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JAPANESE - AMERICAN EVACUATION

RELOCATION CENTERS: TULE LAKE,  
CALIFORNIA

1943-44

C-A

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## PREVALENT FEARS IN THE TULE LAKE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION. This report attempts to answer the question, "What are the prevalent fears of people in the Tule Lake Community?" The circumstances which caused the evacuation and resettlement of people of Japanese ancestry in relocation centers, and the restrictions which necessarily are imposed in a project of this type, naturally tend to create misapprehensions among the evacuees. These anxieties and fears are significant psychological forces in the mass response to every program initiated by the WRA within relocation centers, and that an understanding of them would be helpful in successfully carrying out all programs.

In the following report several criticisms of the administration appear in the expressions of the people. While some of these criticisms may have sound basis of argument, others are nothing more than very hazardous contentions; but no effort is made here to prove or disprove the correctness of the statements, for this report only purports to indicate what are the popular expressions of fear and dissatisfaction.

METHOD. The obvious approach to the investigation would be to inquire of a large number of persons, "What are your fears in the present situation?" The persons interviewed could then be classified as to age, sex, and generation, and their responses could be tabulated to indicate varying degrees of concern about each problem in different groups. In the actual investigation at least two shortcomings of this method became evident, (1) a direct question, "What are your fears?" seldom brought the desired response, for the persons interviewed either did not care to reveal their personal fears, or, more frequently, were not consciously aware of fears which they fostered; and (2), the fears which dominated their thoughts were not uniform over time, but varied rapidly with changing situations.

It was found that a more complete understanding of the prevalent fears in the community could be obtained by direct observation of people's behavior, by listening to people's everyday conversations, by looking behind the external functioning of the community organization into the personal struggles of the people to fit themselves somewhere in the social system, and by taking account of rumors that frequently appear in various parts of the community. Rumors, it should be noted, are merely tools for the masses of people to fill in areas of communication where information is lacking or where considerable information is lacking or where considerable uncertainty exists on important issues, and they thus indicate some of the basic fears of the populace. By using such techniques of investigations, it is hoped that a fairly accurate evaluation of the dominant fears existing here has been made. The shortcoming of this method, is of course, that no concise quantitative statement of the findings can be offered, nor is there any assurance that the sample taken is altogether reliable, but it is believed that the advantage of completeness of understanding gained by the method used outweighs its disadvantage of inadequate quantitative precision.

## FINDINGS

### Fears About Post-War Future

The dominant fear of the people, the one which most influences them in their adjustments today, is the concern about their livelihood in the post-war period. This fear appears in the form of such questions as: "Where shall we go from here after the war?" "How shall we earn a living?" "What will be the long-time effect of life here upon our character, and how will we be affected in our future adjustments?" This uncertainty of the post-war future is present among both the issei and nisei, though in different forms; but the extent of the fear varies with differential family savings.

FINANCIAL CONDITION. A dominant fear of the people is that more money will be spent while here in the relocation center than can be justified when considering the needs of the future. Many are here, it seems, with only a few hundred ~~hundred~~ dollars savings at most, or with nothing at all at worst, and there is perhaps ground for concern when family heads consider the persons for whom they are responsible.

Evidence of this concern appears in each council meeting. For example, representatives of blocks from ward 3 have made vigorous protests against the establishment of a canteen in their ward. The principal reason for the objection to the canteen seems to be that the proximity of a store to their blocks inclines people to excessive spending. Mothers in particular welcomed the decision to close canteen No. 4, the one immediately behind the Administration Building, at five o'clock. Young men who habitually frequented the store remained until eight o'clock closing time, and behaved, for the most part, much the same as boys in any community who "go to town" and hang around the corner drug store. The parents' fears were twofold: (1) Encouragement of spendthrift habits and (2) breakdown of disciplinary control through association with a rowdy element. Nor is this protest of canteens limited to the two mentioned; it is present in many sections of the community. The persistent demand for clothing, shoes and soap is likewise directly related to the question of money expenditure and the small means upon which to draw, but the allowances determined by the new WRA policy should help to relieve these anxieties as soon as the distribution is set in operation. No less significant is the widespread interest in the consumer cooperative plan for the basis of this interest lies in a desire among the colonist to control the community enterprises and thereby control expenditure.

#### Typical expressions:

"The more money we spend, the less the WRA will provide us. That's what happened in the assembly centers. We bought with our own money at the canteen there, and then the WCCA turned around and said we didn't need any allowance since we had plenty of money."

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"Close the stores; the WRA is going to provide us with our necessities."

"There should be differential prices at the canteen for people according to their wealth. People who can pay more should be asked higher prices, and those who are poor should be asked only token payment."

"We'll be leaving here naked at the present rate of expenditure."

"You mean to say that we spent \$74,000 in the local stores in July alone? That's too much. People will go broke at that rate."

POST-WAR TREATMENT. There is an underlying apprehension of the kind of treatment that will be accorded the Japanese in America in the post-war period. Many wonder whether they will be permitted to return to their former homes on the Pacific Coast, and view with anger the efforts of some organizations to dispossess the Japanese of any holdings which they may still retain. If they cannot go back to their old homes, they wonder where they will be permitted to go. The Mountain States seem unreceptive and barren; the Midwest seems too distant and strange for consideration at present. Some think a return to Japan is the only way out, but the nisei, by and large, wish to remain here.

A major portion of the WRA's difficulties in administering its policies among the Japanese here lies in the fact that the people have not made their decision about post-war plans. If the Japanese were to make an all out decision against the United States, the problem would be simple; the relocation center could be immediately transformed into a concentration camp. But the majority of the Japanese intend to remain in the United States, yet they are distrustful of white treatment of the Japanese in the future. This distrust of the whites reveals itself even now in the response of the colonists to the administration. Irrational though such a response may be, the essentially psychological nature of the problem makes it difficult to contend with.

POST-WAR JOBS. Both issei and nisei are concerned about the problem of finding jobs in the post-war period, but there is a fundamental difference between them in that the issei's occupational pattern is already set while the nisei's occupational selections are yet to be made in most instances. In the case of the issei the impossibility of determining the possibilities in the future leads to a kind of apathy in the present, but the nisei are restlessly seeking training that will fit them for the post-war world.

#### IMMEDIATE NEEDS

FOOD SHORTAGE Typical expressions are:

"I hear the warehouse is practically empty. I heard it from my friend who workd down in the warehouse."

"You can be sure that the Japanese forces will attack the Pacific Coast, and probably bomb the railways. As isolatd as we are, any breakdown of the railway system would quickly bring us to the point of starvation."

"The administration can't keep ahead on the feeding of 15,000 people with only one day's stock of food on hand in the warehouses."

"The trains won't be coming through during the winter months."

"I hear there isn't any meat left in the warehouse."

"Mrs. K. is stocking up sacks of rice and other food. She says there may come a time when the government won't feed us. What do you think of it? Do you think we ought to put in a stock too?"

The fear of food shortage is directly related, on the one hand, to the kind of food served in the messhalls, and on the other, to the anticipation of transportation difficulties due to bombing or winter stalling. Whenever the meals are poor, the people have anxieties of food shortage, and even go to the extent of looking into the warehouses, and people laying in stocks of rice, canned goods, etc., in anticipation of a time when they will not be fed. The correlation of this fear with the kinds of meals served is further indicated by the recent absence of such rumors and anxieties ever since the quality and quantity of food has been improved. This concern about a prospective food shortage also arises from the popular conception about railway problems of snow-covered passes and bombed out tracks, a conception that has been reinforced by the minor difficulties already experienced. Women in some blocks have taken to drying left-over rice in the sun with the thought that it might be saved for the day when there is not enough to eat in the messhalls.

There seems to exist more concern about this problem among the issei than among the nisei, and among women than among men. Inability to read the local as well as outside newspapers, to understand announcements from the administration, and ignorance of the affairs of the outside world and their shortages, are all factors contributing to this fear.

CLOTHING SHORTAGE Typical expressions:

"I've got a family of six to keep in clothing. WE've never lived in a cold climate like this, and I have to provide winter clothing for three children as well as my wife and me. How long do you think my funds will last?"

"What do they think we are, anyway? Here our clothes are wearing out on the farm everyday, but we haven't even been paid our wages. We work on somebody else's farm almost for nothing, but we have to pay for our clothes out of our own pocket."

"The water here seems pretty hard on clothing when it's laundered frequently. Clothes have to be laundered frequently considering the dust here."

"There are

"There must be some alkaline substances in the dust here. I haven't seen clothing wear out so fast before."

"The WRA promised us all our needs. Where's our clothing?"

Some of these fears and resentments have subsided with the announcement of the new WRA policy calling for clothing allowances. In part, this concern about clothing derives from a feeling among some persons that the "WRA should provide us everything," but there are those who hold a legitimate fear of going to considerable expense to keep their families clothed, especially in winter clothing. Problems of food and clothing will probably continue to persist throughout the WRA program, and some measures will probably be outlined to contend with them; but it should be remembered that these issues arise from the much more deep-seated resentment of the whole evacuation situation.

WINTER SHELTER AND FUEL Typical expressions:

"I wish I'd gone to Gila River. I was talking to one of the white construction workers who spent some time in those parts as well as in Arizona. He told me these flimsy buildings won't be adequate protection by any means from the severe winters here. He was feeling sorry for us."

"The WRA should give us lumber to build porches. I hear that the winter winds here are pretty bad. At least, you can be sure the tar paper on the roofs will rip off before the winter's over."

"I see by the Dispatch that we're to have 57,000 tons of coal this winter. Discount the coal that goes to heat the kitchen and washrooms and boilers, and there won't be even a couple of tons for each family. That's not enough."

This fear of inadequate shelter and heat for the winter is not at present widely prevalent, but should there ever be any shortage of coal, widespread concern will undoubtedly appear. There is greater concern on this matter among the latest arrivals to Tule Lake than among earlier arrivals, for the former have almost no fuel stock while the latter have piled up a fair stock of scrap lumber. Since dry kindling wood burns rapidly, however, increasing concern about fuel may be expected.

On the other hand, those who have already had the large cast iron army stoves installed speak with enthusiasm about them. Said one person in ward 6 who tried out the big stove in his room:

"Those big stoves are all right. All you have to do is put in a fairly deep bed of coal in the morning, bank it properly, and she burns all day."

PROTECTION FROM FIRE: The fear of fire is an ever present concern, and the wail of the siren always bring out, not only the rubber-neckers, but also those who wish to verify the extent of the flame. On the night of the canteen fire at 4107, several families in the vicinity started to remove all their belongings to their front yard, and one family a full block away on the windward side of the fire, was observed removing all their belongings to the front yard. The relative scarcity of fires, however, and the efficiency displayed by the fire department crews, keep this fear at a minimum.

PROTECTION FROM VIOLENCE. Some instances of physical violence have occurred in the community, and reports of them have spread widely and rapidly with the usual exaggerations of details. The case in Santa Anita reported in the newspapers, in which a Korean-Japanese was said to have been beaten by a mob for stool-pigeoning, vivified the imagination of these here about mob violence. The interpreter for Mr. Shirrell in the latter's address on "The New WRA Policy" opened his interpretation with the words, "I am not making a business of acting as interpreter between the administration and the community. I was asked to act in this capacity only last night, so I trust that you will not give me reason to fear while walking about in the dark." Many who were leaders in their former communities will not assume positions of responsibility here because of their fear of difficulties with fellow members of the community, or even of violence from them. Persons who have assumed responsibility have, in many instances, run the risk of violence appear more frequently among the bachelor kibei and issei, though the tendency is not totally absent among the nisei. The control of such kibei and issei, however, does not necessarily lie in punishment of these individuals; for many cases result from cultural differences and misunderstandings and violence may, perhaps, be controlled through the normal methods of the Japanese community.

PROTECTION FROM ANIMALS AND BUGS. This is not a serious fear, but it is added to indicate the extent of fear responses among the people of the community in their new situation. When a scorpion was found in this area recently, announcements went around urging parents to watch that their children would not pick up strange insects. This is, perhaps, a legitimate fear, and it is wise that precautions are taken; but further rumors of the following kind have spread: "I understand that two scorpions were found in the 1400 block washroom, one under a toilet seat, and another under the floor of the shower. I understand they inhabit moist places." When a porcupine was found in the 500 block several days ago, one woman declared: "I'm afraid to go out at night now. It's so dark out in the street, you can't tell what you'll walk into." Another person was overheard saying, in a half joking way, but nevertheless seriously, "It's likely that we'll find bears and other large animals coming down here in the winter."

#### PARENTAL FEARS FOR CHILDREN

EDUCATION . Typical expressions:

"Will our children get an education comparable to that which they got in the schools in our home community? Are the teachers going to be up to par in training?"

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"I wouldn't think of sending my children to the recreational nurseries here. Some of the young girls here have no training and could only teach bad habits to the children."

"When is school going to open?"

"Will our children get credit for what they learn in school here?"

"My girl just started to college before evacuation. Now I don't know when she can finish her education."

A major portion of these fears will disappear with the opening of the public grammar and high schools. The problem will persist, however, for the families with college-age children. While the junior college, college extension, and adult education programs should serve to allay parental anxieties about inadequate advanced education for children, nevertheless, the slowness with which such programs move toward the gaining of a college diploma will undoubtedly cause many anxieties among both parents and their children. The student relocation program will solve the problem for some; but many families are too poor, or feel constrained, especially, in the case of girls, of sending them any distance from the center to college.

Nor is this fear limited to parents alone, it is equally present among college age youths. "You can't get any kind of jobs these days without a college diploma. I've been thinking of going to a university somewhere." This came from a nisei farmer who had been out of school for almost ten years, and though there may be subordinate desire to get out of the Project, it nevertheless expresses primarily a desire to get college education.

#### MANNERS AND LANGUAGE

"Some of the men who eat at our table have no manners at all. I just hope Johnny doesn't get their habits."

"I hope the war doesn't last long. If we're here any length of time, our children won't know how to act in civilized society."

"The language spoken here is abominable. The children won't learn good English, and they won't learn good Japanese."

Parents, especially among the educated nisei, are concerned about their inability to control the environment of their children.

#### Morals. Typical expressions:

"I hear that 300 unmarried girls have appeared at the hospital asking for abortions. Most of these problems originated in the assembly centers, but we'll probably have more before long right here in Tule Lake. This is true because the doctors themselves have asked us parents to watch our children more carefully."  
(A false rumor denied by the hospital)

"Some of the rowdy bunch here are sure to get girls into trouble. I know those guys. Some of them don't give a damn what happens to the girls."

Realization of the problem has led church groups and others to take up questions of morals and sex hygiene in their discussions. Unfortunately, these discussions probably do not reach those persons who are most susceptible to unmoral behavior, and would probably not influence them if they participated in the discussion.

A puritanical view of morals has somehow entered the vision of Japanese in America, in part because of the close attention which parents pay their children, after the Japanese custom, and the hope of curtailing unmoral behavior among male youths which, the Japanese claim, is less characteristic of the youths of the old country. The chief method of moral control in Japanese communities has been through parental authority in ordering and forbidding certain forms of behavior. But parental authority was always reinforced by a whole community's pressure articulated through newspapers, lectures and discussion groups. Moral exhortations have broken down in its strength, in this community where the political authority rests with the nisei and where the normal channels of articulation are not present.

POOR ASSOCIATES. Typical expressions:

"The Hawaiian boys in our block have no sense of social propriety of manners. They run around without shirts and with bare feet, sit around all day strumming their guitars, influencing the daughters of Mr. I to be like them. His daughters used to be nice girls, but now they're getting out of hand." (No general statement such as this can be made of the Hawaiians, though it may be conceded that they are used to a different way of life.)

This fear is closely related to the previous one. The main source of apprehension probably lies in throwing together heterogeneous groups where misunderstanding and mistrust of different social backgrounds, and the inability to select environments for their children.

OTHER PERSONAL FEARS

IMMOBILIZATION Typical fears:

"God, I'm getting tired of this place."

"I wonder how long we'll be in here?"

On driving out of the front gate for the first time in a month to a picnic at the farm: "Say, the air smells different out here." "Hey, driver, how about going straight on up the highway? We ought to hit the Rockies by tonight if we do. Gee, it's grand to be out."

"I hear you're planning to leave. When do you think you'll be going? May I go with you?"

"If I once get out of here, I sure won't come back."

A kind of claustrophobia is developing among some of the people, especially in the younger group. Restrictions on movement within the project is perhaps not much greater than in the outside world, considering the limitations on motor travel today, but the Project is becoming increasingly an object of distaste to many nisei, and the barbed-wire fence is a symbol of bondage. The above expressions do not give any clear indication of the presence of fear, but one may infer the presence of fear. For example, in the repeated questions about others leaving for points east, there is not only envy of the lucky persons, but also a fear that has gone unexpressed of being left behind without admired and respected companionship. As the movement of people outward increases under the new WRA policy of relocation, this fear will undoubtedly increase and probably give rise to restlessness.

STAGNATION: The development of WPA attitude.

"I hated this place when I first came, but I'm getting used to it, and now it's not so bad."

"What am I going to do when you leave? I won't even have anyone to talk to."

"The people here are a bunch of dopes. They have no more ambition than to vegetate."

"The nisei problem is the major one here. They're fed and clothed and given jobs. They won't know how to assume their personal responsibilities by the time they get out of here."

"All the old man does is to sit and look blankly at the sky."

This fear appears among the young intellectuals who seek more variety than is afforded by life here, and among those with some understanding of human problems who realize the effect life in this community is having upon the colonists. One frequently hears nostalgic expressions of exciting experiences enjoyed in the past. Farm wives, who had been accustomed all their lives to hard work in the fields, restlessly seek active outlets. Many who work in the dissolute manner allegedly characteristic of the WPA workers think of the personal harm to character to which an irresponsible life may lead; yet they cannot find incentives that will drive them on to greater productivity and creativity.

FURTHER EVACUATIONS

"I understand that Tule Lake is just another assembly center for us. We may be asked to move again at any time."

going  
"I hear we're eventually <sup>going</sup> to Arkansas."

"This is so close to the Pacific Coast, it's reasonable to assume they'll move us out deeper inland."

"I hear this is going to be a center for the Germans and Italians. We're going to be moved inland."

This fear is rapidly disappearing with every month of stay here and no appearance of orders for further evacuation. Every sign given by the administration of permanent relocation here, of the building of schools, of industry, etc., minimizes the fear. The rumor of further removal, however, was one of the most prevalent during the month of July, and still persists in some quarters. The source of the fear probably lies in the assumption among the Japanese that an invasion of the Pacific slope by the Japanese military forces is inevitable, and news of bombings on the coast, such as at Astoria and Neah Bay, promote this idea, and the taking of Kiska and Attu seems to clinch the prophecy of invasion. The fear is largely present among the issei, but is almost totally absent in the nisei.

#### STRANGERS AND SECTIONALISM

"The Sacramento people are different, aren't they? They're so much less Americanized than we in the north."

"People from the Pinedale center are certainly uncooperative."

"The Hawaiian boys are a bunch of gangsters."

"The people in ward 1 (mostly from Portland and the Puget Sound area) are certainly queer. They act kind of "snooty" or cold-- maybe because they got here first."

"WE've got to have every section represented on the recreational advisory council. If you don't, you're going to get all kinds of sectional feeling cropping up."

"I think it's wrong to leave out certain geographic groups on the Forum steering committee. People are bound to think that the California clique is trying to run everything the way they want it."

"I'd rather work at the Administration Building. I don't want to work with the Japanese."

"We came from a small town in Washington where we were one of two Japanese families. I don't understand the Japanese."

"It would take a book for me to explain Japanese psychology. It is logical, stupid, fair, unjust and narrow minded, all at the same time."

#### FEAR OF THE "OUTSIDE"

It may be assumed, and with reason, that the fear of living away from the Project is more widespread than is generally admitted. Radios and press reports of anti-Japanese feeling throughout the country are not unknown to the residents of Newell. The recent announcement from Washington that the WRA favors resettlement in unrestricted areas of as many nisei as possible met with enthusiastic approval of the group. But after the first glow of satisfaction faded, objections on the part of some leaving the Project were manifest.

TYPICAL COMMENTS

"How do I know that Midwestern universities will not blackball me from campus activities, social and otherwise."

"Gee, she's taking a lot for granted by asking enrollment at the University of Utah! Didn't she hear about the War or anything? "

"Mob psychology can't differentiate between the American-Japanese and the Japs we're fighting."

And the "Outside" even presents a danger to some of those behind the barbed-wire fence. This may be the result of confounding two ideologies: (1) The Japanese distrust of everybody, a national trait in Nippon, and (2) the partial reliance on the American a priori acceptance of protection.

It would appear that calling attention to the fact that Newell itself is only about 150 miles from the Coast augurs some fear that Project residents are not entirely immune from the danger of invasion by the Japanese or by angered whites. Fears of this kind belong to the issei and kibeis, a concrete example of which occurred only recently when a warden supervisor asked a member of the Department of Internal Security why flashlights and searchlights were not more generally employed at night.

"No one can get out of here," said the Caucasian.

"I'm not worried about that," replied the warden, "I'm worried about those who might get in."

Since the relocation center has thrown together in intimate contact diverse elements from many different communities of the Pacific Coast, it is inevitable that suspicion of the stranger should crop up. Underlying these fears is the inability to anticipate the behavior of those who are unknown, and hence are beyond control. It may be said that these misunderstandings border on "race prejudice", considering the false images and assumptions which each section carries of another, but, as such, it may be expected that as the various groups work and live together, the false assumptions will rapidly disappear, and with their disappearance will go the fear of strangers which has characterized the initial period of settlement.

The fear of sectionalism is merely a counterpart of the fear of strangers. Leaders of the community, recognizing the presence of sectional feelings, attempt to curtail it at every point. This again will probably disappear with the overcoming of sectional feeling.

MARRIAGE

"I can't get married on sixteen dollars a month. I've hardly anything saved up, and we can't get married on nothing."

"A young fellow talked to me the other day about getting married. I told him, "What are you going to do if you get a couple of babies, and then at the end of the war you're thrown naked out of this camp. Young people don't seem to realize their responsibilities."

"How do you know when you're in love?"

"The wedding last night was depressing--the recreational hall where they held it was terribly smelly."

These problems of marriage are not limited to this community, but they are accentuated by the limitations of this place. At no time prior to coming here have as many Japanese of marriageable age been thrown together so closely and intimately in everyday life, and the urge to marry is probably stimulated by the selective possibilities presented here. However, the limitations of income, and the dubious possibilities of extending that income, stand as barriers to marriage. In some instances the increased selective possibilities among the opposite sex seems to complicate the problem, for they are then at a loss to estimate whether they are merely infatuated or "really in love."

#### LACK OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

"What the heck! The administration asks us to offer a judgment on a guy who beat up another fellow. We hand down a decision to expell him from the community, but the administration turns around and puts him on probation. The guy's still around."

"The administrative staff had a meeting last night. Why don't they let some Japanese representatives in on some of their staff meetings? It affects the Japanese directly, and we could probably offer some valuable suggestions."

"Sure, I've got a job, but I don't know what I'm supposed to be doing. There's no equipment, and I can't find the supervisor to discuss my problems. I might as well quit."

"I told X a couple of weeks ago before the farm trouble that we ought to look into the labor situation out there, but he wouldn't let us touch it, and he didn't do anything about it. His attitude was that things would blow over. Well, there's still plenty of trouble brewing out there and the administration had better do something about it quick before it explodes."

These expressions are obviously made without knowledge of the administration's reasons for its actions. But they do not reflect a fundamental feeling on the part of colonists that they lack control over their personal destiny. This feeling is widely present among issei, kibe, and nisei, but it is most prevalent in the first group for the reason that they have least contact with the administration and ~~suff-er~~ suffer a decided handicap in communication when access to the administration is given them.

The feeling of inadequate control over their life situation is further enhanced for the colonists by the fact that their work is not, as yet, well organized. Many complaints are heard throughout the community that countermanding orders appear too frequently, and that the working personnel do not know what they are supposed to be doing. In some instances, ingenuity on the part of the workers would solve the difficulty. In others, a clearer definition of WRA policy is required. But, fundamentally, there is need for greater communications between the administration and the workers so that <sup>an</sup> understanding can be developed of their respective problems.

#### SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF FEARS AMONG TULE LAKE PEOPLE

Liberty has been taken in this report, in the definition of the term "fear", for many forms of response have been discussed which ordinarily would have been excluded from discussion under this category. However, every item mentioned has some relation to certain fundamental feelings of insecurity felt among the colonists, and this seems sufficient justification for their inclusion.

The fundamental reason for the widespread anxieties is the newness of life in a relocation center, and the absence of established routines in daily living. With the passage of a year's residence, many of the fears mentioned, it is hoped, will have disappeared. In fact, barring the appearance of severe crises, most of the anxieties may evaporate and be replaced by habitual expectations. For the present, however, it must be recognized that life for the Newell people is filled with incalculable fear elements simply because they have never experienced a similar situation before. The feeling of uncertainty among the colonists is much like that felt by a young man attempting to prove his worth in a new job.

The fears catalogued are, by no means, all the fears that exist in the community or will exist. With each change in the condition of livelihood, here, now feelings of insecurity may crop up, or old fears may die out. The fears of the people are considerably influenced by changing events, and while one may dominate the people's thoughts one day, another will dominate the next. Thus, no final list of dominant fears among the people in Newell can ever be made. A constant check would be required to note the shifting winds of public concern. Some fears, such as concern about the post-war future, are more important than others in that they are deep lying disturbances that have great influence in determining present day orientations.

Nisei Opinion:

*Rec'd Nov. 20 from  
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BEHIND THE STORY OF TULE LAKE SEGREGEES

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Writer Makes Plea for Enlightened  
Justice in Dealing with Group

*11/20, 1945*

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by Kiyoshi Hamanaka

There is an interesting and instructive parallel between the treatment of the Jews and segregees in democratic America. Both Jews and segregees have been accused of disloyalty. After mistreatment both groups have expressed a desire to leave their respective countries of persecution, the one to go to Palestine; the other, to Japan. Now that World War II is over it turns out that many segregees want to remain in America. They protest that they signed for expatriation and repatriation under duress. They believe that they will have a better future in America. The point now is, will we let them remain here? And if not, why not?

There is an easy "solution" advocated by some government officials in words to the effect that "since these segregees signed for expatriation and repatriation and they knew what they were doing, we're going to ship all of them to Japan even if some of them want to remain here." Any lasting solution must be a just solution. Our concept of justice has gradually developed in its time context so that as we have grown more civilized we have included in more areas of life considerations of the past, present and future. For example, in the solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency we now consider the past and present environment of the delinquents as well as the possible future results of different techniques of corrective treatment. In line with this enlightened concept of justice, let us review segregation, registration and evacuation.

Any study of segregation necessarily involves a study of registration, for without registration segregation would not have taken place. In turn, any study of registration requires a study of evacuation, for without evacuation registration would not have taken place. This last statement is obviously true since there was no registration of Nisei and Issei who resided in areas that were not evacuated and that included the eastern half of Oregon and Washington, the northern half of Arizona and the rest of the forty-eight states except California. Again, the Japanese nationals and the Japanese Americans in the Hawaiian Islands did not undergo any registration or wholesale evacuation. German aliens and their offsprings were not evacuated and underwent no special registration. Why, with all these obvious omissions, did registration and segregation take place? Why did even evacuation take place?

The United States Army has maintained that evacuation was based on military necessity. The Supreme Court in the Korematsu case has upheld the army's enforcement of evacuation for the same reason, military necessity. A more accurate explanation would be that evacuation was based on racial discrimination and economic exploitation of the evacuees.

Here are some salient facts: Lieut. General DeWitt stated that a "Jap is a Jap;" he was the Commander of the Western Defense Area and he gave the orders for curfew and evacuation. No wholesale evacuation of Japanese nationals and Japanese Americans in Hawaii has taken place. There was no sabotage by the Japanese in Hawaii or the United States prior to, during or since Pearl Harbor. Evacuees owned much property in the four western states and the Associated Farmers and other such groups pushed evacuation in order to exploit the evacuees. Other four thousand Nisei and Kibei were in the armed forces of the United States before Pearl Harbor. There are more than 20,000 now because of the voluntary Nisei Combat Team and the draft. A few months after evacuation evacuees were released from camps to work in the sugar beet farms in Utah, Montana, Idaho, etc. in order to help save the crop. If military necessity prompted evacuation, why were evacuees released so suddenly for such work?

After Pearl Harbor almost three months went by before Lt. General DeWitt imposed curfew and travel restrictions on Italian, German and German aliens and Japanese Americans. If military necessity caused such measures, why did the army waste so much time? Why were not the German and Italian aliens evacuated while American citizens of Japanese descent were? Is military necessity, in other words, a racial matter?

But now let us consider registration. Registration took place during the months of February and March of 1943. By that time all of the evacuees were in relocation centers operated under the War Relocation Authority. Previous to the relocation centers, most of the evacuees resided in army controlled assembly centers with strict regulations, censorship and primitive accommodations. Some evacuees were moved directly from their homes to relocation centers and others came from the Hawaiian Islands.

At first the relocation centers were to have had large scale industrial and agricultural projects in view of the WRA assumption and policy that most of the evacuees would remain in the centers for the duration of the war. In fact, leave clearance regulations were strict and difficult to fulfill. However, as time went on and the public relations work was inaugurated to "sell the evacuees" the WRA changed its policy to facilitate leave clearance. This was around the month of December, 1942. Around the middle of that month a procedure whereby evacuees could make applications for leave clearance in advance of a definite assurance of a job was started. The response

however was not encouraging. During the latter part of January the WRA made an announcement that an All-Nisei Combat Team would be organized by means of voluntary induction. During the first week of February an announcement was made by means of the center newspapers that a general registration of all evacuees 17 or more years of age would take place. At the same time Army representatives were to obtain questionnaires from all American citizens of Japanese ancestry who were 17 or more years of age. No registration was to be made of those who applied for repatriation. The reason given for the general registration was that "the WRA expects to get leave clearance on a large number of employable persons before they apply for leave and thus be able to speed up the relocation program." During the entire registration period no statement was made by the WRA that the Registration would be used as the basis for segregation.

The two questions in the general registration that caused the most difficulties were Questions 27 and 28. Question 27 asked: "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" Question 28 was, "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?" The difficulty in answering Question 27 in the affirmative was that the evacuees had been evacuated from their homes and many of them had no place of their own since they had sold their properties at exorbitant losses. If the son were to volunteer or were drafted the family would be without manpower to start anew since most of the Issei parents were in their fifties and sixties. However, the explanation was added that an affirmative answer to Question 27 did not obligate a citizen to volunteer for the combat team. Nevertheless, the fact that the general registration and the registration for the combat team were held simultaneously was confusing.

Question 28 was the one that caused a great deal of difficulties. In reality it was three questions in one. They are--

1. Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America?
2. Will you faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces?
3. Will you forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

This question was put even to the Issei before a revision was made several days later. If the Issei had answered, yes, to the original question, they would actually have made themselves men without a country. The revised question for the Issei was, "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and to take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States?"

Because of the poor wording of Question 28, many interpretations were given to it by the evacuees. For example some evacuees thought that an affirmative answer implied that it exonerated the United States from evacuation. Then too the word "forswear" seemed to imply that the Nisei had a previous allegiance to the emperor of Japan, since one could not forswear an allegiance one did not have. This is like asking any American citizen, "Do you forswear allegiance to Hitler?" It should be remarked at this time that most of the Nisei do not have dual citizenship. In fact in 1924 an agreement was made between the United States and Japan that any child born of Japanese parents had to be registered with the Japanese Consul in America within two weeks after its birth if it were to be considered a dual citizen. If such registration did not take place, the child was automatically not considered a subject of Japan. The vast majority of parents did not register their children and the vast majority of those born prior to 1924 had expatriated from Japan before Pearl Harbor.

Because of the confusion resulting from the poor wording of Question 28; the fact that the questionnaire was first headed, "Application for Leave Clearance" which seemed to imply that the evacuees were applying to go out; the fact that at first registration was not specifically stated to be compulsory; the fact that the registration for the Nisei Combat Team was going on at the same time; and the fact that the registrars were largely untrained as many of them were not fluent or accurate interpreters of Japanese. These facts accounted for the poor response to registration and the subsequent increase in the applications for repatriation and expatriation. In many centers, registration dragged on for over a month because of the large numbers that refused to sign.

For approximately four months after registration there was no mention of segregation. In the meantime during the latter part of June, the Dies Committee attacked the WRA with accusations of coddling evacuees and harboring spies. Although many newspapers printed the accusations of the Dies Committee which put the WRA in a bad light, most of such newspapers did not print the refutations which followed a thorough investigation. Because of the attacks of the Dies Committee, the WRA in Washington confidentially asked some of the center appointed personnel to find out whether the evacuees favored segregation or not. Because of the poor preparation and conduct of registration the WRA was not confident enough without the approval of evacuee opinion to base segregation on registration and announce it. Thus during the latter part of June some of the center personnel asked some evacuees whether they favored segregation. Since most of the evacuees contacted were leaders among the repatriates and the loyal, and since leaders generally have extreme viewpoints, both groups seemed to favor segregation. Having thus obtained this information, Dillon S. Myer went before the Dies Committee during the early part of July and announced that segregation would take place beginning September 1. After that segregation was announced, however, it was discovered that the majority of the evacuees did not favor segregation.

From this review of events one can ask the following questions;

1. If registration was to have been the basis of segregation, why wasn't such an announcement made during registration?
2. Why did the WRA not mention segregation until approximately four months after registration; until the time the Dies Committee started to attack it?
3. If the WRA had felt that registration had been conducted properly, why did it ask some of the center appointed personnel to ascertain if the evacuees favored segregation or not?

Subsequent to the announcement of segregation the evacuees were divided into four groups. Hearings were conducted of those who answered, no, or who qualified their answers to Questions 27 and 28. The repatriates, expatriates and those who answered unqualified yesses to Questions 27 and 28 and who had no intelligence record were not given hearings. These hearings were to determine the loyalty of the questionable group.

Some of the appointed personnel who questioned the evacuees were prejudiced against evacuees in general. Others were particularly prejudiced against the Kibei and Buddhists. Such questions as, "Why aren't you a Christian?" were asked. Thus, since these hearings lacked democratic judicial procedure they were generally poorly conducted.

The purpose of segregation was to weed out the disloyal among the evacuees and incarcerate them for the duration of the war in the Tule Lake Center. Immediately upon the outbreak of the war the Federal Bureau of Investigation did just that. Could it be that the FBI was so incompetent that the WRA was able to uncover 18,000 additional disloyal that the FBI could not apprehend? Surely to assume such to be true would be an indictment against the FBI. If such were true, how many more disloyal were there in Hawaii and in the unevacuated sections of the United States? What then is true? What does the WRA mean by disloyalty?

The truth of the matter is that registration was not an adequate means of determining loyalty or disloyalty. Over 60 per cent of the segregates are American citizens who have never been to Japan. Most of them went to Tule Lake because their parents went there. And most of the parents who went to Tule Lake, in fact, most of the people in Tule Lake have no active disloyalty against the United States. Many of them answered as they did because they wanted to protest against the mistreatment they went through in evacuation and in the assembly and relocation centers. Practical considerations as where best they might earn a living after the war were predominant factors. Another determinant was what one's friends were going to do. It is not difficult to see the reason for this. Evacuation left many evacuees propertyless and with little funds. Friends can at least help each other out. But the most important determinant was the fact that the

Government of the United States through its army carried out evacuation. If the Government in which they had put so much faith could do such a thing, after they had been law-abiding taxpayers for the past thirty years or so, then this country must certainly dislike the evacuees. Such an act seemed to imply to the evacuees that they would not have any more future in this country. The Issei had put a lot of faith in the fact that their offspring were American citizens, but even that fact did not prevent the Government from evacuating the Nisei.

What made matters worse was that in the assembly and relocation centers, evacuees did not have much say-so as to how the community was to be operated. The living quarters were crowded with as many as five sleeping in a twenty by twenty-five feet room. No running water in the rooms or private lavatory. Poor quality food that was prepared by mass cooking so that one had to eat what was dished out. Monthly average pay of 16 dollars a month for a 44 hour week and the presence of some appointed personnel who were prejudiced against evacuees. It is little wonder that the evacuees adjusted to the situation as they did.

What should be obvious from all this is the fact that registration was unfair. Any group that were treated in a like manner as the evacuees have been would have reacted with more aggressive protest and activities which could easily be rationalized as disloyal. And the proof of all this is the difference in the treatment and conduct of the Japanese in Hawaii. Any student of the two groups would admit that the Japanese in America are more Americanized as a group than those in Hawaii. Why, if this is true, are there more "disloyal" in America? Could it be that the more Americanized a group is the more it tends to be disloyal? Or did evacuation have something to do with it? The fact of the matter is that evacuation was not necessary. If it were necessary, then the Japanese in Hawaii would have been evacuated first. If it were necessary, the Japanese on the Pacific Coast would not have been allowed to be free for over three months after the outbreak of the war. And if it is granted that evacuation was not necessary, then all that followed--registration, segregation, and resettlement would have been unnecessary.

The least that the United States can do for those expatriates and repatriates who want to remain in America is to let them do so. Enlightened justice, as shown by this review, demands it. Whether we do so or not will depend on whether our democracy is big enough to act with enlightened justice.

Andrew Y. Kuroda, the author of these letters, is a young Methodist minister who was my student for three years at Auburn Theological Seminary. He was born in Japan and has been in this country about ten years. He is one of the best of all of the many Japanese students whom I have had, probably the best. For several years he has served Churches in Washington and Oregon. He now has permanent status as a resident in this country. I can vouch for his complete honesty and also for his carefulness in everything that he says and does. The letters reveal an intensity of devotion to America and to Democracy that would be notable in any group. I agree with the words of Galen Fishers: "I think that Kuroda's letters are valuable historical documents, as well as thrilling reading."

I am glad to record that Kuroda and his family are both out of the relocation center. Mrs. Kuroda and their two children, one born after the episodes described in these letters are with her parents in Colorado and Kuroda himself is in Ann Arbor, working in the Japanese Language School of the University of Michigan, under the Military Intelligence Service.

/s/ John C. Bennett  
John C. Bennett

Permanent address  
Union Theological Seminary  
3041 Broadway  
New York City 27

TULE LAKE UNION CHURCH

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3001-D \* Tulelake WRA Project \* \* Newell, California

Dr. John C. Bennett  
1042 Shattuck Avenue  
Berkeley, California

1601-D  
Newell, Cal.

Feb. 19, 1943

Dear Dr. Bennett:

Thank you very much for sending me a Federal Council report. It is nice of you to have included so much of the Japanese-American problem in the report.

A package of your Touchstone of Democracy was confiscated by MP at the Post Office. Mr. Shirrell once told me that there is no censorship of books and magazines, English or Japanese, except publications of Jehovah's Witnesses. I do not know whether this censorship of pamphlets is due to the new regulation or to the "discretion" of the individual MP on duty. A few days later when we went to Mr. Jacoby to talk about the matter, he returned the package, with the remark, "It's silly to have done this."

There is a new turn of events developing which has serious and important implications upon the future of the Japanese people in this country.

**SITUATION:** 1. War Department has announced to resume taking Nisei into armed forces and to open the way for them to work in defense industry. President Roosevelt has expressed his full approval of the plan of War Department. 2. An army team of four, including one Nisei sergeant, headed by 1st lieutenant arrived on Feb. 7. 3. They held mass-meetings at several places throughout the colony Feb. 9, explaining the purpose of this move by reading the prepared statement of War Dept. No period of question and answer was allowed, mainly due to lack of time, because they said that the original and the translation were to be published next morning as the supplement to the paper. 4. Registration of all citizens, male and women, and all aliens, 17 years and over, started in each block, Feb. 10.

**PURPOSE:** 1. For male Nisei, registration of Selective Service. 2. To get volunteers for a "separate" army unit to be composed of solely soldiers of the American citizens of Japanese ancestry. 3. To map the man-power situation for those who do not fit for military service, to be used in defense work. 4. To map the man-power situation of women citizens. (Question: "Are you willing to work in the Volunteer Nurses' Corps, or Waacs, if opportunity presents

itself, and you are qualified?) 5. To speed up the clearance of Issei. (For male citizens, the form is of Selective Service. For women citizens and aliens, the form is the clearance application of WRA)

ISSUES INVOLVED: 1. Test of loyalty on the individual basis. (Question for all people: "Do you swear the unqualified allegiance to the United States, and forswear all the allegiance to the Emperor of Japan or to any government of any foreign countries?") 2. A case of segregated army units, another instance of Jim Crowism. 3. Women's registration prior to the rest of the country, and to the enactment of the law. 4. First experiment, possibly, of the total man-power mobilization, that might be applied to the whole nation.

REACTION OF THE PEOPLE: Confusion and commotion spread immediately all over the colony. This was largely due to the lack of explanation and information, as in the past. Before people has time to read the statement of War Dept., they had to register. Naturally they were hesitant and refused to do so. Wednesday evening, Feb. 10, all the blocks had block meeting. Radicals shouted loud, and dominated the meeting, as in the case of the meetings of the similar nature. I noticed how far resentment and bitterness of evacuation and detention went among the people, both citizens and non-citizens further than I expected. Why are only Nisei compelled to register again for the Selective Service while the other citizens are not so required? How many times do we have to express our loyalty to this country while we have gone through so much hardship as our necessary share of loyalty? Is there any assurance of full citizens rights restored, if we serve in the armed forces? No Nisei soldiers cannot enter the Military Area No. 1, consequently they cannot visit their parents in the WRA centers in that area, that is Manzanar and Tule Lake, before they go to overseas. (Since then, army removed this restriction.) What provisions would the government give to our parents and families, if we serve in the armed forces? We don't want to fight in the front while our parents and families are detained in a concentration camp behind the barbed wire, under the watch-towers, manned with the soldiers of the same uniform which we also wear. Does registration means volunteering? (Question: "Are you willing to serve the armed forces of the United States for combat duty, wherever ordered?") We are willing to serve in the armed forces, but not to volunteer. We cannot say 'yes' to segregated army units. (It was announced since then that this separate unit is composed of only volunteers, and selectees will go to ordinary mixed units. Those Nisei soldiers already in the army will not be transferred to this separate unit unless they wish to volunteer.) But if there are not enough volunteer to compose the separate unit, would the government draft us into it? What assurance would the government give that there won't be any other segregated units besides this proposed unit to be trained at Camp Shilby, Miss. when already there is a unit, 100th at Camp McCoy, Wis., composed of only Hawaiian Japanese? If we don't want to be resettled elsewhere outside of the camp, why do we have to apply for clearance which involves the same question of loyalty above quoted? This question of loyalty is unfair, because Issei are not eligible to citizenship, and if they forswear their allegiance to Japan, they would become citizens without country. (So an alternate question was adopted by the government, which I think is the credit to the government for its fairness and broad-mindedness, to read as follows: "Will you swear to abide by the Laws of the United States and to take no action which would in any way interfere with the

war effort of the United States?" Moreover, aliens can qualify even this question as individuals wish.) We don't want to go out, unless the government indemnifies the loss incurred upon us so far, assures the job outside for us, and guarantees the safety outside.

These questions were collected and sorted by the City Council and Planning Board (Issei "City Council") and handed to the army representative and the WRA. In the meantime, registration was virtually at standstill. Tacit and grim pressures were felt by all the moderates. The answers came on Feb. 15 and were read in the block meetings throughout the colony in the evening of 16th. The project Administration again warned the people that registration is compulsory, and that it would be the good of the colonists themselves.

Yet, the response was unsatisfactory. So From Feb. 18, registration has been held at the Administration area, instead of block managers' offices, and certain blocks were summoned to register at certain time. All those who have registered would get a card which they have to carry at all times.

I do not know the result. I still believe, at least hope to believe, that majority of Issei would register, and majority of Nisei would of course. But some Issei parents are exerting a great pressure upon Nisei. But it sickened me to hear that already 800 Issei and Nisei have applied for repatriation & expatriation to Japan. (Those who applied for repatriation do not have to register nor are they allowed to go out of this camp for the duration.) One teacher who is helping register (The schools are in recess since registration started, because teachers are helping) said that the ratio 1 for registration and 20 for application for repatriation at present. The whole thing sickened me a great deal.

I think this is a test of loyalty, and the future of the Japanese residents of this country depends upon this critical moment. This new departure of army is on the right direction of the history, and by far the best news we have ever had since evacuation. This is an opportunity to test our loyalty, both citizens and non-citizens, on the individual basis. (Remember, the Harper's article by a naval intelligence officer?) This is no time to get emotional and count the past hardship, mistreatment and injustice. (There was not without reason for army to evacuate the Japanese, because we knew myself that there were disloyal elements, though small in number, among us, and the government could not possibly sift them in short time. Now they say that they are ready to discriminate). People, in our block meeting, counted the past injustices, and said we want to fight back. Yes, I said, we have to fight to improve our status as a racial minority. But it depends on how to fight. If we refuse to register, the government wouldn't lose anything, while we lose everything, even our citizenship. Then, what's the use of fighting? We have nothing to fight for, nothing to fight with. "Better to light the candle than to curse the darkness." Don't let this chance of proving your loyalty pass carelessly. Thus, I successfully prevented the meeting from voting to refuse to register as a block en masse. But some of them and most of Issei did not like what I said.

I see also a great significance in the situation in which this new move of the army was introduced. For sometime there have been outcries about alleged "pampering" and "coddling" of the evacuees, about returning WRA centers to army, etc. Senate Military Committee has decided to send its sub-committee to investigate the situation. American legion in

various places has been busy to demand the state legislatures to revoke citizenship of Nisei and "deport" them to Japan after the war. Politicians of vested interests have been introducing bills to the state legislature to block the Japanese from returning to their old homes after the war, etc. This new army move, announced in the midst of those outcries, with full approval of the President, is a silent rebuttal of the government against those anti-Japanese fascistic elements of the nation. If we do not cooperate with the government, we are actually helping those enemies of ours and defeating the government and hanging ourselves, to speak nothing about justifying the evacuation and detention we have been fighting. How dumb these creatures are, not to realize this in the light of the historical perspective!

Army and WRA have been remarkably patient about the situation. I was told that army was anticipating for some kind of trouble to happen. Also OWI is cooperating with the WRA in holding the news of what is happening in the centers. But unless we cooperate with the government the public opinion might turn to worse from that of present which is no good at all.

If people quiet their emotional stir-up, we can reason with them. I even cited for them the statement of General Baron Dadao Araki, minister of war at the time of the Manchurian Incident, which he made in 1936 as minister of education to the effect: "Nisei as citizens and Issei as their parents should be loyal to the United States. There is a saying in Orient, 'For the sake of the cause, sacrifice your own parent.' Instances are not lacking in the history of Japan when father and son, brother and brother, fought each other for the sake of the cause. I dread to think of a war between America and Japan, but for the sake of argument, suppose war between America and Japan took place, we expect Nisei and Issei stay loyal to America and, if necessary, take arm for America against Japan. Those who straddle on the fence and undecided about their loyalty are unworthy of the Spirit of Hippon, and cannot be accepted in Japan. As the cherry trees along the Potomac bloom more beautifully than those in Japan, so you, American citizens of Japanese Ancestry and their parents in America, should manifest the spirit of the race by being loyal to the United States." However, I could not get much friendly reaction. Shigeo Tanabe is also quite unpopular, because he has written a series of articles on resettlement in the Christian News Letter. Daisuke Kitagawa is also very unpopular, because he is an "official" translator of the Administration, and regarded as a tool of the Administration. However, we do not think bodily harm would be inflicted upon us. No threat has been received by all of us. Church people are warning us to be careful. A warden is standing always to guard Daisuke, however.

When I registered, I used the original question of loyalty, for I did not have to modify it to the alternate form. When I left Japan, with my passport changed to that of a minister, I spiritually renounced my citizenship of Japan. That might make me a citizen without a country. But I have faith in the United States that it would protect a law-abiding resident, though he is ineligible to naturalization. My sense of calling as a minister of Christ requires me to live and die in this land. Also my political belief as an anti-fascist had much to do in making me choose the present stand. Bad democracy is better than good totalitarianism. American democracy is not perfect, and we have gone through sub-fascistic treatment. But that would not make me anti-democratic, but would make me more determined to realize the ideas and ideals of democracy in actual social relationships. Our hardship is a small sacrifice for those ideals to be realized.

Dr. Bennett #5 2/19/48

I took the liberty of giving your name for references. Thank you.

It seems like that the worst part of winter has passed. We are having a very nice spring weather. But we shall have occasional cold weather, as we had to make fire in the stove when we arrived here last June.

May I ask for your favor? I could not get a 1943 pocket diary to keep my appointments. I shall appreciate if you remember it when you shop next time.

Both Julia and Francis are fine and join me in sending their greetings to you and Mrs. Bennett.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Andrew Y. Kuroda

Andrew Y. Kuroda

1601-D  
Newell, Cal.

Midnight  
Sun. Feb. 21, 1943

Dear Dr. Bennett:

An irrevocable damage has been done. We went too far. I am afraid we cannot turn the course now, which is getting worse.

Friday, Feb. 19, they stopped accepting applications for repatriation. It was announced that everybody had to register regardless of one's intention of repatriating or not.

Today, Sunday, afternoon, about 5:00, just before supper, a group of soldiers came to take 35 male citizens out of their homes of one block to somewhere, we don't know.

This made the situation worse. It is rumored that general strike of non-registration starts tomorrow in protest against this arrest. Arrests were made in compliance with the law prescribed for those who obstruct the registration for the armed service in time of war with the penalty of less than 20 years in imprisonment and \$10,000 fine.

It is reported that about 100 more soldiers have arrived to reinforce the MPs here.

People are getting more emotional. It's no use of reasoning with them.

I just came back from the emergency ministerial meeting, and I was disappointed at the atmosphere of the meeting.

We are hoping that we won't repeat the Manzanar incident.

My position as a minister is getting also very difficult. I am confident that I have command of influence over my own constituents, not very large group. But here in this Union Church, I have to deal with others who are almost impossible to deal with. I cannot leave this camp before the people. And if this situation continues, I am afraid, I am not very useful among the people.

We are still all safe, and in one piece, we three ministers. I am now waiting and sitting tight to see how the situation develops itself.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Andrew Y. Kuroda

Andrew Y. Kuroda

1601-D  
Newell, Cal.

Feb. 23, 1945

Dear Dr. Bennett:

Last night five masked men came into my house and beat me up. It was about 10:00 p.m. I was talking with Julia about the block meeting from which I just came back. We heard gib, abrupt knocks at the door. We immediately knew that it came. They were all masked, and we could not identify them. The first one asked me in polite Japanese, "Are you the Reverend Kuroda?" I answered, "I am." He said something we both could not clearly catch, but in effect, "you advised, didn't you, not to serve in the Japanese army (Imperial Japanese Army)." While he was saying they drew clubs, shaped in a Japanese sword, from under their mackinaws. Then they started to beat me on a cot we used as a couch. One man said, "We take revenge on you." They beat me on the right side of my body, hand, shoulder, back to leg. One man was watching Julia so that she might not scream. After they beat me a few minutes, they rushed off. I thought, however, it was not so rough, but Julia said it was plenty rough. Yet I had only minor bruises. I was non-resistant, and that was good.

Two wardens came to guard my house. I went to bed with my shirt and trousers on to be prepared for another attack. But nothing happened for the rest of the night.

We heard that Kitagawa was also beaten. But that was just a rumor. He is still safe, but somebody heard that it is his turn tonight. We are worried about the Tanabes, because Shigeo was also eyed, and his wife went to register despite the block warning not to register. They are still safe, however.

The general atmosphere is better than yesterday. I thought the showdown would be around this noon. For last night, I heard that 500 Kibeis met and agitated (those five who attacked me were, I suspect, sent from there) and voted to assemble at the outdoor stage this morning at 9:00, and then to march to the administration building. That would mean, of course another Manganar incident, and a martial law would be declared. But Issai stopped the meeting, while Hisei of scattered blocks came up to voice their opinion, unscared with the bluff of Kiebee, and voted for registration. The situation now seems that "the loyalists" have now gained slightly the influence over "the rebels". However, tonight, the Kibeis called another meeting, inviting representatives from Issai and Hisei. This meeting is a conspir'd one, so the chances are that they may vote for "a march to ad" in the name of the colonists. But many people who came to see me today agreed that they, "the rebels", ave alienated themselves from the sympathy of the general colonists by their acts of violence.

This is a hopeful sign, and I am glad about it. Despite the sense of insecurity of whether another attack might be inflicted on me, I am in a happier state of mind than the time I wrote you last.

I wrote that letter after I came back from an emergency meeting of ministers after 35 persons were arrested Sunday. The atmosphere of the meeting was emotional, and I could not successfully reason with

them, because the meeting was, I suspect, called by "an intimidation" of a group of laymen, and they were there with us. We should have made it a closed session. Anyway, Kitagawa was always absent these days, because the Planning Board was almost constantly in session, and Shigeo Tanabe could not speak Japanese as he wishes to. So despite the doctor's order, I felt constrained to speak up what I believed and interpreted the events of the time.

At that meeting, finally, after some tense argument, they decided to invite the Spanish Consul to come. Spanish government is representing Japanese government, but they have nothing to do with Nisei, citizens, and we are not having citizens' registration. I pointed out that, but they argued that there is no difference between Issei and Nisei, we are all treated as aliens now. Of such a senseless position I could not reason with them. The atmosphere was bad and pessimistic. It was like a block meeting, following a few loud-voiced agitators. I remember I wrote you a rather pessimistic letter.

Then next morning, we ministers met again, and discussed further about our telegram to the Spanish Consul. I tried to delay this action which seemed to have not much sense in it, so I objected to send it in the name of the Union Church without consulting with the Official Board. They said that there was not much time to do it, but finally we decided to call the Board meeting in the afternoon.

In the meantime I heard that the people got the news about the telegram to the Spanish Consul, and the proposal to the Project Director to suspend registration until he arrives here. How the people were so desperate, and did not know what to do, they welcomed this move, which I don't believe would never be materialized, and got quiet down, saying, we might as well be quiet until the answer comes from the Consul. I did not imagine that a proposal that seemed to me senseless, had such an appeasing effect. So finally, it was officially adopted by the Official Board and put into action. I let it go at that, because I was an opportunist about that matter since I saw an appeasing effect upon the stirred-up people.

Then again, we were led to discuss about registration, and again I felt constrained to speak up. This time I was encouraged by several cool-headed officers, and even a radical minister came to see my point, that is, we all aim at restoring full rights of Nisei, but if we refuse to register, they would lose the very tool by which they have to defend their rights. Why not make your loyalty unsuspected first?

The conversion of this minister was carried out in his block meeting last night, as he related it to me this afternoon, when he was accused as a double-cross by the rebels, but cheered by Nisei, and when one of the hot-heads tried to hit him, many Nisei came and surrounded him for protection. I was glad to hear this story.

Coming back to the last night's incident, one pre-theology student came to stay with us after my beating, but was called to his own block meeting to speak his opinion. The purpose of the meeting, instigated by a group of militant Kibei, was to get the people's signatures for declaration not to register. This boy, big, husky, talented, having a power to hold the people's attention, being an actor of the Little Theater here named Perry Saito, stated his

own conviction as a citizen, then related my incident, with tears in his eyes, as his cousin told me, how cowardly an action it was on the side of attackers, how poisonous this element is among the people, etc., then pointed his finger to the assembled group, "I challenge you! If you want to attack Rev. Kuroda and others, come and beat me." The people who were swayed by the agitators and started to sign the paper were swayed back, and those who had already signed cancelled it, and the block's opinion was recorded in favor of registration.

So, I was glad that my beating was not in vain after all.

It is something which you cannot possibly imagine how terrific the pressure upon "the loyalists" is--both from social, parental, and physical harm. But I hold my Church people who came to see me that this period of insecurity and tension under pressure won't last long, and this is the time of test of the quality and degree of our loyalty to this country and faithfulness to our principles, and urged them to register, to back up their children to register.

All my church people in my block were regarded as "dogs", epithet they like to use for "government spies". The people try to avoid to talk with us, and the atmosphere is very unpleasant. My wife said that she does not like to eat at the mess-hall. My Church people in other blocks are all "loyalists", generally speaking, and I am happy about it. Christians are now regarded as "dogs". Christians are more thinking, have more contact with the Caucasians than Buddhists, have wider outlook. So they judge better and act better. Also they are not afraid to stick to their belief. They are more cool-headed and determined, that make them conspicuous than others. That's why they call us "dogs". Of course all the Christians are not like that and all the Buddhists are not contrary, either. I am sorry about two ladies of my block who are not baptized Christians but come to the Church quite faithfully, who are called by the people "dogs" too, because they come to the church, and associate with us. For them it's a greater persecution than for us.

If this situation continues, then the line would be clearly drawn between the two groups, and it is most inadvisable to keep them in the same camp. Some kind of segregating means must be adopted. Already, my usefulness as a minister among the non-Christians has been greatly hampered. I think the resettlement program for the loyal would be speeded up as in Manzanar. My future, therefore, is quite uncertain. If I continue to be subjected to violence, I and my family may have to leave before my flock, which I hate to do. We shall wait and see.

With me, so far as I know, two other persons were attacked last night. One, editor of the Japanese section of the paper, got injury, which required 17 stitches or 7 stitches, according to the sources of information, and one broken arm. He is in the hospital. The other was sick in bed, so escaped from bodily harm, but his house was stoned.

It's now past 9:30, who knows whether they might come back again? I am not afraid, and I think I know a technique of getting beaten.

Dr. Bennett #4 2/23/43

Press and radio are reporting this mess of Tule Lake, aren't they? They got the news after those arrested Sunday were brought to Alturas or Klamath Falls. I heard that there are some who are being held just outside of the project in an abandoned WRA building.

Undoubtedly this helped the Jap-baiters and embarrassed the friends of the Japanese, like you, who have been trying to help us under the difficult circumstances. To think of that and that we almost wasted our suffering and hardship of the past one year since evacuation for nothing (not only wasted but ruined) sickens me.

Yet, I am not without hope that some good might come out of this too. I still hold fast to "All things work for good for those who love God."

Julia was uninjured. A nurse friend of our was worried that she might have miscarriage, but so far she has no after-effect.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Andrew Y. Kuroda

Andrew Y. Kuroda

Will you please send me some rope or twine for packing. We cannot get them here. AYK

TULE LAKE UNION CHURCH

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3001-D \* Tulelake WRA Project \* Newell, California

March 1, 1943

Dr. John C. Bennett  
1798 Scenic Avenue  
Berkeley, California

Residence:  
1601-D

Dear Dr. Bennett:

Thank you very much for your three letters and a pocket diary. Please let me know how much it costed.

I have no objection in letting the WRA official or any person whom you think "harmless" read my letters. But I think it wise to omit the account of one Caucasian teacher who told me that the ratio was 1 for registration and 20 for application for repatriation. I do not want to put her in an embarrassing position even though I did not reveal her name. Also please omit what I mentioned about reinforcement of MPs. Arrival of reinforcement was true, I think, but the number was based on hearsay. Moreover, it was inadvertant that I mentioned it. It should be a military secret, I guess.

I heard that censorship of outgoing mail was in force. That is why I held my second letter to you for several days. But there is no evidence of the fact, though I have not confirmed about it with any one inside.

Personally I think that the situation is now under control. The Kibel group was split into two, and the radicals who have been using terrorism are now a small minority. I heard one person who said 'no' to the loyalty question, driven by emotion, now regrets what he did. I think it was a wise thing for the Administration to have stopped accepting applications for repatriation. Today is supposed to be the day to resume accepting them, but I did not see any line outside of the Administration Building as before. Registration of citizens is scheduled to be finished tomorrow. I do not know what would happen to those who have failed to register.

No person has been injured since we were attacked, though several houses were stoned. 24 persons were arrested in two days, and more were taken by FBI. Today's paper reported that 13 persons who participated in beatings were taken, that means all were picked up. It must be certainly demoralizing for the radicals to see their ringleaders and agitators picked up one by one by FBI.

Kitagawa is heavily guarded. Tanabe's neighbors, a group of Hawaiian bachelors, are always on the alert for him. Norio Yasaki received a threat: "You are (a) dog. Wash (sic) out." It must have been written by a Kibei or an Issei. He should be relocated to a school as soon as possible. He lives in the ward from which arrests were made by the soldiers, the ward which is the most militant. It requires a great deal of courage to resist against the pressure in that ward.

I would like to be relocated too. We are still living under tension. It must be hard on my wife. Every time she hears unfamiliar, loud knocks at the door, she gets frightened, and I know it is not good for the baby.

I do not think I can be relocated as a minister, at least, for the duration, because dispersion of the releasees would make it impractical for us to serve them as their ministers. Moreover, they should be encouraged to go to Caucasian churches. Therefore, I shall have to take a job other than ministry. In the questionnaire for leave clearance, I made ministry for my first choice, teaching, that is, Japanese language, for the second, and translating, for the third choice. Several Kibeis and at least one Issei from this Center went to teach in the Navy Language School of the University of Colorado at Boulder. I heard that there are still openings there. My wife's folks are living in near Denver, so if I can get a job in that school, I think it would be fine. I have B.A. equivalent from Meiji Gakuin College in Tokyo, B.Th. from Auburn, and S.T.M. from Biblical Seminary. I would also be glad to take a translator's job, or a monitor's in a listening post to Japanese broadcast. Any job along that line that would insure a fairly decent living for myself and my family would do. I wrote to Dr. Frank H. Smith about my wish to be relocated, since he is my superintendent. But I would appreciate if you would help find me a job.

Yours ever gratefully,

/s/ Andrew Y. Kuroda

Andrew Y. Kuroda

Dr. John C. Bennett  
1042 Shattuck Avenue  
Berkeley, California

Route 1, Box 112  
Broomfield, Colo.

Dear Dr. Bennett:

Whenever I write you, something has just happened or is going to happen.

This time, it is a good news, rather. I am leaving tomorrow for Ann Arbor, Michigan to take a civil service position of War Department as an instructor in the Army Language School at the University of Michigan.

I am sorry I have to leave ministry even temporarily, but Dr. Smith told me that my name would be kept in the Conference roll and he would try to get me a status of chaplain for the duration.

There were two openings for me. One was a small Caucasian Church in sothern Iowa. This was not materialized after all. Dr. Smith never got a reply. The other was the position I accepted.

We left Tule Lake on March 24, arrived at Granada on 26. Immediately I worked on our leave clearance, which we could get very easily and on April 2 we came out to Julia's folks' place. This is a beautiful country with rolling hills and wellcultivated farm land, looking west to the snow-capped Rockies. Francis is endlessly fascinated with bunnies, chickens, cows, pebbles.

Julia is expecting a baby next week or so. So they cannot accompany me this time. It will be a few months later when they will join me.

I was surprised and disappointed at the statement of Gen. DeWitt's "A Jap's a Jap." But he either was forced to execute the order of War Dept. to permit the Nisei soldiers enter the evacuated areas against his will or changed his mind a little bit and laxed the regulation. Today's paper reported that he got a new unannounced assignment. Anyway, I think history is moving toward the right direction.

Too bad that the Pacific Coast loses you. You remember that I predicted in 1939 that you would go to Union? It's certainly going to be Union's gain, and as long as I am going to be in Michigan, I may have an opportunity to meet you somewhere some day.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Andrew Y. Kuroda

War Relocation Authority  
Washington, D. C.

This is not a press release  
January 19, 1944

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION ON EVENTS AT TULE LAKE CENTER  
November 1 - 4, 1943

On November 14, 1943 the War Relocation Authority released to the press and the public an official statement on the events that occurred at the Tule Lake Center in California between November 1 and 4. That statement presented the facts on the Tule Lake incident as fully as it was possible to present them at the time of release. Since then, the WRA has had an opportunity to interview 69 people (non-Japanese personnel at the center and members of their families) who were eye witnesses to the incidents, and has gathered further information from other sources. The following statement summarizes the supplementary information which has been gathered, particularly on some of the most controversial and widely misunderstood phases of the Tule Lake incident.

Nature and Attitude of Crowd

Descriptions of the crowd which gathered around the Administration Building on the afternoon of November 1 and estimates of its size vary widely. All available evidence indicates, however, that the crowd was not in any sense an angry or threatening mob and that it showed no signs of being bent on violence or willful destruction. Of the 69 eye-witnesses interviewed by WRA, 31 made comments regarding the nature and attitude of the crowd. Some of them described it as quiet but expectant; others described it as quiet and friendly; and several referred to the holiday atmosphere that prevailed particularly among the children.

Testimony indicates that the movements of the crowd were directed by a group of approximately 200 evacuee young men who were, quite obviously, part of a well organized plan to bring pressure to bear on the National Director. There is no evidence, however, that the crowd as a whole was aware of this plan or consciously a party to it. It appears that the crowd was essentially an innocent tool used by an organized group to further its own ends.

Restraint of Caucasian Personnel

Whether Mr. Myer, Mr. Cozzens and Mr. Best were held as "prisoners" on the afternoon of November 1 will never be definitely known, since none of these officials made any attempt to leave the building while the crowd was gathered outside. All three believe that they were not incarcerated and that they could have passed through the crowd without molestation.

It is true that several Caucasian members of the staff of Tule Lake were asked to enter the administration building by members of the organized evacuee group which was directing the movements of the crowd and that others already in the building were warned to go back as they attempted to leave. So far as is known, three of these Caucasian staff members were physically restrained. Six of the people interviewed by WRA testified that they were verbally restrained by evacuees using surly or threatening language. Eight testified that they were verbally restrained in a polite and well-mannered fashion. One testified that she left the administration building and passed through the crowd without escort or restraint. Another testified that she

left an adjoining building (which was also surrounded) and went to her personal quarters without escort or restraint.

### Weapons

Despite widely publicized statements that many members of the crowd were armed with knives and clubs, the WRA has found practically no evidence to substantiate this charge. Of the 69 people interviewed, 34 made no comment regarding weapons and 30 denied seeing weapons of any kind. Of the remaining five persons interviewed, two testified that they each saw an evacuee with a knife of the "whittling" type; two testified that they saw evacuees with short pieces of pipe; and one testified that she "thought" she saw evacuees with butchers knives.

### Incendiary Materials

Many statements have appeared in the press, attributed mainly to a few former staff members at the Tule Lake center, creating the general impression that preparations were being made by the evacuees on the afternoon of November 1 to set fire to the administration building and some of the other buildings at the center. These statements have usually indicated that boxes or sacks containing straw soaked with oil were placed against the building and that oil was poured over some of the automobiles in the vicinity of the building.

The WRA has been able to discover no tangible evidence of incendiarism and has received no direct testimony at the center indicating the use of incendiary material by evacuees. Of the 69 witnesses interviewed, only 20 made any comment on this matter and 15 of these specifically denied seeing any incendiary materials. Three people testified that they had seen evacuees carrying boxes, but were not able to identify the contents. Two testified that "friends had told them" about seeing evacuees carrying straw.

### Property Damage

As indicated in the WRA press release of November 14, most of the property damage caused by evacuees on the afternoon of November 1 was sustained by automobiles parked in the vicinity of the administration building. Testimony from the eye-witnesses indicate rather clearly that only part of this damage was willful or malicious. Some of it occurred as a result of young boys climbing over cars or standing or sitting on top of them. In a few cases, however, wind shield wipers and gasoline caps were stolen, and air was released from tires. One of the witnesses testified that a first aid kit was stolen from his car and another testified that two wind shield wipers and the gasoline cap were removed from her car on the night preceding the incident, which happened to be Halloween.

### Hospital Incident

Supplementary evidence obtained by WRA since November 14 indicates that the beating of Chief Medical Officer Reece M. Pedicord in the hospital on the afternoon of November 1 was probably a spontaneous occurrence rather than part of a deliberate plan.

Plan for Future Administration of the Tule Lake Center

As this is written, the United States Army still has responsibility for administration of the Tule Lake center. WRA personnel stationed at the center are serving merely to implement decisions made by the military authorities in charge. As soon as the center has been restored to a normal status, the WRA will resume its responsibility for internal administration and the Army will confine its activities to external guarding unless called upon again by WRA in case a show of force is needed.

Meanwhile the WRA is formulating a plan for future operation at the center. Although this plan has not yet been completed in all its detail, several changes from previous policy have definitely been determined. The non-Japanese administrative staff at the center will be considerably enlarged, particularly in the fields of property accounting, statistics and record keeping, and internal security. A fence has been constructed between the evacuee residence area and the administrative area and will be guarded at all times. One section of the evacuee residence area, consisting of nine blocks, has been fenced off from the remainder of the community and will be used as a place for the isolation of those whose records indicate that they are likely to be trouble-makers, including those who played an active part in the incidents of November 1 and 4. The fence surrounding this area will also be guarded at all times and no visits will be permitted between this area and the rest of the evacuee community.

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*File WRA*

SPEECH BY LT. COL. AUSTIN AT TULELAKE CENTER 13 NOVEMBER 1943

On the night of November 4, 1943, at the request of WRA, the military assumed control of the Tulelake Center. The purpose of this action was to provide for the safety and welfare of every resident of this Center. This purpose was achieved at once.

Since that time, the military has continued in control of this Center. Upon assuming command, I issued a proclamation to all of the residents. I shall read it again in order that you all may be informed of its content:

Camp Tulelake, Tulelake, California, 6 November 1943.  
Proclamation: The Army having taken over control of the Tulelake Segregee Center at the request of the WRA, strict discipline will be maintained at all times. No outdoor gatherings will be permitted. The Commanding Officer will be glad to meet with any properly selected representative committee to discuss any problems relative to the administration of this Center. Verne Austin, Lt. Col., CMP, Commanding.

It is the job of the Army to see that the Center returns to normal operations. At present, operations providing for the obtaining of food, shelter, and warmth are of first importance and are being maintained. The providing of these essentials shall be directed so that it shall benefit the greatest number,

but in the manner as prescribed by the military.

Certain of your group have called upon me with demands and suggestions as to how this shall be done. Until such time as I am convinced that the situation demands, and that respect for constituted authority returns, I shall be the judge of how this job will be done. I shall continue to welcome visits and suggestions from representative groups of your numbers.

The sooner normal center operations, including the operation of schools and community projects, can be resumed, the better.

The time is entirely up to you. Opportunities for work will be provided in the following manner: With reference to employment procedure, we deem it advisable to proceed in the following manner: That we request the number of evacuees needed from time to time in each operation and will increase the number of employees as we increase operations. However, we will make the determination of the number who are to be employed in each operation. All employees entering the main gate must be on the employee list.

Immediate relatives of patients in the hospital will be allowed to visit during regular visiting hours designated by the military.

Cooperation is necessary to bring about a full resumption of Center activities.

I know that the majority of you want peace and the opportunity to live unmolested by hoodlums and goon squads, as well as others who apparently lack respect for order.

I expect to see to it that you have it.

Those who instigated and participated in the disorders leading up to the Army's occupation shall be dealt with.

Additional measures deemed essential during this emergency are contained in a proclamation now posted in your mess halls. I shall read it for your information. Headquarters, camp Tulelake, Tulelake, California, 13 November 1943. Proclamation Number 2. To the residents of Tulelake Center: By virtue of the authority vested in me as Commanding Officer and in order to provide for safety and security, it is ordered:

1. That between the hours of 7 P M and 6 A M all persons of Japanese ancestry, except as directed by the military, shall be within their place of residence. This shall not be interpreted to prevent access, however, to laundry and lavatory facilities.
2. No outdoor meetings or gatherings shall be permitted without express military approval.
3. Normal Center operations shall be maintained, insofar as is practicable, under direct military control and in the manner prescribed by the military authorities.

4. Persons of Japanese ancestry desiring to engage in useful work at the Center shall be accommodated as promptly as the situation permits.

5. No incoming or outgoing telephone or telegraph messages will be permitted without prior military approval.

6. Failure to observe strict adherence to all military regulations will result in disciplinary action forthwith.

7. All persons of Japanese ancestry shall reside in the apartments assigned to them by the WRA.

This proclamation in no way limits or restricts the statements of 6 November 1943, wherein by proclamation it was announced that the military authorities had taken over control of this Center. Additional regulations and orders will be proclaimed depending upon the situation. Cooperation of all center residents is solicited. Verne Austin, Lt. Col., CMP, Commanding.

Depending upon the degree of cooperation in this emergency will be the future course of this center. The military is prepared to meet any and all situations.

File WPA  
Speech by R. B. Cozzens  
at Tule Lake Center

November 13, 1943

It is a pleasure to have an opportunity to meet with such a representative group of the Tule Lake Center. I think it is important that all of the colonists in this Center understand many of the events that led up to the incident which occurred on Thursday night, November 4, and why it was necessary for the War Relocation Authority to request that the Army take over.

Many of you have lived in this Center for over a year. Many of you have worked diligently and well with the WRA administration. It was our belief that operations in the Center would gradually be much better than they had been in the past. We believed this to be true because early in August we had moved Mr. Best to Tule Lake as Project Director. Mr. Best was selected as the Director of the Project because he is an able administrator, he is well conversant with the problems which confront you and the Center, he is a man who deals fairly and squarely with everyone concerned, and he is not swayed by pressure but makes his decisions fairly and upon the facts. Many of you remained at Tule Lake and went through the segregation period with Mr. Best. You know through experience that he is the type of individual whom I have described.

Immediately following the completion of segregation, however, it was our observation that a few people from the colony attempted to cause as much trouble and discord as possible.

As you all know, the War Relocation Authority has operated under certain definite regulations. Following the truck accident in October, no contact between any representative group in the colony and the Director on the Project was made until October 26, at which time a group, who stated they represented all of the people within the colony, called on the Director and made some very definite demands. They were told by Project Director Best that he could meet no demands but that he would be pleased to meet with any committees to consider the facts of each particular case and make decisions upon those facts. At that same meeting on October 26, this committee who stated they represented all of the people within the colony told Mr. Best that the colony was not interested in harvesting this year's crop and that they were not interested in harvesting any crop or trading any produce with any other Center. That being the case, other arrangements were made for the harvesting of this year's crop--a crop which had been grown with the assistance of many of you.

Between October 26 and the time of the meeting on November 1, many of the subjects which were discussed with Mr. Best on October 26 were being investigated by him. Plans were not being made, however, to meet demands, as the whole colony knows that WRA was not in a position to operate on that basis.

It was my pleasure to arrive at the Project on Monday, November 1, with our National Director, Mr. Myer. We had only been on the Project a short time when two representatives of the committee wanted to know when we could have a meeting with the committee. The representatives were advised that Mr. Myer would meet with the committee on Tuesday afternoon, November 2. According to information we have here, the residents of the colony were notified in the mess halls on Monday at noon that you should all proceed to the administrative area to hear the National Director talk. This announcement on the part of the committee, or whoever called this meeting, was in direct defiance to the Director and WRA. It was a breach in faith to you people as a whole and placed all those on the Project staff and the whole colony who were not in on the plans in a very delicate position.

I want to make definitely clear that a meeting which could have been attended by everyone had been arranged for Tuesday, November 2. You people were called to the administrative area on Monday, November 1, in direct defiance of that arrangement. The Director of

the Authority did not call in the military to stop such a meeting, knowing you were on your way to the Administration Building -- many of you wives and children -- and that you did not know a meeting had been planned for the following day. Many of you did not know that while you waited outside of the Administration Building the committee, which stated it represented all the people, sat inside with Director Myer, Project Director Best, and others and attempted to use the group outside of the building as a pressure group to force WRA to meet demands which were beyond their control and which could not be met.

I want to compliment everyone of you who were in that crowd for the orderly manner in which you conducted yourselves when you did not really know the purpose behind your presence at the meeting.

Following Monday's meeting, the colony was rather quiet until Thursday night when some 300 to 400 young men of your community formed in the motor pool area, attempted to surround Mr. Best's residence, and attacked a number of internal security officers. This again was in direct violation of the instructions issued by Mr. Best -- that no more meetings or gatherings were to take place in the administrative area. These acts made it necessary for Mr. Best to request that the military take over immediately.

It appears unfortunate to me that a few people among you who are of the hoodlum type and wish to cause trouble are forcing the majority of people in this Center to live under the present conditions.

I wanted you to have the truth of exactly what the representative committee had attempted to demand. I wanted you to know definitely why the military was called in. It is our belief that the majority of the people in this colony do want to live in peace and harmony, that many of you are willing to work and carry on the necessary services, but that a few, in order to gain power for themselves, have attempted to gain such power through force. As long as it has been necessary for the military to take over, it is also necessary that I refrain from making any statement concerning operations at the present time.

R. B. Cozzens

March 16, 1944

REFERENCE SERVICE

JAPANESE RADIO ISSUES WARNING WITH REGARD TO TULE LAKE:

A Japanese radio broadcast from Batavia, Java, heard and transcribed by the Federal Communications Commission on the morning of February 25, warned that the treatment accorded to civilians of Japanese ancestry in American relocation centers was likely to influence the treatment given to American civilian internees in Japan. The Tule Lake Center received special attention in the broadcast from which the following quotation is taken.

It is interesting to turn back to a debate which took place in Nippon's Lower House not long ago. At the time, the Vice Minister of Greater East Asiatic Affairs, Mr. Kum-aichi Yamamoto, said: 'Japan is extending fair and just treatment to all enemy nationals interned. This treatment is based on international justice so as not to disgrace Japan's honor.' This statement was made in reply to an interpellation voiced by Mr. (Hochisaka) Tanaka who, on the strength of his recent personal inspection of internment camps in China, is convinced that the internees are being treated by Japan too generously as compared with the ill-treatment meted out to Japanese internees in the enemy countries. Vice Minister Yamamoto added that there were points which made him think that too much consideration was being given to the internees, but that was in the hope that the enemy countries would act likewise. He declared, however, that if the enemy countries dealt harsh treatment to Japanese internees, serious consideration would be given to the present generous treatment given to those persons interned in Japan.

It has also been made clear by the Spokesman of the Board of Information, Mr. Sadao Iguchi, that arrangements which were being made by the Japanese Government through the Swiss authorities, for the delivery by way of the Soviet Union of American relief supplies for internees were affected by the Tule Lake incident and other war crimes. Said Mr. Iguchi: 'Both the Tule Lake incident, in which Japanese subjects were unwarrantedly maltreated, and the sinking of the hospital ship, Buenos Aires Maru, were considered by the Japanese Government to be of a very serious nature. Therefore the government deemed it proper to postpone for the time being their reply to the U. S. Government on the matter of relief supplies, and the Swiss Minister in Tokyo was formally notified to this effect.'

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TREATMENT OF CIVILIAN INTERNEES BY JAPAN:

Information regarding the treatment of American civilian internees of Japan in the Philippine Islands is contained in the March, 1944, News Letter issued by Relief for Americans in Philippines, 5 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. It must be borne in mind that the recent publication of Japanese treatment of military prisoners which so shocked the country is based on information concerning incidents which happened some time ago. Information has come through that conditions in some of the military camps in the Philippines have improved in the last year, although they are still far from what they should be. The civilian camps in the Philippines, except for a few incidents in the very beginning, have fortunately escaped physical mistreatment. Nevertheless, the situation as to them is serious due to the shortage of food which appears to be universal in the Islands and the anticipated effects of prolonged confinement.

This report quotes extracts from six letters received from Americans in the Baguio Internment Camp in the Philippines, all reporting favorably on the treatment that the writers have received.

See Weekly Press Review, Feb. 16, 1944 (page 2) for mention of other favorable reports.

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NISEI SOLDIER PRAISED IN NBC BROADCAST:

On the NBC radio News Roundup, Feb. 28, 1944, at 8 A.M., Max Hill, reporting from Naples, Italy, told the following story:

This is the story of Maestro who claims that he is five feet tall. I don't believe him and he has to grin long before he gets around to that boast. I think Maestro stood on his toes to get into the Army and he doesn't deny it, either, because it takes 60 inches and no less to be accepted into the armed forces. Maestro isn't really his name, but that's what everybody around Cassion calls him from the Colonel on down. (\* ) is Maestro's real name, and he comes from Maui in the Hawaiian Islands. He is 27 years old and he is what we call a nisei, an American born of Japanese parents. The devotion of men like "Maestro" to America is something you should know about.

Now I have good reason to hate the Japanese, and I do. They put me in prison for six months after Pearl Harbor in solitary confinement in a dungeon in Tokyo. But boys like "Maestro" shouldn't suffer for the sins of their grandfathers. They're Americans, just as we are, and I don't even like the term, Japanese Americans. Most of the nisei who started out with 'Maestro' are no longer fighting....This unit has seen some pretty tough battles. I sat down and talked for a long time with "Maestro". We were "clošē" to each other which was in a ditch, but somehow he managed to keep it neat and dry despite the heavy rain.

"Have you ever been to Japan?" I asked him.

"No sir," he replied, "and I'm not going either. The system of government over there stinks. That Emperor stuff -- bah."

Besides his dog tag, 'Maestro' wears a rosary around his neck.

"Are you a Catholic?" I asked him.

"No," he said, "but I made a lot of friends down around Piedmont and they gave me this for good luck. That's why I wear it. But I am a Christian."

I asked Maestro where his parents were born in Japan, and he laughed sort of embarrassed.

"You'd be surprised," he said, "but I can't tell you. I never cared."

(\* Name indistinguishable in the broadcast.)

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MEMBERS OF 100th BATTALION AWARDED MORE CITATIONS:

"One Distinguished Service Cross and 13 Silver Stars have been awarded the Japanese (in the 100th Infantry Battalion). Most recent to receive a Silver Star was Lieut. Young Kim, whose mother lives in Los Angeles. It was awarded for gallant action around Santa Maria where he deliberately drew German machine gun fire while other Japanese sneaked around the side and wiped out the nest with grenades. For nests were destroyed in this manner."

Washington Daily News (UP), March 9, 1944.

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ATTACK ON MARSHALL ISLANDS AIDED BY NISEI ARMY SPECIALISTS:

"Japanese American soldiers from the United States and Hawaii participated in the invasion of the Marshall Islands and the successful capture of Kwajalein, Maj. Gen. Charles H. Corlett, whose Seventh Army Division participated in the invasion, declared in an Associated Press interview dated Feb. 17 from the U.S. Army Headquarters in the Central Pacific.

"Gen. Corlett, whose troops are veterans of Attu, praised the work of Japanese American specialists with the invading American forces. He said in his interview that these Japanese Americans were used as interpreters and translators.

"This dispatch, published widely in U. S. newspapers, was the first official Army report of the role of Japanese Americans in the Pacific fighting, although previously published reports have indicated that Japanese Americans are fighting in the southwest Pacific and took part in the successful recapture of Attu and Kiska."

Pacific Citizen, Feb. 26, 1944

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U. S. DISTRICT ATTORNEY SPEAKS IN BEHALF OF JAPANESE AMERICANS:

Comments of U. S. District Attorney Dan B. Shields, of Salt Lake City, as reported in the Pacific Citizen, Feb. 26, 1944.

"I cannot understand the attitude of many persons here. We are fighting a war to preserve the rights of all men, and then they turn around to destroy at home what our soldiers are fighting overseas to protect."

Mr. Shields said that in long and intimate dealings with Japanese Americans "I have not had one-tenth the trouble from 50,000 Japanese Americans that I have had from 250 alien Germans."

"I notice," he added, "that a lot of those fellows that kick and yell about the situation aren't in the army fighting the Japs."

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## SEGREGATION OF EVACUEES

While the great majority of the residents of the relocation centers are loyal to the United States and sympathetic to its war aims, the presence of some who refuse to pledge loyalty or good behavior made it more difficult for the War Relocation Authority to fulfill its responsibility to the evacuated people. Accordingly, in May 1943 public announcement was made of plans to segregate the residents of relocation centers on the basis of national loyalty.

The Tule Lake center in northern California was designated as the segregation center, to be the place of residence for those persons who indicate their unwillingness to support the war aims of the United States. All persons found after careful study and investigation to be disloyal to the United States or unsympathetic to the war aims of this nation were designated for removal to the Tule Lake center. Those residents of the Tule Lake center who were loyal or sympathetic to the United States have been removed to other centers. The movement took place in September and October, 1943, and was carried out with the cooperation of the War Department.

Included among the segregants in the Tule Lake center are persons who have requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan, those who refused to pledge loyalty to the United States or (in the case of aliens) good behavior and persons who, because of unfavorable intelligence reports or other records of un-American behavior in the past, are found to be ineligible for leave under WRA procedures.

The population of segregants in Tule Lake, including family members who voluntarily went to the segregation center, is approximately 18,000.

Residents of the relocation centers will be eligible to relocate into ordinary communities, under leave regulations of the War Relocation Authority, but the privilege of leave will be denied segregants.

Excerpt Letter from Maryette Lum (Tulelake Teacher) July 28, 1943

I want you to hear what Shuji Kimura, a young man from the University of Washington and a keen thinker, says about the results of evacuation upon the people.

"Life within the camps is not--a black hole of frustration, nor a light-hearted round of depraved idle pleasure as some congressmen seem to think. The evil lies in that something essential is missing from our lives. No matter how insulated a person was psychologically before, yet he walked the streets--and saw other human beings. Here the cutting off of self is complete. The barbed wire with its watch tower is a real and actual demarcation between two real worlds.

"The primary problem is that of keeping alive in the residents the sense that they are a part of the national effort. The most devastating effect upon a human soul is not hatred, but the being considered not human. The only true solution--lies in restoring the sense of oneness with the world at large."

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THESE FIVE JAPS ARE AMONG 155 TROUBLE MAKERS IMPRISONED IN THE STOCKADE WITHIN THE TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER. HERE THEY ARE ANSWERING ROLL CALL

## TULE LAKE

AT THIS SEGREGATION CENTER ARE 18,000  
JAPANESE CONSIDERED DISLOYAL TO U. S.

Photographs for LIFE by Carl Mydans



LIEUT. COL. VERNE AUSTIN

The Japanese above, photographed behind a stockade within the Tule Lake Segregation Center at Newell, Calif., are trouble makers. Calling themselves "pressure boys," they are fanatically loyal to Japan. Along with some 150 other men in the stockade, they were ringleaders in the November riots which the U. S. Army, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Verne Austin (left), finally had to quell. By their strong-arm methods they are responsible for Tule Lake's reputation as worst of all civilian detention camps in U.S.

Most of the other 18,000 men, women and children of Japanese ancestry, now segregated at Tule Lake, are quiet, undemonstrative people. About 70% of them are American citizens by birth. All of the adults among them, however, are considered disloyal to the U. S. Either they have asked to be repatriated to Japan, or they have refused to take an oath of allegiance to the U. S., or they are suspected of being dangerous to the national security.

In March 1942, some 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry were moved out of their homes in strategic areas of the West Coast. Eventually they were settled in 10 relocation centers. There the loyal Japanese were separated from the disloyal. The loyal ones have the choice either of remaining in a relocation camp or of finding employment in some nonstrategic area. The disloyal ones have been sent to the segregation center at Tule Lake.

The November riots, in which some Americans were hurt, precipitated much heated discussion about the Tule Lake camp, and the center remains a political issue. LIFE last month sent Staff Photographer Carl Mydans to report on conditions there. He had himself just been repatriated from 16 months spent in Jap internment camps. At joint consent of War Relocation Authority, which has charge of the camp, and the Army, who guards it, he lived at Tule Lake for a week. His pictorial report, the first of its kind, follows.



Disloyal Japanese arrive from Manzanar Relocation Center. There is no station at Tule Lake Center, but the train stops 150 yards from entrance. Army then drives newcomers into camp.

## CAMP IS ON DRAINED LAKE BOTTOM NEAR SOME OF THE WORLD'S RICHEST FARMLAND

The area around Tule Lake in northern California, near the Oregon border, contains some of the world's richest farmland. Most of it is rockless bottom land, reclaimed by draining the lake. Originally it was homesteaded in 60-acre lots by World War I veterans. It is capable of grossing \$1,000 an acre a year, and last month sold for \$350 an acre.

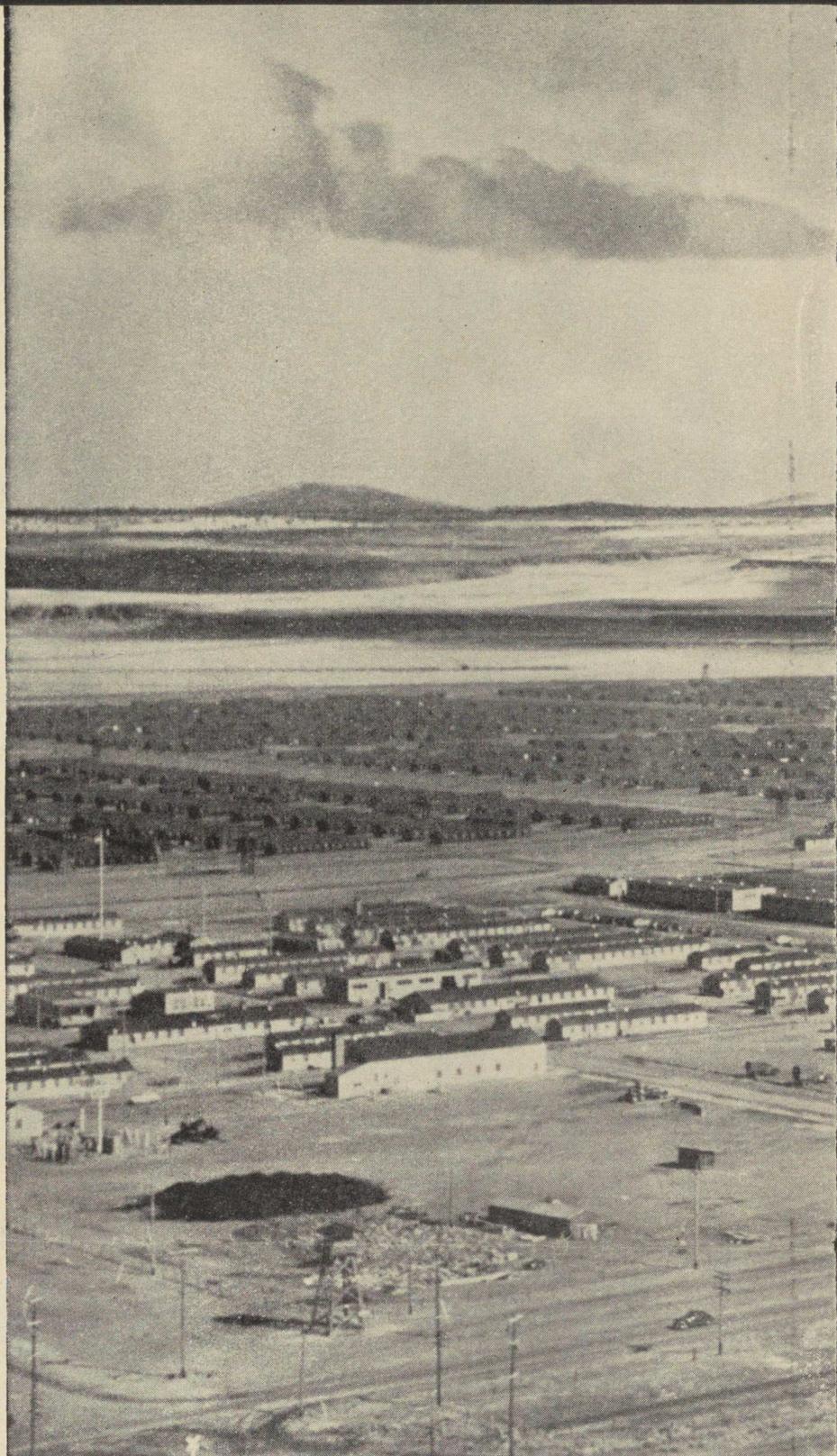
The Tule Lake Segregation Center is located on the edge of this rich California farmland. Its 1,000 acres are not good for cultivation, but last year the War Relocation Authority leased 2,600 fertile adjoining acres for the Japanese to farm. What happened was nearly tragic. The land was put to crops of potatoes, onions, carrots, beets, lettuce and peas. The Japanese diked the land, dug irrigation ditches and produced a rich crop on virgin soil.

Then at harvesttime trouble broke out in the center. A Japanese workman was killed when his truck was wrecked on the way to the farm area. Demonstrations were held. To get more control of camp government, the Japs proclaimed a policy of *status quo*. They would do no work. They would not farm the fields. As a result, to get the crop in before frost came loyal Japanese from relocation centers had to be brought in to do the harvesting. Thousands of dollars worth of vegetables were almost lost.

Only in the last month has *status quo* at last been eliminated. This year, however, to take no chances, only 400 acres will be planted by the Japanese at Tule Lake.



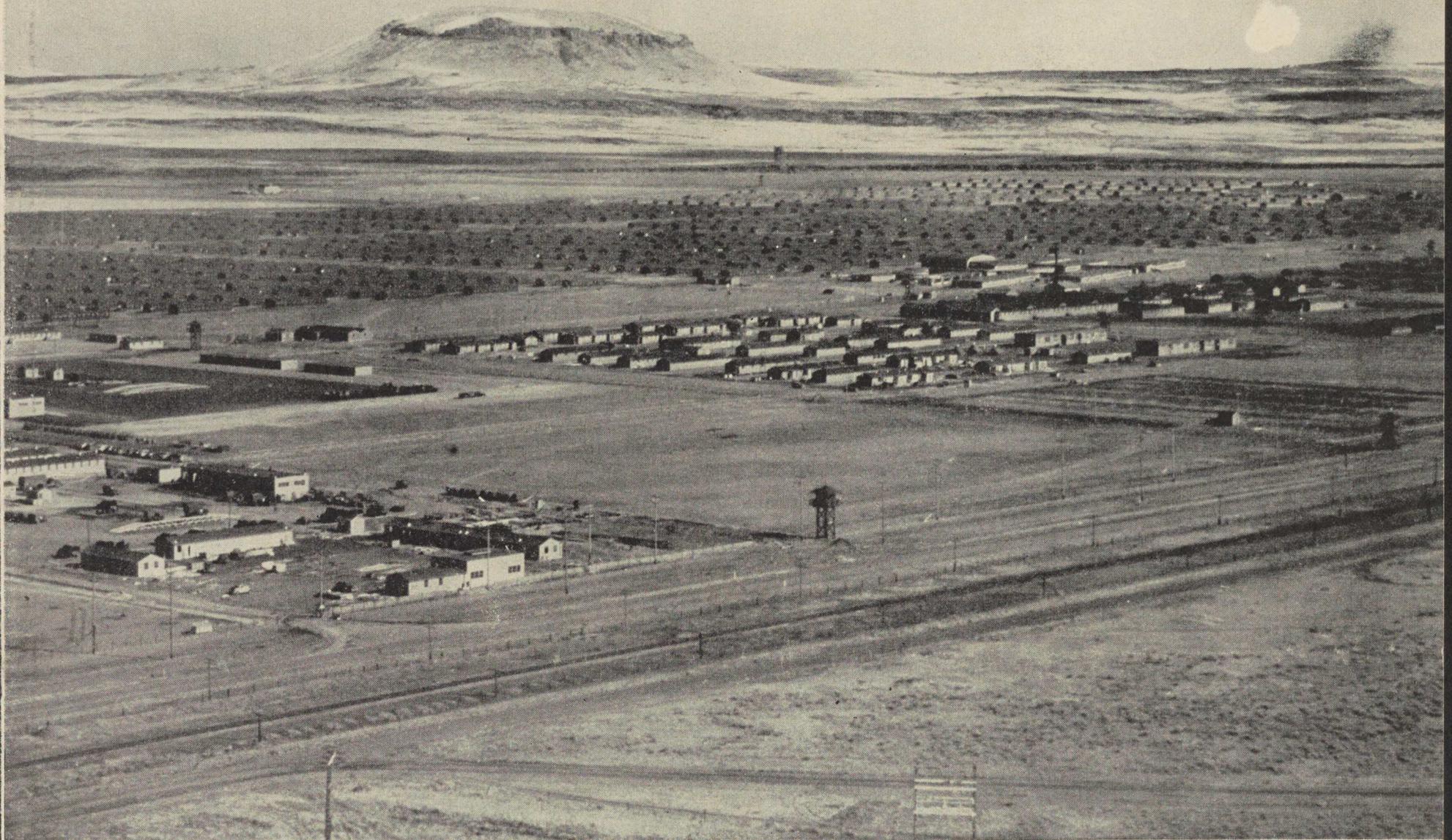
Old-timers line a street in center, waiting for look at new arrivals from Manzanar. Unlike detention camps in Japan, there is little crowding at Tule Lake. Usually the streets look empty.



Center's 1,032 buildings lie on this flat plain, with Horse Mountain in the background. In the foreground are lookout towers, manned 24 hours a day by MP's, and the wire fence which

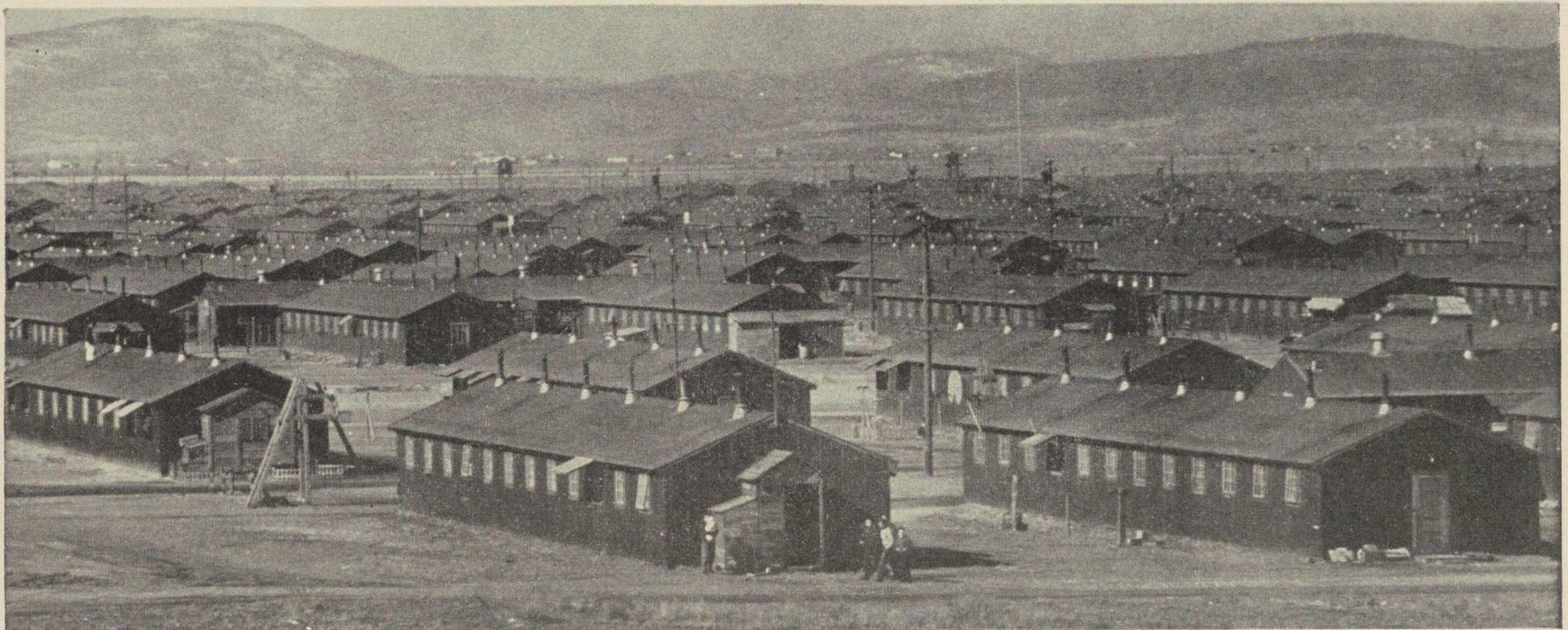


Names of Japanese at camp are painted here. Characters at right read "Aug. 8, 1943." Since camp was changed to segregation center, Japanese no longer walk to this rock, outside limits.



surrounds the camp. The buildings at the left foreground are where Army troops live and those at right foreground are the offices and barracks for the WRA. The new parade ground

is in between. Behind it are buildings housing 18,000 Japanese. Even if the guards were removed the Japanese probably would not try to escape. They are afraid of Tule Lake farmers.



**Barracks** for Japanese are placed in rows like marching soldiers. Every one, tar-papered from rooftop to baseboard, is just like all the rest. Each chimney marks an apartment. Inside the

apartments living conditions are crowded but bearable. Average space per person: 106-113 sq. ft. Outside there are no trees and no grass. The winter is cold; the summer dusty and hot.

**Tule Lake** (continued)



**The Manji family**, in their Tule Lake apartment, are all classed as disloyal. The father, 62 (*at far right*), came to the U. S. from Yamaguchi, Japan, in 1904. He became a rice farmer in Nelson, Calif. where he and his family were living when war came. His wife (*to the left*) arrived

here in 1918. The children are all U. S. citizens by birth. From left to right around the table they are Masako, 22, June, 16, Lillian, 20, Grace, 18. On the floor are Terry, 14, Makoto, 11, and Minoru, 9. On the bookshelf stand photographs of two more sons, both in the U. S. Army.



**School classes**, like those in any U. S. town, are held daily in school barracks for the young Japanese. Taught by 46 American teachers and eight Japanese teachers, the lessons are in English. Regular subjects are American history, arithmetic and English grammar. Enrollment is

2,269. Also held regularly are the Japanese-language schools, conducted by Japanese teachers. In these enrollment is 4,608, double that of the center's English-language schools. Because the camp has freedom of belief and religion, the Japanese can teach the children what they want,



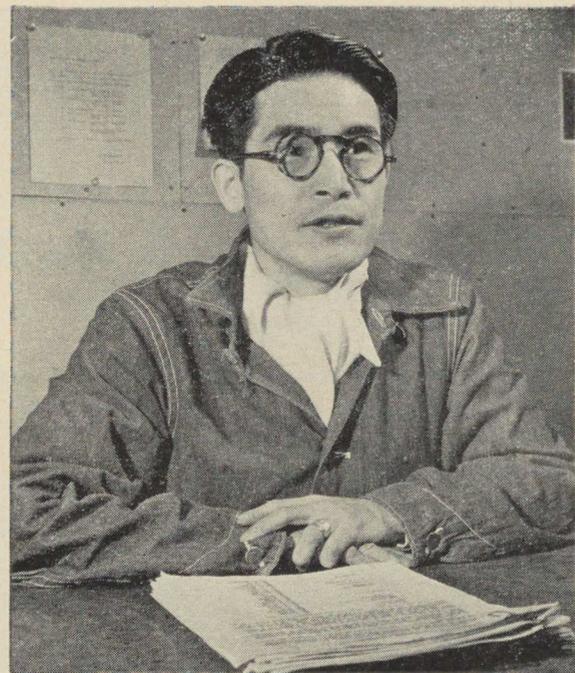
**A new Japanese baby** with silky black hair is held by a Japanese nurse in the obstetrical ward of the Tule Lake Hospital. There are about 25 births a month in the camp—a birth rate above that of the U. S. but below that of Japan. The death rate (about 10 per month) is lower than

in either country. The hospital is a rambling, wooden barracks building with 250 beds in eight wards. It has all the drugs, supplies and equipment found in any U. S. Army hospital and can handle virtually any kind of operation. Attached to the hospital are two convalescent barracks.



Representatives of the Japanese meet with WRA officials on camp problems. Center: Ray Best, WRA project manager. After November riots "negotiating-committee" members, who

had made demands on WRA, were put in stockade. A new "coordinating committee" was picked to represent Japanese. This group, shown here, supported a return-to-work program.



Byron Akitsuki is executive secretary of coordinating committee (see upper left). He comes from Los Angeles, before war was an engineer. He is typical of young Japanese in camp.

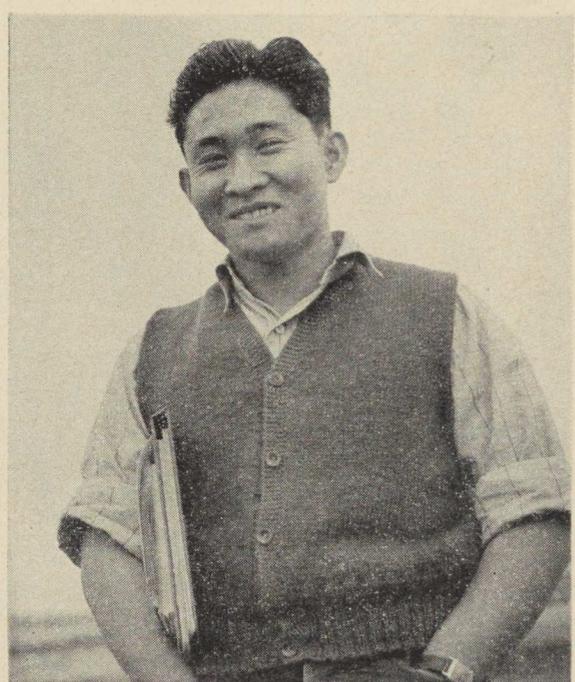


Roll call for "pressure boys" is taken by the Army. Below, a young married couple, William and Roslyn Mayeda, have hearing before a WRA committee. They have been commit-

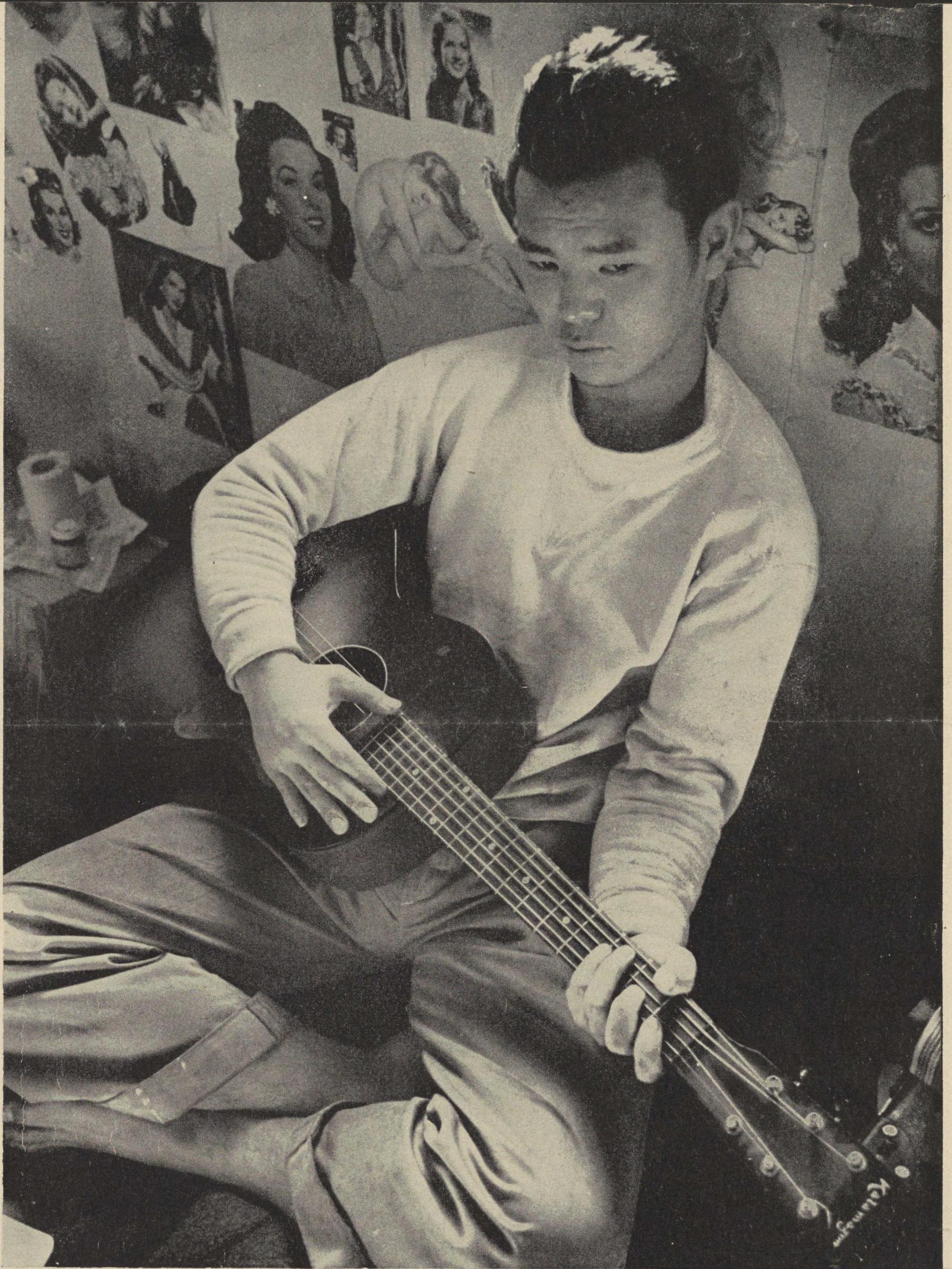
ted to repatriation by their parents. However, they now want to leave the camp. When they take oath of allegiance to U. S. and the FBI checks them, they will probably be relocated.



May Iwohara is a graduate of Compton Junior College. Before the war she managed a flower shop. She is holding two packages of green tea sent from Japan to Tule Lake Center.



Yoshitaka Nakai, 26, has bought \$8,000 in war bonds. When Nakai was picked up for relocation, his farm crop went bad. Angry, he refused to take allegiance oath. Now he wants to.



What it feels like to be a prisoner is shown in expression of this young Japanese "pressure boy," in stockade. He was singing *Home on the Range* when Mydans entered stockade barracks. Reports Mydans: "He sang it like an American. There was no Japanese accent. He looked

at me the same way I guess I looked at a Japanese official when he came to check on me at Camp Santo Tomás in Manila. At the back of my mind was the thought, 'Come on, get it over and get out. Leave me alone.' This boy felt the same way. He was just waiting, killing time."

**Tule Lake** (continued)



**In the cooperative barbershop**, haircuts cost 15¢, shaves 10¢. Together the beauty parlor (opposite page) and the barber-shop take in \$2,750 a month. The Tule Lake Japanese live a

communal life. They eat together, have their haircuts together, shop together, have their shoes repaired together. There is very little privacy either for the adults or for the children.



**Catholic Mass is said** by Father Hugh Lavery, visiting priest. Camp chaplain is Father Joseph J. Hunt who has spent 18 years as a missionary in Korea and Manchuria. More than



**The cooperative shoe shop** repairs more than 750 pairs of shoes a week. The customers can get both rubber and leather resoling. No new shoes are made there. The proprietor, stand-

ing in background at right, has two sons in the U. S. Army at Camp Shelby, Miss. All Japanese inmates who are willing to work are paid from \$12 to \$19 a month, depending on job.

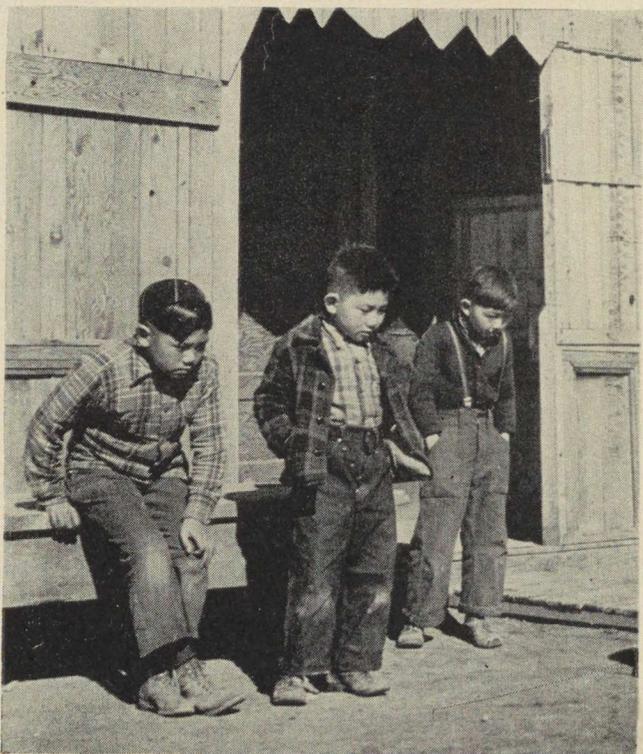


**Each mess hall** serves between 250 and 300 persons a meal. The food, which is procured through the Army Quartermaster and meets Army specifications, is free. There is a contin-



**Cooperative periodical store** sells magazines. Unlike Japan's detention camps, where Mydans could get only one newspaper, there is no censorship of reading matter. There is no cen-

sorship of mail either. A man can write directly to Spanish Government (Japan's representative in the U. S.) and request repatriation without the WRA even knowing about it.



**The kids play marbles** in the chilly winter sun. The dress in camp is strictly American, not Japanese, and the language, especially among the young, almost always English. Mydans



75% of Tule Lake Japanese are Buddhists. Another 12% are Christian and the rest have no church affiliation. No attempt is made by WRA authorities to interfere with religion.



The cooperative beauty shop has 21 chairs, five permanent-wave machines and six or seven driers. Women like to have their hair fixed for the parties, shows, discussion groups and

other social events which are continually taking place at Tule Lake. Before the riots movies were always shown nightly in the mess halls. Admission: 5¢. Soon they will be held again.

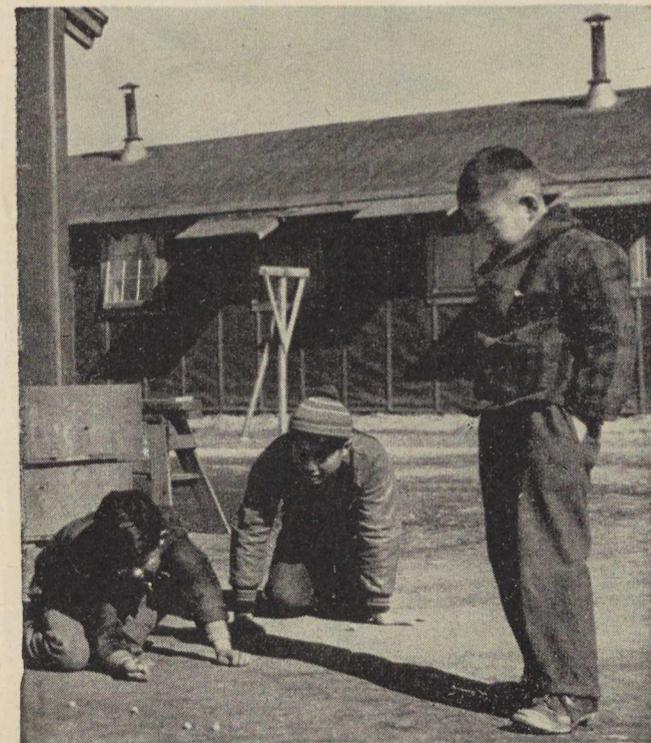


ual argument as to how good it is. Some wealthy Japanese never eat in the mess halls at all. Instead they buy their food from cooperative stores and cook it in their own apartments.



At cooperative dress and coat shop, women design and make their own clothes, which sell only within the camp area. Buying new clothes is one of the few ways these folk have to ex-

press their own individuality. Other ways: carving weird animals, draping bright curtains in the barracks windows, growing flowers in little gardens and building new front porches.



met no one who could not make himself understood in English. They reverted to Japanese only when discussing among themselves whether to allow him to take their pictures or not.



Cooperative general store sells hardware, groceries and men's clothes. The center is just about as well supplied with merchandise as any U. S. community of 18,000 people. To make

money, some families dig up shells from the drained lake bottom, bleach them with orange or lemon peels and paint them with fingernail polish. Then they sell them outside the camp.

# THEY HAVE EVERYTHING EXCEPT LIBERTY

The Japanese at Tule Lake have everything they need for happiness except the one thing they want most—liberty. That they cannot have. They are prisoners, even though the War Relocation Authority tries to soften this fact by using the euphemistic name “Segregees.” Because the problems which have arisen to plague the camp stem fundamentally from their loss of liberty, those problems can never really be solved. Their life cannot be made pleasant. It can only be made endurable.

The responsibility of WRA is to make life at Tule Lake endurable. This it has succeeded in doing, in the face of bitter criticism by part of the press, the public and the government. On the one side it has been accused of “Jap coddling.” On the other side it has been accused of depriving American citizens of their native rights.

In its accomplishment it has had the tactful help of the Army. Naturally both of them have made mistakes. At the time of the November riots they clamped an unwise censorship on the center, thus giving the wildest rumors the chance to spread across the country. But most important of all, they have avoided bloodshed.

These interned Japanese are not criminals. In peacetime they would be living normal civilian lives. But this is war and they are loyal to Japan, i.e., disloyal to the U. S. They must, of necessity, be put in a place where they cannot hurt the U. S.

But it is too easy to say that they are all disloyal and treat them all accordingly. Some 70% of them are American citizens. In almost every individual case there are conflicting loyalties. Young men and young women especially have disturbing sociological problems. They have perhaps been committed to repatriation by their parents. Yet they have been born and brought up here. What they know about Japan they have learned only from books and stories. They are accustomed to the American standard of living. They have gone to American schools and colleges.

Now suddenly they have been put in what seems to them a prison. Some of them are bitter. They feel as if they have no country at all. Carl Mydans talked to one such boy. The conversation:

*Mydans:* Why do you want to leave this country? You have never been in Japan.

*Boy:* Oh, I don't know. Japanese families always stick together. My mother and father want to go back.

*Mydans:* If you go to Japan, will you want to return here when the war is over?

*Boy:* No, I don't think I ever want to come back. The feeling will be too much against us.

*Mydans:* But you have never been to Japan. How do you know you'll want to stay there?

*Boy:* But I don't want to stay in Japan. None of us do.

*Mydans:* But then where will you go?

*Boy:* I don't know, really. Maybe Australia. We want to go where there are new frontiers. I think we'll find them in Australia. (Australia admits no Oriental immigrants.—ED.)

Other young Japanese are not so bitter. They have resolved their conflicting loyalties between family and the U. S. in favor of the U. S. To them WRA offers a chance for release from Tule Lake. If they are willing to take an oath of allegiance to the U. S. and are favorably checked by the FBI, they can be sent to one of the nine relocation centers. There they will have the opportunity to seek regular jobs in nonstrategic sections of the country.

But this method of release sometimes does not work. Recently a young Japanese workman and his wife were cleared for release into a “safe” area. At the last minute they refused to leave camp because of a false rumor that a Japanese family relocated on an Arkansas farm had been killed by an irate anti-Japanese mob.

In his report on Tule Lake Photographer Mydans made an inevitable comparison between it and the prison camps he had seen at Manila and Shanghai. Said he: “Americans interned under the Japanese have

a certain ease of mind in knowing that as Americans they are considered enemies and nothing will be done for them. The Japs lay down a few all-inclusive regulations and the internees know that if they are broken, the entire camp will be severely punished. If a man escapes he will be shot.

“Over here we have the problem of American citizens being interned as aliens. There are political and sociological conflicts. The internees do not hate us, or the WRA, the way we hated the Japs and our guards.

“On the other hand internees over here are made physically comfortable out of all comparison to the comforts given us. The Japanese standard of living is lower than ours. In our camps we received as much food as the average Japanese civilian, yet it wasn't enough. The usual camp over there is an abandoned or bombed university building or warehouse. The place is dirty and empty. When internees are put into such a camp, they must bring their own bedding and beds, forage for most of their own food, build their own kitchens, carry their own garbage, build their own clinic, plan their own administration.”

At Tule Lake all these things have been provided. Yet newspaper charges that the Japanese there are living in luxury are obviously exaggerated. By Japanese standards it is pretty luxurious but by American standards it is an ugly dreary way of life.

The task of the WRA is not easy. Nor will it get easier. The Japanese within the camp will keep up their agitation for better conditions. Current conditions must be maintained so that the Japanese Government itself will have no excuse for the bad situation in its own camps where Americans are imprisoned. The 18,000 Japs at Tule Lake are, in a sense, a form of insurance for the safety of some 10,000 American civilians still in the hands of the Japanese and as U. S. casualty lists grow longer and the war hatred grows more bitter, our treatment of these people will directly affect the treatment of our fellow Americans across the Pacific.



Japanese drum majorettes practice high-stepping marches on the main “fire break,” between rows of dormitories. Some of these girls have been drum majorettes at schools and colleges.

In each of them there is a conflict between Americanism and Nipponism. In fact, they are the same Japanese girls who march as majorettes above and do the Japanese dance at the right.



WITH KIMONOS AND BROAD-BRIMMED HAT TWO LITTLE GIRLS  
DO AN OLD JAPANESE FOLK DANCE, TELLING A LOVE STORY

# BEARD'S REPUBLIC

ITS PRINCIPLES ARE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1787; ITS FACTS IN THE HEADLINES OF 1944

A Marine sergeant who recently returned from action has written a letter to LIFE. "With reference to Mr. Beard's *Republic*," he asks, "why are you publishing what the essence of a republic should be? Are you unable to become factual in the matter?"

That is a fair question, and this is a good time to answer it, for the series of 10 "Conversations on Fundamentals" from Charles A. Beard's book *The Republic* comes to an end in LIFE this week (see p. 57). These articles have created general interest and many LIFE readers have written in to say that they liked them. Others have said that they were hard to read, or "too academic." They were not intended to be easy reading. They were intended to help people think, and keep on thinking.

Also, they are academic. Beard himself admits that. He has been talking about the principles of the American form of government. To a voter who wants to dislodge a specific politician from Congress or city hall, this kind of approach may appear remote and unrealistic.

So let's try to be factual and answer Sgt. John Dimmel's question. The great American facts of 1944 are the war, the coming election and the things that have been going on in Washington. If the Beard articles have done any kind of a job we should be able to think more effectively about all these things.

And right away we run up against a fact that is especially important to Sgt. Dimmel. That is the confusion about the armed forces' ballots for this year. What does Beard have to offer on this situation?

## "Men of Vision and Action"

Well, he can explain how it happened, first of all. It happened because the U. S. Constitution gives the states the exclusive power to determine the voting methods and qualifications for all offices. It was necessary, as Beard pointed out, for the men who framed the Constitution to reserve certain rights to the states. Otherwise too many states would have refused to ratify the Constitution and there would have been no United States of America.

But there is another side to the argument about the soldiers' ballots, which Beard has stated forcefully in his fifth article (Feb. 14). The men who wrote our Constitution, he said, "were men of vision and action. They set up a government endowed with large powers for action. They intended it to act in all matters of national or general interest, as such matters multiplied with the development of the country."

No one can deny that it is a matter of national interest for Americans in uniform to be given an opportunity to vote this year. And no one can deny that their voting would

be greatly facilitated by setting up a national agency to distribute, collect and return their ballots to the respective states. There is nothing in the Constitution which forbids this.

And what about the biggest fact in Washington today—the fight between President Roosevelt and Congress which came to a climax over the tax-bill veto? What about Senator Barkley's speech, in which he accused the President of making "a deliberate and calculated assault upon the honesty and integrity of every member of the legislature of the United States"?

It so happened that at the peak of the Barkley-Roosevelt blow-off LIFE was running Beard's sixth article on "Congress as Power" (Feb. 21). The framers of the Constitution, Beard pointed out, expected Congress to be the dominant branch of the government. They sought to create a strong executive, "but, reasoning from . . . experience . . . they assumed the supremacy of the Legislature." But in fact Congress has not been either supreme or dominant for a long time. The Democrats, under the Presidential whip, have delegated so many powers to the executive that Congress can hardly keep track of how much it has given away. Some of this was inevitable in wartime, but much of the emasculation of Congress occurred before the war.

## The Clash of Facts

Here again Beard has constructive suggestions. The Constitution, he says, leaves Congress entirely free to regulate its own procedure and its relations with the President. There is nothing at this moment which prevents Congress from organizing itself more efficiently, informing itself more adequately and, in general, acting like the No. 1 branch of government.

This brings up another problem of almost incalculable importance to Sergeant Dimmel and every other American: our foreign policy, who is shaping it now, and who is going to shape it after the war. The facts have to fight against each other here. One fact is that our foreign policy is now being handled exclusively by Franklin Roosevelt, as President and as commander in chief. Another fact is that he has no exclusive power to make foreign policy, or even to commit the U. S. to any policy whatever.

Beard's seventh article on "The Power of the President" (Feb. 28) makes this very clear. The Constitution does not even mention the words "foreign affairs," and it sets definite limits on the President's sphere of action. He cannot declare war, or sign a peace treaty, or even send a consul to Peru, without the concurrence of Congress. In fact, "foreign affairs" are so closely intermingled with "domestic affairs" that any President who took absolute power over foreign affairs

would automatically become a complete dictator over domestic affairs.

The President therefore has two devices. He can either 1) work with Congress or 2) give it the run-around. If he is going to work with Congress, then the fact to remember is that Congress and the people must be told clearly what the President's proposals are in order that they may pass intelligent and honest judgment thereon. If the President tries to act without a full understanding of his purposes by Congress and the people, then he is bound to fail—unless the people really want a dictatorship.

## Parties and the People

Sgt. Dimmel will probably agree that there is nothing academic about the fights that are now going on inside the Republican and Democratic Parties in preparation for the campaign of 1944. In his ninth article (March 13) Beard wrote on the subject of "Political Parties as Agencies and Motors." That is textbook language with a vengeance and it may have scared off some readers. But what Beard said was very much to the point. He said political parties in the U. S. are never the creatures of a single man or interest, and that every American who is really serious about his government can make an impression in or on his own party if he really sets out to do it. That is what the Willkies and Deweys and Brickers are trying to do among the Republicans, and the pro- and anti-Roosevelt men, the New Dealers, Southern conservatives and labor politicians among the Democrats.

Maybe the thing that is troubling Sgt. Dimmel and a lot of other people is that everything else seems academic beside the facts of war. In a sense, this is bound to be true. It is hard to get excited about what George Washington did at the Constitutional Convention when you've just come back from the hell of Tarawa. But Professor Beard has never said that the Americans who made our Constitution were any better or smarter than those who are living today. In this week's closing article he implies that they were not, for he says "I believe that there will always be an America, an America with unique characteristics, however great the changes to come." And if that is true, which LIFE believes, the Americans of 1944 will have a lot more to do with it than the Americans of 1787.

Sgt. Dimmel has asked LIFE to be factual about what kind of republic this should be. LIFE believes this republic should be a nation whose people have the opportunity to live, work and enjoy the decencies of social intercourse with their neighbors, to rule themselves by constitutional methods and to fear no despot, foreign or domestic. That is about as factual as we can make it.

## PICTURE OF THE WEEK

Lieut. Tommy Harmon of U. S. Army Air Forces, twice chosen All-American when he played football at Michigan and twice last year given up for

dead after plane crashes, came to Hollywood with the parachute he wore when shot down over China last October. Although the chute had bullet holes

in it from Zeros, Lieut. Harmon gave it to Elyse Knox, film starlet, to make into a wedding dress she will wear when she marries him this spring.

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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## SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

### H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

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#### COMMITTEE PRINT

#### Minority Views on Tule Lake Segregation Center

Presented by Herman P. Eberharter

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*(Not Printed at Government expense)*



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GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1944

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II

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA  
ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE,  
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
Washington, D. C.

MINORITY VIEWS ON TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER  
PRESENTED BY HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

In June 1943, the chairman of the House of Representatives Special Committee on Un-American Activities appointed a 3-man subcommittee to investigate the program of the War Relocation Authority. This subcommittee has now submitted two formal reports. The first, dealing with the War Relocation Authority program in general and consisting of both majority and minority views, was presented to the Congress on September 30, 1943. The second was concerned specifically with events which took place at the Tule Lake segregation center in early November 1943, and was released to the press on February 28, 1944.

Inasmuch as I find it impossible to agree with the intimations, conclusions, and recommendations of the majority report, I submit this separate minority report as a means of making my views known to the Congress and the people.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MAJORITY REPORT

The report of the majority members is rather brief. It deals only in the sketchiest summary form with the mass of evidence presented to the subcommittee, and it systematically excludes all the evidence which indicates that War Relocation Authority has a difficult assignment and that it is doing a capable job.

The majority report contains four specific recommendations. The first of these recommendations is that Dillon S. Myer, National Director of the War Relocation Authority, and Ray R. Best, Tule Lake center director, be removed from their positions because of their "evident inability" to cope with the problem of disloyal Japanese. I have neither seen nor heard any evidence which would justify such a recommendation. In fact, throughout the hearings held by the subcommittee I was continually impressed by the magnitude and complexity of the job which Mr. Myer and Mr. Best have faced in administering the Tule Lake center and by the seasoned judgment they have displayed in carrying out their responsibilities. The measure of the men is amply indicated, I think, by their actions on the afternoon of November 1, 1943. On that afternoon a crowd of several thousand men,

women, and children gathered around the administration building at the Tule Lake center in response to an unauthorized announcement and remained there while Mr. Myer and Mr. Best listened to the demands of a self-appointed negotiating committee inside the building. The atmosphere was tense and charged with potentialities of serious trouble. The easy way to have handled the situation would have been to call in the troops stationed immediately outside the center and disperse the crowd by force. But such action might well have led to bloodshed involving innocent women and children. It would almost certainly have had repercussions in the Far East where thousands of American soldiers and civilians are still held as captives by the Japanese. And it would scarcely have been the kind of action in which a democratic nation can take justifiable pride. The course which Mr. Myer and Mr. Best actually followed was much wiser and more statesmanlike. Instead of being panicked into rash action, they met with the evacuee committee, rejected all demands that seemed unreasonable, and then gave both the committee and the crowd a forthright and uncompromising statement of the Government's position.

The test was a severe one. Decisions had to be made quickly and a single unwise move might have had reverberations extending thousands of miles beyond the segregation center. A careful reading of the transcript which is included in the majority report shows that both Mr. Myer and Mr. Best consistently displayed the qualities of judgment and emotional stability which this country has a right to expect of its Government administrators. I cannot help wondering what action my excessively critical colleagues would have taken under similar circumstances. The role of "Monday morning quarterback" has never been a particularly difficult assignment.

The second recommendation of the majority members is that the Tule Lake center be transferred to the administrative jurisdiction and control of the Department of Justice. Here again, I am unable to understand how my colleagues arrived at such a conclusion. In testifying before the subcommittee, the Attorney General of the United States made it very clear and emphatic that it is not his desire to have administration of the Tule Lake center transferred to the Justice Department. Nothing he said could be construed that he felt such a transfer necessary or desirable from any standpoint. Testimony submitted by Mr. Myer and other War Relocation Authority officials was naturally silent on the advisability of transfer but indicated plainly that the job of administering the segregation center is far from a simple one and that a background of experience in handling evacuees of Japanese descent is essential for efficient operations.

This testimony, for example, brought out the fact that the segregation program is unlike anything the United States Government has previously attempted, and that it has been widely misunderstood. The population at Tule Lake, according to Mr. Myer, includes some of the most troublesome individuals of Japanese ancestry who were previously scattered throughout 10 War Relocation Authority centers. But it also includes hundreds of women and children who are living there merely because of family ties and who have given no indication of disloyalty to the United States. It is composed both of Japanese

nationals, whose interests are protected by international agreement, and of American citizens, who are guaranteed certain basic rights by the American Constitution. Obviously, efficient administration of such a community cannot be measured by prison standards or by the standards of an Axis concentration camp. It calls for a blend of restraint, tolerance, and sound common sense, together with the necessary degree of firmness which will indicate without question that Government officials are actually in control under any and all circumstances. By such standards, the record indicates that War Relocation Authority—far from doing an inefficient job at the Tule Lake center—has actually handled its difficult assignment with commendable effectiveness.

The third recommendation of the majority calls upon the War Relocation Authority to provide the Congress with a report which would do two things: (1) List the individuals responsible for the beating of Dr. Pedicord and for fomenting the incident of November 1, and (2) indicate the legal or disciplinary action taken against these individuals.

When Mr. Myer appeared before the subcommittee, he was asked to supply this same kind of information. At that time he indicated that individuals responsible for the Tule Lake incident were being gradually apprehended and that action was being taken to isolate them from the remainder of the community. He added that Dr. Pedicord had so far been unable to identify his assailants. This is not surprising since several thousand of the Tule Lake residents had come into the center only a few weeks before the incident occurred. I can readily understand why the majority members of the subcommittee might want more up-to-date information on the status of the troublemakers at Tule Lake. But I cannot understand why they recommend that a report be submitted to Congress. That seems to me to be the direct responsibility of this particular committee, which has all the requisite powers, including that of subpoena, to obtain the desired information. Although the wording of the recommendation does not say exactly by whom such a report should be submitted, I assume it was intended that the War Relocation Authority submit directly to Congress such a report—a procedure without precedent. Furthermore, I think it can be fairly stated that the War Relocation Authority fully cooperated with the committee throughout the investigation and hearings insofar as the furnishing of information was concerned.

The final recommendation of the majority members is that policing activities at Tule Lake and all other War Relocation Authority centers be carried out exclusively by Caucasians in sufficient strength to protect the lives and property of the residents. I may be mistaken, but my impression is that protection of lives and property at War Relocation Authority centers is primarily a responsibility of the United States Army which seems to me to be amply equipped to handle the job. As I understand it, the internal security force which War Relocation Authority maintains within the centers is intended chiefly to handle minor infractions of the regulations and the day-to-day duties of patrolling the residence area. Evacuee residents are used in this work not only for reasons of governmental economy but because knowledge of the Japanese language is frequently necessary in dealing with some of the older alien residents. Whenever violence seems imminent

or danger threatens, War Relocation Authority's long-standing agreement with the War Department provides that troops stationed outside the center can be called in immediately to maintain order. Troops have recently been called upon to maintain order in large, well-governed centers of population, such as Los Angeles and Detroit. The calling of troops in an emergency does not necessarily indicate a permanent break-down of civilian governmental authority. As long as War Relocation Authority's agreement with the Army remains in effect, it seems doubtful if the system of protection can be improved by adopting the recommendation of the majority members. Aside from increasing the costs of operating the centers considerably, the recommendation would appear to involve an unnecessary duplication of effort. Furthermore, it is my understanding that minor policing in prisoner-of-war camps, internment camps, concentration or detention camps, in all the countries, including those of our enemies, is performed by the residents of the camp.

Were the recommendation of the majority of the subcommittee on this subject to be followed, it would mean a departure by the United States from the practice followed throughout the world.

#### INVESTIGATING TECHNIQUES

When the subcommittee to investigate the War Relocation Authority program was established in June 1943, I agreed to serve as a member with certain definite objectives in mind. I have always felt that congressional investigation groups have a most valuable function to perform in our democracy, not only because their membership is small, but because they possess extraordinary powers; they can examine the operations of Government agencies and inquire into questions of public policy in comprehensive detail and report the essence of their findings to the Congress as a whole and to the people. By the nature of their position and powers, they can provide a useful check on the executive branch, and can also insure that funds appropriated by Congress are being used in the public interest.

But if congressional investigations are to perform their true function and serve their highest purpose, they must approach their task with an open mind and a real zeal for finding out the facts. They must carefully weigh all the available evidence before formulating conclusions and making recommendations. They must be both scientific and judicious. They must keep constantly in mind the heavy responsibility incumbent upon them to present accurate, unbiased information and recommendations as a guide to legislative action.

With these principles in mind, I have participated in the investigation of the War Relocation Authority program with a growing feeling of apprehension. From the beginning, it has been apparent that my associates on the subcommittee and the staff investigators have a conception of our assignment which is fundamentally different from mine.

An onlooker would have concluded that the committee was acting in the role of prosecuting attorney rather than as judge or as grand jury. It seemed that every opportunity was pounced upon to ferret out minor flaws, and to get abundant publicity on the wildest allegations. Testimony of discharged or disgruntled former employees re-

ceived close attention and, in my opinion, was given undue credence. The cross-examination to which the War Relocation Authority officials was subjected did not add to the dignity or prestige of the proceedings. No effort was made to learn or understand the problems and policies of the War Relocation Authority from the highest officials of the agency until after a large portion of the public mind had been thoroughly poisoned by sensational charges, none of which (of any moment) were subsequently proven. It is not too difficult to distort the true function of a congressional investigation.

In peacetime, an ordinary Government agency can usually withstand a congressional investigation of any type. But this particular investigation has centered on a wartime program that has no real parallel in American history—a program shot through and through with explosive possibilities and posing questions of the gravest national and international consequence.

The need for thoroughness, discretion, and balanced judgment in investigation is imperative; the possibilities for harm through biased or inadequate investigation are enormous. Yet the investigation has seemingly been conducted with a view to obtaining maximum publicity for the most irresponsible charges. On the basis of slim and unreliable evidence, the American people have been led to believe that the War Relocation Authority is pampering the residents of relocation centers and that it is deliberately or heedlessly turning potential spies and saboteurs loose upon the Nation. Groundless public fears and antagonisms have been stirred up at a time when national unity is more than ever needed, and widespread distrust has been engendered toward the operations of a hard-working and conscientious agency. Even more important, the investigation has encouraged the American public to confuse the people in relocation centers with our real enemies across the Pacific. Thus it has fostered a type of racial thinking which is already producing ugly manifestations and which seems to be growing in intensity. Unless this trend is checked, it may eventually lead to ill-advised actions that will constitute an everlastingly shameful blot on our national record.

In view of these facts, it is my considered opinion that the "investigation" of the War Relocation Authority program has not only been a painful parody on fair-minded and constructive congressional inquiry but a serious disservice to the American people.

The other two members of the special subcommittee are personally friendly to me, as I am likewise personally friendly to them. We have spent many days and many hours together, and not for an instant do I question their sincerity of purpose. I am indeed most sorry to say I honestly believe they have been lured into following techniques which in my conception are contrary to democratic processes. However, the issue is too important to permit personal consideration to intervene.





In the fields at Tulelake, the Japanese are applying their industry to cultivating their allotted tracts of land. They work hard—but without a song.

### Life at Tulelake

The Japanese confined to the Tulelake relocation center have built a community large enough to be a city, yet it is not a city. Milton Silverman, in the accompanying article, calls the camp a "700-acre hospital ward." At the left the Japanese are shown working in their fields. Below, banking goes on as usual. In picture to the right, young Japanese-Americans are jitterbugging.



The American influence—Japanese jitterburgs

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## Life at Tulelake

### MORE OF THE INSIDE STORY—'IT'S AN UNHEALTHY SITUATION FOR EVERYONE'

Continued from Page 1

apprehensively for the next blow to fall.

And every time they figure a permanent though unpleasant status has been reached, along come delegations of Congressmen, private investigators and resolution-passing patriotic societies to upset the entire camp and the whole relocation program.

It is an unhealthy situation. It is unhealthy no matter whether you feel the people at Tulelake are loyal American citizens, and getting a raw deal, or they are loyal Japs who ought to be shot instead of fed and clothed at the taxpayer's expense.

No matter what you feel, this is the situation.

Some of the people here are undoubtedly good Americans. Some are undoubtedly good Japs.

#### Middle Classification

And some undoubtedly go into a middle classification; the are anti-American without being pro-Japanese.

Here, for example, is Raymond Muramoto, my next door neighbor in the Tule Lake colony. A Japanese native, he came here in 1920 and wound up as a member of the "Lone Ranger" staff and the voice of "Kato, the faithful servant" in the "Green Hornet" series.

"A lot of people here feel the important thing is getting the war over in a hurry—and not who wins it," he says. "If the war lasts long, we'll be ruined financially."

Typical of this middle group is a young California-born Japanese who lived along the Coast when war began. He was advised by

### The 3 Groups Of Japanese In the U. S.

These are the three groups of Japanese in this country:

1—The Iseii—born in Japan, citizens of Japan.

2—The Nisei—born and educated in America.

3—The Kibei—born in America, but taken to Japan for their education and then returned to the United States.

Under the existing laws, both Nisei and Kibei are American citizens by birth. The Iseii cannot become American citizens by naturalization.

military authorities to move into the interior—"if you move voluntarily, you won't be bothered again."

He moved with the Government's blessing. He bought a farm, put in his crops, and sent for his family. Then the army changed its mind and he was "frozen," put first in an assembly center and then brought here to Tulelake.

#### Back to Japan

"I figure we've lost that boy," says Tony O'Brien, WRA attorney for the center. "He was a good American when the war started. He hated Japan. Now he still hates Japan, but he hates us, too." Some of the Tulelake Japanese have clearly demonstrated their post-war intentions—a total of 487 of them have asked to be re-

patriated, sent to Japan as soon as possible.

Of these, only 164 were born in Japan. The remainder are American-born. With the exception of about 100 who have since changed their minds, the rest are on record as officially renouncing their American citizenship.

Most of them are still here at Tulelake.

They are the scum on America's melting pot—the ingredients that we couldn't assimilate.

(Tomorrow, in the second of his reports, Silverman tells how the Japanese live at Tulelake.)

### U. S. Bomber Flights To Britain Increasing

LONDON, May 24 (AP)—United States bombers and fighters will fly to the European war theater in vastly increased numbers before 1943 is ended, Colonel Paul E. Burrows, commanding the new European wing of the United States Army Air Force transport command, said today.

He revealed that planes are already leaving from the New Labrador airfields, described as the world's largest, and other centers in increasing numbers.

The Labrador field, which has runways more than a mile long, has cost \$12,000,000 to date and is still incomplete. In one 24-hour period recently it dispatched 100 planes to Britain.

### Jewish National Fund

The Jewish national welfare fund drive for money to aid the Jews in Nazi-dominated countries opened yesterday with a generous response, according to Campaign Director Robert M. Levison. Contributions may be made at the offices of the welfare fund in the Mills Building.

### Paid in Full

The Rangers' Red Garrett, a typical 1943 rink rookie who admits he'd be three years away from the big time if the war hadn't come along, wanted a workout the other day and bummed a pass for the rooftop rink at Madison Square Garden. . . . The manager promptly pressed him into service to fill in for an absent instructor and the rough-and-ready youngster spent an hour piloting a gentle middle-aged woman around the rink. . . . It was hard to tell whether Garrett's face or his hair was redder when the rink manager thanked him and handed him his fee—50 cents, but the next time Red wanted exercise he went down to mingle with a hundred or so kids who were getting tryouts for amateur teams.



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- Sweet pickled mushrooms.
- Cocktail cherries with ster
- Imported Spanish olives, 1
- Maggi seasoning sauce, 1
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- Raffetto Nesselro sauce,

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**THE WHITE**  
RAPHAEL WEILL  
SUTTER, POST, GR  
SAN FRAN

### \$50 Old-Age Pensions To Start on July 1

SACRAMENTO, May 24 (AP)—Approximately 148,000 recipients of old age pensions in California will receive their first \$50 warrants—instead of the usual \$40 checks—starting July 1, Martha Chickering, director of the State Department of Social Welfare, said today.

Details of increasing the pensions in accordance with a bill passed by the recent State Legislature have been worked out between officials of the counties and the State Welfare Department in meetings here the last few days, Dr. Chickering said.

The pension rolls have decreased by about 4000 cases in the last year, she stated.

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## THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES

393 SEVENTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y.

### Notice of Nomination of Directors

Notice is hereby given that in accordance with the provisions of the Insurance Law of the State of New York the Board of Directors of The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States has nominated the following named persons as candidates for election as Directors of said Society:

- JAMES B. BLACK**, San Francisco, Cal. President, Pacific Gas & Electric Co.
- JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN**, New York, N. Y. Director, Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia University
- BERTRAM CUTLER**, New York, N. Y. Member Personal Staff, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
- M. HARTLEY DODGE**, New York, N. Y. Chairman, Board of Directors, Remington Arms Co., Inc.
- DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN**, Richmond, Va. Newspaper editor and historical writer
- WILLIAM J. GRAHAM**, New York, N. Y. Vice President of the Society
- EUGENE P. LOCKE**, Dallas, Texas Counselor-at-Law
- RUSSELL B. LOWE**, Fitchburg, Mass. Manufacturer
- EDWIN P. MAYNARD**, Brooklyn, N. Y. Chairman of the Board, Brooklyn Trust Company
- LEONARD PECKITT**, Allentown, Pa. President, Warren Foundry & Pipe Corporation
- JESSE SLINGLUFF**, Baltimore, Md. Counselor-at-Law
- G. CARROLL TODD**, Washington, D. C. Counselor-at-Law

A certificate of nomination of the said candidates has been duly filed with the Insurance Department of the State of New York. The annual election of Directors of The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States will be held at its Home Office, 393 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y., on December 1, 1943, from 10 o'clock a. m. to 4 o'clock p. m., and at said election twelve Directors, constituting one Class of the Board of Directors, are to be elected for a term of three years from January 1, 1944. Policyholders whose policies or contracts are in force on the date of the election and have been in force at least one year prior thereto are entitled to vote in person or by proxy or by mail.

ALEXANDER McNEILL, Secretary.

May 25, 1943.

# Life in Tulelake

## Japanese Get Enough Food, Barren Living Quarters

By MILTON SILVERMAN  
Chronicle Staff Writer

TULELAKE, May 25—The 14,000 Japanese evacuees brought here a year ago from the West Coast are not living on filets of beef, oysters, vintage wine and all the butter they want.

Neither are they restricted to rice and fish heads.

They are not permitted to roam wherever and whenever they want, but on the other hand, there is no barbed wire to be seen.

Between these various extremes, each of which represents a rumor accepted as gospel by outsiders, is the actual picture of the Tulelake Relocation Center, largest single evacuee colony in America.

We saw that picture during an investigation made here without any interference or direction, and without any censorship. We went where we wanted to go, wrote what we saw.

The food for this entire camp, we found, is substantial, healthy, and not very appetizing. It is a combination of American and Japanese dishes, and tastes like something bought for about 38 cents a day—which is what it happens to cost.

You can keep alive on it without getting heri-beri or scurvy or any other deficiency disease, but there is a little temptation to get fat.

It is better than the food the army gets on Guadalcanal, but worse than the menu at Ford Ord.

### TYPICAL LIVING CONDITIONS

Two of us—Lary Davies of the New York Times and I—went through nearly two days of living out in the Japanese colony, sleeping with the evacuees, eating with them, talking to them, visiting their schools and newspaper offices and work projects.

For our quarters, we were assigned to room A, building 18,

*(Editor's Note: This is the second in a series of uncensored reports on the actual conditions at Tulelake. What The Chronicle, its reporter and its readers feel about the loyalty or the disloyalty of the Japanese there is not the point in question. These are factual reports on what has happened to them, and what they are doing about it.)*

block 6, in a typical army style barracks.

Neighbors—the Muromotos and the Hayashis.

Room size—about 15 by 25, considered too big for two reporters.

Condition—dirty.

Contents—two army cots, each with two army blankets, one pillow, some sheets and pillow cases (these came as a courtesy from the management), and a coal-burning stove (no coal). There were no dishes, rugs, curtains or housekeeping equipment of any kind. (We had in addition one sawhorse and three pieces of wood, which the management did not explain.)

There was no lock on the door, and we were advised that our typewriters and our necks would be left there at our own risk, since thefts and riots had occurred in the past. We deposited our typewriters with the Muramotos, who owned a padlock.

(Our room, bare except for beds and blankets, was exactly the way it would be prepared for a Japanese family. The Japs, however, came equipped with their own personal belongings, dishes, brooms and small household equipment.)

### SIREN STARTS THE DAY

Life begins each day with a siren blast at 7 a. m., with breakfast served cafeteria style. Work begins at 8 for the adults, school at 8:30

or 9 for the children, under the California State Department of Education.

You don't have to work at Tulelake.

No matter whether you are a loyal American, or a dangerous enemy alien but smart enough to fool the FBI, you don't have to lift a finger and you'll still be provided with three meals a day, a room (which you furnish and clean yourself), medical care, and opportunity to participate in the colony's recreation and education facilities.

If you do work—roughly about 40 hours a week, depending on the job—you get paid from \$13 a month (for unskilled labor) up to \$19 (for doctors, dentists and other skilled workers).

If you want to work but the War Relocation Authority can't find a job for you, you get an allowance of about 10 cents a day to buy shoes, clothes, candy, cigarettes, toilet articles, paper and stamps.

At present, there are about 100 Japanese waiting for jobs inside the camp.

There are no ration books of any kind. Food—including one cup of coffee a day—is on the Government. The camp stores carry rationed goods for the white administrative staff. Each evacuee is allowed to purchase one pair of shoes a year if he can convince a Klamath Falls board that he needs them. The stores carry no Coca-Cola, very little candy of any kind. No liquor is permitted in camp.

### LIMITED CENSORSHIP

Nothing is censored except incoming packages. The evacuees can send and receive letters, newspapers and telephone calls without any interference. They don't even have to write or speak English.

Short-wave radios and cameras



Young Japanese evacuees scan comic books in library at Tulelake

Peter O'Crotty photo

are prohibited, long-wave radios are permitted.

One camp official told us the Japanese knew we were coming before he'd heard about it—probably as the result of a telephone call or an overhead confidential message.

A camp newspaper is published daily without censorship, and the issues we saw appeared to be completely innocuous. There is a Japanese-language paper, too, which we did not investigate thoroughly. Officials told us it is censored by two Japanese previously approved by the FBI.

Contrary to public opinion, the vast majority of the evacuees here are not farmers—only about 48 per cent of those from Northern California, 43 per cent of those from Oregon and 30 per cent of those from Washington. The beautiful rock gardens which were confidently expected are either nonexistent or low-grade.

Those farmers who work here as farmers are doing a good job,

but they are not working any harder than they have to do. The food they produce goes into their own camp kitchens or into the other relocation centers throughout the West.

Contrary to public opinion, they are producing their food at about 60 per cent the cost of commercial growers (thanks to the low-wage scale), and they do not have a lot of farm machinery.

### THERE IS NO BUTTER

They have no butter, but apparently plenty of margarine, and enough tea to serve it twice a day. Meatless days come at least three times a week.

Although Tulelake has its own hog ranch with a monthly production of nearly 4000 pounds of lard and 18,000 pounds of meat, this figures out at about five ounces of lard and 22 ounces of meat per person per month.

The guarding is handled by a company of military police, a bunch of Texas soldiers who en-

listed to kill Japs and now discover they are protecting them.

Unless there is an actual riot, the soldiers stay outside the camp boundaries. They do not mingle with the Japs, and there have been no "incidents."

At night, the Japanese must stay within the boundaries of the compound—about 1500 acres. During the day, they can go anywhere inside the 7000-acre center. Only signs, and not fences, mark the limits.

"Sure, a lot of the Japs go out of bounds," one Texas soldier told me. "The local people around here squawk, and we send out a jeep. Nine times out of ten, the Japs aren't escaping—they're just kids trying to find a place where they can do a little necking."

And the tenth time? The townspeople claim some Japs have broken loose and vanished. The camp officials and the Army au-

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