日系二世のライフ・ヒストリー

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１．はじめに

私の博士論文のテーマは、21 世紀の視点から第二次世界大戦中の日系アメリカ人の強制収容問題を文学作品の表象を通じて問い直すことである。9/11 の同時多発テロの発生当時、アメリカのメディアは国際貿易センタービルに飛行機が突っ込む映像と第二次世界大戦中の日本軍による真珠湾攻撃の映像をパラレルに取り上げ、このテロ事件を「第二のパールハーバー」と呼び、アメリカの正義や自由、民主主義への攻撃であると報じた。また、この事件を契機にアメリカ各地でアラブ系、イスラム系アメリカ人に対する暴力行為やモスクなどの破壊事件が起こった。日系コミュニティはすぐにアラブ系、イスラム系アメリカ人擁護を主張する声明を発表し、他のマイノリティグループとともに市民の自由と権利の保障を求めて集会やデモを行った。9/11 とパールハーバーをパラレルに扱い、アラブ系、イスラム系アメリカ人を迫害、排除しようとするアメリカ社会の動きを目の当たりにし、第二次世界大戦中に敵性外国人として強制収容された記憶をもつ日系コミュニティは、再び同じような事態が起こるのではないかと危惧したのである。文学作品においてはこうした社会情勢を反映するかのように、9/11 以後再び強制収容をテーマとした作品が発表されている。作家たちは現代的文脈から逆照射して強制収容問題を問い直そうとしていると考えられるが、なぜこの問題が 21 世紀の現在においてもテーマとして取り上げられるのだろうか。このことを考えるために、今回のプロジェクトでは強制収容を体験した日系二世の人々に直接会って体験談を聞いた。現在収容所体験者は 70 代、80 代であり、彼らのライフ・ヒストリーは無形の文化資源として非常に重要であると思われる。また、各人のライフ・ヒストリーを収集するだけではなく、Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego を訪れ、この団体が日系コミュニティ全体の文化資源である日系人の歴史や強制収容体験を後世にどのように伝えていこうとしているかを調査し分析を試みる。

２．調査の概要

2010 年 7 月 24 日から 8 月 11 日にかけての約 18 日間、アメリカ合衆国カリフォルニア州サンディエゴに滞在し、Kiku Gardens や Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego、Buddhist Temple of San Diego にて合計 12 人の日系二世に会い、インタビューを行った。インタビュー時間は平均で 25 分ぐらいである。上記の 3 箇所は、当地の日系コミュニティ活動で中心的役割を果たしている場所であるため、少し説明を加えたい。

（１）Kiku Gardens

日系コミュニティの努力により日系一世のために建設された高齢者用のアパート。100 部屋ある。現在は政府から財政支援を受けているため、日系人のほかに韓国人や白人、黒人も住んでいる。日系二世の住居者は 2 人のみ（男女 1 人ずつ）で、第二次世界大戦後に日本から移住した戦争花嫁と呼ばれる女性が数多く住んでいる。president、manager、従業員はすべて日系人であり、このアパートの運営にはボランティアを含め多くの日系人がかかわっている。図書室には日本語の本が置かれ、すべての部屋で NHK の受信が可能である。火曜と金曜にはランチが供され（1 人 3 ドル）、外部の日系人も数多く訪れていた。ここはサンディエゴに住む日系人の情報交換の場、ひとつの社交場として機能しているようである。戦争花嫁の一人で郊外の住宅地に住む M・Powers（70 代）は、「日本語が恋しくなると Kiku Gardens のランチに行った。」と語っている。

（２）Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego (以下、JAHSSD と略する)

1992 年、サンディエゴの日系人の歴史や体験を保存することを目的に設立された非営利の団体法人である。president や director を始めとし、多くの人々がボランティアで活動に参加している。日系一世のライフ・ヒストリーやポストン収容所に関係する写真や物

品など、日系人の歴史や生活に関わる有形、無形の文化資源が保存されている。また日系人の強制収容問題の啓発運動にも取り組み、高校や大学での講演会、ポストン収容所の写真展などを開催している。

（３）Buddhist Temple of San Diego

浄土真宗の寺院で、住職は京都の西本願寺から派遣されている。毎年夏に日系コミュニティの Obon Festival を主催。7 月 31 日の当日は境内にやぐらが組まれ、そこから放射線状に提灯が飾られ、お好み焼きやタイ焼きの屋台もあり、日本の盆踊り大会と同じようであった。日系人だけではなく（浴衣姿あり）、白人、黒人、ヒスパニック系の人々も踊りに参加していた。

３．インタビュー

次のような事柄を中心に質問した。

・一世の両親 ― 出身地や職業、結婚。
・パールハーバーと強制収容 (サンディエゴの住民はアリゾナ州のポストン収容所に収監)
・収容所を出た後の生活。
・日系人と「モデル・マイノリティ」
・リドレス運動。
・9/11 を「第二のパールハーバー」とする報道

インタビューは 12 人に行ったが、そのうち６人のインタビュー内容を短縮して記す。残りの人々については話の概要を後に記す。また、実名記載の了解を得た人のみ実名を出してある。K は筆者自身である。

(1) Ben Segawa (80) & Francis Isao Tanaka（80 代）
7 月 26 日　JAHSSD にて
S : Ben Segawa　T : Francis Tanaka

K: Could you tell me about your parents?

S: My parents were born in Japan, and came to United States. My father did in 1918. And he went back to get a wife, family-arranged-wife.

K: What part of Japan did your parents come from?

S: Kumamoto.

K: How were your parents when they came back from camp?

S: Terrible! They were terrible.

K: In my friend's dance class there is a woman who was in camp. I wanted to talk with her, but she said to my friend that she didn't want to talk about camp.

S: There are a lot of people just like that. When the internment came, we had only a week to get ready. You could only take what you could carry, which is one suitcase. We were farmers. We had crops that were ready for harvest, 40 acres of crops that we never got harvested and we just left there.

K: You didn't leave them to your neighbors?

S: A lot of neighbors helped us harvest things. And all of our things were stored in a little house that was there for safekeeping because the landlord of the property we were leasing allowed us to use that. And we put our all equipment, farming equipment, our truck, brand new truck there. He kept them for us. When we came back, the only thing we had there was our equipment. Some men broke into the building and took whatever we had there. In coming back, my neighbor owned the property, and he asked my father if he would come out of camp with him and help start the farm. So my father and he left the camp, and six months later my father came back to the camp and told us that he was ready to take us out of the camp because we had to get a permission to leave camp. It was September, 1945. I was 15 years old then.

K: You were 15 years old.

S: We had a place to go, place to live, and my father had a job. When we came into the train station, San Diego, they tried to throw rocks at us. They didn't want us back to San Diego. They didn't want us back at all. We had no other place to go. I come from a family of ten children. I'm child No.6, son No.5. I had four brothers in the military during this period. Four of us were in the service while we were locked up in camp.

T: My brother, Roy, was a physician practicing in San Diego. One day he came to the office, and there were two very distinguished-looking gentlemen in overcoat. "Dr. Tanaka?" He said, "Yes," and they showed their badges, FBI. They said, "Will you come with us?" He said, "Where to?" They said, "Just come with us." And they took him downtown, police station. They asked him about his name and everything and said, "Did you go out last night? He said, "Yes." "Where did you go?" He said, "I went to Coronado," which is an island here. And they said, "Why did you go to Coronado?" He said, "Well I

got a phone call from a patient of mine." He was ill and so he went to see him. Then they said, "What language did you use?" He said, "Japanese," and they said, "Why did you use Japanese?" He said, "Because he is an Issei, he could speak a little English, but Japanese came more fluently for him." They said, "Oh? What did you talk about?" "Well, I spoke about his symptoms." he said. They said, "Did you say this? and this?" They were all recorded. They interrogated him for one hour. And then they let him go.

S: But he never forgave the government for that. He went to his grave without forgiving the government for what they did.

T: The other thing that people don't realize is how much business you'd lost by leaving things there.

S: We were never notified. These notices were put up in the post offices, and on the electric posts. They never came to the house.

T: Can you imagine? In one week's time what can you do? At home, your refrigerator, your cars, your TV, whatever it is, you either leave it to your neighbors if they were trusting, many were not, or else you go out on the streets and then you sell it for $50 or whatever.

S: Ten cents for a television.

T: Can you imagine how much money they had lost?

K: I can understand. After they came back from camp, they had to start all over again.

T: They had to, and discrimination, you had to overcome discrimination.

K: Even after the war you had to face discrimination.

S: Yeah. Nobody would hire us. So you either started your own business or you didn't have any work. So many Nisei boys became gardeners. All you needed were a pickup, a lawnmower, and a 50-feet hose. If you were not in business, you would go seek customers. That's how we survived. We've got a lot that got out of college, but they didn't hire them. You had to start your own businesses to survive and became entrepreneurs.

K: Because of racism, Japanese Americans got interned. After they got out of camp, then they had to oppress their suffering to survive in American society. How did you deal with that?

S: 仕方がない。

K: It cannot be helped.

S: That's what it appears that my parents taught us. But at the same time, I think our upbringing had a lot to do with it. We were always taught to respect your authorities. You never bad-mouth your authorities even if they were wrong. So all you say is, "Yes, Sir." And *Gaman*. That's how we survived.

K: All you had to do is endure.

S: Yeah. But now if you are living in California, you don't have much problem. It depends on where you live. Speaking from myself, you don't feel what they call discrimination here now.

K: But back in the 40s and 50s, there was discrimination.

S: It was there. The Los Angeles times got headlines that they condemned us, we were the enemy. The governor even said that. We didn't have any chance against them.

K: I wonder if there were support groups in which people got together and talked about their sufferings.

S: When we first came out of camps, we were hurt too great. Nobody wanted to talk about it.

K: Because their experiences were so bad.

S: We started talking about this about 50 years later. Finally people started sharing this with their children because their children were interested in what that was like. It took about 50 years to talk about it.

K: Even in a house, a family, you never talked about camp?

S: No, we never talked about it. My parents were the ones who were really hurt about this. We children speak English, so somehow we survived. My parents barely survived. They really suffered from these things.

K: Your kids, Sansei, got interested in camp life, and then they started asking you about it.

S: Yes, exactly. But a lot of them don't want to talk about it even now. I still have some people in Japanese community. They wonder why I go to speak about this at school or college. "Are you sure why you are doing that!" They are still a lot hurting. But as years go on, things are getting better. In fact, we have a lot of schools, especially high schools ask us to come to speak. I've been to several high schools, colleges, and UCSD. I was asked to speak by a Jewish school. I was happy to go. I spoke to them and this was only about three years ago. When I walked into the classroom, they all looked at me, like there was some difference. Anyway I did talk, questions and answers, and after one-hour class

was over, three kids of them came up to us and said, "You know, Mr. Segawa, when you first came in, I thought you were Japanese, but you are more American than I am." I made my point!

T: I often wondered, all the discrimination that the Japanese went through, especially, our parents. In spite of that, how many patients volunteered to try to get into the Army, 100 Battalion and 442nd Combat. Even if I am Japanese, what amazes me is to think how many people have been loyal to America. When you ask, "How come?" "Because I am American." Yet there was something else besides that. I often think about this.

S: My parents had ten kids, and my parents wanted us to be Americans. So they put American names on us, George, Hurry, Ben, Tom, May….

K: Your parents wanted you to be American.

S: Yeah. Boys were out there to prove that they were American, and they gave their lives for that there. What's why they "go for broke." They really suffered a lot of causalities.

K: I've been studying about "no-no" boy, and I read that after the war, they were discriminated against inside Japanese community. Is that true?

S: Yes, it is still going on today. So we've got to be careful when we say about so-called "no-no" boy.

K: In a sense they showed their resistance against the government.

S: Exactly. One of my best friends was like that, "no-no" boy.

K: After the war, Japanese Americans worked so hard to be accepted by the mainstream, and then they were called Model Minority. What do you think about that?

S: The only place where you could get a job was the government like city government. I don't know the word, Model Minority, but I think we were, definitely. Because of this incident, we all started thinking about education. I have four children, and I sent all of them to college and two of them got graduate degrees. If this kind of incident comes up again, they have brains to know how to fight it. In our time, 1942, the leaders of our Japanese community were all Isseis. There were not Niseis in charge because they were not willing to relinquish their authority to their children. And there were very few who were old enough to realize what was coming or going on. The oldest of us were 24 or 25 in Niseis, at that time. So we didn't have the strength to fight this thing because we were taught to obey the law. So we had to go to camp. But if it happens now, we have people educated, with degrees, and so it will never happen.

T: The thing that Ben and I still have, I think, and that our parents have taught us over the years is about your family and your relation. And the other important thing, in my vocabulary, is "Don't bring *haji* to your family."

S: Yes, don't bring *haji* to your family. Don't embarrass your family.

T: My mother said, "No matter what you do, don't bring *haji* to the family." Ben and I have that teaching in us yet. That's why whatever we do, we try not to bring *haji* to the family.

S: You don't want to be average. You've got to be above.

K: That's what your parents' teaching is.

T: That' what goes into our education. Ben says that we teach our children education. Why? Because we don't want to lose, we want to be best we can. I think that has to do with our upbringing.

K: Another question is when 9/11 happened, the American media referred to the attack as a second Pearl Harbor, what did you think about that at that time?

S: The only experience I had of that is that Muslim group asked me to come to speak to them. So I went and there were mostly educators, and they wanted to know what the life was like for us during the camps and how to survive in that. They requested me to prepare themselves in case this happen to them. That's the reason why they asked me to come. I told them that this could not happen again, this could not happen to any minority group.

K: You mean there was a fear that Muslim Americans might be interned.

S: Exactly.

K: Do you really think things like Japanese American internment will never happen again? Some Japanese American writers are concerned about this and they write stories about next internment.

S: That's why we have all this, all kinds of information about internment.

K: You are collecting information about internment, and the history of Japanese Americans. Is it because you don't

want another internment to happen, right?

S: Yeah.

K: And you want to pass down the history of internment to next generations?

S: Yeah, exactly.

（２）Michio Himaka (78) ＆ S. Y (81)

7 月 26 日　　Kiku Gardens にて

M: Michio Himaka　　S : S. Y

K: 一世のお父さんはどちらからいらっしゃったのですか。

M: 僕のお父さんとお母さんは二人とも和歌山県。父さんは 1906 年にアメリカに来て、17 years old の時。Washington の Seattle, Tacoma の方で lumber yard で lumber を切っていたんです。サンディエゴ来てから漁師しとったんです。 And he went back after 12 years, and they got married in 1918. They came back here in the same year, 1918.

S: 僕のお父さんは三重。

K: What was his first job?

S: When he came from Seattle, railroad でこっちまで。働いてこっちまで。

K: ポストン収容所での生活はどうでしたか。

M: 子供だったから、友達がたくさんいて楽しかった。

S: 毎日遊んでばかりだった。

K: Do you remember the incident of Pearl Harbor?

M: Sunday だったから日本学校に行っとった。その朝。It was December 7th.

S: 学校に行って友達と会っても皆何も言わなかった。

M: うちに帰って来たとき、みんな白人の子供たちに Monday に会うのでね、言うとったけど。戦争始まってから学校行ったら、誰も話してなかったよな？

S: I mean we just talked, but we talked nothing about this. They didn’t mention anything about the war. My friends were *Hakujin*.

K: They didn’t say anything?

S: No.

M: For the first place, we were separated, you know. Nobody talked to us. We went to class, but people were a little different.

K: キャンプを出た時はどんな気持ちでしたか。

S: 最初は学校行くのが、少し気がひけた。

K: Were you afraid even after the war ended?

M: Not a fear, uncomfortable.

S: でも学校行ったら、みんな友達だからよかった。

K: Some people sometimes say that their internment experiences became a trauma, traumatic experience to some of them, which showed how much they suffered. Was it a traumatic memory to you?

S: I think about my older brothers and sister, how they must have felt. They must have been harder because they were older.

M: My parents, 親たち、I think they were the hardest.

S: 初めはお父さんを連れて行った。

K: FBI came to your house to pick him up?

M: My parent was picked up, too. My father went on December 7th, at nighttime. They knew who they were going to pick up early before the war started. Otherwise, they came too fast. They knew who the community leaders were. They were the first ones to be picked up.

K: You must have been worried.

S: お母さんも、困ったね、大変だったでしょう。

M: Because usually, 日本人の family はお父さんが big boss. Father made all the decisions. Mother never had that chore.

K: When did your father come back?

M: My father came back in three and half years, 1944. My father came home, the day before my birthday.

K: After the evacuation order was issued, there was only one week before going to camp..

M: Yeah. First the order came home, April 8.

K: 持っていけないものは隣の人にあずけたのですか。

S: あずけたけども、帰ったら何にもなかった。

M: Yeah.　何にもなかった。

K: You had to start all over again. It must have been so hard..

M: Especially for the Isseis. For my parents it was hard, because it was like people were starting all over again twice. When they came here from *Nihon*, then, after the war. The same thing they started.

K: After getting out of camp, they remained quiet, silent about their experiences.

M: Nobody talked about it for a long time. Just recently people started talking about it.

K: Why were they silent for a long time?

M: I think it was a shame. I think people were embarrassed. A lot of people didn’t want to say that they were *Nihonjin*s.

S: I came to town, San Diego, some people would say, "Where are you from? Are you Chinese?" "No." "You are Japanese?" "I don't like Japanese either." So they had to find out. But in school I had no problem.

M: We went to Cleveland, Ohio, right after the war. They had never seen Japanese, so there was no problem. Even if you told them, "I'm Japanese," they helped and they protected me. In the neighborhood I lived, there were a lot of Polish people, a lot of German people, people like that.

K: Did your family get a job there?

M: Uh-huh.

K: どんなお仕事ですか。

M: Factory, window factory, window 会社。

K: It was good that your family found a good job there.

M: It was hard. Ladies mostly did sawing.

S: My folks used to farm before the war. After they came back to San Diego, Chula Vista, they went to work on the farm to save enough money. My brothers and sisters saved enough money to buy and own property.

M: *Nihonjin*s, Isseis couldn't buy and own properties.

K: Yes, I know that.

M: Until 1952.

K: だから土地をリースしたり、

M: 子供の名前で買ったり、It was hard on Isseis.

K: 70 年代からリドレス運動が始まりましたが、どんなふうに関わられましたか。

S: 僕のお父さんとお母さんはもう亡くなったからもらわなかった。生きている人だけだった。

K: $20,000 for each person, for each surviving internee.

M: If you are alive after it was August 8th, 1988, when President Regan signed the bill. After that, then you got it. But if you died before, you didn't get it. My brother-in-law died five hours before he signed it. He didn't get anything.

K: Did you get involved in the redress movement, that development?

M: No, I didn't participate in that.

K: When did you feel that it was OK to talk about camp experiences?

M: About 20 years ago. That was when the Historical Society started.

K: The Historical Society started to ask you about what experiences you have.

M: But still a lot of people don't want to talk about it.

K: それはその経験がとてもつらいからでしょうか。

S: そうでしょう。

K: When 9/11 happened, American media referred to this terrorist attack as a second Pearl Harbor.

S: They attacked the Navy. That's the difference.

K: Yes, there are a lot of differences, but American media tried to see the two incidents as equals or parallels.

M: Of course. When WWII started, I think the government already knew it was going to be a war. That's why they knew who they were going to pick up right away.

S: They say they knew Pearl Harbor was coming, but they didn't do anything.

M: 9/11 happened, and they don't know who the leaders are. Before we went to camp, during camp or anything, nobody did anything against the government. There was no sabotage, nothing.

K: Yes, I know. But even so, American government designated Japanese Americans as enemy aliens.

M: Treated us as enemies.

S: We are Asians, but we are citizens, American citizens.

K: That's true. But not many people showed resistance against the government.

M: Because, I think, JACL said it would go wrong, whatever we did, and we should try to show we were not a threat. My brothers and sisters, they just got along whatever they were told. But I think what helped us, Japanese, *Nihonnjin Community* was what the 442 did during the war.

K: そうですね。

M: I think they helped us more than anything.

K: Yes, I know. They made a lot of heroes in the 442.

M: I think they gave us a lot of pride, and they made us proud of what they were doing over there. Even after they did all that during war, the government didn't anything about them. Then they wouldn't talk about it.

K: No?

M: People in the 442, they wouldn't talk about it. Even today they wouldn't talk about it. So the rest of us try to talk about it. For us it's a matter of pride. We didn't have anything to be ashamed of because of them.

S: So off course, we all went into the service.

M: Yeah, we all volunteered. Most of us volunteered during Korean War.

K: Oh, really? So in a sense, you have to sacrifice yourself to show you're American.

M: Yeah. That's probably true.

K: Do you think America is really a democratic country?

M: Well, if you compare America to the rest of the world, I still consider we are more democratic, more freedom.

K: Even though you went through difficulties?

M: Even though we went through camp. I mean other countries are having harder than us, than we have.

K: 最後に何かあればお話しください。

M: What I just think is that Issei suffered more than the rest of us. They were hardest on them, because most of them had lived here for over 30, 40, 50 years, but they couldn't become citizens until 1952, even if they wanted to. Everybody else from Europe, they had lived for five years, and they could apply for citizenship. *Nihonjin*, Chinese, Filipinos, I guess, they couldn't. So it was hard on them.

（３） Reiko Maruyama (81)

7 月 26 日　Kiku Gardens にて

K: Could you tell me about your experience during WWII?

R: We were living in California, but we were told to move out. So we went to Utah. My husband was living in Colorado. He was born and raised in Colorado, so he didn't have to. In Utah, it was a very scary time, which was the worst experience. We were afraid to go to school because we got on the bus they treated us so badly. They tried to undress us, you know, boys.

K: How old were you?

R: I was 12. My sister and I asked my mother to make us a coat. We said to her, "Please make us a coat, all the way up to the neck." And my mother asked, "Why?" But we never told her. So she made a coat all the way up to the neck. But boys, you know, we came across them on the bus every day. I am just surprised we weren't hurt.

K: After the war, was everything OK?

R: Uh-ha, pretty much.

K: You never felt they were trying to exclude Japanese from society?

R: Well, in some places they did. When we came back to California, there was a small town and Japanese family was living there. And people were threatening them, "Get out, or we'll get you," you know. But I didn't experience anything like that.

K: That's good.

R: In Colorado where John, my husband, lived, people were wonderful. I can't believe the difference between Utah and Colorado. It was like night and day. John said that the Caucasians who lived there were German descents. So during the First World War, they were treated badly. They knew we were ostracized. John was lucky. He lived in the place where everybody was so good.

K: Did your parents speak English?

R: My mother spoke some English. But we always spoke Japanese because my father said, "All we speak is Japanese at home." When war broke up, he said, "Don't speak Japanese. Don't make any ways." So we spoke English during the war.

K: Did you get rid of Japanese things, Japanese books, Japanese clothes, things like that? Did you try to throw away everything Japanese?

R: Oh, yeah. We burned everything. I felt so badly because we had… ひな祭りの人形なんか全部そろっていたのよね。それも全部焼いてしまったのよ。

K: 全部燃やしてしまったのですか。ひな人形はお母さんのものだったのですか。

R: Uh-ha. I felt so bad. 全部焼いてしまったの。

K: 12 月 7 日 は Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day で、ニュースでも取り上げますよね。そんな時は昔のことを思い出しますか。

H: 思い出しますよ。パールハーバーの日は私たち教会に行っていたの。We had to ride a ferry boat,　うち帰るのにね。But we couldn't get on a ferry because 急に ferry の landing を全部 fence して、they did this to get us out. We were little kids. 戦争だからね、急に jail のように囲んでしまって。夜の 10 時頃まで we were stuck.　お父さんたち、子供たちどこへ行ったんでしょうかって待っているんだけれど。教会の白人の人が来て、子供たちだから出してあげてくださいって言って、とうとう出してもらった。だからパールハーバー忘れられない。

K: そうですか。それは大変でしたね。

H: わたしの弟がね、7 歳だった。パールハーバーのことが分かった時に、Oh, I'll kill all the Japanese と言ったの。悪いことしたって言って、もう怒ってね。小さい子がね。

K: When 9/11 attack happened, the news media tried to

report it as a second Pearl Harbor.

H: Oh, yeah. You know, when 9/11 happened, everybody was afraid.　同じことをイラクの人たちにするんじゃないかと思ってね。

K: やはりそうですか。

H: 三世たちもそう思っていたよ。子供たちもこんなことしとったらまたパールハーバーと同じことになるって言ってね。JACL がね、そんなことしたらいけないって、みんな集まってね。大統領にお手紙出しました。

（4）　John Hashiguchi（75）

7 月 28 日　　Buddhist Temple にて

K: What part of Japan did your parents come from?

H: Kagoshima. My father came into Mexico first. There was a Kagoshima friend who worked as a miner, coal miner. They did various jobs in Mexico. Then they decided they didn't like it. So they stepped into Arizona and stayed there for… I don't know for how long, maybe six months or so. Then they stepped over to San Diego through freight trains. Freight train had little rocks on the underneath, "racks," they called, so they all lay down on the racks, and then they rolled into San Diego.

K: Was your mother a picture bride?

H: Yeah, picture bride.

K: Do you remember the day when Pearl Harbor attack happened?

H: All I know, exactly I remember is that we were told, "Get out. We can have a suitcase and leave." We got on a bus and went to train station.

K: How was your internment experience?

H: For me it wasn't bad. It was my first time I saw so many Japanese people in one place. My parents, I would say, suffered terribly because they lost everything, you know. They had to sell whatever they could. They had to do it all so fast.

K: After you got out of camp, did you return to the place where you were before WWII?

H: No. When we came back, there was no place for us. So they had these federal housing. It was where Navy people used to stay, families and staff. Because the war was over, a lot moved out, so they had all these places available. They got us to move over and stay there.

K: How was the life in that place?

H: It was not bad for me again. It was not a problem.

K: So you attended school there.

H: Yeah, in the local area. First day I went there, I walked up to see all the people on top of the slope before you got into the school and they called me "Jap," "We don't want you to be here." I was terribly afraid. But there was a person who came down, and he told me, "Don't worry. You come with me. Don't worry." "Yes, sir," you know. I was not for sure, but I just followed him all the way up.

K: How old were you at that time?

H: I was 11 years old. And a just friend of mine, he went to the principal and told him what happened. There were four, no, five of them and myself, we went to that school. And so at the auditorium the principal explained to them, "These people are just as much Americans as you are."

K: Oh, you got a very good principal.

H: Oh, yeah, he was very nice. I was so happy to hear that. I was so afraid, you know.

K: After the camp, did your family talk about it?

H: No, my parents never talked about it, anything.

K: They remained silent about it.

H: Yeah, absolutely. Anything my father could do was a janitor and he got paid $19 a month. There isn't anything more I can remember about camp.

K: Did you get involved in redress movement?

H: The family, the rest of us received it, but my parents didn't. They are the ones who should have got it, not me. That was unfortunate. As far as the redress is concerned, it was sad that most of the Isseis never received it. It took a long time. But at least we did it, which was to make them recognize the wrong was done.

K: When 9/11 attack happened, the American media referred to the attack as a second Pearl Harbor.

H: It was not really a second Pearl Harbor. It's just a terrorist attack.

K: After 9/11, Arabic, Muslim people were attacked by American people. Then some of them were afraid that the same thing as the internment of Japanese Americans might happen to them. Did you feel the same way?

H: No, I don't think so. They use that as an assumption. It's not a reality or possibility. We are not treated as badly as used to be. In certain isolated areas there are hate groups like Ku Klux Klan. That's the fact. Those people hate

everybody, Jews, Orientals, blacks, Mexicans. If you go anywhere in California, in most of United States, you won't find too much prejudice other than the isolated areas.

K: So you think Japanese American community is well accepted in United States.

H: Yes. They are accepted in most areas. But again, in some isolated areas people are just plain prejudiced because they are not whites.

・Hannah Achen (89)

両親は福岡県出身で、モンタナ州の Havre 生まれ。父親は鉄道で働いていた。戦争時は、ワシントン州の Spoken でウエイトレスをしていた。内陸であったため収容所には送られなかった。Havre の sugar beets の畑には収容所から多くの男性が働きに来ていた。収容所がどんな様子なのかはそこで初めて聞いた。Havre は小さな町で日系人は 7 家族住んでおり、時々集まり、天皇誕生日にはお祝いをした。白人の男性と結婚して Spoken に住む。自分が日系人という理由でアパートがなかなか借りられなかった。結婚後はシアトルにも住んだが日系人と付き合いはなかった。夫は政府機関に勤務。その関係で合計 7 年間日本に住んだ。日本語は知らない。そのため母と十分に話し合ったことがない。

・H. M (86)

両親は和歌山県出身で、最初はサンフランシスコの白人家庭で家内労働に従事した。その後サンディエゴで農業をする。母はお正月におせち料理を作った。強制収容が両親に与えたショックは大きかった。収穫を待つばかりのきゅうりや農場を置いて行かなければならなったため、多くのお金を失った。最初は Santa Anita の元厩舎だったところに収容され、とても臭かった。ポストンではたくさんの友達が一緒で楽しかった。そこで夫と知り合い結婚し、コロラド州の Denver に住む。60 代の息子たちは今になって強制収容に興味を持ち、その体験を聞いてくる。両親は、「恥」を家族や、日系コミュニティにもたらす行動を慎むようにと教えた。今でも新聞等で日系人が反社会的行動を起こした記事を読むと恥ずかしい気持ちになり、日系コミュニティのためにそんな行動はやめてほしいと思う。

・Trace Tsuneyuki Kawasaki（74）

両親は広島県出身。父は grocery store をやっていた。開戦時は 5 歳。FBI が父親を連行したが、3 ヶ月後ポストン収容所に戻って来た。uncle は数年間 US Navy にいたため citizenship をもらったが、別の収容所に入れられた。収容所は楽しかった。grocery store はドイツ人がオーナーで終戦後はまた同じ場所に戻ることができた。ラッキーだった。高校を卒業後、日系企業の日本食品で働き、その後運転者の会社に勤めた。

・Grace Sawasaki （75）

日本語で育ち、白人居住区の学校では孤立していた。収容所では日本語で話ができる友達がいて楽しかった。現在日本語はあまりできない。母との間のコミュニケーションギャップは常に問題で、母に言えないことがたくさんあった。このギャップは言語と文化や育った環境の違いから来ている。結婚して Ocean Beach のアパートに住もうとした時、大家は近所の人々に日系人に部屋を貸す了解を得なければならなかった。その時に初めて人種を意識した。日系人を取り巻く環境は大いに変わり良くなった。今は結婚も人種は関係ない。

・Stephens Nobuo Sato （73）

両親は強制収容ですべてを失ったが決して不平を言わなかった。父は庭師になり、母は缶詰工場で働いた。戦後日系人は一生懸命働いたので、主流社会から尊敬され認められた。外見や行動が違う人々への偏見がなくなることはない。人々が協力することが大切。日本とアメリカは戦争中であったのだから強制収容はある意味当然のことである。自分は高校しか出ていないが、会社を興し社長になった。こんなチャンスを与えてくれる国はアメリカしかない。この国に感謝している。

・Elsie Sogo （80 代）

善良な保険会社の人のお蔭で家や財産を失わずに済んだ。今も父が買った家に住んでいる。父は農業をしていた。収容所では父（60 代）は家族を養うという責任から逃れ幸せそうに見えた。毎日将棋をしていた。自分も収容所では楽しかった。ポストン収容所近くの Indian reservation にある高校生が収容所に来て交流した。母は食堂で働いていた（月 12 ドル）。収容所を出た後、姉を頼ってミネソタに行った。UCLA を出て小

学校の教員をしていた。

4．成果

12 人の日系二世にインタビューし、彼らのライフ・ヒストリーを収集することができた。12 人中日本語ができるのは 5 人だったが、政治的、社会的な話になると英語になることが多かった。これは日本語習得の場が戦前の家庭や日本学校に限られているからであろう。

インタビューに応じてくれたのは強制収容体験がない者（3 人）や楽しい思い出となっている者（8 人）、覚えていない者（1 人）で、強制収容がつらい体験であった人はいない。実際、自分はインタビューに応じたくないし、自分の母にも強制収容のことを聞いてほしくないと私の友人に語った二世がいる。また、JAHSSD の活動を通じて人々は強制収容体験を語り始めたが、現在でもなおその体験には口を閉ざしている人は多いようだ。「ノー・ノー」ボーイや 442 部隊をめぐる問題は未だに尾を引いており、強制収容は日系コミュニティにとって 21 世紀の現在でも大きな問題であることがわかった。9/11 とパールハーバーのパラレル報道に意識的な人は少なかった。イスラム系のコミュニティで強制収容の体験を話した人と、彼らへの暴力に対し仲間と大統領に手紙を出した人のみである。

話を聞きながら、強制収容ですべてを失い再びやり直さなければならなかった日系一世の両親への深い思いが伝わって来た。その思いが「主流社会に認められるアメリカ人になる」決意となり、二世は不平を言わずにひたすら努力する「モデル（模範）・マイノリティ」となっていったのであろう。また、「目上の者への敬意」「我慢」、「恥」といった日本的な道徳観が二世に受け継がれていることが感じ取れた。しかし、戦前にはどの家庭でも行われていたもちつきやお正月、ひな祭りなどの日本の伝統文化が強制収容によって途絶え、一世から二世、三世への日本的文化の伝承はほとんどないことがわかった。

5．今後の展望

JAHSSD は現在、強制収容を記念する建物をアリゾナのポストン収容所の跡地に建設したいと募金を集めている。跡地は Indian reservation にあり、政府の財政援助を受けられないようだ。この動きは、アメリカ国家が規定する国家の歴史とは異なる日系人の歴史の記憶（文化資源）を、自分たちの手で残そうとする試みであり注目に値する。自分の研究とも重なる試みであり、今後も連絡をとっていきたい。