

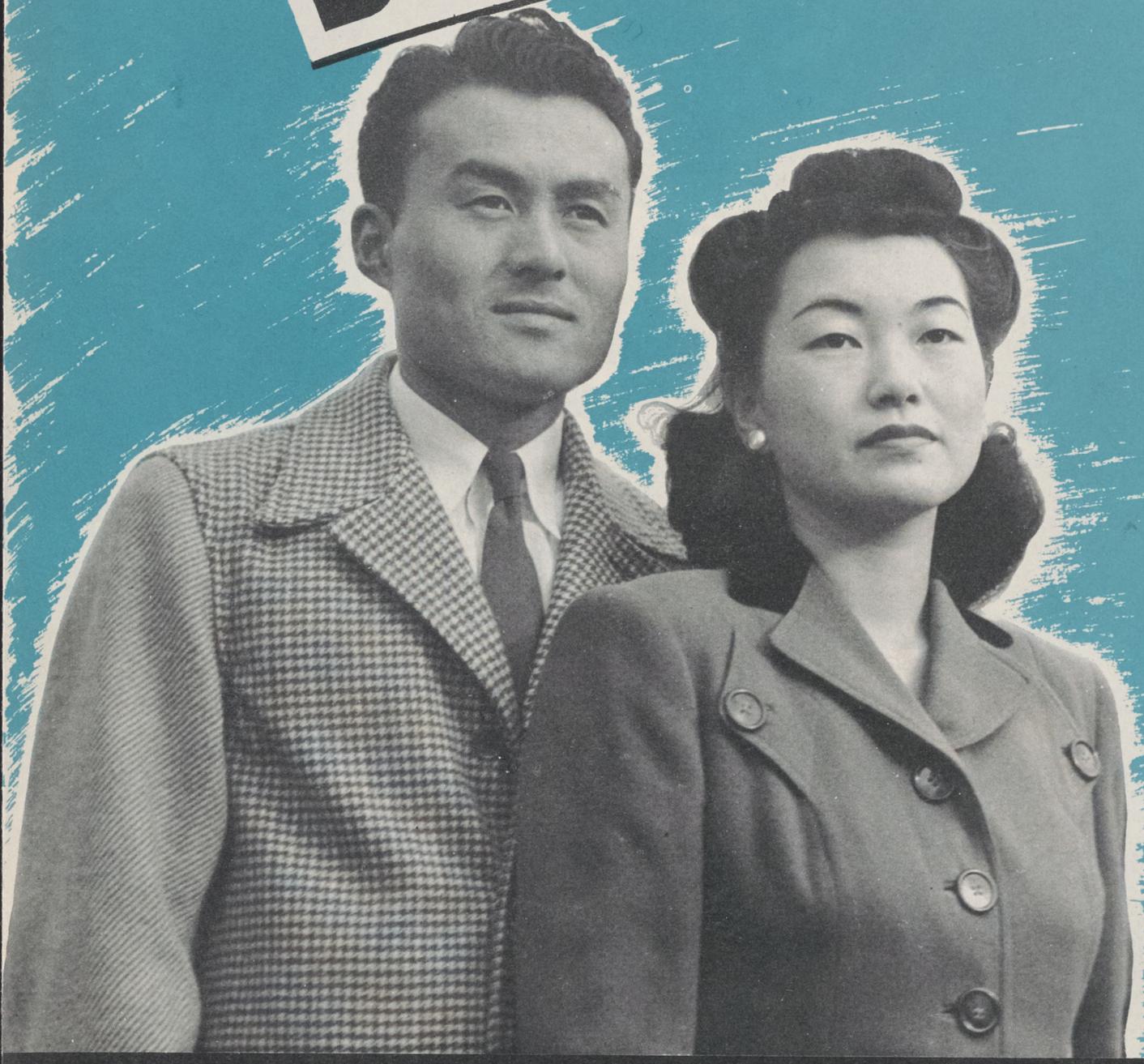
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DEMOCRACY DEMANDS



Fair Play For
AMERICA'S JAPANESE

Leading Papers Speak Up For It

COMMON SENSE IN CALIFORNIA

COLLIER'S
October 21, 1944

A California outfit called the Japanese Exclusion Association tried recently to round up the necessary 180,000-odd signatures to make it virtually impossible for persons of Japanese descent to earn their livings in California. The petition failed by about 100,000 signatures—and California and common sense won, if you ask us, by the same score.

...it looks as if the ancient American policy of giving minorities—any and all of them—a fair shake pays dividends, in peace and in war. Why, then, chip holes in that ancient American policy?

Is This the American Way?

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
June 23, 1944

On the west coast, many otherwise respectable organizations—including the American Legion, which should stand for the finest kind of Americanism—have been engaging in a bitter hate campaign against the Japanese Americans. They have sought to direct the enmity for Japan against these citizens. The west coast press has also played a disgraceful role in this attack.

What kind of Americanism is it for the city of Gardena to omit from its honor roll of citizens in the service of Japanese Americans in the service of our common country? What kind of Americanism is it for the American Legion to revoke the charters of two posts made up of Japanese American veterans of the first World War? What kind of Americanism is it for the legion in Portland, Ore., to protest the efforts of local citizens to provide some volunteer care for a Japanese cemetery?

The attitude expressed in these actions is a disheartening sign that we have a long way to go to achieve the kind of tolerance and democracy we fight for.

Leaguers Take On Big Job

TACOMA, WASH., TIMES
October 28, 1944

Members of the Remember Pearl Harbor League undertake a big job when they propose to amend the Constitution of the United States to bar American born Japanese from citizenship and residence in the United States. That is easier said than done.

If it were not for the possibility of serious repercussions, the effort to amend the Constitution to deny citizenship to American born members of one race would be quite a bit on the ridiculous side. If it can be done in one instance, what is to prevent any interested groups from conjuring up a case against the Germans, Italians or any other American residents of any other nationality, including the Irish. And then, Heaven help us, where would New York get her policemen?

NOT IN THE BLOOD

NEW YORK TIMES
September 2, 1944

Their names are: Masaki Fujikawa, Shinei Nakamine, Denis Masato Hashimoto, Grover Kazutomi Nagaji, Kenji Kato, Tsugiyasu Toma, all killed in action against their country's enemy. . . . Other Americans of Japanese descent have fought for our flag in the Pacific and in Burma, taking risks, because of their race, over and beyond those assumed by white soldiers. . . . Letters from other American soldiers received in this office have proclaimed the loyalty and devotion of these men.

What this proves is a fact encouraging for Japanese-Americans, for the country of which they are citizens and for long prospect ahead. There is nothing in the Japanese blood, or in any racial blood, that makes men ignorant and brutal. Education and environment turn the scales one way or the other. A whole generation in Japan and Germany has gone to waste and worse than waste. Under decent governments, in a decent society, in a decently organized world, the coming generations may be reclaimed. The war must be won by destruction, but the peace will be kept by education.

FOUR MEDALS

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
September 21, 1944

The Army has awarded Bronze Star medals for meritorious action on Saipan to four California boys, coming from Marysville, Stockton, San Jose, and Los Angeles. These young men showed their American fighting spirit by volunteering for a job that took them, in that region, into particular danger. Their names are Honda, Nakanishi, Natsui and Sakamoto.

Americans vs. Americans

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
December 6, 1944

The simple fact that Americanism is not served by the persecution of Americans still needs to be learned. It needs to be learned by, among others, the American Legion Post of Hood River, Ore., which has expunged from its county war memorial the names of 16 Americans of Japanese ancestry who are serving with the United States forces overseas.

The 16 Americans whose names were erased from the memorial are being good Americans, by fighting for their country. The members of the Hood River Post of the American Legion who voted for the erasure are being poor Americans, by allowing themselves to be led by prejudice and empty emotionalism into persecuting their fellow-citizens.

We Point With Pride

ROCKFORD, ILL., REGISTER-REPUBLIC
May 24, 1944

A photograph on the picture page of Saturday's Register - Republic showed a Japanese-American boy as one of six winners of a spelling contest at Lincoln junior high school. It was refreshing evidence of the tolerance which pervades this community, particularly Rockford's school system.

A few weeks ago at another of our schools a Japanese-American girl took part in a speech contest. She did not win first place, but an instructor has told us that she received the heaviest applause. Her classmates wanted her to know that she was welcome in their midst. . . .

Rockford, yes the whole middle west, may be proud of its record of acceptance of loyal Japanese-Americans, which shows an appreciation of the spirit as well as the letter of the constitution.

MAKING PROGRESS

MADISON, WIS., STATE JOURNAL
December 3, 1944

Headlines recently proclaimed that 47 states now are open for relocation of Japanese-Americans.

News reports also reveal that one of these 47 states, Colorado, went much farther in a referendum last month. The people of Colorado rejected a proposed constitutional amendment to bar Japanese aliens from owning land in that state.

All of which deserves the emphasis of repetition here as evidence of progress in Americanism.

The Constitution and Japanese-Americans

TUCSON, ARIZONA, STAR
June 6, 1944

...If our Constitution means anything, if protection of minorities is to continue to be a principle of American life, it is up to all duly elected officials to stand by their oath of office to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, even to the extent of seeing, once peace comes, that those unfortunates of Japanese ancestry who must be defended against those hot heads who must be cowards to fear what have been law-abiding, industrious people.

Home Is Where the Heart Is

OMAHA WORLD HERALD
November 28, 1944

"I have the face of a Japanese but my heart is American," said T. Sgt. Ben Kuroki in revealing here that the War Department has granted his request for assignment to combat duty in the Pacific.

Speaking before a group of transplanted Nisei (Japanese-Americans shunted from the West Coast) this modest soldier from Hershey, Neb., who flew with the first Liberator squadron over Europe, told of his ambition to fly over Tokyo in a bomber.

His words might well be pondered by some, perhaps well-intentioned, who have the face of Americans but the hearts of bigots so far as Ben Kuroki and his minority group of Americans are concerned.

Exclusion Test

WASHINGTON POST
July 13, 1944

...If the exclusion is based on nothing more than racial hostility, then it raises an ugly threat to the fundamental principles of American life. It bears, as Mr. Justice Murphy pointed out elsewhere in his opinion on the curfew case, "a melancholy resemblance to the treatment accorded many and other parts of Europe." If the freedom of citizens can be restricted because of the spelling of their names, then none of us can claim more than a temporary and illusory hold upon freedom.

Our Japanese-Americans Deserve Fair Play

PHILADELPHIA RECORD
May 28, 1944

...They have bought war bonds, given to the Red Cross, joined in war volunteer work. Some 8000 Japanese-Americans are in the United States Army. They fought bravely in Italy, theater. Some of the women have joined the WAC.

Some 80,000 are still in relocation centers, afraid of "the outside," profoundly hurt that other Americans so stigmatize them. Their problem is not of their making.

We imposed it upon them. We solve it generously and with understanding. Otherwise democracy is but an idle word.

Concealed

CITIZEN NEWS
Hollywood, Calif.
November 7, 1944

Though there are many people who express fears about the return of American citizens of Japanese ancestry to California, it hasn't yet become apparent to this writer what they are afraid of.

Certainly there are no fears that returning Japanese would lessen our war effort by contributing their labors to the raising of crops or the manufacture of war supplies.

Perhaps it is not fear that is bothering some people. Perhaps it is both prejudice. If it is prejudice it will not be admitted, for that would be admitting that the fundamental rights of American citizens are not recognized.

The Sooner the Better

SANTA ANA, CALIF., REGISTER
August 22, 1944

Real democracy, Christianity and live a dangerous life. They must have faith in other people and be willing to take risks. We should have been willing to take the risk that possibly a few Japanese might have caused a disturbance.

But since we have made a serious mistake, the sooner we correct it the better. There is no excuse whatever now for keeping the Japanese in detention camps. They are entitled to the same protection by the government as every other citizen, no matter what race or color.

OF VALOR—It Is Not Limited to Any One Group

CHARLOTTE, N. C., NEWS
October 11, 1944

...It was last spring that a young Marine, a Guadalcanal veteran, returned to this country and found vicious discrimination against Americans of Japanese ancestry in California—and in a nationally-circulated letter accused the California Department of the American Legion of actually sponsoring the movement.

We rejoice in the increasingly distinguished battle records of these troops, and consider their deeds under fire sufficient answer to irresponsible critics and idle talk of the prejudiced. Response in battle, after all, is the final evidence, and adequate testimony to the loyalty of these men to the American ideal—regardless of their stakes in this country's future.



THE PEOPLE PRACTICE IT





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Executive Secretaries
EDITH E. LOWRY
MARK A. DAWBER

May 25, 1945

Prof. Dorothy Thomas

No. 5.

To: Supporting Church Boards
Cooperating Organizations

Herewith I submit a belated report on what I found in the four Relocation Centers which I visited during March. It has taken such a long time to get this paper out, due primarily to the necessity of checking data and policy matters. I assure you, however, that the report stands substantially the same as I originally drafted it right after the tour.

There is one thing I must request of you in this connection. No part of this report is for publication or wide circulation. Please keep it entirely confidential as I need to protect the individuals who are mentioned.

May I also hope that what I have written here will be remembered whenever you have occasion to deal with any phase of the problem of resettlement? I should naturally be interested in your reactions and comments, particularly where my observations appear to be at all incorrect.

Sincerely yours,

Toru Matsumoto
Toru Matsumoto
Director for Resettlement

*At suggestion of my good friend
Mr. Gale M. Fisher,
J.M.*

Granada Relocation Center
Amache, Colorado

March 9 - 11, 1945

At a meeting sponsored by the Relocation Committee of Granada Christian Church, Sunday afternoon, March 10, 1945, Dr. Miyamoto, a chiropractor, who seemed to be well respected, reported on the internal condition of the camp. He works for the Relocation Information Service and Community Analysis Section of the War Relocation Authority.

According to Dr. Miyamoto, Amache is the most conservative camp, the residents being rather mild in disposition. This does not mean the people here act intelligently but there has been no violence.

The evacuees here are divided on relocation; those who want to go out, and those who prefer to remain or to go to some special institution to be created for them. (Writer's note: There is no such arrangement made for them.)

The people here are more inclined to think of themselves as Japanese in America than as Japanese away from Japan. This in itself is a remarkable thing.

One difficulty in relocation is not "no place to go," but "too many places to go." Housing is a problem everywhere, especially on the West Coast, where discrimination in employment is an added difficulty. Employers are not likely to give white collar jobs to evacuees. Labor unions are better, but the A.F.L. is not so favorable as the C.I.O. This discrimination on the West Coast is a matter of tradition and no immediate change is expected. As long as these two things stand in the way, an average evacuee is not likely to rush back to the Coast. So analyzed Dr. Miyamoto.

An Issei spoke up to say that when the W.R.A. says, "Return to normal life," the people think they are being urged to start living among strangers who are Caucasians, which is a life definitely NOT NORMAL for Issei.

Another stated that when the government put them in camp, they were clearly told that they were to stay there for the duration plus two weeks. The W.R.A.'s announcement of the decision to close the camps within this year is, therefore, a breach of promise and a threat to their security.

A third emphasized that relocation is a matter of making a start all over again, not merely changing places of residence.

There was a general apprehension regarding their personal and family future ten months hence, and that fear was visible on the faces of most of those present.

There is no question that the people do not completely trust the W.R.A. personnel. There could not be a finer group of people working for our government, yet to some evacuees they are merely job-holders.

Some evacuees even suggested that W.R.A. officials will quit their present jobs as soon as better jobs are found, leaving the Japanese people helpless. They would like to see the government use persons of Japanese ancestry in W.R.A. administrative positions, just not in clerical jobs, feeling that they would not desert the evacuees. This was, incidentally, one of the 21 recommendations made by the All Center Evacuee Conference at Salt Lake City.

The evacuees asked that the churches relocate ministers on the West Coast, not so much with the idea of re-opening Japanese churches as with the idea of paving the way for the return of the evacuees. They think that ministers can go to places and do things which are impossible for an average evacuee.

The work in assisting evacuees in Chicago, Cleveland, and Minneapolis is well known. But work in Denver, Detroit, Dayton, New York, and other places is not known as well, at Amache at any rate. My information on the citizens' local committees in nearly 35 cities was entirely new to most of them. It seems that a city with a local committee or Council of Churches where a person of Japanese background is employed to do the work is sufficiently well known, but otherwise their idea of a "normal community" is quite distorted.

The evacuees asked that we issue a pamphlet in Japanese and English, giving data on citizens' local committees helping the Japanese. This I promised to get out. They are not interested in any overall agencies serving everybody in need.

Talking with an evacuee leader, a member of the Council, who was a delegate to the Salt Lake Conference, I discovered that, contrary to my other informants, he was not opposed to relocation as such. Instead, he was concerned with the whole question of the future security of the people. He does not believe that the government can or should force them out. But the present program of relocation does not convince the people (i.e., himself) that the W.R.A. is seriously thinking of the welfare of the people. (This point was repeatedly expressed by others I talked with also.)

He could not see how an old man who never has spoken a word of English can go out and reach his destination. Until the evacuation there were many Japanese who had ^{never} ridden on a bus, let alone a transcontinental railroad train. Suppose such a man gets as far as Denver. How in the world can he find the right train for Chicago in that crowded station? A man who was to go to Chicago through Kansas City turned up in a police station in Denver. He was scared to death, being unable to explain why he should be arrested.

If a man by himself cannot find his way around, how can he take out his aged wife who does not speak English, and 5 little children? (There are quite a few Issei couples with teen age Nesei children, or with soldier sons' wives and small Sansei children.) Unless the W.R.A. thinks up a more drastic (he meant a more extensive and more detailed) program of service, no one will want to go out.

Asked if local committees provided such friendly services as meeting the train or bus, and putting the relocating families on the next train, etc., would that make any difference? he jumped and replied, "Yes!"

I checked this with several others, some of whom are ministers, and found their reactions identical with that of this Councilman. It seems clear that we ought to plan to provide this type of service all along the routes of relocatées.

While it is true that the Travelers' Aid has been most cooperative, the language difficulty is still a definite barrier. At the W.R.A. office, the acting director thought that any one should be able to get needed services at the Travelers' Aid. I almost forgot to mention that some evacuees have never talked with a Caucasian in their lives.

The gap between the appointed personnel and the evacuees is quite marked. The latter are still the wards of government. Every important activity must be approved. Coupled with the fact that the two groups look different, receive salaries at different rates and live differently, this basic lack of freedom makes the evacuees ever more conscious of being Japanese. Now that the evacuees who considered themselves Americans have left the center, this mental segregation will increase rather than decrease. It seems to be a crucially important thing to keep up the number of Caucasian non-governmental workers who can and will mingle with the people.

If the W.R.A. is as anxious as it seems to be about "getting the people out", its primary concern must be that of eliminating the feeling of separation between the Caucasian and the Japanese. This raises the question whether or not the W.R.A. should reverse its policy of not getting too intimate with the evacuees. If it is possible, it is time that the W.R.A. modify its policy and let Caucasian workers, who are not W.R.A. personnel, live in the center. Without a period of preparation for integration while the people are still in the camp, the W.R.A. cannot convincingly talk about dispersal integration on the outside.

When one compares the resettlers with the center residents, it should be very clear that those who have gone out had some contacts with Caucasians before the war and those reluctant to go out now are those who had little, if any, contact.

Isolated as the camp is from the rest of the world, the evacuees can learn to associate and talk with Caucasians, and vice versa, only if more non-Japanese, non-W.R.A., non-governmental persons enter and live in, as well as visit the camps in the next ten months.

The evacuees blame the W.R.A. for the "happenings" on the West Coast. To most of the evacuees, especially to those who are more vocal than accurate, all the happenings there are unfavorable. Firing of shots into the homes of the returned evacuees, the Filipino "reception committees" at stations, and other stories like it are all W.R.A.'s fault. In the case of the Filipino-Japanese near-riot in Fresno, the indifference of W.R.A. officials has been confirmed by evacuees who have come back after being chased by the Filipinos. (Actually, the Japanese chased the Filipinos away.)

In regard to these Filipino "reception committees", there is some general uniformity in methods that suggests an organized and financed effort to keep the Japanese out. To counteract this sort of thing is naturally a job bigger than the W.R.A. routine. All interested groups must help.

The evacuees' conception of the war is still fantastic, but I have been told that there is more realistic thinking now than two months ago. The degree of their desire for relocation will advance in proportion to their ability to interpret the war picture accurately. This is true certainly with those who read English papers(a few); and also with those who have property in the old country or who planned to sit out the war and go back to Japan after the war. The majority of the aged poor and children of course do not care one way or the other. They will do what they are forced to do - "forced" either by government or merely by circumstances which are beyond their control anyway.

II

Minidoka Relocation Center
Hunt, Idaho

March 15 - March 19, 1945

Things looked clearer at Hunt than at Amache. They looked worse because of it.

There are perhaps a number of good reasons for this. Among them:

1. Rev. Joe Kitagawa has gathered about him really outstanding and alert evacuees who know what is going on, and he made every effort to make them available to me.
2. People here are from Seattle and Portland and adjacent areas, which means a more articulate lot than farmers on the whole.
3. The W.R.A. administration and the evacuees have a notoriously undesirable history of difficult relations.
4. I was a little better equipped to observe than at Amache, my first camp.

If anyone still thinks that the W.R.A. Administration Personnel (called "A.P." for short) and the evacuees are good friends, he will be forced to change his notion completely the first day at Minidoka. Joe Kitagawa calls the best evacuee attitude "antagonistic cooperation", and as I talked with most of the recognized leaders who are in favor of relocation(who are few) that term fitted the situation excellently. They are saying that quite a few are willing to relocate "in spite of W.R.A." All of which is a very regrettable situation, but it is a true description of the state of mind of the best informed people among them.

The evacuees are most sensitive people. An A.P. member is reported to have said to them when a number were discharged from \$16 a month jobs, "Your government (meaning the Japanese government) will have to reimburse our government some day, so why not save money by cutting down employment?" To some people \$16 meant their only income. To have such a statement "slapped at" them is more than the citizens can bear.

At almost every point of contact between the A.P. and the evacuees there seem to have been such undue causes of irritation.

The evacuees are theoretically free to write to the Washington Office of the W.R.A. I was told that one Nisei wrote protesting about the administration of the camp and the Camp Director not only received the letter, but called the writer to his office and reproached him. Another warmly discussed case was that of two evacuees who complained to Washington about a certain unfair practice. The Project Director called the F.B.I. and the two boys were accused of insubordination and disturbing the camp life and were shipped to the Tule Lake Segregation Center. The justice of these cases cannot be thoroughly established without data on hand. But episodes like these never helped the A.P. - evacuee relationships.

Name calling by the A.P. seems to have taken place all along the line at first, and after two years and a half the evacuees still remember it. When a certain school teacher called the children "No good Japs", the damage was beyond repair.

When the school children learned that their sympathetic principal was to be dismissed on the ground that he was too sympathetic, they signed a petition to the Project Director. The Director called the idea of "petition" un-American and refused to accept the petition.

There stands on the south end of the camp a "gym", which the youngsters call the symbol of the "anti-evacuee" administration. The story about it is too long to tell, but the fact that after all these months and years the Hunt school children have no gym to play in is a rather sad commentary. The work is 80% done. It will never be completed. The Nisei have no place for dancing and this is a severe deprivation for American youngsters in any community. There are windows and stoves now, but the only reason why a meeting can be held now is that the evacuees demanded such equipment when they wanted to hold a memorial service for 16 Hunt boys who had died in battle in Italy. The Camp Director "yielded" to this demand.

Perhaps most evacuees do not care, but for those who do, absence of the freedom of speech is a constant reminder to the Nisei that they are semi-prisoners. The Minidoka Irrigator is their paper. It is a bi-lingual weekly. The editors are paid by the W.R.A. and what they write is subject to the censorship of the Reports Officer. Editorials and articles have been disapproved.

The Editor admitted also that the camp paper is published with the outside readers in mind. It is not meant to tell the whole truth necessarily. For instance, when Sergeant Ben Kuroki visited Minidoka, the Irrigator was "advised" by the W.R.A. to devote the front page solidly to the popularity of the visiting hero. But behind the headline "Kuroki Given Roaring Welcome" there was no more than organized (by W.R.A.) "welcome" and some instances of

outright hostility. Of course, it would not have been wise, even in the interest of truth, to tell the world that a Japanese American hero was refused food in two mess halls, or to say that the school children were dismissed from school work in order to provide a "welcoming" crowd.

This brings up the old question of "How loyal are the evacuees?" I should not want to be the judge, but if you are asking if all the people in the eight "loyal" camps are all convinced democrats, the only answer would be a plain No.

In order to answer this question accurately, it is necessary to divide the evacuees into three groups:

1. Those who have resettled.
2. Those who want to resettle.
3. Those who do not want to resettle.

Then, you can draw a general line between those who are in favor of relocation and those who are opposed. Pro-relocation people may not profess outright loyalty, but they are at least fairly convinced that they belong to the United States and wish to make every effort to become an integral part of it, economically if not socially. The anti-relocation group feel, in their resistance against relocation, some satisfaction - that by their refusal to relocate they are making the government pay for the evacuation.

If you press the question further to the extent of political thinking, or attitudes towards the war, you will probably find that most of the aliens (Issei) are hoping that Japan will not completely lose the war. The citizens think that their alien parents' thinking is old-fashioned, but few of them will openly advocate a complete defeat of Japan, for fear of making family relationships intolerable.

At present, the Issei are gradually becoming just plain sentimental about Japan. This sentimental feeling is so un-intellectual that it is even pathetic. When Japan is bombed some of the Issei lose appetite, show long faces, and become harsh towards their Nisei children.

As long as an Issei is in camp he will moan and pity himself and comfort himself that he was a sort of sacrifice when uprooted and placed behind the wire. It has been a general observation that once he gets out and becomes useful to society again, he becomes less sentimental and starts thinking more normally, that is to say, more realistically. We can be assured, however, that in spite of this general pro-Japan feeling, no Issei who relocates from any of the "loyal" camps will translate such feeling into action. As far as he understands American laws and regulations, a relocated Issei will continue to be law-abiding.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that Issei parents of Nisei soldiers have a feeling of their own on the war. As most of the Nisei soldiers are on the European continent, the Japanese parents are no different from the average American parents in their hope that America will win over Germany and that the boys will come back safely. Their confusion reaches a pathetic height when they think of the day when their boys in American uniform might land on the soil of Japan and perchance enter the villages whence they had come forty or fifty years ago. They cannot bear the thought of it.

I found it was best not to touch the topic of war. Service stars are not so obviously visible on the windows as I had expected. But the pictures of boys in uniform are on display in many homes. Gold stars decorated some walls. Mothers sobbed the same way as any American mother with a gold star.

Individuals who assume leadership are mostly in the status of paroled aliens. The fact that I was in the same status and still believed in relocation was a shock to some of them. But actually my peculiar status gave me some ground to stand on in regard to these people. Since it is with them that I must deal in terms of relocation, I should stay in this somewhat uncomfortable position until they accept the wisdom of relocation.

But paroled aliens have some real problems which I do not have. First they are restricted as to where they can go. Second, their fields of employment are further limited. Many of them are excluded from the West Coast, where they claim they have pre-war business contacts or experiences. It will be a long time before their resistance to the idea of starting from scratch will be overcome. Patient and friendly cooperation with them is certainly in order in working with them.

Out of numerous talks at Minidoka have come some valuable observations and requests.

1. Leadership Institutes conducted by Y.M.C.A. - Y.W.C.A. have been generally well accepted, and more are needed. People sent in knew what they talked about, and the evacuees have confidence in their attitude and purpose.

2. Old time missionaries were once useful when the people felt they were cut off from the rest of the world. But they never won the Nisei. In fact their very presence is an affront to the Nisei, who do not like any implication that they are being considered Japanese. The former Japan missionaries are still useful to Issei who otherwise have no contacts with Caucasians, but for the majority of the Issei who are not friendly to any "missionary" work anyway, the most polite thing to do is to ignore the missionary ladies. Even Christian ministers in the camps regard the missionary ladies as a "necessary evil" in the sense that though they wish that the missionary ladies had not domineered so much, they could not ask the latter to leave.

3. Returned students will not be very effective this coming summer. They did some good last summer, but student relocation is practically over.

4. Intellectual evacuees are anxious to know more about America, east of the Rockies. They named several organizations, to which I added some, from which they would like to see representatives come and talk to the evacuees.

5. They want more contacts with the outside in forms of entertainment. It is their feeling that instead of making camp life deliberately undesirable as a means of pushing relocation, the W.R.A. should encourage the coming to the camp of good old American institutions, like Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Varsity football, orchestra. They feel that if some of the currently popular stage and screen personalities did even so much as step inside the camp, the whole question of morale would change overnight. They asked me if I could induce the following persons to visit: Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, Spencer Tracy, Joe E. Brown, Mrs. Roosevelt.

6. They want more speakers who can talk about other countries. Foreign Missions Boards are specially requested to include relocation centers in the itineraries of visiting nationals.

7. The World Student Service Fund and World's Student Christian Federation are asked to send in speakers.

8. Business groups and the C.I.O. are asked to send speakers.

9. The Department of Evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches is asked to send speakers.

10. The Y.M.C.A. is asked to send catalogues of the Motion Picture Bureau.

11. Local Resettlement Committees are asked to send information on their services. (This I promised to Amache also.)

12. The Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches are asked to do the following things:

- a) Find out if the old age benefit of a resident of one state is available to him in another state.
- b) Safeguard the evacuees who write to Washington.
- c) Find out if aliens who were served deportation warrants can appeal.
- d) Help aliens who are serving in government jobs get permanent resident status.
- e) Promote legislation to grant naturalization to aliens whose relatives have served in the U.S. Army or who themselves have been in government service.
- f) Appeal to government for keeping one center open for these who cannot relocate.

13. The Federal Government must do something about the housing problem of relocatees.

III

Heart Mountain Relocation Center

Heart Mountain, Wyoming

March 21 - March 24, 1945

"We need the barbed wire," said a Japanese man as he took me around the camp, "because people want to keep the cows out." A great many people want the fence to stay for many other reasons. The fence means the camp, which in turn means security - food, shelter, and community.

Heart Mountain stands majestically over the camp, guarding it from the west. In winter, through the snow and storm; in spring, through the rain and storm; in summer, through the thunder and storm; through fine days in the fall and always through the sandy wind, the camp and Heart Mountain stand together.

Like a fist raised to Heaven, this queer shaped mountain has now so identified itself with the evacuees that if this were Japan the people would erect a shrine upon it. Being American, the mountain is now a trademark in this town of 8,000 people. You see the symbol on everything and everywhere.

Heart Mountain Relocation Center seems to be a little happier place than the other two I have seen. People who seem to know say that it is because the majority of the evacuees are farmers from the Pacific Northwest. City people are always classified as trouble makers. I think, however, some credit is due to the W.R.A. administration. The Camp Director, who I understand is a former mining engineer, looks more like a big boss than a government official. Evacuees who work around him say they like him. THAT makes a difference. The rest of the people who don't work near him do not mind their fellow evacuees who do. THAT is important.

I saw the Council in action twice. The first time, the Council invited the administration to report on the progress of relocation. Three top W.R.A. men were present. What the Relocation Officer said sounded too optimistic, and I think both the administration and the Council knew it. There were some comments from the Council members which brought out the fact that they did not think the figures were authentic. But the attitude was that of "Pretty good, if true; we won't stop your work."

The second time I "attended" the Council meeting there was no W.R.A. person present. The Chairman was reporting on the responses received to the Salt Lake City All Center communications. Replies had come from the Secretary of War, the Vice President, Attorney General Biddle, the Spanish Consul, the Fair Play Committee, etc. All official replies were non-committal, more in the nature of acknowledgments than anything else. It seemed also that everybody was referring Salt Lake City's "21 Demands" to Dillon S. Myer.

The main "demand" that the conference made upon the government was that the Relocation Centers be kept open for the duration. The reply from the Fair Play Committee was sympathetic, but it reminded the evacuees that the keeping of the centers is exactly what the anti-groups on the West Coast want.

When this point was interpreted by the Chairman, there was no comment but a weak and frustrated grin on each one's face. No one seemed to know what to do next. I suspect that they know that there is probably nothing left to do but to accept what comes. This relocation business is fast becoming a contest between stubborn resistance and submissive fatalism.

The war is a factor here also. The turn of the war in the Pacific is making its impressions upon the older folks gradually. Japan does not seem to live up to their expectations any more. It certainly won't be a nice place to go back to after the war. The people, while their hearts are broken over the bombing of the cities, are relieved that they did not go back on the GRIPSHOLM. The majority thinking, however, is still very much confused. Clear thinking is not possible in the camp atmosphere.

Just when I was visiting Heart Mountain the Rocky Shimpo carried the news with heavy type headlines that all schools in Japan would close indefinitely beginning April 1st. This was very depressing to all of them. But by sheer coincidence, the Relocation Center schools were to close only a month or two later, also indefinitely. "A horrible world is a-coming" murmured many an Issei. When some disaster affects children, the Japanese people think the end of the world has come. W.R.A. is right in closing the schools, because that is the only way to get the families out. But W.R.A. is wrong in closing the schools; for the same reason.

I am six hours out of Heart Mountain as I write, but the scenes of those little Nisei and Sansei (third generation) children haunt me. They played in the dust and mud, but they looked happy and carefree. Then two of them pointed to my Caucasian driver and said, "You Haku-jin (white man)." I had this sort of story told me before, but when I heard it said myself, I was sad just the same. My throat got clogged. I put my arm around the Caucasian just to show that he was my friend and smiled at the two small girls. They smiled back and smiled at my companion.

I had also heard that those children were growing up to be neither Japanese nor American. This is true. Many of their older brothers and sisters have gone out now. They are staying with aged Issei, many of whom are grandparents. No one can understand the children's language unless he knows both their languages. They get along among themselves naturally, but I fear that when they come out they will have a hard time for a while. They are all wonderful kids, chubby and chummy, sun tanned like tiles of clay, with cheeks like the apples of the Northwest whence they have been brought. (Let's not say like Hood River apples, though!)

This healthy picture of the children may indicate that the food they get at the mess-halls is nutritious. The food could be fair, but it never is. For about 40 cents per head per day it is impossible to provide meals which one can call excellent in any way. But I fear they spend too much money on rice and other Japanese stuff. I understand that they supplement their budget with what they raise. Still the fact remains that if the food meets the taste of the adults, it does not seem to meet health requirement of the growing children. Consequently, buying foodstuffs at the canteen is quite heavy. Many families bring food from the mess-hall, add to it what they think the youngsters need, and have, incidentally, family dinners.

There is of course no such thing as complete family life. Many families have sons in the Army, like any other American family today. Relocation of working Nisei not in the Army - girls - further broke up the families. Because Issei men married women ten to fifteen years younger there is a preponderance of widowed mothers. How some of these families could relocate is a profound puzzle and headache to me. I met one of those widows. Her two sons are in France. She is healthy yet, but not young. She would not remarry. How is she going to go out and resettle? She wants to have a home to which her two hopes could come back. I heard her story, but I had no answer.

Widows are not the only ones with real problems. At a meeting sponsored by the Federated Church we discussed relocation. A gray haired man mustered enough courage to stand up and say, "I am an old man, as you can see. I am 72 this year. Since the government says I must relocate, I went to the Relocation Office to see what can be done. I tell you I have never been so humiliated in all my life. They asked me my age and if I had any savings. I was ashamed, but had to say No. Then they said my case will have to be handled first by the Welfare Department. So I went there. They asked me the same questions all over again. Then they wanted to know what my relatives were doing, how much money they had, if I stored anything back in California and of how much value my stored things were.

"I got mad and sad. I don't keep books for my relatives. I don't know the answer. Even if my relatives had any money, I can't go to them and say 'the government sent me and my wife and five children to you.'

"As for the things stored away, I don't know what they are worth. So I said, 'I don't know.' They said my wife would know and to go back and ask her to come back with me at 2 o'clock. So I talked to my wife and she got mad. She says, 'Don't go back,' I went back anyway. Now they are going to send some paper to my home town to find out if what I said is true.

"I am 72 years old, have no savings. I am very much ashamed of myself."

I thanked him for telling his problem as he saw it. For him, relocation is an experience of deep personal humiliation. To me, it seemed more like a question of proper counselling and education.

To most of these people social welfare service is completely alien. Also, after the war came all their personal data were collected by the F.B.I. and Military Intelligence. Now the people are asked similar questions by the W.R.A. and through a Nisei interpreter, usually a girl. A lot of people are watching them as they go into the welfare department. All this is extremely humiliating.

Japanese people are sociable among themselves, but they are not charitable to each other. To give charity is to assume superiority. To receive it is to acknowledge one's failure in life.

The method of doing welfare work among these people must be revised so as to eliminate this peculiar psychological complex. But there are regulations. Welfare workers must be civil service employees, hence all Caucasians. They are also trained social case workers - trained in Occidental psychology and sociology. It looks like a deadlock. At least they could get rid of the

Nisei interpreters and use Issei elders whom people trust, even if W.R.A. may not trust them.

I wondered what the Christian ministers were doing along this line and asked others about it. I had some suspicions about this, but when bluntly told that the ministers hardly make any difference either way, it was a blow just the same. There are two active ministers here, but both of them, one a Nisei, the other a Caucasian student, work for Nisei exclusively.

The church has an office building but unless it is open for Nisei to work in, it is closed most of the time. I said to the ministers (at a welcome meeting for me!) that those of us on the outside were counting on the Christian ministers to look after things, politely of course. Their answer was that the church was helpless because it had no means. I rather think that Issei ministers are just as tired and discouraged as the Issei to whom they are supposed to be ministering.

I wanted to see what the Buddhist Church was doing and how the priests felt about everything. So I did the unforgivable thing, which I had done before in the other camps - of going to the head Buddhist priest. The priest was somewhat surprised, but only for a moment. We soon opened our hearts and discussed everything under the sun. He was a man of about 50, dignified but informal.

I asked some questions on his reactions to the assistance given by the Christian churches on the outside to the members of his faith. Without any hesitation or effort to hide his feelings, he said that when it came to humanitarian service Christianity and Buddhism agreed basically.

I then asked him what he thought of some people who claimed to be Christian for expediency. He replied that he had known something about it and thought that people who falsely professed Christianity misunderstood both Christianity and Buddhism. I went a step further and asked, "How about people who said they were Christians at the hearing boards in order to be considered harmless by the government?" He smiled and said, "People of little knowledge. If they only knew the spirit of this country, they would have professed Buddhism without fear. I believe in religious freedom. I also believe that there is religious freedom in this country."

"How, then, do you feel about the fact that Buddhist priests are excluded by the Army from the West Coast?" (This priest is one of them.)
"Some of them are allowed to return to the Coast," he replied firmly.

We talked about the war, that is to say, he introduced the topic. His complete objectivity was amazing, though not surprising after one hour's conversation like the above. Though I did not share his feeling, his analogy was quite interesting.

"A true Japanese Buddhist in America should be like a frog perched on a lily leaf watching quietly the turmoil of the muddy river flowing below. You cannot do anything by jumping into it. I am going to wait until the flood subsides and the water becomes clear."

Resettlement must be to him an effort to get on another leaf and reach the shore on the other side where frogs of other kinds thrive. If he knew them as well as he knows "the spirit of this country", he ought to jump too. I do not believe he is opposed to others relocating, though he thinks that the organized religious life of Buddhists in America is probably unrestorable. He suggested that all the Buddhist properties on the Coast should be utilized for the benefit of the returning evacuees. Asked if he would welcome Christian cooperation, he replied Yes. Considering his personal circumstances, I thought his attitude generous and grand. It will take strength of character to match this priest, and it is doubtful if the Christian leadership is strong enough there at Heart Mountain to make any inroads into the lives of non-Christians. In fact, I detected a strong sense of reliance on the part of the Christians upon the Christians on the outside to sustain the place of the church on the inside. This tendency, unless checked, will grow to the point where Christians assume a preferred position in relation to the government. In fact, a minister traveled about the country at the expense of the W.R.A. If this sort of practice spreads, the ministers' effectiveness will decline still further. One must make a careful and discreet use of the vantage position of the Christian Church in dealing with people who are of another religion and who are in need of Christian assistance.

Out of my Heart Mountain visit have come the following realization and suggestions:

1. There are few Japanese who sufficiently understand the diverse complexion of American society. There are few Americans who understand the inarticulate Japanese mind. The relationship between the W.R.A. and the Issei evacuees would be a comedy if not so tragic.

2. With a little effort on the part of both the W.R.A. and the evacuee leaders, even this tragedy can be minimized. Minidoka and Heart Mountain differ in this respect.

3. Though perhaps impossible under the circumstances, I wish very much that an accurate appraisal of the war could be given by a trusted interpreter to the people regularly. The war news, mostly through Japanese sources, has a direct and definite effect upon the morale of the people and therefore upon relocation.

4. The relationship between the Issei and grown-up Nisei is rapidly deteriorating. Relocation is partly responsible for it. Those of us who have contacts with the relocated Nisei have a real responsibility in this respect. The Nisei's own responsibility, of course, cannot be over-emphasized.

5. Both the W.R.A. and the evacuees are heavily counting upon the churches to open and furnish hostels. Not only Christian church properties, but Buddhist church properties can be made use of for this purpose. The Home Missions Council might investigate possibilities along this line -- and quickly.

6. As relocation proceeds, there is going to be a large amount of "surplus" government property. Evacuees could use it. Bedding is a special need at hostels. If churches could purchase government surplus property for the evacuees and sell without profit, it would be a real service, I have written to the Home Missions Council about this.

7. The W.R.A. will arrange with the O.D.T. for reserved coach service if a group of 40 or more evacuees wish to travel. It will take them from the camp to their destination. Are local committees capable of handling a large crowd like that?

8. There is a general misunderstanding that when a man relocates he is forced into war work. While it is true that under W.M.C. regulations a person cannot quit an essential job without a permit, it is not true that a relocating Issei must take war work. Correction of this impression is a W.R.A. job.

9. People do not accept favorable stories when they see them in any printed matter, W.R.A. or otherwise. But they do believe personal experience stories. It is essential, therefore, to send more people into the camps. National figures, secretaries of the boards, organizations, former evacuees, local ministers, should all go in and meet the people. The only thing to guard against is that they should not go representing a resettlement organization. In my own case, I was made known as a representative of the Home Missions Council. From now on student returnees or Student Relocation Council representatives will not be very effective. Local committee representatives should go representing their original organizations. After the evacuees come to know you as an individual, you can discuss relocation with interested individuals.

Father Daisuke Kitagawa was at Heart Mountain from Minneapolis. As Director of the United Christian Ministry to Evacuees, he is doing a really magnificent job. He is well regarded by the people, except that they fear he carries with him some divine wisdom for relocation.

He has shown me a scheme already in effect in the Twin City area, whereby youngsters under 18 years of age can enter foster homes in order to complete high school education. At present, students under 18 cannot relocate unless county child welfare agencies approve. Daisuke says that the Minneapolis Citizens' Committee has worked out an understanding with the local welfare agencies so that now minors may go there. He says that it is vital for the boys to have a high school diploma before entering the Service and, with the closing of Center high schools in May, this will become a general problem.

A communication will be sent out from the office to all the local committees upon my return regarding this.

Rev. Donald Toriumi of Heart Mountain made some requests and raised some questions.

1. Have all outside Nisei groups send in copies of their publications to the Center Church.

2. Provide the Center church with figures on relocation regularly.

3. Consider Issei ministers as visiting pastors in large cities.

4. Control free lance ministers who are organizing Japanese congregations without any denominational authorization. (Writer's note: There is no way to do this.)

5. Promote closer contact between the Center church and local resettlement workers through the Home Missions Council.

Some general church matters:

1. Issei ministers are more or less useless now. It would be a good and kind idea to put them on the retirement list with adequate pension.

2. Issei ministers were told (I will not say by whom) that if and when the evacuees come back to the coast they should not use Japanese at all. Coming from the source it did, they thought preaching in Japanese was out forever and with it their future usefulness on the West Coast. I took the liberty of telling them that they could talk in any language anywhere in the United States where at least ordinary civilians lived. They thought it was good news.

Issei ministers are in favor of union churches. (Writer's note: This is not true of Issei ministers at other camps.) They are in favor of anything that will sustain their positions. This is the all-important thing to remember in considering their opinions. The same thing applies to the Issei in general -- it is their security they are always concerned about. And, why not?

3. Christmas gifts will not be necessary this year. Something like \$4,000 worth of gifts and money came to Heart Mountain last year. If this was average, the total for the nine Centers (including Tule Lake) must have been over \$30,000 at least.

This could be increased this year, not for Christmas, but as a final drive for relocation. The closing of the camps will be our greatest Christmas present to Christ.

IV

Rohwer Relocation Center
McGehee, Arkansas

March 26 - April 1, 1945

Compared to Granada, Minidoka, or Heart Mountain, Rohwer is a paradise of vegetation. People of other camps would give life itself to lie down on the fresh green grass and enjoy the soft breeze of the dusk and forget the dry dust and the sage-brush; but the residents of Rohwer would change places with anyone in any camp to get away from the rain.

"It rains all the time, especially on week-ends. They picked the worst possible place to send us" - a statement neither entirely correct nor incorrect.

"After three years with the humid heat of summer and year-around rain, wouldn't you like to get out and live in a normal climate?" I asked a number of times, yet the answer was the same every time - an embarrassed grin.

"There is no place like California." Rohwerites are mostly rural Californians.

Victory gardens were flourishing. Residents here do not have to ask the W.R.A. to acquire water for them. The government policy to the contrary notwithstanding, they are going ahead with their work on the gardens. They can count on two good crops before "we may have to go out."

"We may have to go out" is about as good an expression of the thinking here as any analysis. You hear it until it comes to sound monotonous. This attitude is, of course, a result of many previous changes in W.R.A. policy, combined with the characteristic resignation of the older folks.

The Welfare Department seemed a little better equipped to handle problems and people. Interpreters seemed older; in fact, no Nisei girl was seen acting as such while I was there. My interview with the head officer of the Department was highly satisfactory. I saw two more interviewers. I asked the head officer to put her thoughts in writing. Here is her letter in part:

"My mind leaped immediately to the concern many of us have about people seeking to go to Chicago and vicinity.

"In our counseling service in the Center, we have done our utmost to point out to young and old the advantages of small cities, and review the disadvantages presented by large cities. Nevertheless, we find some 12,000 of our people, largely young people, in Chicago. We appreciate the attitude Chicago has shown in wanting our people to be free to come to Chicago, be free to take advantage of what the city offers to them as to all other people in the country. However, I believe our people present some special needs, as persons transplanted from their original homes and placed in relocation centers for a period of time before they come to the city.

"One mother in our Center, an unusually thoughtful and Americanized mother who wants her children to have 'freedom', has refused to permit her twenty year old daughter to return to Chicago, where she has lived for something less than a year. This daughter has an indefinite leave status, and returned home to visit after the date on which she could be considered for re-induction to the Center as a resident. Her mother prefers to pay her daughter's board in the Center until the family resettles, rather than permit her daughter to return to the city. The mother visited the daughter in Chicago and observed the way the young people with whom her daughter lived conducted themselves, and although this mother has confidence in her daughter she does not wish her child to be continuously exposed to the influences the mother saw as prevalent. She would approve of living arrangements for young people which were supervised, or she would appreciate having help in finding a room in an approved home, but she objects to the unsupervised placement of young people in crowded living quarters. She saw how large numbers of single girls occupied one floor of a house, and large numbers of single boys occupied another floor of the same house, with considerable freedom in activity between the boys and girls, which was leading to immoral practices and indolent living. When we considered with this mother the possibility of arranging for housing for the daughter in advance of the daughter's return, the mother declined still to let the daughter go. However, as we contemplated giving such service, had she been willing, we were uncertain about what our success would be. We knew of no

such service being given in Chicago, generally. That is, there is no hostel, or other organized temporary housing for new comers, to which they are free to go and through which they could get guidance to approved living quarters for young people, such as the hostels in other cities offer."

There is a close relationship between the Welfare and Relocation Departments. One cannot be busy without the other being busy also. And that is how relocation is going to be from now on - nearly everyone will present a welfare problem.

I spent two mornings at the Relocation Division. The story is the same here as in the other camps. There are plenty of jobs but a scarcity of housing on the outside. To offer a position without housing attached is practically useless. A great many people are compromising on wages and even on location, due to availability of housing, which is the first consideration.

That people want to relocate if housing is available can be considered as a statement applying to 50% of the evacuees at Rohwer. With the closing of the schools impending, people are already restless. In my observation, Rohwer was the most restless of all the camps I visited. How strong the concern of the parents is for the education of the children was never so powerfully and pathetically demonstrated as at Rohwer. As I said before, the W.R.A. made a very shrewd decision in cutting out the school system. I still do not like it, but I am reluctantly persuaded to agree that it is to the long range advantage of relocation.

Speaking of the Center school, you can see that it is the most American thing within the fence. I attended the senior class on Current Events. All the news of the day was taken up. From the war news to the goings-on in Washington, all was discussed in flash-flash (very fast) succession. Who was the new Economic Stabilizer? What are John Lewis's demands and their relationship to the Little Steel Formula?

I asked the teacher how she encouraged students to disagree with her. She replied promptly that the students who most disagreed with her got "A" last semester and that she never reprimanded anyone for disagreeing. She asked the class if that were true and everyone nodded. I asked about this for a good reason. The same young people are taught and disciplined at home by the filial piety of the Japanese tradition. Filial piety is best understood by parents as obedience, by the children as suppression of opinion. When they go to school they are trained to think for themselves. Perhaps this is an over-simplification, but that is part of the story of how Nisei are Americanized (they will resent this reference to their being Americanized because Americans do not have to be Americanized) and how they find home alien.

That all Nisei are not brought up according to American standards of education, psychologically speaking, is usually claimed by foes of Nisei when some so-called Kibei come up for discussion. As I have not discussed the Kibei before, this may be a good place to do so. Kibei are, of course, Nisei. Since the evacuation, the generally accepted definition of Kibei has become "one who went to Japan for education and since has returned to the United States." Others, who are more unfriendly, would add, "one who has returned to America indoctrinated with Japanese nationalism." Tule Lake Kibei are usually classified in this category.

Many Kibei are just as good Americans as any other American. I know some Kibei whose Americanism I would not question. Let us, for brevity, define Americanism "love for America." Some of them came back to America intensely disliking the life in Japan and madly in love with America.

Then, there are some Kibei who look at America only through acts of discrimination directed against themselves. (Others do this, too.) To them, Japan is free from race prejudice, as far as they are concerned. This is, in my opinion, the fundamental principle in the Kibei's "pro-Japan" attitude (Tule Lake type). They condemn "American hypocrisy" the prejudice they feel. They admire Japan because she defied mighty and white America. I have not yet found in any Kibei that I have met any deep convictions on economic or political grounds why Japan should have launched an aggressive war. But I do know that some Kibeis thought before the war that Japan was getting the kind of treatment by the United States that they were getting in the United States. Those Kibei make me think that to appraise international relations in terms of personal experiences is easy, but misleading and dangerous.

What disturbed me at Rohwer was the relatively large number of older Nisei. I was told that many of them were Kibei who neither went to Tule Lake nor were drafted. Few people know that there are American citizens of Japanese ancestry, in good physical condition, who are not called by the Army, though they are not necessarily considered disloyal. If considered disloyal, they would have been sent to Tule Lake. Now, these Nisei (most of them, Kibei) are still in the 4-C, status of enemy alien. Their attitude is "If the Army doesn't want me, why should I go?" Their local draft boards (West Coast home town local boards) may have other reasons, but it does not seem to contribute towards making good citizens out of them to continue to keep them in such a status. The evacuation showed that you can make a loyal or disloyal citizen out of almost any person merely by the way the public treats him. One out of every ten Japanese Americans is said to have preferred to become Japanese. (This includes several thousand minors who had no opinion of their own but who followed families who went to Tule Lake.) It would not be a wild guess to say that if all German Americans were uprooted and interned, the percentage would be much greater. This, I know, is not a question of patriotism. It is a question of temper and group discipline.

On this point of group discipline, I would not be making too rash an observation if I state that part of the motivation behind the Nisei soldiers' excellent record in the Army is their concern for their parents. As the old Japanese saying goes, "Sometimes one cannot be loyal (to the country) and filial at the same time." It is, then, loyalty that becomes a larger filial piety. Some Issei "forgave" their sons for fighting against Japan on this ground. Many Issei are paroled from the internment camps on the strength of their sons being in the Army, which proves the point.

Changing the subject, I now turn to the church situation at Rohwer. The story here is almost the same. Old Issei ministers are passive and non-committal about relocation. I had one full session with the ministers, but it was non-productive. The only concrete thing I gathered was that here again they were so uncertain of their future that the more they thought about relocation, the less happy they were. This does not mean that they were not thinking at all. On the contrary, some of them are planning against the day when "We may have to all go out."

The oldest minister dominated the meeting. The others seemed to be merely echoing his opinions. At any rate, they made the following remarks:

1. They wished me to thank the Home Missions Council for the Christmas presents from the outside churches.
2. They are opposed to the policy of integration, believing such to be impossible.
3. There will be always Japanese churches as long as there are Japanese people in America.
4. Union churches are impracticable.
5. Hostels are ineffective, but perhaps necessary.

In support of their pro-segregation churches, they spent a good deal of time citing examples of hostility on the West Coast. They talked about a situation some twenty years ago when a church was overcrowded with Spanish Americans and finally a split resulted. "Therefore," they said unanimously, "Japanese too will come to trouble if they try to integrate." I pointed out examples of the churches in Chicago and Cleveland and Philadelphia. But they did not seem to believe it. They talked down the case of Jitsuo Morikawa in Chicago who made a success in the ministry at the First Baptist Church. It seemed that the time had come when ministers had to see things with their own eyes before they believed good news.

Then again, at Rohwer, the Nisei minister carried on by himself all the active program of the church on relocation. He was busy beyond description, and he was lonesome. He gets no support from the Issei ministers. He sends out all the active Nisei leaders. He will stay to the bitter end "pushing the people out." Where he would go and what he would do - he said he had no time to think about. His notable indifference to his own problem has won the respect and affection of the people, Issei and Nisei, Christian and non-Christian. He is not an intelligent social worker (from the stand-point of the social worker), nor a wise diplomat, nor an enlightened observer - he has all sorts of shortcomings - but he helps people. He is always missing meals. But he never avoids anyone.

The children - what happened to them? I played with them, told stories to them, and I loved them, but I could not like the way they lived. Like the children in other centers, they were left to themselves most of the time. Their language was mixed and even foul. How would they get along with other children in school when they relocated?

A good many children were Sansei, though I do not like to use that term. (The sooner such terms as Issei, Nisei, Sansei become unnecessary, the better for all concerned.) Many visitors said that the Sansei are more Japanese-like today than before the evacuation. Generalization like that is dangerous, but those children who are living among Japanese and have no contacts with anyone else cannot help growing Japanese.

"Growing Japanese" is a vague phrase, too. But a child's mind cannot be critically analyzed. One can only observe a great many of them and detect various forms of influence at work, be they deliberate or casual.

One of such influences is, of course, the mono-racial composition of the population. Anyone who does not look like a Japanese is a stranger. Think of the implication of that when the situation is reversed.

Next, the language. Granted that a child learns any language very rapidly, I doubt if their vocabulary is intelligible to an average child on the outside.

Third, family "indoctrination." The average Issei is sentimental about the "old country." Few are qualified, emotionally or intellectually, to tell them about present day Japan. But an Issei feels that he must do something about the "propaganda" of radio and press, especially comics. Yet he knows that he should not prejudice a child's mind against America because the small one must live here. What, then, must an Issei do?

He decorates the four walls with pictures of old Japan, prepares delicious Japanese food, talks his dialect, lavishly loves the child, strictly disciplines him, and then throws up his hands, goes out and plays "go" with another Issei. An Issei mother is always washing or knitting or visiting, mostly the last.

When an Issei speaks of a Nisei, he often laments by saying "If the Nisei were a little more stable and firm ---" by this, he means that the Nisei should have more stoic patience, less individuality, more appreciation of the way an Issei has struggled. But the Nisei, who grew up on milk, butter, meat and potatoes, hates stoic patience - if he understands it at all. "Freedom for all is the good old U.S.A.," and they have gone out leaving the old Issei and young Nisei and, in some cases, Sansei children behind. So the very old and the very young are trying to work it out. What they are working out, I could not tell. It must be something new. Whatever it is, I hope it is not something that mature Nisei who are out cannot cope with.

I saw quite a few Nisei soldiers at Rohwer. Nisei soldiers like to visit centers. There is no disrespect for the soldier, my story on Ben Kuroki or the dilemma of a soldier son, notwithstanding. If some Issei are rather sad that Nisei must fight Japan, most Issei are pleased that the Nisei soldiers showed the world that they could fight well. As long as the Nisei soldier refrains from rubbing the Issei the wrong way, he is welcome guest and visitor. Nisei girls put on a party in a big way. Parents passively approve that too, because they are worried about unmarried girls, and if those parties help and if that's the way the modern young people must find mates, "it can't be helped." In the meantime, Issei busy themselves studying the "stock" from which the boy or girl comes.

The Nisei soldier, who is not so concerned about his "stock" or her "stock" has something else on his mind. If he is visiting his own parents his mind is occupied with one thought. "Where will my parents go and how will they live if the camp closes while I am away -- and if I don't come back?" Of course, a soldier doesn't think of his death, ordinarily. But with a Nisei soldier it is something that he has to think about. He knows that some of his buddies died, and the casualties among Japanese American G.I.'s have been heavy.

Some Nisei soldiers hope that they will have a home to come back to on the outside, which means the family's relocation. Other Nisei soldiers hope that the centers will be kept open at least until they are honorably discharged.

There are wives of service men in the centers. They are waiting. You tell one of them that all the wives of the soldiers are waiting, and on the outside, too. But she will snap right back and tell you that other American wives do not have the problem she has. With widows, the difficulty is even greater.

Farm boys who would have been exempt as essential became non-essentials with the evacuation. Drafted while in the Center, they served well in the Army. Some of them were killed. What can one say to a family to whom such a thing has happened?

I preached at the Easter English service. I talked about the mass relocation and dislocations in China and Europe. I talked about the churches destroyed there and how the Christian faith survived, and, burying the past, is living again. It must have sounded just like a sermon by an outsider, but I had to say what I did say.

I left Rohwer Easter afternoon. The rain had been pouring for ten hours when the car came to pick me up. Many blocks were flooded two feet deep. I thought the downpour would never stop. But while I waited for other cars to assemble, it thundered, and soon the clouds began to break up.

It was the end of the dark Easter at Rohwer. It was the beginning of an early summer. A great rainbow was in the eastern sky, the most clear and beautiful I had ever seen. And that is how I came back to America, "OUTSIDE."

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY

GEORGE PITT BEERS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

S. E. HENING, TREASURER

212 FIFTH AVENUE

AT 26TH STREET

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

October 19, 1945

CITIES DEPARTMENT
LINCOLN B. WADSWORTH

Dear Friends:

At a meeting of workers interested in resettlement of Japanese Americans held recently in New York City under the auspices of the Resettlement Committee of the Home Missions Council, it was felt that some of the denominational representatives that could do so, should go to the Relocation Centers during the ten days or two weeks prior to their closing dates. It was felt that at least those who visited the centers scheduled for early closing could report back conditions and criticisms of the processing program that might help in suggesting different policies or methods in the other Centers. It was also felt that those representatives could help by acting as interpreters and helping to bolster up the morale of the residents. It was decided that I would first go to the Granada Project at Amache, Colorado, and then to the Minidoka Project, Hunt, Idaho. These two Centers were scheduled to close October 15 and November 1, respectively.

Arriving early Monday morning the 8th of October, just seven days before the scheduled closing of the Center, I found the Granada Project a scene of desolation. Gone was the activity that I found there last June when some 5,000 people were living on the "hill." The population, on the day that I arrived, I found later, was 622. A few were to leave between the 8th and the 13th. On the 13th a special train was to leave with some 430 odd, for Los Angeles and vicinity. This was to leave about 85 for the following Monday's train to take them to the Sacramento area. Two special coaches were being provided for this last group, but no special Pullman cars.

As the Center closed the following were apparent:

1. Practically all of the remaining people had made "plans" to relocate under the pressure of having to meet the deadline of the scheduled October 15 closing.
2. There was no assurance of permanent housing for any of the 430 odd leaving for the Los Angeles area, or for the 85 odd leaving for the Sacramento area. The Los Angeles group were to be housed temporarily at Lomita, near Long Beach, in army barracks, some of which had been partitioned off for family groups. At the time this was written (Oct. 11), there was no word regarding the accommodations at Sacramento.

3. There were about 80 welfare cases included in the two special groups. Quite a number of these cases were leaving the Center without having had their residence eligibility for welfare aid verified. There were some cases leaving on Monday the 15th with the Sacramento group that were eligible to ride in Pullman accommodations, but no special provisions had been made. As far as I know none of those eligible for Pullman berths in this last group was able to secure space. (Two Pullman cars had been provided for the Los Angeles group and all those eligible in that group leaving on the 13th had been provided for. Those entitled to Pullman space include aged people and recent hospital cases.)

4. In many of the welfare cases delays in verifications of residence eligibility occurred at the other end and the fault was not chargeable to the War Relocation Authority. However, inadequate information furnished from the project often brought negative answers. Some of this could not be helped because individuals could not furnish full names or addresses of friends that would vouch for their residence.

5. Procrastination on the part of the individuals themselves created many last minute problems that could have been handled more adequately earlier. (Even in the last few days there were some that believed that there would be a "reprieve" and still maintained that "WRA just can't kick us out.")

6. On the other hand, some weeks ago, considerable pressure had been brought to bear on bachelors to set dates for their departure. The procedure seems to have been to ask them to come into the office and then ask them if they thought that they could get their things ready at such and such a date. Usually the answer would be, yes, they thought they might. Then that date was set as final for them and a few days before that date they would be told that they must get their tickets and get their baggage in order and that they must leave. (One bachelor was forcibly removed from his barrack some weeks ago and placed on a train. The WRA side of the case has some merit, but the fact is that this man was forcibly removed.)

7. The special trains were dirty and many of the coaches were without water for the two day trip. Whether or not the request had been made, or had been turned down, no dining car was provided. (On earlier special trains, apparently no one had starved because each family had taken food with them, but many took food only because they were told by former travelers that no diner service was provided.) Many families with babies had had tough feeding problems on previous special trains.

8. There were no bulletins issued to the remaining residents during the last weeks to advise or keep them informed on procedures or changes in plans. No where along the processing line for final departure was there a set of instructions as to what additional steps were necessary. Quite a number were confused, in spite of instructions issued some time ago and most likely forgotten, as to what to do with the four categories of their belongings, hand-luggage, baggage, express and freight. Add to this all the other details at the leave office, cashier, property office, motor pool, making lunches to take on the train, welfare office for those requiring aid, exchanging the voucher for train tickets and checking baggage after getting to the station, and it is too much to remember without a written set of instructions in both English and Japanese.

9. Three days before the departure of the Sacramento group no definite word had been received regarding the temporary accommodations available. Many were reluctant to leave without assurance of housing, others voiced their opinions in no uncertain terms. (Apparently what these people had heard about the Lomita project was acceptable as temporary housing. The Sacramento people had been hoping that a similar project would be ready for them in Sacramento. That such a project was in the process of being readied seemed to be more than a rumor but whether it would be ready by the 17th, the arrival date, was a big question mark.)

10. In many departments the staff seemed woefully inadequate, particularly because of the lack of stenographers. That many of the interviewing staff had to type their own letters, and conscientious ones would work extra hours in the evening just to try and catch up, would indicate that much better and earlier planning is necessary.

11. In spite of the fact that a few on the interviewing staff speak Japanese, there is need for more interpreters. (I acted in this capacity for a large part of my stay.)

I asked a Mr. Yoshizawa, a level-headed person who had cooperated well with both residents and the administration and had been a block manager during the entire life of the project, what suggestions he might give that would be helpful during the closing periods of the other Centers.

As background for what he had to say he stated that he was not talking about the WRA program as it existed during the life of the project but rather about the problems arising in the closing period. He said that first and foremost he would want to urge every remaining family or individual that have problems whether welfare or otherwise, to make early appointments to discuss matters rather than wait until the last moment. Said he,

"WRA is not 'kidding' about their closing schedule." The residents must realize that and to hold off by saying, "They put us here, let them take care of us", is not going to solve their own problems. To gain all the advantages from relocation assistance funds, from special clothing allowance funds and getting verifications of residence eligibility for relief purposes, early appointments and applications are essential. He said that it was high time that the evacuees stopped listening to rumors about some one camp being left open for those supposedly unable to relocate or that the program would bog down someplace and "they will have to keep us in." He said that certainly the WRA program has had many faults and shortcomings, but on the other hand, the remaining residents in the other Centers, for their own sakes should stop resisting and take full advantage of anything that WRA offers.

He was critical of the local WRA in one respect. He felt that the WRA had used the pressure method too strongly in Granada to get the people out on schedule. Granted that the Granada staff was under tremendous pressure to close on schedule as a "test case", he felt that certain pressures did more harm than good. He was referring to the method of maneuvering a group of bachelors into saying that they thought that they could be ready to go at a certain date and then setting that date as final. He thought that this had created much bad feeling and resistance and that a more persuasive method could have been used. I have heard opinions from many of the residents that seem to bear out this contention.

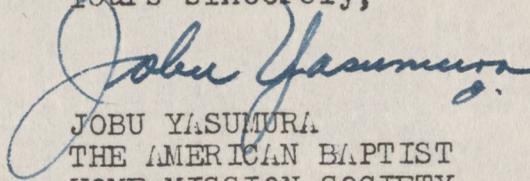
I agree that the people should have made plans well in advance, but after every means had been used to persuade them to do so, the fact still remains that too many did wait till the last minute. This means that WRA must gear their program to meet the needs of just this type of people. Too often excuses citing procrastination of residents have been given by too many of the administration personnel to explain inadequacies instead of facing the facts and organizing the program to fit needs as they actually exist. WRA at the Washington level is equally at fault in this respect.

Although I am not convinced, I would agree in principle that to delay the closing dates of the centers would not necessarily solve the resettlement problems. However, I would definitely object to a policy of keeping to a schedule just to be able to say that the job was done by a certain date, when as, for instance, in the case of the Sacramento group the temporary housing arrangements that were to have been ready by the 17th of October were reported as not ready. Yet at this writing, (October 11) the group is definitely scheduled to leave on the 15th to arrive on the 17th, and to what, no one knew. I would urge Japanese-speaking representatives to go to the Centers during the two weeks and at least ten days before

the Centers close to interpret, particularly in the welfare section, and help bolster the morale of the people.

This was written the day before leaving for Minidoka on the 12th. I expect to have further comments and possible suggestions after I get to Minidoka.

Yours sincerely,


JOBU YASUMURA
THE AMERICAN BAPTIST
HOME MISSION SOCIETY

JY:J:M

The General also to investigate, particularly in the
line section, and help define the needs of the project.
This was written the day before leaving for Washington
the 15th. I expect to have further comments and possible
suggestions after I get to Washington.

Yours sincerely,

W. W. R. HARRIS
THE AMERICAN SOCIETY
FOR THE PREVENTION OF
CRIMINAL MENTALITY

W:R:R

OCT 24 1945