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Reading Japanese Americans' Traumas in the Censored Internment Camp Newspaper *Manzanar Free Press*

1. Introduction

Thanks to numerous individuals and organizations, primary texts and archives about the experiences of the Japanese American and Japanese people in internment camps during the WWII are available online. Among them, the archives of "Chronicling America" run by the Library of Congress include an excellent collection of the Japanese American internment camp newspaper the *Manzanar Free Press* (*MFP* hereafter) published from 1942 to 1945. Many issues have sections in Japanese, which, unlike the sections in English, are mostly handwritten. The first half of this essay introduces the contradictory remarks about the freedom of speech vis-à-vis censorship in the *MFP* while explaining the difficulty of reading the internees' voices written under the Pacific-War circumstances. Touching upon the importance of the context in which the articles in the newspapers were written and translated both in Japanese and English, the second half mainly focuses on poems written in Japanese and rather subjective jottings by young contributors in English in the paper. The Manzanar internment camp is usually said to be the most well-known among the ten camps across the country for many reasons: some Japanese novels are set in the Manzanar internment camp; Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston's memoir *Farewell to Manzanar* (1973) has been widely read; on December 6, 1942, there was the event called the "Manzanar Riot or Uprising", which claimed two young men's lives. However, partly because of these famous narratives of the internment camp, we tend to have a rather monolithic understanding of the incarceration of the Japanese American people, which is regarded as a stigma in the history of American democracy. Reading the first-hand voices of the internees, I would like to show how the poems and jottings in the two languages indirectly express and reflect the traumas experienced by the internees of different generations. On the one hand, the *MFP*, written in

Japanese and in English, conveys different perceptions of the war-induced traumatic experiences of *Issei* and *Nisei* internees;[1] on the other hand, the bilingualism of Japanese and English in the paper and the occasional absence of translations of Japanese poems and English subjective jottings reveal the untranslatability of each generation's experiences.

2. *Issei*, *Nisei*, and the Censorship

Since it is an internment camp newspaper, the *MFP* conveys useful pieces of information and news about what happened to the internees both inside and outside of the camp. Just like many other newspapers, however, it includes various small articles which express the authors' subjective opinions and feelings both in the Japanese and English sections. The act of writing newspapers in both languages in Japanese American internment camps came out of necessity. Internment of Japanese American people on the west coast of the U.S. after the Pearl Harbor attack by the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Force in 1941 was a shameful part of American history because it was an incarceration of its own citizens. It is said that about two thirds of the internees (approximately more than 110,000) were Americans who were born and grew up in the U.S. Among the rest of them, however, there were *Issei* Japanese immigrants who could not understand and communicate in English well. Thus, they needed Japanese sections in their newspapers. Every internment camp had their center director appointed by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and they had the right to censor what should be written both in Japanese and English. Since there were not so many staff members who understood the Japanese language, however, the center directors were not able to read articles written in Japanese.

Therefore, it is not easy to gauge how much censorship the administration could exercise over each issue of the *MFP*. In one of his articles that address the problem of censorship exerted on Japanese American camp newspapers, Takeya Mizuo summarizes:

> The camp authority's "supervision" took various forms including pre- and post-publication reviews, selective staff employment, convocation of "meetings", supplying of news and propaganda material, and even direct and coercive editorial interference that officials themselves admitted to be "censorship".

[1] First-generation Japanese immigrants are called *Issei*, and second-generation Japanese immigrants are *Nisei*. I use these words to refer to them respectively hereafter.

> Camp officials also elicited self-restraint from staffers, making strict supervision or censorship unnecessary.[2]

The WRA could not invariably and blatantly use censorship on the camp newspapers also because they wanted to show their idealism of democracy by using the papers written by their own citizens who were now incarcerated. In addition to this conundrum, there was another difficulty of making readily available reviewers who were able to read and write Japanese when they dealt with censorship on Japanese articles.

Because the *MFP* as well as many other internment camp newspapers was run by the internees, the internee-editors also had their own dilemma choosing what should be published. According to the "Chronicling America" website, the first issue was published on April 11, 1942, and the last issue came out on October 19, 1945; from April 11 to May 31, 1942, the *MFP* was published at the Manzanar Assembly Center; from June 1, 1942, to September 8, 1945, it was published at the Manzanar Relocation Center. Assembly centers are the places where the Japanese and Japanese Americans were sent to stay for a few months before the relocation centers (= internment camps) were built in deserts or isolated areas, and the assembly centers usually had much worse living conditions than the internment camps, sometimes built by using the stables for racehorses. The earliest issue that is available on the "Chronicling America" website is the June 2, 1942, issue, from which we can assume that only issues published at the Manzanar Relocation Center, and not at the Manzanar Assembly Center, are available in the digital archives. The Japanese and Japanese American people started to arrive in Manzanar near the end of March 1942 after President Franklin Roosevelt signed the Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, which authorized the War Department to evict over 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast of the U.S. Considering that they had just moved to the internment camp, the reader of early issues in the newspaper will be amazed by how actively the internees tried to make their environments habitable and enjoyable, and the *MFP* played a significant role for that: arguing that the camp newspaper was used to build a friendly relationship between the internees and the American public, Emily Roxworthy states, "From the start, the newspaper's mission was twofold: to facilitate communication among the Japanese American constituents within the camp and to improve public

[2] Mizuno, Takeya: Censorship in a Different Name: Press "Supervision" in Wartime Japanese American Camps 1942–1943. In: Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, vol. 88 (2011), no. 1, spring, 121.

relations with the outside world".[3] Therefore, whereas the editors encourage the internees to think about individual responsibilities in the community and boost their work ethic especially in the editorials, it is important to notice that they had to consider the views of "the outside world" on them choosing what kinds of articles they should publish in their issues.

The *MFP* includes a variety of articles that talk about the daily events in the camp at micro level, which help the reader of the newspaper contextualize the internees' traumatic war-related experiences in their everyday lives; for example, they announce when they exhibit art works of school children; they even report that they had surprise birthday parties for children; almost all the issues end with sports news about the Manzanar schoolers' various leagues such as baseball, soft ball, tennis, and volleyball. Before focusing on the poems and jottings in the paper in the next section, I want to stress that the camp newspaper is characterized by the hybridity of writings to deliver the individual internees' psychological responses to their situations along with their ingenuity to boost up their vitalities.

Nonetheless, the newspaper in its own issues has reminders occasionally that there was censorship they had to deal with, also reminding that each issue was published in the war context. In the June 9, 1942, issue of the *MFP*, the editor proudly states in the article titled "Help us live up to our name . . . The Free Press",[4] which includes the subtitle "The Free Press Belongs to You": "We want to repeat again that the Free Press belongs to the people of Manzanar, that, instead of being merely the mouthpiece of the administration, it strives to express the opinions of the evacuees in the solution of immediate and foreseen problems". Even though this does not guarantee that they could invariably avoid "being merely the mouthpiece of the administration", they were determined to express the evacuees' opinions freely from the beginning of the newspaper's publication. The Japanese version of the same editorial also appeared in the June 20, 1942, issue. Even in the article in Japanese translation, however, we need to question to whom "us" in the article title refers because the subtitle "The Free Press Belongs to You" and the subsection are not translated in the Japanese version. It was indeed much more difficult and sometimes impossible for *Issei* internees to enjoy the freedom of speech. In the July 7, 1942, issue, there is an article "Direct Translation of

[3] Roxworthy, Emily: The Spectacle of Japanese American Trauma: Racial Performativity and World War II. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 2008, 127.

[4] All quotations I use from the *MFP* in this article are from Manzanar Free Press. Library of Congress, Chronicling America, 1942–1945, https://www.loc.gov/item/sn84025948/?st=calendar. Last Accessed January 18, 2024.

Japanese Bulletins" that says, "For the time being, the Japanese section will be limited to only translation of bulletins and messages. This was ordered by the Project Director". After this issue, the editors wrote on July 9, "The following articles appeared in the English Section of July 7th, 1942, and are translated in the Japanese Section Today", and this is followed by the verbatim translation of the actual articles from the English section. In the same manner, the July 11 issue has the verbatim translation of English articles. While there were short Japanese issues on July 14 (one page), July 17 (two pages), and July 21 (two pages), since the issue of July 22 Japanese sections had not been published for more than a month and a half until it resumed on September 10, according to the archive.

In their book *Manzanar*, with photos by Ansel Adams and commentary by John Hersey, John Armor and Peter Wright state:

> The Office of Official Reports was the headquarters of the *Manzanar Free Press*. Although the day-to-day operation of the newspaper was in their hands, [Ralph] Merritt, [who had replaced Roy Nash as director of the center on November 25, 1942] retained the power to censor or remove from the paper any articles he chose, though in fact he interfered very little with the publication of the paper. . . . Merritt also allowed the *Free Press*, beginning in its second year, to publish a Japanese-language edition for those detainees who could not read English, which was contrary to the policy at most other camps. Because of its relative openness and comprehensiveness in reporting local, national, and international stories, the *Free Press* became the voice of the Nisei in all the camps, circulating by mail to the others.[5]

This indicates that the editors and contributors of the *MFP* must have enjoyed more freedom of speech than those of the other camp newspapers. In July 1942, there are issues that send ominous messages about the authority's power to control words and ideas not in the Manzanar internment camp but in other camps. The July 4 issue has a small article saying that in the Fresno assembly center Japanese books and documents except for the Bible and psalm books had to be brought to the police. One article on July 17, 1942, conveys that the Santa Anita Assembly Center also banned Japanese newspapers, books and pamphlets except for the Bible, psalm books, and English Japanese dictionaries. We do not see the same kind of announcement when it comes to the Manzanar internment camp. Still, there is a contradictory statement about the censorship which the *Manzanar Free Press* had experienced: Harlen D. Unrau writes,

[5] Armor, John, and Peter Wright: Manzanar: Photographs by Ansel Adams, Commentary by John Hersey. New York: Times Books 1988, 133.

> Togo Tanaka, an evacuee at Manzanar, would later scoff at suggestions that the *Manzanar Free Press* enjoyed any real freedom from censorship. Stating that some censorship was overt while some was unseen, he noted that the Issei generally distrusted the paper, while the Nisei viewed it as workers look at a publication produced for them by their employers.[6]

Togo Tanaka was the English-language editor of the Los Angeles-based *Rafu Shimpo* newspaper before the war. Unrau's report about Tanaka's "scoff" means that, underneath the words that express the loyalty to their country, the readers of the newspaper had the moral obligation to excavate the voices that have been suppressed.

On May 9, 2017, on the Library of Congress Blog, Wendi Maloney introduces a guest post by Malea Walker, a reference specialist in the Newspaper and Current Periodical Reading Room:

> In the pages of newspapers published behind the barbed wire of Japanese-American internment camps, one theme stands out: loyalty to the country that placed its own citizens there. Early issues of the internment camp newspapers are filled with notices of flag-raising ceremonies, ways to help the war effort, ads for buying war bonds and articles encouraging loyalty. 'The national emergency demands great sacrifices from every American,' reads one article in the June 18, 1942, issue of the *Manzanar Free Press*. 'By our active participation in defense projects, we must prove our unquestioned loyalty.' The 'loyalty to the country' is not only expressed in its early issues, but also in its later issues, but again, we need to think about the Press's purpose of improving public relations with the outside world.[7]

For the *Nisei* internees who were Americans, the obligation that they had to "prove [their] unquestioned loyalty" towards their country was already a humiliation. Discussing how Julie Otsuka depicts the process through which a Japanese family's members have changed into "alien enemies" in her first novel, *When the Emperor Was Devine* (2002), Josephine Park explains, "Within the camps, the inmates were subject to an enforced Americanization that was paradoxically possible only because they had been identified as the enemy".[8] The repeated declarations of the internees' loyalty to their own country in the *MFP* can be considered as "an enforced Americanization" when read with the editor's "scoff" upon hearing their "freedom from censorship". The articles that express how loyal they were towards the American government and

[6] Unrau, Harlen D.: The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry during World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center: Historic Resource Study / Special History Study, Volume One. Denver, Colorado: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service 1996, 391.

[7] Maloney, Wendi. "Defiant Loyalty: Japanese-American Internment Camp Newspaper." Guest post by Malea Walker. Library of Congress Blogs, https://blogs.loc.gov/loc/2017/05/defiant-loyalty-japanese-american-internment-camp-newspapers/. Last Accessed February 9, 2024.

[8] Park, Josephine: Alien Enemies in Julie Otsuka's 'When the Emperor Was Devine'. In: Modern Fiction Studies, vol. 59 (2013), no. 1, spring, 139.

their nation contain the internees' traumatic experiences of the systematic censorship including self-censorship on their words, which caused by the government's disbelief in their loyalty.
In an interview with Andrew Duncan, Julie Otsuka answers when asked why Japanese Americans do not talk about the internment camps:

> I think that, for many Japanese-Americans, the war is just an episode they'd rather forget, because of the shame and the stigma they felt at being labeled "disloyal". And after the war so many families just wanted to get on with their lives, rather than dwell on the pain or the loss. Also, culturally, you don't complain, you just endure.[9]

Perhaps, it is their culture that they do not complain, but their silence and effort of forgetting can also attest that their experience of being labeled "disloyal" or as the "enemy" has become their traumatic memory. Cathy Caruth argues, "The historical power of the trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all".[10] The editors' self-censorship that makes the internees express their loyalty to the U.S. government – instead of complaining about their incarcerated conditions – already represents the act of forgetting the traumatic experiences of evacuating their houses and living in the desert. These memories include the memory of their being deprived of the freedom of speech (words) in English and the memory of their being more strictly deprived of words in Japanese (the Japanese section was limited to verbatim translation of English articles at some points during their incarceration years).
Compared to the archives of other internment camps' newspapers on the "Chronicling America" website, the archive of the *MFP* shows the English and Japanese sections had different frequencies: in 1942, or the first year of the internment, the Japanese section appears sporadically; most issues of 1943 do not have Japanese sections except for the December issues. Partly because of its irregularity and relatively lenient attitude toward English-Japanese comparisons even with the various means of censorships, there are many discrepancies between the sections. Some might think that the Japanese section more blatantly criticizes the American government that incarcerated Japanese people because the members of the War Relocation Authority usually did not have access

[9] Otsuka, Julie. "Julie Otsuka Interview." Conducted by Andrew Duncan. IndieBound, https://www.indiebound.org/author-interviews/otsukajulie. Last Accessed January 16, 2024.
[10] Caruth, Cathy. Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1996, 17.

to the language, but the *MFP* has occasional editorials that express criticisms towards the government to some extent in the English section (this supports "the relative openness and the comprehensiveness" of the paper), which show that the sections cannot be read in a binary way. There were of course *Issei* and *Nisei* who could speak, read and write fluently both in Japanese and English, but they seemed rare. Unrau explains the frustrated feelings of *Issei* when the *MFP* started to be published, "From the beginning of the newspaper, many Issei evacuees at Manzanar complained that, because the newspaper was written exclusively in English, it was only for the Nisei and that it meant nothing to them since they could not read English".[11] This is the main reason that the first internment camp newspaper decided to publish the Japanese section. The October 1, 1942, issue has an article titled "Japanese section grows. . ". that proudly announces:

> The *Manzanar Free Press* has a friendly competitor. With the arrival of a special permission from Dillon Myers,[12] the Japanese edition of the *Press Press* assumes the status of a full fledged publication, no longer a translated appendage to its English edition.
> With its newly acquired adulthood, the Japanese publication must also bear a grown-up's responsibilities. We of the English section, are confident that the editors of the Japanese edition will keep up their splendid effort upon which the new permission was granted. The fact that Manzanar is the only relocation center so far which has this special permission to print Japanese edition speaks highly of the ability and the sincerity of its editors.
> Needless to say, the new publication will be welcomed by the Japanese reading public of Manzanar. Dressed up in four pages, full of news, comments, evacuee literary products, (and no ads?) the paper made its debut last Tuesday. We wish them the best of success.

About staffing the editorial boards, John D. Stevens reports, "The English sections were staffed by nisei; the Japanese sections by issei (Japanese-born) and a few kibei (Japanese-educated)".[13] The linguistic ability and the lack thereof are not the only difference between *Issei* and *Nisei*. Although they had lived and worked in the States for many years, *Issei* were not allowed to become U.S. citizens; they had to purchase lands by using the names of their *Nisei* children who were Americans because they were born in the U.S. Therefore, while it is important to avoid the binary reading of the Japanese and English sections, the reader of the newspaper needs to consider the differences between the *Issei* and *Nisei* experiences and social statuses as well as their different language abilities. Thus, because of the contradictory remarks about the censorship and freedom

[11] Unrau, Harlen D. (note 4), 393.
[12] Dillon Myer was a government official who served as the director of the War Relocation Authority (WRA) established to handle the internment of Japanese Americans in 1942.
[13] Steven, John D.: From Behind Barbed Wire: Freedom of the Press in World War II Japanese Centers. In: Journalism Quarterly, vol. 48 (1971), 280.

and because of the generational differences in terms of experiencing and perceiving the predicaments of internment, it is necessary to scrutinize the context and read between the lines as well as the relative absences of their complaints about the incarcerated situation to locate the traumatic experiences and memories in the Japanese and English articles of the paper so that we can capture them in comprehensive ways.

3. Close-Reading Poems and Jottings

Even though this is not a study about the act of narrating traumatic experiences in multiple languages by the same author, it is important to acknowledge different effects that come from differences of languages before we start looking at the actual writings in Japanese and English in the *MFP*. Steven G. Kellman writes about ambilingual translinguals, or authors who write in more than one language:

> A study of Abraham Cahan's *Yekl* in both Yiddish and English, of Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* in both English and Russian, and of Isak Dinesen's *Seven Gothic Tales* in both English and Danish would reveal much about the creative process and about the expressive possibilities of different languages.[14]

Although my comparative study about the Japanese and English writings in the *MFP* is not about these authors nor any works written by well-known literary artists, the Japanese poems, or haiku and *senryū*, which also consist of 5-7-5 syllables, and poems and jottings in English are worth being read closely partly because these two languages have different "creative processes" and "expressive possibilities" and partly because the ways in which the *Issei* and *Nisei* internees perceived and responded to the circumstances were different. In other words, I do not intend to decide which language section in this internment newspaper more efficiently depicts the internees' traumas than the other. Instead, I suggest that the hybridity of their poems and jottings situated in the war context makes for a comprehensive and reliable linguistic outcome to depict various psychological responses to the shared predicaments of incarceration.

[14] Kellman, Steven G.: The Translingual Imagination. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 2000, 13–14.


自由の名に生きよう

マンザナ自由新聞が、小さい胸の中から初生の声を揚げてから三月が経つ。彼女は真実の報導機関たり、米国デモクラシーの歴史に前例のない体験の記録報告を書き残すと約束した。

彼女は建設されて行く新天地の輝く指針である。

我々には今まで既定の方針がなかつたが、今や、確固たる政策が樹てられねばならない秋が来た。

我々は、新聞や社会の改善の為の建設的な批判、提案を快く受けるものである。

センター当局も亦、諸兄姉が此処に楽天地を建てようとする健全な、そして溌剌な熱意を歓迎するであらう。

我々には、生きくと緊張した思考が必要である。デモクラシーも市民が無頓着主義に堕す時は死も同然である。独立した思想、自由な、そして拘泥しない批判が常に望ましいものである。

斯く、この困難な回復期に善良な市民たり得るのである。

我々の叫びは広漠たる砂漠に消える声に過ぎないかも知れない。

併し、この声こそは、デモクラシーの為に、本質的な戦ひを、同じく我々自身の戦場で続ける真の米国人の創造的な声となるであらう。

Image 1: This is the Japanese editorial article (in the June 20, 1942, issue of *MFP*), which is the translation of the English article "Help us live up to our name . . . Free Press" in the June 9, 1942, issue. Just like other Japanese newspapers' articles, this is written from top to bottom and from right to left.

The *MFP* articles written both in English and Japanese cover a wide range of topics such as the importance of religious activities and rituals, the information about the war in Asia and Europe, philosophical anecdotes about harmonious relationships to overcome the difficult situation in the camp, and various news about the daily events that happened to individual internees. Not much attention has been paid to the Japanese section of the newspaper not only because many of them are translations of the articles from the English section but also because many of them are hard to read due to the handwritten Japanese characters (Image 1). At its early stage of publication, the *MFP*'s Japanese section carefully labels each Japanese article stating that they are translation of specific articles from the English section. Thus, the presences of Japanese poems with no equivalences in English sections are particularly meaningful. Many Japanese sections from June, July, and September 1942, have Japanese haiku and *senryū*.

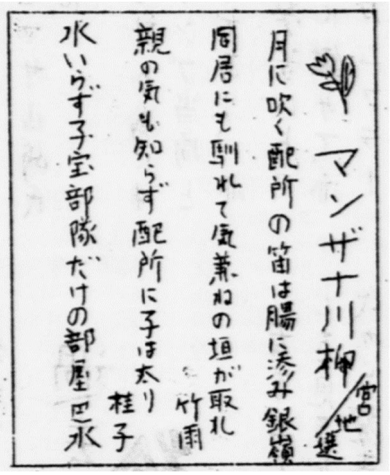

Image 2: Manzanar *senryū.* Again, this is written from top to bottom.

Naturally, the issues at the beginning stages of the *MFP* express what can be interpreted as traumatic experiences because the internees were still confused trying to digest why they had to leave their houses, businesses, schools, friends, teachers, and sometimes, their partners for the unknown place in the middle of the desert. The June 18, 1942, issue has a section titled "Manzanar *senryū*" (Image 2). Different from haiku, *senryū* does not require a word that expresses seasons, or *kigo*, and is generally written in colloquial language. Whereas haiku uses depictions of nature to make comparison between the scenery and the human emotions, *senryū* focuses more on depicting the human society and thus talks about everyday lives sometimes with a sense of humor. In the "Manzanar *senryū*" section, there are four pieces of poems (Image 2) mostly describing the daily lives in the internment camp. For example, one of them reads, "*Dōkyo nimo* / *narete kigane no* / *kaki ga tore* – Chikuu"[15] which means "Living together / accustomed to each other / our uneasiness gradually gone".[16] After being relocated into the camp, each family was randomly put into a barrack that had been built in a few weeks. With a thin board, or sometimes just a curtain at the early stage of their internment, between them, they had to stay in the same barrack with strangers. The *senryū* is about the fledging harmony that the patience and politeness of the Japanese internees made possible.

[15] The word after each poem is the author's pseudonym or their real name.
[16] The English translations of all haiku and *senryū* from the *MFP* are mine.

The distinction between haiku and *senryū* is not always clear because the latter also includes descriptions of nature. The June 25, 1942, issue includes four *senryū*, and one of them says, "*Sotto miru* / *hatsuga ga suna wo* / *karuku age* – Sansen" ("Gently observed / lightly pushing up the sand / the sprouting head – Sansen"). Yet, another one of them reads with much darker tinge, "*Tachinoki no* / *ni ni urameshiku* / *mise wo miru* – Michiko" ("Upon relocation / we ruefully looked at our store / only with our luggage [we can carry] – Michiko"). This one describes in retrospect the time when they left their house/business for the assembly center upon the government's order. They were only allowed to bring what they could carry with them. This *senryū* describes the memory of the *Issei* Japanese internees who had to abandon, for instance, expensive porcelains that they had brought from Japan and the business that they had started and developed with great pains. There must have been more internees who wanted to publish their *senryū* in the camp because the *senryū* section says that someone named Miyaji "chose" the four pieces. Also, the fact that *senryū* outnumbers haiku in the *MFP* indicates that the internees were willing to describe their daily lives including their lives before internment.

There is a significant difference between the first two *senryū* and the third one that I have just discussed: the former are about the present moments that the internees are experiencing in the camp; the latter is about the past that they already experienced. The experience that they gradually made friends with the strangers in the small barracks without much privacy will be recognized in the future as their traumatic memories in association with the whole internment event, and the experience that they had to abandon their precious stores have already become their traumatic memories that they revisit through language.

With this temporal difference between the two *senryū*, however, they both depict the same kind of traumatic experience that shatters one's sense of self. In the *senryū* of "relocation", they had to leave the store which embodies their long-term hard work to start and develop their business. The other *senryū* that sounds rather positive because they made friends with the strangers undermines the traditional Japanese family relationships that emphasizes the separation between the inside and the outside of their family/house. The internees had to bathe in communal facilities and eat in mess halls. The whole structure of the camp as well as the barrack destroyed the traditional Japanese sense of the self that would require closed spaces. Remembering her experience of helping at the nursery school in Tanforan Assembly Center, Yoshiko Uchida writes, "Whenever the children

played house, they always stood in line to eat at make-believe mess halls rather than cooking and setting tables as they would have done at home. It was sad to see how quickly the concept of home had changed for them".[17] I contend that the act of writing *senryū* about the internment life for the internees, on the one hand, starts their process of dealing with their traumatic experiences; on the other hand, writing their lives in the traditional verse form signifies that *Issei* internees recognize that their selves have been shuttered because the act is an attempt to recover the sense of the traditional self.

The brevity and the rhythm of *senryū* makes it difficult to translate it into English or any other languages, but translation of haiku seems even more difficult because it has tacitly established functions and additional rules. Yoshinobu Hakutani and Robert L. Tener write in their "Afterword" to Richard Wright's *Haiku: This Other World*, "The haiku poet may not only aim at expressing sensation but also at generalizing and hence depersonalizing it".[18] Compared to the internees' *senryū*, in their haiku they frequently use indirect depictions of their lives in the camp or depict something more general. One of the haiku in the June 27 issue reads "*Mi ni shimiru* / *gogatsu no yahan no* / *samusa kana* – Tenmin" ("Soaking into the body / the coldness / at a midnight of May – Tenmin"). This piece is considered haiku instead of *senryū* because it includes *kireji* ("kana"), which is a poetic device that can generate sensations or give reverberations by emphasizing its preceding word. Kern explains *kireji* or the "cut":

> The cut overcomes brevity [of the haiku] by rending the verse into two superficially unrelated portions, beckoning the reader to step in and, through a strategy of intuition or inspiration or allusional detective work, if not cold logic, search for some underlying connection. The cut, it might be said, splices as well as dices. It establishes twin cathodes that the reader must bridge by generating an imaginative work.[19]

Instead of lamenting their incarcerated lives, the haiku is about the poet's feeling physically cold in May. The Manzanar internment camp as well as many other camps were built in deserts where it was cold at night and scorching hot during the day. Placed in the internment newspaper, the haiku does not only express the poet's personal feeling; rather, the sensation of coldness is a

[17] Uchida, Yoshiko: Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family. Seattle: University of Washington Press 1982, 88.
[18] Hakutani, Yoshinobu and Robert L. Tener: Afterword. In: Richard Wright: Haiku: This Other World. New York: Arcade Publishing 1998, 250.
[19] Kern, Adam L.: Introduction. In: The Penguin Book of Haiku. New York: Penguin Classics 2018, xxxviii.

collective one, a sensation that the internees shared in the camp. Even if *kireji* has the function of inviting the reader's imagination, those who would be able to read this haiku written in Japanese are the ones who would not need to use a lot of imagination to think about what kind of "coldness" the poet experiences because they also experience it; at the same time, those who would need to use their imaginations to understand what this haiku is all about cannot even read the language. Those who do not have access to Japanese are not only the outsiders or the non-internee Americans but also *Nisei* who did not learn their parents' language very well. Ironically, the *Issei*'s gesture of writing haiku with *kireji*, which should have functioned as an invitation for the reader to be part of the community, eliminates the possibility to build the community in its entirety. In other words, the *Issei*'s act of writing haiku, which is not understandable for people other than themselves is the reflection of another kind of traumatic experience, not just their traumas of incarcerations, but of being rejected and misunderstood by their own children who were unwilling to learn their parents' culture as well as the surrounding society.

The absence of English translation of the pieces of haiku indicates the difficulty to translate them, and by extension, the difficulty to communicate between *Issei* and *Nisei*. Alison Kirby Record and Adnan K. Abdulla uses the absence of English equivalence for another *kireji*, "*ya*", to explain haiku's untranslatability:

> *ya* . . . implies a feeling of surprise or awe. This is sometimes indicated by an exclamation mark in English, but the feeling of *ya* is far subtler than this. Some Japanese particles are called *kireji* or 'cutting words', whose function in a haiku is to add emotional nuance or depth of feeling. Such words are completely lacking in English. These differences, among others, often seem to make a fully effective translation impossible.[20]

Thus, multilingualism in the newspaper acknowledges the disruptions in the intergenerational communications in the camp. The two languages in the paper that show "the expressive possibilities of different languages" are a constant reminder that the Japanese-American community members did not share the experiences of incarceration in the same manner. Hisaye Yamamoto's well-known short stories such as "Seventeen Syllables" (1949), which significantly uses haiku, and "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara" (1950) among others are not about their traumatic experiences of incarceration in the desert, but they are more about gender hierarchy

[20] Record, Alison Kirby, and Adnan K. Abdulla: On the Difficulties of Translating Haiku in English. In: Translation and Literature, vol. 25 (2016), no. 2, summer, 173.

between a husband and a wife and about conflicts and miscommunications between parents and children or *Issei* and *Nisei*. The traumatic memories that these multilingual issues of the *MFP* contain are not necessarily about the country that deprived freedom of their lives; they are also about what happened in the camp, in the barrack, and in the household.

It is possible, however, to locate the internees' effort to build a sense of community by writing haikus. The June 30 issue includes two pieces of haiku that contain *kireji*: the first one is: "*Sera no mine no* / *hi wo iri kaesu* / *wakaba kana*" ("Of the Sierra's ridge / reflecting the sun / the young leaves"); the second one uses direct references to the internees' lives: "*Kōmori ya* / *yakyū ni kureshi* / *shyūyōjyo*" ("Bats are flying / into the dusk as we play / baseball in the camp"). The *kireji* used in the first one is again "*kana*" which is placed after and thus emphasizes the importance of "*wakaba*" ("young leaves"). The use of nature is typical of haiku and it includes nothing personal. Isolated in the desert, the internees often expressed their feeling of awe when looking at the beauty of nature that surrounded them. The context of the internment newspaper can only deliver the fact that the internees need to make the best use of what they have. The second haiku's *kireji* is "*ya*" that is placed after "*Kōmori*" ("Bats"). The Japanese internees enjoyed playing baseball and other sports so much that each issue of the *MFP* spends an entire page or two on reports on their sports' games. Especially playing baseball was one of the opportunities to gather and to build a sense of solidarity. Besides the players, there were many spectators around the field. The emphasis placed on "*Kōmori*" and the haiku's mention of the bats convey that the communal feeling is widespread and long continuing "into the dusk". Again, the emphasized message of these haiku is the generalized and impersonal feeling of the internees.

Unfortunately, the Japanese sections of the *MFP* do not include many pieces of haiku and *senryū* even though they announce that they had regular meetings for interested people to make and discuss their poetic works. No Japanese sections of the *MFP* are available on the "Chronicling America" website from July 22, 1942 to September 10, 1942, but during that period the English sections have the "Junior Jottings" section which include some English poems for the first time since the inaugural issue. The "Junior Jottings" section sporadically appears only three times during the one and a half months, on August 3rd, 10th, and 17th. In these three issues, there are twelve contributions in total. Four of them are poems, and the other contributions are prose writings. The contributors are elementary pupils, and therefore, they are *Nisei*. The texts are about

their schoolteacher, siblings and parents, the American flag, the stars in the sky, their pets, picnic, weather, and so forth.

Among them, there is a piece written with a high poetic talent and titled "Beautiful Moon":

> Slowly, silently, now the moon
> Wakes the night with her silvery
> gloom;
> This way and that, she smiles
> All o'er the world for miles.
> One by one, the lands, the seas,
> catch
> Her beams of silvery patch.
> On the land, creatures are guided,
> On the sea sailors are righted;
> Oh! You silvery moon!
> Where are you at noon?
> To me you are like a dream
> Flowing down a silvery [s]tream.[21]
> By 5th grade class
> 31-15.[22]

Depicting the moon, this fifth grader uses many poetic techniques such as anthropomorphism ("she smiles"), enjambment ("her silvery / gloom;" and "the lands, the seas, / catch / Her beams of silvery patch".), apostrophe ("Oh! You silvery moon! / Where are you at noon?"). Besides the moon, young contributors jot about the stars, rain, the sand, a butterfly that was rare in the desert, or whatever is available to inspire their imaginations. Although they do not contain much maturity, compared to the haiku and *senryū* written by *Issei*, and it is not easy to locate traumatic experiences in them, it seems important that the rare appearances of English poems and "Junior Jottings" in the *MFP* coincide with the absences of Japanese sections, and therefore, of Japanese poems. The objects that the junior jottings use for their topics work as a reminder that they do not have many resources out of which they could create their verses and proses. The reader thus needs to be careful when the second grader Geoffrey Arai writes, "I am having lot of fun at Manzanar and hope to become a healthy boy because we have lots of fresh air and sunshine" in the August 10 issue. We need to keep in mind that Emily Roxworthy includes this camp newspaper in her concept of

[21] The word in the original is "tream." According to the context, I changed that into "stream" because the *Oxford English Dictionary* does not list the word "tream."

[22] Although there is no explanation in the *MFP*, I believe that this is the number of their barrack, equivalent to their street address.

"spectacular images", considering what Japanese-American internees presented as their performances: "The selectivity of the archiving is evident not only in the administration's copious records but also in many Japanese Americans' own accounts, including the internee-run newspaper, the *Manzanar Free Press*".[23] Different from *Issei*'s poems in Japanese, *Nisei*'s jottings in English circulate smoothly in the U.S. societies outside of the camp. The editors who decided to publish these jottings comply with the U.S. government's policy to make the Japanese American experiences of internment tolerable and even enjoyable. If the *Nisei*'s writings mark their traumatic experience in the camp through their jottings, the presences of "the moon" and "lots of fresh air and sunshine" can indicate that they did not have many other resources for enjoyment than nature. In a way, the selections of these poems and jottings that express the children's excitement are also the outcomes of self-censorship, or of silencing their complaints. Also, to return to what Roxworthy explains by using "[Cathy] Caruth's insights into trauma as a 'missed' event (missed insofar as 'the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly')",[24]

> Japanese Americans "missed" the impact of their forced evacuation and imprisonment after Pearl Harbor because their persecution was staged – over and over again for the more than three years of the Pacific War – as a series of political spectacles that denied the psychological violence and material underpinnings of what was taking place. (6)

Especially, young *Nisei*'s jottings in the English sections are used to evade witnessing the traumatic events in their innocence and the naive sincerity that expresses how their circumstances were enjoyable. Unlike the *Issei*'s *senryū* about their leaving home/business and haiku about the coldness in May, their jottings show their excited responses to the situation of the internment camp, and therefore, it is incumbent for the reader to know that they were written in the war context.

When the Japanese section came back in September 1942, they started to publish Japanese haiku and *senryū* again, but they continued only for about a month. In the meantime, the "Junior Jottings" never came back until the end of the *MFP* publication. For some unknown reason, the 1944 and 1945 issues do not have any haiku or *senryū* except for the New Year's Day issue. However, starting from May 20, 1944, the Japanese section has a section called "*Rakkasan*" (Parachute) in which the contributors write funny short stories including tall tales and puns, and the next issue on

[23] Roxworthy, Emily (note 3), 125.
[24] Ibid., 5.

May 24 marks an inauguration of "*Uso kurabu*" (Lie Club) in which they write humorous fictitious stories. These sections of creative writings started to appear then maybe because they allowed to publish writings originally written in Japanese and invited submissions from the internees and former internees who relocated themselves in different cities; on April 19, 1944, the Japanese section proudly announces, "We welcome submissions!" The same article does not forget to add some conditions to Japanese submissions: they cannot refer to the national and social affairs; they cannot go over 520 letters. Writing tall tales, puns, and fictitious stories with a sense of humor in the Japanese section may have helped the *Issei* contributors to deal with the traumatic situations about which they were not allowed to write directly.

This project of reading internees' voices that are related to their experiences of traumatic events in newspaper articles may sound counterintuitive because the *MFP*, which was published during the war, was censored. Therefore, we also need to keep reading books such as Jeanne Wakatsuki's and Yoshiko Uchida's memoirs, Hisaye Yamamoto's short stories, and Julie Otsuka's novels to find out more about the Japanese American experiences of internment camps. Compared to these works, the *MFP* articles do not describe what happened before and after the internment of the Japanese American people. However, I think that it is important to acknowledge that the Japanese sections continued to be published and many articles reflect the internees' resilience and ingenuity. With the political purposes of publishing the *MFP* and the authority's censorship, we need to think about the function of Japanese articles and creative writings that were not translation of the English articles and how we should read them besides their apparent purpose of delivering information to some of the *Issei* internees who could not read English. The reflection of the recurring intergenerational conflicts in Japanese poetry is a possible interpretation but certainly not the only one. These resilient voices that sometimes appeared to come from normal, everyday life should not be used to lessen the seriousness of this highly problematic event that happened in the United States. This project is my attempt to pay tribute to each individual internee's effort to endure their trying circumstances that would be remembered as their traumatic experiences. Thus, to conclude, I would like to add what Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston write in the "Foreword" to her *Farewell to Manzanar*:

> I began to make connections I had previously been afraid to see. It had taken me twenty-five years to reach the point where I could talk openly about Manzanar, and the more I talked, the clearer it became that any book we wrote would have to include a good deal more than day-to-day life inside the compound. To tell what I knew and felt about it would mean telling something about our family before the war, and the years that followed the war, and about my father's past, as well as my own way of seeing things now. Writing it has been a way of coming to terms with the impact these years have had on my entire life".[25]

Even though the haiku and *senryū* in Japanese and the short jottings in English depict the beautiful sceneries and enjoyable activities, the reader must think about the possibilities of reading their traumatic experiences by placing them within the historical context and by regarding them as partial silencing of their complaints about the situation. The inclusions of haiku and *senryū* in the Japanese section and the absences of their equivalences in the English section signify untranslatability of the different generations' experiences. At the same time, however, precisely because the *Issei* and *Nisei* experienced and perceived their internment differently and expressed their responses in different languages, it is incumbent for us to read both sections of the *MFP* to understand their traumas in their entirety.

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[25] Houston, Jeanne Wakatsuki, and James D. Houston: Farewell to Manzanar. New York, Toronto, London, Sydney, Auckland: Bantam Books 1973, ix–x.

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