1944.

³⁵ Duncan Ryuken Williams, *American Sutra: A Story of Faith and Freedom in the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), Chapter 8.

³⁶ Tatsuo Inouye, *The Tule Lake Camp Diary*, October 14, 1943. Tatsuo Inouye’s diary entries other than the Stockade Diary have not been translated into English, and, therefore, they are in Japanese.

³⁷ Inouye, *Tule Lake Camp Diary*, October 19, 1943.

³⁸ The members of Daihyo-sha Kai had not been officially elected by the camp residents, hence the group’s legitimacy as the representative body of the general camp residents was questionable. War Relocation Authority Community Analysis Section, “The Tule Lake Incident,” Project Analysis Series No.14, March 27, 1944.

³⁹ Historian Richard Drinnon elucidates the connection between Dillon Myer’s Japanese American incarceration policies with his Native American policies of “termination,” as both being assimilationist and racist. Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of the Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

⁴⁰ Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (New York: Penguin, 2012),

⁴¹ Collingham, *Taste of War*. Chapter 7 explains how the colonial agricultural and food policies of the United Kingdom caused starvation and devastating famines in the British colonies. Chapter 11 elucidates how people and soldiers suffered from food shortage and starvation in Japan.

⁴² Collingham, *Taste of War*. Chapter 11 explains how people and soldiers suffered from food shortage and starvation in Japan. Chapter 17 explains how food policies were implemented to mobilize the citizens in wartime America.

⁴³ Virtually all accounts of wartime experiences of and by the Japanese refer to food shortage and starvation. One extreme example is a semi-autographical novel of a Japanese veteran who, during World War II, wandered in the jungle in the Philippines. The novel depicts cannibalism among the starving soldiers. Shohei Ooka, trans. by Ivan Moris, *Fires on the Plain* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957, original 1951). *Grave of the Fireflies* is a 2005 animation movie based on a semi-autobiographical novel by Akiyuki Nosaka, originally published in 1967. The story depicts a teenage boy and his toddler sister orphaned by the great Kobe air raid struggling to survive the immediate postwar period. Both of them end up dying from starvation. Isao Takahata (dir.), *Grave of the Fireflies* (Tokyo: Studio Ghibli, 2005).

⁴⁴ Anpanman, a children's cartoon superhero character with a head made of *anpan* (a bread bun filled with red bean paste), was created by Takashi Yanase, a veteran of World War II. All the characters, except for the villains of Baikinman and Dokin-chan, both of whom are characterizations of a bacteria, represent some kind of food. Yanase faced starvation many times during the war, and in the immediate postwar period he witnessed many children die of starvation. This experience of his drove him to make a picture book series with a superhero personifying *anpan*. The series continued from 1973 until 2013, when Yanase passed away. The story book was turned into a popular TV animation series and movies.

⁴⁵ Collingham, *Taste of War*. Chapter 17.

⁴⁶ Lawrence Wilbur, "Nestlé's advertisement: 'Chocolate is a fighting food,'" World War II Advertisements – 1942. Western Connecticut State University Archives, <<https://archives.library.wcsu.edu/omeka/items/show/4576>>, July 9, 2019.

⁴⁷ Hubert Morley, "Shoot to Kill!" US Department of Agriculture (US Government Printing Office, 1943). Image Courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum.

⁴⁸ Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority During World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971).

⁴⁹ Masumi Izumi, “Gila River Concentration Camp and the Historical Memory of Japanese American Mass Incarceration,” *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 29 (2018): 67-87.

⁵⁰ Tatsuo Inouye, *Tule Lake Stockade Diary*, November 21, 1943.

⁵¹ Tatsuo Inouye, *Tule Lake Stockade Diary*, January 1, 1944.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Tatsuo Inouye, *Tule Lake Stockade Diary*, January 6, 1944.

⁵⁴ Shah, *Refusal to Eat*, Introduction, “The Insurgent Voice of the Prisoner.”

⁵⁵ A. Naomi Paik examines the notion of “rightlessness” in an attempt to explain the people incarcerated in detention camps who exist outside the ordinary legal structure of citizenship and aliens. Paik defines the “rightless” people as those who do not have “the right to have rights.” Paik analyzes three examples of such conditions – Japanese American internment during World War II, HIV positive Haitian refugees detained at Guantanamo in the early 1990s, and Guantanamo’s enemy combatants from the War on Terror. A. Naomi Paik, *Rightlessness: Testimony and Redress in the U.S. Prison Camps since World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

⁵⁶ Tatsuo Inouye, *Tule Lake Stockade Diary*, January 6, 1944.