

Best's Speech On August 15, Best made his second public appearance on the project. He spoke on the outdoor stage to a mixed group of Isseis and Niseis. The speech was written Opler, the Social Analyst, according to the latter's assertion. It took the form of clarifying current rumors, but also conveyed some constructive information, too. Best praised the people for the cooperation they were giving on the segregation program, which he declared was consequently succeeding. He said:

"It is evident that co-operation is coming not merely from a few groups and individuals, but from the entire colony, from every Ward and neighborhood. It is obvious to us and to the American public that people of Tule Lake are already earning a reputation for good sense, for sound judgment, and for dignified behavior. My first report to residents is very simple: Make no mistake about it; the segregation program is succeeding."

He made it seem as though the segregation program was inevitable and that upon its success depended the welfare of the evacuees. He said:

"It is important, for all of us, and you particularly, have a vital stake in the success of this program. Segregation is not someone's bad dream. It is a step commanded by the Senate of the United States to guarantee the rights of all of you--whether you are Japanese or American nationals."

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16 Dulean Dispatch Supplement, August 20, 1943 page 1.  
6666 "Best's Report on Segregation Progress."

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The first rumor that Best dealt with was that Niseis who moved to a loyal center would be drafted, while those that remained in the segregation center would not be. His answer was that Selective Service was another branch a separate agency of the government from the WRA, and that "there is reason to doubt that there would be a hands-off policy in respect to the Tule Lake segregation center."

2. Ibid

~~IV~~  
The second rumor dealt with was that those who moved to ~~of~~ another center would be forced to relocate. The answer to this from Best was unequivocal. He said in part:

"Will the other nine centers be closed down immediately following segregation? The answer is a very strong No. The W.R.A. has no intention of closing the other nine centers in order to force people to relocate. There has never been any forced relocation. There never will be."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid

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The third rumor was that the Army would take over the control of Tule Lake after the segregation program. The answer to this was that the W.R.A. was "the agency responsible for the internal administration of Tule Lake."

The fourth rumor was that application for indefinite leave, Form 130, was being used for the segregation hearings. It was pointed out that this was refuted in the Dispatch once before.

The fifth rumor which was discussed caused the greatest amount of discussion later/ by Isseis. Best said:

"But we were speaking of hearings, and about the hearings there is a Fifth Rumor. It is said that if issei, who are not citizens, answer in such a way that they go to a so-called loyal center, they will lose their citizenship rights in Japan, and become men without a country. In the face of this rumor, I have heard that people are afraid of taking a definite stand; they are afraid of burning their bridges behind them. Let me answer this rumor by saying that your segregation hearings are entirely confidential, and are not seen by any other government. You will not be labeled as a resident of this center or of that one. We want you to make a free choice without fear of consequences. It is my opinion that after the war, no stigma will be attached to the residents of any particular type of center. You will be free to travel, as before, and your records in W.R.A. will be held confidential for you."

The sixth rumor was that the W.R.A. would not send

people to the center of their choice, The answer was that the WRA would do everything they could to send people to the center of their choice. Another rumor that was clarified was that there would be no jobs for those who moved to another center. The answer given was that project directors from other centers had promised a fair quota of jobs to those from Tule Lake.

Evacuee Reaction

For his speech Best received some applause. ~~They~~

It was not loud, but it showed that he was gaining the confidence of at least part of the evacuees. The translation of the speech was prepared beforehand and delivered by Father Dai, who did an excellent job. He was able to eliminate misunderstandings caused by poor translation.

The answer to the rumor about the draft was not very convincing, since Major Marshall had issued a signed statement at the time of the registration issue, stating that those who answered "no, no" would not be drafted. Even after the speech, many Isseis and Niseis were still convinced that if ~~they~~ Niseis stayed in Tule Lake they would be less likely to be drafted than if ~~they~~ went to another center. The same sort of things was true of most of the other rumors. Even though they were explained and refuted, people still continued to believe that they would be forced out of a center, that they would not be able to get jobs in another center, etc.

The only part of Best's speech which produced immediate overt response throughout the community was ~~when~~ <sup>that in which</sup> he tried to explain the fifth rumor. When he said that WRA documents would be kept confidential (himitsu), he gave the impression that Isseis would have something to fear if the documents

were made available to Japan. One of the dominant fears of Isseis was that if they left Tule Lake they might be considered "disloyal" to Japan. Best's explanation only increased that fear. [ *An Issei* ] One block manager said:

*fear*

"Whatever did Best mean when he said that the documents would be kept secret? Many people had made up their minds that they would go if they had to. None of them are going willingly. But if they have to go and then try to keep the fact a secret from the Japanese government, many of them don't want to leave. I'm not sure what Best meant, but he shouldn't have said what he did. Do we have to keep the fact that we are leaving Tule Lake a secret?"

*Final Note*  
1. ~~SS~~ Journal, August 17, 1943, #4,

Issei  
Another ~~person~~ expressed the same fear *even* more forcefully:

*fear.*

"I can't leave this place. If you do you're going to be considered disloyal to Japan. Best said that they would keep it secret whether you've been in one center or another, but how can you keep a matter like that secret. You just can't do it. I tell people: 'Don't get fooled!! What do they think we are, fools? (Baka ni shiteru ja nai ka). They should make it clear that people will be able to go back to Japan eventhough they go to another center without having to keep it secret.] In some other center so many people have applied for repatriation that they had to cancel them after August 30 because there were too many of them." 2

2. ~~SS~~ Journal, August 22, 1943, #3  
*Final Note*

The existence of the fear of being considered disloyal to Japan on the part of Isseis is also brought out by the following incident:

"Mr. A. came to see J.S. with a copy of the family interview notice. He pointed to lines in the first paragraph, and wanted to know exactly what they meant. They read: '...This action has been taken in order to provide a place of protection and promote the general welfare of all evacuees who prefer to live in Japan or are known to favor the cause of Japan in the present hostilities or whose loyalties do not lie with the United States.' Mr. A explained

~~Mr. A. explained that these disturbing lines had been called to the attention of persons attending a block meeting in Block 23. The feeling was that~~

that these disturbing lines had been called to the attention of persons attending a block meeting in Block 23. The feeling was that if leaving the center meant loyalty to America and disloyalty to Japan they would rather stay in Tule Lake. Many had gone to cancel their interviews, and the discussion had reached Block 25.

"J.S.'s answer and explanation was significant because it served to allay the Block Manager's fear. The same day the Block Manager spoke to four other persons, and they too were satisfied with the explanation. J.S. pointed out that segregation was announced as being done on the basis of loyalty and disloyalty, and the impression was given that people had some choice in the matter. Actually, however, the only ones who had a choice were those in Group II. All those in the other groups really did not have a choice. Those in Group I--the repatriates--were considered disloyal. Those in Group III--those who changed their answers or registered late--were considered loyal without any question. The only commitment made by Isseis had been to answer 'yes' to Question 28--which was not a loyalty question. Since they were being required to leave without any choice in the matter, they were only being stamped by the WRA as being loyal--they were not signifying that they would be loyal. After the war this fact would be published and made clear to the Japanese Government, so that Isseis should have no fear about being forced to leave Tule Lake against their wish.<sup>1</sup>

*J.S. Journal, August 22, 1943, # 1*

The existence of this fear of being considered disloyal to Japan is probably very general among Isseis. The writer can think of only a few Isseis who are willing to have themselves considered "disloyal" to Japan, and they are political refugees from Japan who are opposed to the <sup>present</sup> form of government in Japan or <sup>are</sup> adherents of ideology unpopular in their own country. Since immigrant Isseis do not think of their country usually as being a fascist or totalitarian nation and not a democratic one, ~~they do not look upon it as a model nation to which they owe their loyalty, and they have little reason for desiring to be considered disloyal to their country.~~ but ~~they~~ look upon it as a model nation, ~~to which they owe their loyalty, and they have little reason for desiring to be considered disloyal to their country.~~ to which they unquestioningly owe their loyalty, ~~and they have little reason for desiring to be considered disloyal to their country.~~ ~~they~~ Immigrant Isseis are immature in their political thinking, and usually do not look upon Japan as being fascist or undemocratic; hence they have little political reasons for desiring to be considered disloyal to Japan. On the other hand, they have been impressed from childhood with the importance of being "loyal" to one's country even more so than <sup>with the importance</sup> ~~the importance~~ of a child respecting his parents. "To be labelled "loyal" to America means, as far as an Issei is concerned, ~~that~~ that he is not only 'disloyal' to his country but he is 'immoral' and as such is put to shame by all his friends."<sup>1</sup>

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1. "WRA Terms" by D.K. See Appendix 

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It is a common observance that this lesson has been well learned by practically every Issei who has been brought up in Japan. Even those who say that they owe as much to America as they do to Japan since they have

lived most of their lives in this country, still maintain that they are not being "disloyal" to Japan nor should they be ~~be~~ designated "loyal" to America.

Because of the reluctance of being branded "disloyal" to Japan, <sup>Isseis</sup> ~~those~~ who ~~let~~ plan to leave Tule Lake must rationalize in his own mind why he would not be considered "disloyal" to His country if he were to go to another center. The most common rationalizations heard ~~is/~~ are:

*Nationalization*

[ "No Issei would disobey the laws of the United States. They've always been law-abiding. In that sense they can be called loyal to the United States. On the other hand, none of them are disloyal to Japan. You can't use the word 'loyalty' or 'disloyalty' to the Isseis because it just doesn't apply to them. (11)

1. *JS Journal*, August 17, 1943, #1

*Rationalization*

"Loyalty and disloyalty concerns Niseis, but it doesn't concern Isseis. Anyway, to Japan it's not going to make any difference whether you're in one sort of center or in another."

2. *JS Journal*, August 22, 1943, #3

*Nationalization*

"When General Terauchi passed through the West Coast, I heard this from his very lips. He said: 'If there should be a war between Japan and America, I want you Japanese in America to help America and be loyal to it. You don't have to worry about Japan. Leave the fighting of the war to those of us who are in Japan.' I'm sure that the Japanese in America have this in mind. What Mr. Best said, of course, was very unnecessary because it disturbed the people. It would have been better left unsaid." 3

3. *JS Journal*, August 17, 1943, #4

~~Another opinion expressed by an Issei was:~~

*Nationalization*

"How many people are there here who have enough brains to make up their minds for themselves. It's better for them if the Government made up their minds for them and told them where to go and what to do. This idea of giving them a choice is making them miserable. Whoever asked that question about losing his citizenship if he left Tule Lake was foolish, but the Project Director was foolish too to answer the question and say that the documents would be kept secret. The Japanese Government asked the people to find the best solution (zensho seyo). Why should they be ashamed of going to another center? It means that the Japanese should take the best way out for himself and his family, even if they have to bootlick the ketos (keto no mata o kuguttemo)!" 4

4. *JS Journal*, August 22, 1943, #4

Another ~~Issei~~ leader gave this as a reply when he was asked by some of his friends why he ~~was~~ chose to leave Tule Lake:

"I want to go where I can serve the most people. Here in Tule Lake there <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ going to be 20,000 Japanese. Outside of Tule Lake there are 100,000 Japanese. I want to go ~~where~~ with the largest group." 1

~~Overcoming the fear of being ~~is~~ considered disloyal to Japan in these ways shows an independence of thought, since any act which could be ~~is~~ considered pro-American was in Tule Lake looked upon with antagonism and suspicion. This differed in different blocks, since people from the Northwest were generally known to be more ~~is~~ pro-American than people from California. In more than one block, however, the writer has noticed that those who were able to~~

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1. ~~From memory~~ By K. Takeda, unrecorded

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All ~~the~~ Isseis who left Tule Lake, ~~did not~~ were not able to free themselves from the fear that they might be considered "disloyal" to their country. Many of them left in spite of such a fear. Those who were confident that they were doing the right thing by leaving Tule Lake, that they were just as "loyal" to Japan even if they did so, were observed to be most common among Isseis who were educated or intelligent enough to size up a situation for themselves instead of being influenced by what the majority of the people said or by rumors that were circulated. Others, of course, gave lip service to ~~the~~ rationalizations quoted above, ~~without being totally convinced~~ since they had chosen to leave Tule Lake for other reasons.

It is probably safe to generalize that a much <sup>larger</sup> ~~smaller~~ proportion of the Issei population was seized by a fear at one time or another that they would be considered "disloyal" to Japan than were able to rationalize their leaving of Tule Lake with confidence.

Summary In spite of the fact that the mass educational program was placed in competent hands, it was not entirely successful in dispelling ~~confusion and rumors which pertained to the colony~~ rumors. The confusion was ~~greatest~~ much greater among Isseis ~~who~~ than among Niseis. Individuals who worked closely with the administration, such as workers in the administration building, <sup>social welfare interviewers,</sup> and members of the planning board, were least confused by rumors. Those who did not have many contacts except within their own block were confused the most.

There was a realization on the part of the administration that the best policy to follow was to give the people as much information as possible. Those handling the segregation program expressed fear that if they were not careful they would meet with organized resistance from those who did not want to leave Tule Lake. Besides making every effort to disseminate as much information as possible, the administration was careful not to use any form of threat in order to carry out the segregation program. The segregation center was pictured as being not too different from any of the other centers. To carry out the mass educational program a speakers bureau, an <sup>information translation board,</sup> centers, Tulean Dispatch, pamphlets, and outdoor speeches were utilized. These means of communication were not suf-

Ward VII Rumor

On August 13 in one of the blocks in Ward VII <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ steward, an Issei, got up and made the announcement in the messhall before the block people which started a rumor which was never completely tracked to its source or completely refuted. He said that he had received a notice to appear for an interview, and was asked to sign a paper, which he refused to do. He was not quite sure what had been written on the paper, ~~but~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~asked~~ ~~to~~ ~~sign~~, he said, ~~but~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~asked~~ ~~to~~ ~~sign~~ ~~because~~ he could not read English. But he was sure that even if an expert read it, he would not be able to understand it easily. He thought that it was written in such a way that those signing such a paper and leaving the project would have to give up all claims to \$50,000 or \$60,000 of indemnity which was due them. Consequently, he asked the people to be careful of what they signed when they were called for an interview. The steward is also supposed to have mentioned: "It ~~also~~ says that you can stay here if you like." Some of the more vocal members of the block-- and there was a noticeable group of them--came to see a man who had received a notice for a social welfare interview, but ~~nothing~~ came of it. People in the block who had received similar interview notices ~~were~~ expressed fear of going for the interview, and some of them did not go.

The block manager, ~~of~~ an intelligent Nisei lawyer, was consulted about the matter, and he consented to look into the matter. However, he was heard telling the same story to someone in the block and was heard relating it at a ward meeting. The rumor spread, but no evidence of having

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any/having to sign a paper was discovered. The vocal group then began to say in a few days that from the second day the paper to be signed was not produced anymore, but to be careful because it might reappear again when the people did not suspect, possibly when they had to sign for their baggages, since people usually did not trouble to read things then. The administration suspected that the block manager, who was known to be bitter and resented the WRA administration, had "planted" the rumor, but nothing ~~happened/was/done/about/the/matter/~~ could be found to prove it. <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>  
1. JS Journal, August 16, 1943, ~~#13~~ #3

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sort of  
On August 19 the same/rumor was still floating around, and the Planning Board was trying to get hold of all papers which evacuees were required to sign in order to clarify the rumor. The rumor now stated that all those who did not sign a certain paper were not allowed to leave the project and that two men had been taken off the stage for this reason. The Leave Office claimed that those leaving were not required to sign anything. Carter, who was trying to track this rumor down, was at a loss to know what to do, since if he published a statement that the people were not required to sign anything, they would refuse to sign a document that had to be signed some time in the future. Consequently, the rumor was never completely refuted, but it was soon replaced by ~~others~~ more current rumors. <sup>2</sup>

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2. JS Journal, August 20, 1943, #9

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The educational program included more than is discussed in this section. Individual interviews given by the Social Welfare Department, for instance, was conceivably a process of getting the views of the administration to the people. The mass meeting held by the segregation committee too was a part of this program. For the sake of convenience, however, this section is limited to the initial period up to about August and to the attempts to influence the people through mass education.

Reaction of the People

*(to the educational program)*

The educational program ~~also included~~ included more than was discussed in this section. Individual interviews given by the Social Welfare Department, for instance, was ~~a part~~ conceivably a process of getting the views of the administration to the people. ~~The mass educational program~~ *The mass meeting held by the segregation committee too was a part of the program.*

~~was~~ discussed in this section, however, ~~was~~ ~~the~~ constituted the bulk of the attempt to get evacuees to view segregation in a certain way. ~~This~~ *The mass* educational program could hardly be expected to succeed completely in all of its phases, because some of the material to be presented ~~often was not~~ contained germs of confusion, aside from the confusion which would result from difference in outlook between the administration and evacuees, difficulty in translation, lack of communication facilities, ~~etc.~~ rumors, etc. In stating more precisely at this time to what extent the mass educational program succeeded or failed, it will be convenient to note especially three points which the administration had in ~~presenting~~ *mind to present:*

1. Reasons for segregation
2. Basis for segregation
3. Nature of segregation center

Although some evidence have already been produced to show that the educational program ~~did not succeed completely~~ was not completely successfully, the whole field will be reviewed, this time from the standpoint of the evacuees.

*For the sake of conciseness, however this section is limited to the initial period and to the attempts to influence the people through mass education.*

Reasons for Segregation

From the very beginning of the segregation program the popular explanation of the ~~segregation~~ program among the evacuees was that it was a means to reduce the number of people in the centers. One explanation was that if it were determined that an evacuee were loyal, the WRA would use that as a good excuse to ~~se~~ disclaim the right to hold them within a center. There was also the claim made by the administration that if the disloyal were placed in one camp it would make it easier for the loyal ones to be accepted on the outside. Others merely bluntly stated that those in Tule Lake would be allowed to stay for the duration, but that those in other centers would be forced to leave it sooner or later~~ly~~ while the war was in progress. The remark ~~was/very/of/~~ that <sup>the</sup> WRA wanted to get rid of the evacuees was very often heard throughout the segregation period. Many persons considered themselves burdens of the government, and also felt that the WRA was trying to reduce this burden as much as possible. In spite of the fact that the administration denied this popular explanation time and again, it continued to be the most popular explanation of the segregation program. This theory was presented first by the most vocal ~~member~~ and argumentative individuals within the Colony, and then generally accepted by a large number of Isseis and some Niseis. This explanation was especially popular among those who wanted to stay in Tule Lake.

Another explanation which was not loudly voiced and heard only infrequently was that segregation was a

punitive measure for those who had chosen to put themselves down as disloyal during registration. Such expressions as:

"It serves them right."

"They should have known it was coming."

expressed by those who had answered "yes" to Question 28, revealed that they considered the segregation program a

It should be remembered ~~generally~~ ~~punitive~~ measure.

*As for claims made by the administration*

had been broken down. The fact that some who favored registration voiced <sup>such</sup> ~~their~~ opinion ~~openly~~ ~~that~~ as quoted above openly, showed that the gulf between the two groups still remained. On the other hand, even those who favored registration and who suffered ~~because they had been~~ by being considered a traitor of the people around him did not express the opinion that the segregation program would bring about any improvement. On the contrary, many expressed the belief that it would only cause more trouble for the people.

The claim of the administration was that the segregation program was for the benefit of the evacuees themselves. This most people did not believe. The administration also claimed that the ~~se~~ program was being carried out to enable those who wanted to be Japanese from those who wanted to be American, and many people found this acceptable, Others, especially Isseis, however, found this claim to be a source of confusion, as will be explained later.

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It should be remembered that the registration program split the Colony into two opposing factions--those who favored registration and those who opposed it. After the program was completed, however, many of those who opposed registration changed their minds, and also took steps to ~~change their stat~~ register or to change their answers. Consequently, by the time the segregation program rolled around much of the barrier ~~had been~~ between the two groups had been broken down. The fact that some who favored registration voiced <sup>such</sup> ~~their~~ opinion ~~openly~~ ~~that~~ as quoted above openly, showed that the gulf between the two groups still remained. On the other hand, even those who favored registration and who suffered ~~because they had been~~ by being considered a traitor of the people around him did not express the opinion that the segregation program would bring about any improvement. On the contrary, many expressed the belief that it would only cause more trouble for the people.

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the loyal from the disloyal.

Basis for Segregation In explaining the basis for segregation, the administration confused the issue by presenting several viewpoints at the same time. First, it attempted to avoid the use of the words 'loyalty' and 'disloyalty' ~~and substitute Isss/~~. Then it ~~stated~~ assumed that the ~~Isss/~~ people had already made a choice of "loyalty" ~~of~~ by their acts during the registration period. Thirdly, it treated Niseis and Isseis alike.

In spite of the fact that an attempt was made by the administration to avoid the use of the words 'loyal' and 'disloyal', they were written into official statements and notices, which reached the people. In spite of the explanation that those who remained in Tule Lake were ~~those~~ who "preferred to be ~~America/~~ Japanese," most people understood that the issue at stake was loyalty or disloyalty to two nations at war. To Niseis this was not puzzling, and ~~accepted~~ this fact without protest. Kibeis, too, did not question the appropriateness of segregating on the basis of loyalty ~~or disloyalty~~ to a country.

It was among the Isseis ~~there~~ that there arose a great deal of protest concerning the basis of segregation. In the first place, they felt that it was unfair to assume that they had made a choice of "loyalty" or "disloyalty" to one country or the other. After all, as they pointed out, they had only promised to obey the laws of the United States when they answered 'yes' to Question 28. At no time had they ~~said~~

stated that they would be "loyal" to the United States or "disloyal" to Japan. As one Issei said:

"Of course, we Isseis are considered disloyal (to America) even if we answered 'yes' to Question 28, aren't we?"<sup>1</sup>

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1. JS Journal, July 22, 1943, #11

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Time and ~~again~~ at discussions and meetings it was brought up that it was unfair to Isseis to consider them "loyal" or "disloyal" when they were citizens of Japan and were not eligible for citizenship in this country.

Even when the words "loyalty" and "disloyalty" were not used, it was implied that Isseis had a choice in either staying in Tule Lake if they wished, or leaving it. This choice was implied in such statements by the administration as: "Those who prefer to be Japanese." Many Isseis objected to the fact that only two in Group II were to have hearings and those in Groups I, II, and III did not. Many Isseis claimed that it was ~~not/fair/~~ unfair not to allow a hearing to Isseis who had not had a chance to express their real sentiment. When it was pointed out to them that this was the regulation or that if a choice were allowed them too many of them would stay only to avoid the trouble of having to move, many Isseis explained the situation away by making such remarks as:

"Of course, the WRA is trying to get as many people out of Tule Lake as possible. If ~~we~~ stay in Tule Lake, they won't be able to get us out of the center, which they could do if ~~they~~ we went to another center."

~~Some Isseis were willing to leave Tule Lake~~

~~In~~ On the other hand, one argument which succeeded in allaying the fears of Isseis was that they really had no choice in the matter of leaving or staying in Tule Lake. ~~7~~ Those in Group III and IV had neither pledged their loyalty to America or had signified in any way that they were disloyal to Japan. Consequently, if they were forced to leave Tule Lake, it could not be taken to mean that they were signifying their disloyalty to Japan. To those who wanted to leave Tule Lake, then, the lack of choic~~s~~ was something desirable in relieving them of any responsibility in the matter. Consequently, some of those who could not quite make up their minds whether to go or not, were willing to be ~~pushed~~<sup>forced</sup> out, but did not want to go of their own volition.

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The use of the words 'loyal' and 'disloyal' towards Isseis just as it was being used toward Niseis confused Isseis. They understood that Niseis could be expected to be ~~to~~ "loyal" to America or "disloyal" to Japan since they were citizens of the United States, even though their rights were restricted. However, ~~they~~<sup>Isseis</sup> were ~~they~~<sup>different</sup>, they felt, since they were Japanese citizens and were not eligible for American citizenship. To an Issei 'loyalty' or chusei was a fixed relationship between a subject and his ruler, or a citizen and his country. Consequently, he could only conceive of his ~~loyalty~~ being considered 'loyal' only to Japan. As one evacuee leader explained:

"Chusei" is a good and practically the only translation for "loyalty." But the same term has tremendously different connotation in the mind of Issei, due to the traditional ethics of Japan, in which Patriotism is the center of morality. Right at this point we are dealing with the fundamental difference of national constitution between U.S. and Japan.

In the traditional Japanese ethics "Chu" and "Ko" are the two highest virtues and at the same time the basic principles of moral life. "Chu" ~~and~~ is the loyalty to one's ruler and is applied for household master, feudal lord, or national ruler, that is Emperor.

"Ko" is the filial loyalty and is used only in reference to parents. Furthermore, it must be noted that according to the traditional teachings, the highest type of "Ko" is found in the absolutely unqualified "Chu", namely to the mind of Japanese the nation comes before the Family, and one can be loyal to his own parents only by way of being loyal to his nation.

The term for Nation or County is Kokka (Koku - ka) "koku," meaning "country" and "ka," meaning "family" or "home." The underlying idea is that the Nation is one big family of which each individual family is a small part. Without the country there can be no individual family existing. Therefore, to obey one's parents and forget his duty to the ruler of the nation is as a matter of principles an unethical conduct. Whenever conflict exists between loyalties to the Nation and to the parents, one must choose that toward the Nation and by so doing he is attaining to the highest type of "ko" to his parents even against their will, wish or desire.

It is, therefore, extremely important to note that "loyalty" in the sense of "chusei" is more of a collectivistic virtue than a personal one.

In the mind of Issei, "Chusei" is not a matter of personal choice or preference as to which country he should be loyal, but as a member of the country and no other country whatsoever. This means just one thing in reference to the Issei under the present circumstances, namely as long as they cannot be and are not American citizen they cannot pledge their "Chusei" to America. And it is not a matter of their personal choice either. ~~Most of them~~ ...To be labelled "loyal" to America means, as far as a Issei is concerned, that he is not only "disloyal" to his country but he is "immoral" and as such is put to shame by all his friends.<sup>1</sup>

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1. WRA Terms by D.K. See Appendix \_\_\_\_\_

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Some Isseis protested the fact that the words "loyal" and "disloyal" were used toward them and insisted that this was inappropriate. They said that it applied to Niseis, but not to Isseis.<sup>1</sup>

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This stir that was caused among Isseis did not affect them all in the same way. Some Isseis willingly accepted the fact that they were considered disloyal to America. Others feared that they would be considered ~~loyal to America~~ and ~~consequently~~ disloyal to Japan. Still others were confident that even though they left Tule Lake they would not be considered disloyal to Japan.

The ones who declared that they were loyal to Japan ~~while~~ were largely those who ~~were~~ had decided to stay in Tule Lake. Many of them ~~were~~ <sup>boasted</sup> ~~pride~~ of the fact that they were showing their "loyalty" to their country by staying. Some taunted those who were leaving by telling them that they were going to be considered "disloyal" by Japan. Some said that if they stayed in Tule Lake they would be rewarded by Japan after the war with indemnities, while those who left Tule Lake would be less likely to receive them, or would not receive them at all.<sup>1</sup>

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1.

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By and large it can be said that a large number of Isseis who remained in Tule Lake were willing to accept the view that those who stayed in Tule Lake were "loyal" to Japan. In this group irresponsible bachelors, the uneducated and unsophisticated, and "latrine philosophers" were noticeable.

A great number of the other Isseis, especially those who had not made up their minds definitely to stay in Tule Lake, were the ones who were disturbed by the stand taken by the administration. They were the ones who expressed fear that they might be considered "disloyal" to Japan if they left Tule Lake, who were relieved to hear that actually they had ~~had~~ no choice at all in going or in staying, who answered 'no' at the segregation hearing, but were willing to go to another center if they were forced to. They were more likely to be ~~family~~ Isseis with family responsibilities, accepted in the community, ~~as a serious accepted~~ making very little trouble for others, not highly educated, but capable of making <sup>fairly good</sup> ~~good~~ judgments. Of this group some stayed ~~and others~~ in Tule Lake and others ~~left~~ left.

Finally there were some ~~who~~ Isseis who did not ~~think~~ ~~in Tule Lake~~ believe that leaving Tule Lake would make them "disloyal" to Japan or that staying in Tule Lake necessarily made them "loyal" to their country. ~~Such an individual~~ Members of the Planning Board, ~~most~~ who left for other centers, did not think that being in one center or another made them "loyal" or "disloyal" to their country. Mr. O., ~~who~~ ~~represented~~ an educated man without a family, took out repatriation papers, but he did not believe that the Isseis who chose to stay in Tule Lake were any more "loyal" to Japan than who left it. Mr. S., educated, ~~with speaking~~ a former insurance salesman, felt that the mission of the Isseis lay

SR- ~~IV~~-IV-48

in staying in this country, and being true to America, if necessary.<sup>1</sup>

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1. JS Journal, August ,1943

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Mr. T., crafty, ambitious, troublemaker, with a wife but no ~~in defending the stay~~ children, ~~expressed the opinion~~ who opposed registration, but planned to leave the project, defend~~ed~~ his change of stand by declaring that "loyalty" or "disloyalty" did not concern Isseis. They were individuals who were educated or intelligent enough to analyze the situation for themselves and not be swayed by emotion or rumors.

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement

#### A. Introduction

As we have already seen, the official issue of the segregation program was the separation of those considered "loyal" from those identified as "disloyal." It was seen that many residents accepted the usage of the terms "loyal" or "disloyal"--chusei or fuchusei, while others protested against the application of such terms <sup>under</sup> ~~in~~ the circumstances. ~~Moreover~~ However, many of the residents had read into the attempt of the administration to determine loyalty of evacuees what they considered to be the real issue at stake. It was widely believed among colonists that the main reason for having a segregation program was to force those who professed to be loyal to leave the <sup>relocation</sup> centers. The educational program, even though far superior to that which preceded the ill-fated registration issue, did not succeed in dispelling the minds of residents of <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ notion that the determination of loyalty or disloyalty as such was not the issue at stake. Resettlement or the possibility of forced relocation, then, to many residents were the real issues in the segregation program.

In certain respects evacuees who believed that resettlement was the main issue at stake <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ right. It was the resettlement program which necessitated the certification of those leaving the center as "loyal." The creation of the combat team and the

~~ByxResett~~  
Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--2

~~xxxxxxx~~ laying of the foundation for the eventual drafting of all evacuee citizens ~~xxx~~ <sup>were</sup> primarily motivated by the desire to increase the acceptance of evacuees in outside communities.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Morton's report.

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WRA's increased emphasis on resettlement eventually <sup>led</sup> ~~lead~~, as many evacuees had feared, to forced closure of all centers occupied by the so-called "loyal" residents. Even though many residents treated the official reason for segregation far too lightly, they were able to guide their behavior according to what they considered to be the crux of the ~~issue~~ <sup>matter</sup>--resettlement.

With the exception of a handful of evacuees, mostly Nisei, the WRA found it necessary ~~to~~ in carrying out its resettlement program to coax them to leave/ the center. In the spring and summer of 1943, following the registration crisis, and even during the segregation program, ~~specialxxx~~ the administration made special efforts to encourage relocation to outside communities. The failure of the resettlement program to attract many families to leave the center contributed <sup>their</sup> directly to/remaining in Tule Lake, even by professing "disloyalty." Why~~x~~ were evacuees so reluctant to leave relocation centers? ~~-Tule Lake in particular?~~ Why did not more accept the opportunity to walk out of the front

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--3

to go  
gates of the camp, where freedom of movement awaited them?

In this section an attempt will be made to show attitudes supporting reluctance to relocat~~ing~~<sup>ing</sup>. The attitudes of those who decided to resettle will be treated in a separate section. Later the ~~attitudes~~ influence of attitudes toward resettlement on the loyalty-~~isik~~ issue will be shown.

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--4

#### B. Attempts to Encourage Resettlement

During the spring and summer of 1943 the rate of relocation was steady, but not high. (Quote figures at this point.) The segregation program, which was announced in July, was not allowed to interfere with the relocation program. In fact, a special effort was made in Tule Lake to relocate as many evacuees as possible rather than to have them proceed to another center. The response to this increased emphasis was favorable generally on the part of the Nisei only, while among other residents it only served to deepen the conviction that WRA was preparing to force evacuees out of the center after the completion of the segregation program.

One of the first resettlement program which coincided with the beginning of the segregation issue was a forum by the Recreation Department on the subject of condition on the outside. The forum was conducted by the Nisei section of the Recreation Department, ~~and~~ <sup>which</sup> had ~~the~~ chosen relocation as a topic for the first time. The forum was held at the outdoor stage on ~~the~~ ~~stage~~ of July 20. The forum, unlike others, ~~was~~ included entertainment and a speaker in Japanese, and attracted some Issei and Kibei, as well as the usual Nisei crowd. It was possible that the topic of ~~the~~ ~~condition~~ condition on the outside held special interest for those who took the trouble to attend. The speakers were Shuji Kimura (technically an Issei) and Alice Mukai, who spoke

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--5

in English for the benefit of the Nisei, Dr. Tonness, a Christian minister visiting the project, and Ken Yasuda, an educated Kibei, who addressed his remarks to the older people. The general theme of the speakers was that the outside was not dangerous, that ~~it~~ dispersal of Japanese throughout the United States was to be welcomed, that evacuation offered opportunities to seek one's fortune throughout the country, and that everyone should relocate as soon as possible. Antagonism against the speakers was evident on the part of some of the audience. Some began to clap their hands prematurely-- a ~~gesture~~ gesture ~~implying~~ implying dissatisfaction with the speech. Others directed derogatory remark at the two ~~speakers~~ who spoke in English. ~~Some of the remarks heard were:~~

~~He's too young yet....You can't expect young kids~~

An Issei was heard muttering:

"He's too young yet."

When Alice Mukai started to give her speech sitting down, someone was heard shouting in Japanese:

"Get up and make the speech."

Watanabe, a Kibei working for the Planning Board, related a criticism against the speakers that he had heard:

I heard someone say that all the speakers did was to tell people to go out without telling them what the conditions on the outside ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> actually like.

Shirai, Issei and ~~Executive~~ Executive Secretary of the Community Council criticized:

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--6

You can't expect young kids like them to go out and observe outside conditions accurately.

Ken Yasuda was careful not to give opinions of his own strongly favoring relocation, and escaped extreme criticism. Dr. Tonness was outspoken in ~~his~~ advocating leaving camp, but was applauded. The forum clearly indicated that interest in relocation on the one hand was met on the other with ~~signs of resentment~~ opposition.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal, 7/22/43 1.

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Another relocation speech was made by a Christian minister~~s~~ on a Sunday evening, August 2 15. Father Dai had made a two month tour of the country, and was prepared to encourage residents to relocate. The group that he spoke to was largely made up of church followers, and listened to what he had to say quietly. ~~Christians as a group were most likely to agree/on the wisdom of relocating.~~ ~~and of dispersing throughout the country~~ ~~fair~~ with their leaders Father Dai pointed out the/adjustment being made by those who had already relocated, and advocated relocation for others. Within the Christian circle Father Dai ~~was~~ Dai ~~very well received, and his~~ advice on relocation was fairly well received, judging from the higher rate of relocation among Christians than among Buddhists. (Substantiate with statistics.) In other circles his speech was considered a rather bold act in view of the resentment toward those who openly advocated relocation. Nishida, a Buddhist, praised Father Dai for the bravery he showed in advocating relocation:

## Segregation Report

### V. Resttlement--7

As Nishida later mentioned, Father Dai certainly had courage to urge people to consider the advantages of living on the outside. Nishida said that anyone who dared to speak openly for relocation in that way would be considered an inuu. He admired Father Dai because he was thinking of the ultimate good of the people.

Whenever relocation was mentioned, there were also evidences of opposition.<sup>1</sup>

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#### 1. J.S. Diary, 8/16/43 #4

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During August the WRA made a special effort to relocate evacuees from Tule Lake before they were sent to other centers. It was an attempt to utilize the necessity for a large number of families to move <sup>(to advantage)</sup> ~~for~~ to further resettlement on the outside. It was believed that families which did not want to experience again the trouble of packing belongings and moving might be persuaded to move on to the outside rather than to another center. A number of relocation officers from offices in various parts of the country arrived ~~ix~~ early in August with offers of the choicest jobs in their possession for Tuleans. They interviewed evacuees desiring information about the outside. They put up special photographs and posters in the Placement Office, encouraging ~~resettlement~~. Pamphlets describing jobs and conditions in the Middle West were made available to evacuees. Movies were shown in various parts of the project, under the title of "This Is America," to increase confidence on the part of residents who feared the unknown. When the relocation officers left at the

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--8

end of the month they announced that "more than 500 Tuleans" had ~~xxx~~ made plans to relocate directly rather than proceed to another project.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tulean Dispatch, 8/27/43

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The difficulty experienced by relocation officers in showing the movies of "This Is America" series illustrated the subtle manner in which resistance to resettlement operated. Barber, who was in charge of the movies, was desirous of having evacuee guidance in proceeding with his program. He believed that since fear of the outside was the main reason for the general reluctance to relocate, movies of conditions on the outside would serve to counteract this fear. At a meeting with evacuees leaders of the Recreation Department, he said:

The primary barrier to relocation is fear, fear of the unknown. People who lived in one section of the country don't know the conditions in another.\*

~~xxxxxx~~ Evacuee recreational leaders, mostly Nisei, had been criticized for sponsoring the forum on conditions on the outside, and did not want to sponsor the movie program. The Movie Department did not want to show the films in the series because they were not sufficiently entertaining, and they did not want to be criticized by those ~~attending~~ who paid to see the movies. Scenes showing work on the outside as a means of helping the war effort, <sup>some</sup> leaders ~~xxxxxx~~ feared, would cause resentment among residents. Some of the evacuees did

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--9

not believe that the films of scenes in the Middle West and East would be helpful in encouraging relocation.

Consequently the relocation officers ~~found it necessary~~ did not succeed in having the Recreation Department sponsor the movies on a ward basis, but instead held them in three different parts of the community.<sup>1</sup>

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1. ~~August 11, 1943~~ J. S. Journal 8/11/43, 8/12/43 #2

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The increased emphasis on relocation during the spring and summer of 1943 attracted some evacuees but repulsed others. Some seriously considered the possibility of relocating. Many were passive. Still others showed definite reluctance to leave the center. The emphasis on relocation had one consequence which was detrimental to the segregation program. It lent credence to the rumor that the WRA was primarily interested in reducing the population within the centers.

C. Considerations for Relocation

The attitudes of those who relocated from Tule and Lake ~~and~~ other centers will be described in another section. Here it will only be necessary to cite a number of examples to show the attitude of those who timidly considered the possibility of relocating. Some relocated. Others found the pull from the outside not strong enough to counteract the impulse to remain.

Soon after the registration crisis had subsided there were signs that <sup>some</sup> residents had changed their opinion with regard to strong statements <sup>they made during the crisis</sup> about not wanting to leave the center or not caring whether they lost their property. Some of the residents noticed that others were considering the possibility of relocating, and made comments which showed that they too were moved somewhat to consider the advantages of working on the outside. Mrs. Ishizuka, a ~~woman~~ <sup>woman</sup> ~~xxxxx~~ Kibei/married to an Issei, commented without ~~xxxx~~ showing bitterness on those contemplating relocation.

They think it is better to go and make some money rather than staying in a place like this, if by farming 15 acres they can be deferred from the draft.

She was evidently referring, ~~to~~ among others, to the Nishidas, who lived in the same block, who were contemplating relocation. The family had two sons of draftable age, one of whom was ~~already in~~ <sup>attending</sup> college.

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--11

George Kakiuchi had experienced extreme emotional strain during the registration crisis. He lived in Block 51, where he had friends from Placer County, where his family had a fruit farm. He was torn ~~between~~ by an attempt to cling to a number of conflicting loyalties. His parents were fearful that if he answered "Yes" to Question 28 he would be drafted into the Army and he would be lost to them forever. Many of his friends in the heat of the crisis, ~~which~~ refused to register, and some of them were picked up and sent to a separate isolation camp. Within himself he had been torn between the urge to protest against the injustice of the registration program and a desire to retain his status as a loyal citizen. During the height of the crisis he and his family decided that the only solution was to abandon their hopes of returning to their farm and to be prepared to return to Japan. George was prepared not to register and was ready to be sent to jail, possibly for 20 years. His parents, fearful of the consequences of imprisonment, persuaded him to register. George registered "No, no" against his will to satisfy his parents. After the crisis was over the Kakiuchis decided that they had been in error, and George ~~answered~~ changed his answer to "Yes, yes" and applied for a leave clearance. <sup>(All along had</sup> George desired to leave the center to attend college, ~~which accounted for his application for leave clearance.~~ When segregation rolled around, his leave clearance had not arrived on the project. In spite of the fact that <sup>his mother</sup> ~~she~~ desired to have

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--12

George ~~Frank~~ go on with his college education, she expressed the fear that it would be dangerous to allow him to leave the center alone. She was also still afraid that if he left the center his chances for being drafted later on would be greater. To the Akiuchi family relocation involved both college education and the draft, one of which they desired and the other they dreaded. Nothing was done about George's education even after they were transferred to ~~the~~ Minidoka.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Frank's registration report. Also J.S. Journal 3/14/43, #4a, J.S. Diary 7/1/43 #3

Frank Nishida and Kazumi Okamoto illustrated the attitude of Kibei who were beginning to adjust themselves in this country. Both of them were about 22 years of age, and had been in this country for about five years. Both had attended school during that period, and were able to speak English with some fluency, even to the point of being able to teach it later to Issei. Even though they had acquaintances among Kibei as a whole, they limited their intimate contacts to ~~student~~ those with student interests as themselves and associated also with Nisei. In this respect Frank had succeeded in adopting Nisei ways to a greater degree than Kazumi-- who learned to ~~be~~ jitterbug and attend dances. Frank was ~~more~~ less ~~extroverted~~ ~~extroverted~~ less ~~extroverted~~ submissive than Kazumi in behavior and he was not hindered in adopting Nisei ways by his parents, who were in Japan.<sup>1</sup> ~~Check on~~

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1. Check on Okamoto's family.

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--13

Frank Nishida and Kazumi Okamoto illustrated the attitude of Kibei who were beginning to adjust themselves in this country. Both of them were about 22 years of age, had attended middle school in Japan, and had been in this country for about five years. On arrival both had been disappointed with America, but gradually became accustomed to conditions here as they continued to attend school here. Both learned to speak English with some fluency, even to the point of being able to teach it ~~later~~ to Issei. Their association with other Kibei was limited to those with student interests as themselves, and they also had friends among Nisei. Although both had ~~succeeded~~ <sup>made progress</sup> in ~~making~~ adjusting themselves in this country, Frank made a greater stride than did Kazumi. Frank had learned to <sup>to dress smartly, to make acquaintance with girls, and jitterbug,</sup> ~~and~~ to attend dances. ~~Kazumi~~ He was less submissive than Kazumi in behavior and was not hindered in adopting Nisei ways by his parents, who were in Japan.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Check to see if Okamoto's family were in Tule Lake.

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In spite of this partial adjustment in this country they did not give up the idea that their real hope for success was in Japan, rather than here. During registration both had reacted similarly to the issue. They remained aloof from the activities of the Kibei bloc, and believed that they should register. Since the block in which they lived (Okamoto lived in Ward II) was not

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--14

strongly opposed to ~~registration~~ registering, they did so. Both answered "no,no," giving as their reason for doing so their intention of returning eventually to Japan. Also, they did not want to ~~do~~ <sup>sign</sup> anything which was against the Emperor. In regard to their future in Japan, however, they were not so optimistic. They knew that jobs were difficult to obtain there, and admitted that they did not see a good future for themselves even if they did return.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 3/5/43 #7

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Following the ~~g~~registration crisis Frank parted company with many of his Kibei friends. Some of the latter admitted that they had made a mistake by not registering or answering "no,no," but believed that they could not change their stand, once they had taken it.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Conversation with Hattie ~~X~~ Sakoda

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Frank decided that ~~F~~ for his own sake it was best to <sup>(stating willingness to serve if he were drafted.)</sup> leave camp to work or to attend school, He expressed the opinion that Kibei should relocate and obtain some training or education. He said:

I want to go out directly from here if I can. It's best to get an education or some training, rather than to stay in here. Most of my Kibei friends, however, are staying here. They don't see things as I do.

Frank changed his answer to Question 28 from "no" to "yes," and applied for leave clearance. Because he could not leave camp without a leave clearance hearing

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--15

he left Tule Lake for another center and relocated from there. His friend, Kazumi, remained in Tule Lake.<sup>1</sup>~~wikkk~~

1. J. S. Journal 8/7/43 #2, 8/9/43 #1

Tadashi Ikemoto's dominant characteristic was his submissiveness to the~~way~~ ways of his parents, and showed this in his changing attitude toward resettlement. He was about 23 years of age, and the only son in the family.<sup>1</sup>

1. Check. Acute need for Form 26 for case histories.

He was brought up in the Delta Region near Sacramento, and later moved to Sacramento~~w~~ where his parents operated a rooming house.<sup>2</sup> (Check) He was a serious student, and at the~~time~~ time of evacuation was attending the University of California. He had never been in Japan, but he was often mistaken by his associates as a Kibei. He spoke Japanese well, participated in ~~xxxx~~ Japanese oratorical contests, sponsored by the Buddhists, competing favorably with ~~xxxxxxx~~ Kibei. He spoke English, on the other hand, with decided ~~xxx~~ ~~skight~~ accent, which was common among those brought up in Japanese communities ~~x~~ in the Delta Region. His conservative nature was evident in his refraining from ~~xxxxxxxiatingxxixk~~ dating smoking, from ~~xxxxxxxiatingxxixk~~ girls, from dancing, all in conformity to the wishes of his parents. He had come to believe that Nisei had no future here in America, and that for those who prepared themselves a glorious career, unhampered by race prejudice awaited them in ~~x~~ the Orient. This idea was one which was fostered by his parents, as

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--16

well as other Issei. In line with this idea, he took courses in ~~Oriental languages~~ Japanese at the University of California and continued to take lessons in Japanese from an <sup>older</sup> educated Kibei in the center named Byron Akitsuki.<sup>1</sup>

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1. No evidence is available as to whether his determination to return to Japan was increased by the fact of evacuation and residence in a center.

---

Tad ~~xxxx~~ Byron made Byron's acquaintance at the Records Office, where they both worked as <sup>bilingual</sup> interviewers. Byron encouraged the belief that ~~Nisei~~ a Nisei's chance for success was greater in ~~Japan~~ the Orient.<sup>2</sup>

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2. This is only inferred from Byron's general behavior and background. See \_\_\_\_\_ for description of Byron Akitsuki.

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At ~~the~~ the time of registration, Tad, who lived in Ward II, registered, but answered "no, no/" to Questions 27 and 28. At this point he took a divergent stand from that of the majority of the Nisei in the ward. Tad argued that it did not matter whether he answered negatively to Questions 27 and 28 since he intended to seek his future in ~~Japan~~ the Orient, anyway. Several of his friends, who lived in Japan for a number of years, pointed out to him that His parents in addition had been concerned <sup>over</sup> of his possibility of being drafted if he answered affirmatively when he registered. Following the registration crisis, however, he sheepishly admitted to his friends that he had requested a change of answer.

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--17

One reason for this change of stand was the possibility of ~~teaching~~ obtain a teaching job at the University of Michigan as a Japanese language instructor. Here was an offer of employment from the outside, ~~x~~ which ~~x~~ seemed attractive ~~strong~~ enough to lead him out of the center. Several weeks later he reported that he could not teach Japanese because his parents were opposed to his working for the Army. He also said that his parents were against his relocating because of the possibility of being drafted. Several of his friends (Sakodas) were exasperated with his submissiveness. One of them advised him:

The only important consideration here is your own welfare. If you stay in here you're going to rot. You also stand the chance of being drafted, unless you go out to do farm work. If you go out to work you will be less likely to be drafted, and also you will have a chance to learn something. If you go out on your own conviction and even against the wishes of your parents, they are going to feel satisfied. You've got to make up your own mind on the matter./1

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1. J. S. Journal 4/13/43 #1

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Tad, however, was not favorably impressed with this advice to revolt against parental authority. He said that he might do farm work in order to leave the center, but he could not teach Japanese in an army program. When the segregation program rolled around, Tad was still desirous of leaving the center, but was persuaded by his parents to remain.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Ibid. 3/17/43 #3, 4/2/43 #1

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Attraction outside of the center had not been strong

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--18

enough to overcome resistance to relocation.

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--19

#### D. Inertia

For some of the residents the desire to relocate did not manifest itself simply because of their satisfaction with their existence in the center. They saw little reason for leaving the center, when they could satisfy most of their needs without doing so. For many life in the center was meant to be only for the duration, and they were ~~satisfied~~ content to wait in the center for the war to end. This phenomenon was most noticeable among the older people, ~~who~~ who did not want to ~~relocate~~ move, unless necessary. It was also noticeable among some of the younger people, who found life in the center not too unattractive.

While living conditions within the center were inferior to that which evacuees could find on the outside, most of them soon ~~became~~ became accustomed to the inconveniences. The food served in the messhall, for instance, was ~~not~~ often untasty, but most evacuees complained about it in a somewhat mechanical manner. ~~The summers at Tule Lake were hot, especially in the tar-papered barracks, but many residents admitted that they became accustomed to that, as they did to other sources of irritation.~~ A draftee who visited Tule Lake in May, 1943 said that he looked forward to meeting girls and also declared that the food served in the messhall was better than that served in the Army.

The only reason a soldier comes back to a relocation center is to look for a girl, he said.

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--20

He remarked that the food here was better than the food they ate in the Army camp. He said, "I don't see why you people want to leave this place."<sup>1</sup>

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#### 1. J. S. Journal 5/13/43 #1

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In a psychology class, attended mostly by Nisei in their early twenties, all of the 18 students declared that they did not feel bitter about having to live in the center. One student pointed out the fact that there were many new experiences that he could still get by staying in the center.<sup>2</sup>

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#### 2. Ibid. 5/2/43 #1

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This satisfaction with the daily routine of camp on the part of life ~~exists~~ some of the residents evidenced itself in reluctance to consider relocation. In the psychology class already mentioned in May only two of the 18 students signified that they desired to relocate. One of the students, a girl 19 years of age, had considered relocation, but was not particularly anxious to leave. Aside from the fact that her parents were opposed to considering such a possibility at all, she herself had written in her journal two months earlier:

My parents still won't let me go out, but I'm not in too much of a hurry. I am very particular and opportunities seem quite scarce. The types of employment I could accept are journalistic, secretarial, social, or attending college with some kind of a part-time job. So far I have not gone out of my way to find employment or enter college.<sup>1</sup>

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#### 1. Kiku Tomita Day by Day 2/1/43

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--21

When the Student Relocation Council suggested that she attend in Ohio or Iowa, she preferred to keep the matter quiet, rather than to reveal it to her parents and to have them protest against her consideration of leaving the project alone.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 2/18/43

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If registration had not ended up in enmity on the part of the majority of the residents toward those who initially supported registration, the number of persons who remained in the center ~~because of~~ through inertia would have been greater. Many of the Nisei were holding jobs with supervisory titles, ~~and~~ which in many cases actually gave them the type of experience for which they had been trained. ~~Max~~ Some of them had felt that they were contributing to the best welfare of the community. The manner in which they felt betrayed by the residents simply because they had upheld registration will be described more fully in another section. It was the crisis which had given them the impulse to relocate. For those who were not placed in such a predicament, the attraction of center life continued to make <sup>less</sup> the likelihood of ~~their~~ relocation. ~~xxxx~~

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--22

#### E. Fear of the Outside

On the part of many residents reluctance to relocate was accompanied by a fear of leaving the comparative security of the center. In general ~~these~~ <sup>this</sup> fears ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> greatly exaggerated, but ~~was~~ nonetheless strongly expressed. This was especially true of the older alien group, for whom their old age, their cultural barrier, their previous experience with the Caucasian group by and large served to make them fearful of the outside. A variety of reasons were often given by those reluctant to relocate to show that stepping out of the center was unwise, and ~~they~~ <sup>these reasons</sup> reinforced each other to give the impression that relocation was a risky venture. Of these reasons economic insecurity, the possibility of violence, the possibility of discrimination, and social insecurity were most often mentioned. The argument was that not only did the freedom of leaving the center have very little to offer to evacuees, it was fraught with danger. In the light of this ominous conception of the world outside of the center it was easy for residents to believe that the WRA was attempting to shirk their duration responsibility of providing for them within the center until the end of hostilities~~is~~.

Economic Insecurity Many of the residents considered it grossly unwise to leave the comparative security of the center for an uncertain life on the outside. While the possibility of earning enough to lay aside a savings

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### V. Resettlement--23

was acknowledged by some, ~~others~~ those with family responsibilities were likely to consider the difficulty of supporting a family on the outside. Even those with only one or two children believed that they could not get along on less than \$200 a month, and those with greater family responsibilities were inclined to believe that they could not afford to leave the center. What advantage was gained by higher wages and ease of obtaining a job, it was widely believed, was offset by increased taxes and living costs. The following conversation <sup>between</sup> ~~by~~ Kaya and Masui, Issei residents in Block 25, reflected the attitude of those who considered ~~the outside~~ it unprofitable for those with families to leave the center. Kaya, who had no children and had previously been ~~xxxxxx~~ working in a Caucasian home with his wife, agreed with Masui that those with families could not afford to venture out.

Masui: "It looks as though we have to move."

Kaya: "It's going to be freer in other centers. If you stay here you aren't going to be allowed to go out. In other centers you will be allowed to go to work without any permit and come back again."

Masui: "But they are going to deduct the maintenance for your family when you come back."

Kaya: "Sure, so that you won't have anything left even if you do go out. There's no advantage in going out because it's so hard to make a living. If you do domestic work, as we can, you can save a little, but if you have to support a wife or family on the outside now you won't have a cent left. I know a couple who just barely get along on \$200. The best thing to do is to go wherever they tell you to go and eat what they feed you. It can't be much worse than it is here. They feed you rice and fish, at least, and

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provide a bath for you."

Masui: "They say that because people find it hard to get along on the outside all the girls are becoming prostitutes. The Rocky Nippo warned the parents to be careful about their girls....But it's not good if you can't have freedom."

Kaya: "Freedom is a matter of heart. There's no barrier if you don't think about them. After all, this is war."<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 7/24/43 #2

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Fear of Violence Closely connected with the fear of economic insecurity was that of physical violence at the hand of people on the outside who were out to take revenge on any Japanese they saw. The number of actual incidents of violence had been exceedingly small, and in proportion the fear/<sup>of it</sup>among some of the older people within the project was large. On the whole evacuees were self-conscious of their skin-color in the presence of the majority group. The fact that a war was in progress/<sup>and</sup> that they had been rudely uprooted from their homes on the Coast and placed under military guard served to make them susceptible to stories of violence and possibility of it for those who ventured out. Even Kaya, who worked in a Caucasian home for many years, expressed the opinion that in addition to economic insecurity violence awaited those who planned to relocate.

Mr. Kaya insists that it's dangerous to go outside. He says, "When you're walking around a rock is going to come flying at you." He also points out that it is difficult to make both ends meet, and that it is foolish to have to suffer

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such hardship when one could just as well stay in a center.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/27/43 #5

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Fear of Discrimination While the fear of violence was most ~~strongly~~ evident among the older people, the fear of racial discrimination was more general. Very few residents, it could be said, were totally unprepared mentally for some discrimination on the outside. If they had not met with discrimination before evacuation, the ~~facts~~ <sup>circumstances</sup> of evacuation strongly pointed to discrimination on a mass scale. Why was it that the Germans and Italians--at least the aliens--were not interned, while even citizens of Japanese ancestry were corralled into relocation centers. The isolation within the center itself was likely to produce at least a sense of curiosity when evacuees ventured on the outside. They were likely to be on the lookout both for ~~xxx~~ kind and inconsiderate treatment as they ~~xxxx~~ made their way on the outside. ~~Within the center xxx/xxxxxxx xxxxxx~~ ~~except for xxxxxxxxxx~~ In some evacuees the fear of discrimination was a definite barrier to relocation. In fact, it was one of the most quoted arguments against cherishing America as a permanent place to call one's home.

The comments of a somewhat Americanized Nisei girl on hearing of a tense situation in Dayton, Washington, was indicative of an general attitude ~~of~~ toward the possibility of discrimination against persons of Japanese

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ancestry. She had said: "It doesn't matter where Japanese go, they'll always get kicked around."

The circumstances of the situation was not uncommon during that period.

George Kurose has written to his family that because of hostile feeling toward the Japanese in Dayton, Washington, he is leaving for Spokane, where he has an aunt. He was working in the fields for the summer until school began in the fall with other Japanese. The town has been alternately opened and closed to Japanese and Mexicans in the past, and was opened to them until recently. Since the return of soldiers from Attu, however, the feeling against Japanese has been high. Feeling that some incident might occur and because they could no longer stand the situation, three Japanese students left for Spokane because they were not working under contract.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/27/43 #11

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Mrs. Akahoshi, whose husband had operated a cleaner in Oakland, was thinking of relocating. She did not think in terms of returning to Japan, but ~~advised~~ advised Sakoda, who had received considerable education both in Japan and in America, to seek his fortune in Japan rather than in Japan. Sakoda expressed the belief that ~~these~~ ~~whxxwxxx~~ for Nisei who could not get more than a middle-school training in Japan it was better to remain in this country. Mrs. Akahoshi's answer was:

That's right. But the only trouble with this country is that you'll always be called a "Jap."

While circumstances demanded that she consider the possibility of relocation seriously, experience with race prejudice lead her to believe that there were greener

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in the Orient  
pastures for those qualified/where ~~discrimination~~  
~~not exist~~<sup>1</sup> presumably they would not meet racial dis-  
crimination.

1. Ibid. 8/4/43 #4

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The predicament of the Kaya couple indicated the relationship of their attitude toward Caucasians, the matter of segregation and of resettlement. Mr. Kaya was an Issei, about 50 years of age. Mrs. Kaya was a citizen, but brought up in Japan, and about ten years younger than her husband. Both had worked <sup>as domestics</sup> for a long time in ~~xxxxxxx~~ home, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ in Walnut Grove, California prior to ~~ke~~vacuation. Both had little direct contact with the Japanese community in the vicinity. Mr. Kaya was a believer in Seicho-no-  
Japanese  
~~xxx~~ le ~~xxx~~ had/associates with the same belief. Both had no children, and their ambition evidently was to save enough money by both working so as to be able to retire/~~and~~ comfortably. When evacuation tore them away from this pattern of living, they had not yet attained their goal of a comfortable savings. The Browns had been very sympathetic, and had promised them that they could return to their former jobs after the war was over. They wrote and sent gifts occasionally, and remained the Kayas' last link with the outside world.

At the time of registration Mr. Kaya remained fairly calm. He favored registration, but did not oppose the dominant sentiment in the block toward refusal to register. After the Block 42 incident,

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he <sup>seemed</sup> ceased the change in sentiment of many residents to one of fear of the consequences of refusal to register and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ successfully appealed to the block residents to register. He himself registered, and as an alien answered "yes" to Question 28. He advised his wife to answer "no, no," on the ground that she should be on the same side with him, an alien. Mrs. Kaya was never able to explain why she had answered in the negative except to say: "Well, my husband he toru (told) me tsu (to) ansa (answer) 'no.' I do as he say." She did not know whether her husband had answered "yes" or not.<sup>1</sup>

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1. ~~xxxx~~ Ibid. ~~7/17/43~~ 7/14/43 #1

Following registration the possibility of relocating to do domestic work entered their minds. The Browns had written to advise that for their own good they should stay in the center until the war was over. They themselves came to the conclusion that it was foolish to leave the security of the center during the war. However, with the announcement of segregation, they had to determine their future course of action. Because Mrs. Kaya had answered in the negative, she could change her ~~mind~~ answer and accompany her husband to another center, or her husband could stay with her in Tule Lake. They did not want to return to Japan immediately because they did not have enough saved up. On the other hand, they feared that if they proceed<sup>ed</sup> to another center they would

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be forced to relocate. If all the people on the outside were like the Browns, they said, relocation would not necessarily be unwise. However, Mr. Kaya was an alien, ~~xxx~~ and they believed that people on the outside might mistreat him on the streets. On the other hand, if they stayed in Tule Lake they would not be able to go out to work. Also, if they were classified as disloyal to the United States even people like the Browns might not ~~xxxx~~ welcome them back cordially.<sup>1</sup>

1. Ibid. 8/4/43 #5

It was during this period of tension that Mrs.

Kaya expressed an ambivalent attitude toward Caucasians. On one occasion she ~~express~~ compared her association with Caucasians ~~and~~ on the outside and Japanese within the center and spoke favorably of the former:

"Hakujin are easier to get along with because they say what they want to and don't hold resentment for a long time as do the Japanese. When I first came over from Japan, I was told that among Hakujins I should be free and not too reserved. Now I find that I'm too blunt at times for Japanese. I don't miss association with Japanese so much because I've never had very much of it since coming to this country."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/21/43 #2

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While she was still uncertain as to whether she was going to stay or leave, she spoke indignantly of the difficulty of getting along with Caucasians. Sakoda, who discussed ~~the xxxxxxxxxx~~ her problem of making a decision with her, recorded:

Kaya: "It doesn't matter in what sort of camp you are; you'll be housed and fed in the same way. I don't care where I'm sent, as long as they take care of me."

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Sakoda: "Well, for one thing, you won't be allowed to go out to work."

Kaya: (Becoming slightly heated) "Who wants to go out to work. You have to be watching out all the time because you're a Japanese. And it's hard to get along on the outside from reports that I have heard."

Sakoda: "I know, for some families it's hard to make a living. But for a couple like you who work in a home, you can't help but save money."

Kaya: "It's really not the work I mind so much, as the mental anguish you have to go through. You are constantly under a strain about what you say and, and it's going to be awful right now during wartime. I've worked hard up till now, and it's easier staying in a camp."

Sakoda: "I'm afraid that you have become lazy."

Kaya: "I tell you it's not laziness. My husband tells me that I don't have to work unless I feel like it. He knows that I've worked hard until now, and that if we go out I'll have to work hard again. Maybe, you don't know, but it's a very great strain trying to get along with a Hakujin. I remember when I still didn't know much English and had only started to work for the Browns. They wanted me to go to their summer house in Lake Tahoe. I didn't want to go, but I had to go along. I had to do a lot of work, taking care of the children, lighting the wood stove, getting breakfast, taking care of parties till late at night. I didn't get to sleep till about 11:30 every night. Then I asked for more roast beef to make another sandwich, and Mrs. Brown exclaimed, "Gosh." I didn't know English then, but I knew what she meant. I felt so bad that I wanted to go home.... I finally insisted on going home when Mrs. Brown went back to Walnut Grove to keep an engagement...They treated me much nicer after that, but I still remember it all.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/14/43 #1

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After Mrs. Kaya had her segregation hearing she ~~was~~ and her husband were placed on the removal list, and sent to Topaz. There they awaited the end of the war.

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Social Insecurity Another fear hindering relocation was what might be called social insecurity. Japanese, for the large part, had lived in clusters of families forming communities all along the Coast. Many of them had had ~~very~~ little contact with Caucasians. ~~Since~~ This was especially true of the older women, many of whom had had little occasion to meet many persons not of their own race. Relocation at this time meant leaving the camp for places outside of the ~~Western Defense Command~~ coastal restricted area, where their former homes ~~had been~~ were. The Middle West and the East were unknown localities to most evacuees, and places where they could not count on a Japanese community.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 3/17/43 #1

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While some of the younger people agreed with the WRA that dispersal of the Japanese throughout the nation would speed assimilation, the older people generally did not approve of the idea of scattering. Noboru Shirai verbalized the objection ~~of~~ to the dispersal policy in the following manner:

Dispersal is not a good policy. The only protection of a minority group is isolation. It's done by other racial groups in America, and there's no reason for picking on the Japanese alone.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Ibid. 7/22/43 #9

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This was added reason for believing that relocation was unwise.

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#### F. Desire for Security

That some residents were willing to ~~relocate~~ ~~if~~ work for their own living if it were not for the insecurity on the outside could be gathered by a number of ~~plans~~ ideas kept alive among evacuees. There was a general belief among them, for instance, that taking an indefinite leave meant not being able to return to the center. To overcome the handicap of uncertainty which this type of leave entailed, ~~some~~ many residents believed that it was much wiser to leave the project only on seasonal work. By so doing they would be assured of being able to return to the center, and thus not lose the security of the center. As an Issei explained:

I want to go out, but I think I'll go out to do seasonal work. I can earn some money and come back to the center again. I'd be in a fix if I went out and things didn't go right, and I wasn't allowed to come back here again.<sup>1</sup>

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1. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Ibid. 7/30/43 #2 , Mr. Kurose.

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Another plan which some evacuees favored was that of having some sort of factory set up within or near the project where evacuees would be able to work for prevailing wages. In a few of the centers camouflage net projects had been started, enabling evacuees to work for outside wages while living in the center. The creation of a tent factory was proposed in Tule Lake, but it was shelved with <sup>the</sup> increased emphasis on relocation. Mr. Ishizuka, an Issei, voiced the sentiment

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of those who desired to work ~~abroad~~ for outside wages while living in the center:

They ought to let us have a factory to work in on the outside of the center and pay us regular wages. Then everyone would work hard willingly.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/29/43 #2

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Another manner in which evacuees attempted to attain security in relocation was to have the assurance that they would be able to return to the center when they desired to do so. The WRA announced that its policy was to allow those who were unable to adjust themselves on the outside to ~~return~~ be readmitted to the center. Such a guarded announcement only ~~lead~~ residents to suspect that WRA really did not intend to allow many evacuees to return to the center once it succeeded in dispatching them into the outside world.

Still another complaint registered by evacuees was that the assistance ~~given~~ offered to evacuees relocating was much too little with which to face the uncertainties on the outside. The assistance consisted of a maximum of \$100 plus traveling expenses for each family, and most evacuees agreed that this was not sufficient to start life again in a strange city. While it was difficult to conceive of an assistance grant which would afford security to any relocating family, the demand for a larger amount than was ~~being~~ allowed indicated a sense of insecurity in the face of possible relocation.

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#### G. Fear of Forced Relocation

In the reaction to the educational program preceding ~~the~~ segregation it was shown that many of the residents interpreted ~~it as the first step to force these designated as "loyal" out of the centers.~~ This fear of forced relocation and the consequent loss of what security residents now possessed was not a ~~phenomenon~~ newly born phenomenon. The frequent rumors even early in the history of the project to the effect that people in Tule Lake were to be moved to another place was indicative of the deeply-rooted nature of this ~~attitude~~ fear. The increased emphasis on relocation on the part of the WRA early in 1943 brought to a sharper focus the ~~matter~~ manner in which evacuees were to be sent out of the centers with meager assistance. The registration crisis, involving the compulsory registration on leave clearance forms, gave increased credence to the belief that the WRA was preparing to take steps to deprive ~~citizens~~ residents of the security of the center. This fear of forced relocation became most evident during the segregation program at Tule Lake. <sup>More</sup> Examples of this interpretation of the segregation program will be provided later. Two examples will be cited here to illustrate the manner in which this interpretation was employed.

Following the registration crisis, residents speculated over the possibility of a segregation program. Some of those who had registered in the affir-

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affirmative believed that segregation would take place, and that those who were designated as "disloyal" would be placed in isolation camps/ and not be allowed to relocate. <sup>Some of</sup> Those who failed to register in the affirmative also believed that segregation would take place, but gave a different interpretation. They believed that those who registered in the affirmative and therefore were classified as "loyal" would be forced to leave the security of the center. In other words, they believed that those who registered in the affirmative, whether ~~Issei or citizens~~ <sup>aliens or citizens</sup> were going to ~~be~~ get the worse of the bargain. Mr. Kurose, Issei who answered in the affirmative, found this interpretation among a small group of fellow farm workers quite distasteful. ~~He~~

~~did not~~ Lately, the farmers have been working in the field. Surprisingly enough, Mr. Kurose says that most of the men work rather steadily. Of course, they take time off now and then to rest. There are a group of workers, perhaps, 10 or so, who don't do any work at all. This constitutes the extreme in the "resistant" group. All they do is to sit around and talk about war and politics. Their contention is that all those Niseis who registered and answered "yes" to Question 28 and Isseis who answered "yes" to Question 28 would be forced to leave camp. Those who did not register or who answered "no" to Question 28 would be gathered together in one camp. They have a tendency to refer to those who registered as having declared their loyalty to the U.S. Mr. Kurose objects to this interpretation, ~~but it does not~~ it does not fit with the facts. Evidently, he has been dragged into the conversation even though he doesn't like to talk about such matters, and he has found it necessary to uphold his viewpoint, that he did not declare his loyalty to the U.S., but only said that he would be a law-abiding person.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 5/28/43 #2

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In Block 25 Tanabe had been one of the leaders of the opposition to registration. When the block decided to register, however, he and his wife did so, too. He ~~decided~~ and his wife were placed on the removal list, and he decided not to attempt to remain in Tule Lake. When speaking with others, however, he ~~spoke~~ used the arguments of those who were determined to remain in Tule Lake. Since ~~xxxxxx~~ leaving Tule Lake meant a change of stand for Tanabe, it was evident that he was placed on the defensive when speaking to former associates. He was heard declaring:

We're going out. You can't help it because they won't let you change your answer from "yes" to "no." The purpose is to get people out of the centers; that's why they won't let you change your answer from "yes" to "no," although you can change it from "no" to "yes" readily. Some Niseis were attacked by Filipinos in Chicago, but the Government doesn't care if the Japanese die, as long as they get them out. In fact, they probably want the Japanese to die because they can't very well kill them off.

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1. Ibid, 7/28/43 #2

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It was seen that in the educational program the WRA was unable to counteract the belief that segregation would eventually lead to forced relocation. The unsatisfactory manner in which the nature and purpose of the segregation program was explained, the slips in translation<sup>s</sup>, the emphasis on relocating people even during the segregation program, the inability to assure residents that relocation would not be made compulsory--all contributed to the belief that those

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who left Tule Lake would be faced with forced relocation.

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#### H. Fear of the Draft

Another important reason for reluctance to relocate was the possibility of citizens being drafted if they did so. Whether selective service would be made applicable to Nisei was still a matter for conjecture. Many residents were inclined to believe the announcement of the War Department that those who did not volunteer but were considered ~~in~~ "loyal" would be inducted in due time. This selective service did not become a reality until January, 1944, and all during ~~1943~~ the summer and fall of 1943 it was a subject over which some residents argued without arriving at any definite conclusion. It was also open to question whether those who remained in a center or stayed in Tule Lake would be spared from being drafted on the ground that they were in a concentration center. Uncertain as these possibilities were, many residents nonetheless assumed that by not relocating or not leaving Tule Lake citizens could avoid being drafted. In many families this issue was considered important enough to overshadow such considerations as being classified "loyal" or "disloyal," their future status in the United States, the right to relocate. Many of the residents were inclined to believe that being drafted meant almost certain death. This was especially true of the older people, who had been taught to believe that soldiers leaving for a battlefield should not expect to ~~come back~~ <sup>return</sup> alive. ~~It~~ <sup>The belief</sup> was also enhanced by the fear that Japanese troops

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was almost certain to be discriminated against and even sacrificed at the front. The fact that farmers and farm workers were being given occupational deferment was not widely known in Tule Lake, and in some quarters this was being refuted.<sup>1</sup>

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#### 1. Ibid. 9/21/43 #9

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In the face of this possibility of citizens being drafted for the Army in the future, residents ~~had to~~ took different stands. Some declared willingness to stand the chance of themselves or their sons' being drafted, rather than to remain in Tule Lake or in the center. Still others believed that it was wiser to play safe and to remain in a center. ~~or in Tule Lake~~ During the height of the registration crisis many residents had refused to register or had taken out repatriation papers. Some had registered and later had ~~cancelled~~ their application for repatriation only after being ~~a~~ told that those who ~~failed to register~~ ~~affirm~~ registered "no, no!" would not be drafted. Those who desired to secure themselves against the possibility of later being drafted found it necessary to retain their "disloyal" status and to remain in Tule Lake as a segregant. They were forced to give up the possibility of relocating, and were even faced with that of being deported after the war. The latter possibility was not seriously considered by many of those remaining in the center as their decision was ~~based~~ on the more immediate considerations. Several examples will be cited to show the part played

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by the fear of the draft.

Stories of discrimination shown Nisei already in the armed forces served to dampen the <sup>ir</sup> enthusiasm to serve. Discrimination was also ~~xxxxxx~~ seized as reasons to cite for not being ~~xx~~ willing to volunteer or even to want to ~~xxx~~ be drafted. Of the stories of discrimination against Nisei in the armed forces, one of the more serious ones was that which occurred at Fort Riley, Kansas. Here several hundred Nisei ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and Kibei soldiers who had been drafted prior to evacuation were in training. When President Roosevelt (or was it Mrs. Roosevelt) visited the army camp, some of the Nisei troops were locked in their barracks and guarded by officers. Tom Mizuno, a draftee on furlough from Fort Riley, stated that he wanted to be loyal, but that it was difficult to show enthusiasm when they were treated so shabbily. He saw little reason why other Nisei should volunteer for the armed forces under the circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 5/22/43 #1

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A Kibei in his early twenties, working in a messhall, aired his opinion concerning resettlement. He had filed an application for repatriation along with others boys in the block in order to avoid having to register. Later he registered when others in the block decided to do so in order to avoid being punished. The fact that he did not want his repatriation request to become effective was indicated by his statement that he ~~thought~~ that/actually

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the repatriation blanks had not been sent to Washington and still remained on the project. He stated that he thought that those who relocated were not going to be allowed to return to the center and that they would stand the chance of being drafted. He did not think that he would be punished for the stand he took, and stated that he did not believe that segregation would take place.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 6/30/43 #1

In contrast to the Kibei above, Ray Mizuno, a Nisei, found himself ~~arguing~~ using the same arguments, but admitting that if it had not been for the registration, he would probably be out working now. Ray applied for repatriation and registered "no,no" along with others in his block. After the crisis he did as many other Nisei did and cancelled his repatriation. He was reluctant to take steps now to leave the center, which he would have done, he said, had it not been for the registration and subsequent changes. He was undoubtedly concerned about the possibility of being drafted.<sup>2</sup>

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2. Ibid.

Those who intended not to leave the center declared that those who did leave ~~would~~ would ~~probably~~ face ~~the~~ selective service. A lady who had decided not to leave Tule Lake was heard saying:

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Those of you who leave are going to have your sons drafted. They're going to draft Niseis some time between September and December this year.<sup>1</sup>

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#### 1. Ibid. 8/13/43 #3

The answers to such statements were illustrated by two Issei women, who were planning to leave Tule Lake:

Mrs. Kurose, who had a son in college, said:

Of course, we don't want to lose our sons in the Army. But when the time comes to give them an education, we don't want them to stay in a place like this.

Mrs. Sato with older children of her own said:

You don't have any son of age to go to school or to work. How can you understand our position.<sup>2</sup>

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#### 2. Ibid.

The Sofyes were from the Delta Region near Sacramento and had a son in his late twenties. While the latter was desirous of leaving Tule Lake to work on the outside, his parents were against such a step. Fear that their son would be drafted if they left Tule Lake played a major part in their stand against leaving the center. They repeated a rumor that those who answered "yes" were being ~~drafted~~ recalled and emphatically stated their stand against going to another center:

Nisei who were discharged from the Army are being recalled if they answered "yes." Some of them are scheduled to leave next Monday. Everybody's got to answer "no." We can't afford to go to other<sup>3</sup> centers and on top of that have Nisei drafted.

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#### 3. Ibid. 8/13/43 #3

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#### I. Desire for Reward

The danger of the outside was often exaggerated but all out of proportion to the facts, ~~and~~ compared to it the belief that remaining in Tule Lake would be rewarded by the payment of indemnities bordered on the fantastic. To believe such a possibility and be willing to gamble one's future status ~~x~~ in the country on it it was necessary to believe first of all that Japan was going to emerge ~~x~~ overwhelmingly victorious from the war in the Pacific. ~~and~~ The attack on Midway had ended in withdrawal, but Japan still held forces on Attu.<sup>?</sup> In the summer of 1943 it was still possible ~~to~~ for many residents to have implicit faith that the war would end soon in Japan's favor. Such a belief was reinforced by the shortwave news from Tokyo, which some residents managed to hear at frequent intervals. It was also aided by a flight into fantasy, which made some residents believe that evacuation, discrimination, ~~financial~~ deprivation and all other ~~difficult~~ personal difficulties would be solved in one clean sweep ~~by~~ through Japan's victory. Such individuals believed that in the event Japan won the war, they could count on substantial payments for the suffering they underwent ~~at~~ at the hands of the Americans. The frustrations that they had experienced and the lack of confidence that with their own hands they could go out and make a satisfactory adjustment contributed to the seeking of ~~relief~~ possible relief

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in another quarter where personal effort would not be required. It was common observation that it was those who had been relative failures before and who were without confidence of making a satisfactory adjustment on the outside who tended to believe in the possibility of a reward. The sum most commonly mentioned as representing this reward was \$10,000. More sensible residents, however, scoffed at the idea that a person would be rewarded just for remaining in Tule Lake, and consequently people refrained from mentioning their hope for it in public.

Kishiyama was in his forties, and was unmarried until shortly before evacuation. He had put off marriage in the belief that he should spend all his energy saving money on which he could ~~retire~~ retire to his hometown, but he had never been able to achieve this goal. He married a Kibei girl in her twenties, but after several years of marriage he still showed decided traces of ~~his~~ the habits he had acquired as a bachelor. In the block he had talked loudly against such ~~xxxx~~ measures as the theater project, and was not respected particularly by the rest of the block residents. During registration ~~theyxxxx~~ he and his wife had followed the rest of the block and he ended up by answering in the affirmative while his wife answered in the negative. Kishiyama was of the belief that it was best for evacuees to remain in the center and not go out even ~~to~~ on seasonal work. He expressed the belief to a neighbor that with the end of the war negotiations between Japan and America

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would result in "something."

If I were sure that I was going to live here in the U.S. and not return to Japan, then I'd go out and start working right now. Under those circumstances, that's the best thing to do. But after the war I expect that something's going to come out of the negotiations between Japan and America. That's why I'm not going out right now. ①

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1. Ibid. 6/26/43 #1

Y

Mr. Noda showed typical immigrant patterns of behavior. He still retained much of ~~his~~ the accent of the Hiroshima Prefecture. He had had little education, and his reading was generally limited to the vernacular newspaper. Five years ago he had visited his rural hometown, where he had a son and a daughter. He had another son in the Army, who was drafted when they were living in Los Angeles prior to evacuation. He had fled to the white zone, and from there had been sent to Tule Lake. He was working as a cook's helper in Ward V. Except for an occasional game of shogi, he had ~~xxxxxx~~ few interests. He listened to a shortwave set in the neighborhood, and took delight in tracing the trend of the war. His views were that of a latrine philosopher. He believed that Japan would win the war soon, and that it was unwise to relocate:

[The main thing is that the war's got to end soon. Japan will probably attack the mainland, but still I suppose it might take some time for Japan to win the war. America was sure dumb in thinking that she could beat Japan in a couple of months....She used China as a sort of practice ground for her Army. But America ~~is~~ was not smart enough to see that. She's losing all over the place. You can't believe the news you hear because all ~~Americans~~ the Americans do is to tell lies.

*read in the newspapers*

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V. Resettlement--46

One reason Americans are weak is that they don't have any guts. Take the registration, for instance, all the Japanese had to do was to stand firmly by what they thought was the right thing to do. Ordinarily we Japanese may be quiet and obedient, but when the right time comes, we stand our ground. Japan won't weaken now, because look at all the resources she has at her command, now.

The people in my block haven't registered yet, and they aren't going to do it either. <The only problem now is whether they boys are going to be drafted or not.> It's better not to change the answer and leave because they might draft you, the boy, and it's dangerous going out. Well, yes, it might be all right for single men to go out, but I wouldn't advise it. People with families can't go out, anyway. I'm staying for the duration. When the war's over I can go back to Japan. Of course, it depends on the kind of peace that is made, but America's losing the war.<sup>1</sup>]

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1. ibid. 4/27/43 #2

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Gonzo, an Issei, was formerly a successful farmer and worked on the hog farm. He was known to be talkative and to believe that Japan was winning the war. When he learned that his foreman was leaving Tule Lake for another center, he shook his head and said:

[Are you going to leave? Why don't you stay. If you leave you'll miss the Takara-bune (treasure ship) from Japan. <You ought to stay here and manage the hog farm.>

his  
<When/foreman, a Nisei, replied that he wanted to be where his friends were, Gonzo admonished: >

What's wrong with you Niseis is that you've got your hand on both objectives, Japan and America. If Japan wins you'd like to go to Japan, and if Japan loses you'd like to stay in America and make some money. Why don't you place implicit faith in Japan winning ~~this~~ this war, for she will.... After this war Japan will be a powerful nation, a nation of tremendous opportunities.] Even my boy is thinking about leaving for the South Pacific. If Japan loses this war, the Japanese people in

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--47

the U.S. will be a miserable sight.

Gonzo believed that while American news often lied about battle results, the Japanese broadcast never did.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/22/43 #3, 7/31/43 #4, Excerpt from G.S. Diary

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A young Kibei explained his future outlook. He had attended ~~Daiichi~~ the First Commercial School in Hiroshima, and left it before he graduated. He spoke very little English, and showed little ambition to learn anything in the center. He worked in the mess-hall and spent his spare time in ~~xxx~~ woodcraft work. He was one of the quieter Kibei in the block and did not cause others any trouble during the registration crisis. He believed that Tule Lake would be emptied for the benefit of wounded American soldiers. He advised against relocation on the ground that Japan would win a victory soon:

It's something like this. Tule Lake is a good place for wounded soldiers, because it is dry here and the wound heals easily. Also it is rather cool here, too. Therefore, when the wounded soldiers start coming back, they are going to want to put the soldiers in here....It is said in the newspaper that they are going to reduce the number of centers to two and reduce the budget to \$20,000.... I don't think the people going out exactly feel loyal to the U.S. when they go out. But I think it's best not to go out. There's been broadcasts from Japan saying that the Japanese people should stay inside the center. If you go out, then Japan will assume that you are loyal to the U.S. and they won't do anything for you. That's why I think it's ~~sk~~ better not to go out. ~~now~~ It was dumb of the administration to ask the Kibei ~~Nisei~~ to register. Even if we are put in jail, it'll only be for the

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--47a

duration. The war can't last very long now. America is going to be invaded soon. And when Japan wins they won't be able to keep us in jail. The trouble with the administration is that they think America is going to win.<sup>1</sup> ]

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1. Ibid. 4/18/43 #2

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## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--48

#### J. Opportunities in the Orient

The idealization of conditions in the home country which was left behind was a common pattern of behavior among immigrants. This was no less true of the Japanese in America as it was of other immigrant groups. Even after twenty to forty years in this country, ~~however,~~ the idea that a bright future awaited those with the right qualifications in the Orient did not fade away. ~~Part of this was again common in any immigrant group, but~~ with the Japanese there were reasons why this should be exaggerated. Most of the Japanese had lived on the Pacific Coast, where prejudice against Orientals was fairly strong. Most immigrants <sup>had</sup> to work hard at menial labor or small businesses in order to support their family. Their children that they sent to high school and often to college were often unable to find a job for which they were qualified. The Depression had meant hard work without the reward of savings ~~or~~ success for their children for which they had hoped. Evacuation had hit them just as ~~they~~ many of them were beginning to get back on their feet. Within the confines of a barbed-wire ~~fixx~~ fence the feeling that there was no longer any hope for success ~~forxxxxxx~~ in America was intensified. The thought of resettling in Java or Manchuria, where they would not meet with discrimination, was a passing fancy for many residents. For some it became the crux of their planning for the future. Unhampered by the necessity of earning a living from day to day, it was easy to believe in terms of boarding

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--49

an exchange ship or of returning to the Orient after the war.

The belief that a future awaited them in the Orient varied with the lack of assimilation to conditions in the United States. For this reason it was a phenomenon found less among Nisei than among Issei and Kibei. Many Nisei had little knowledge of the Japanese language or of things Japanese and consequently had no desire to leave the United States. Many Nisei, however, at one time or another played with the idea of seeking their fortune in the Orient, where they would be unhampered by race prejudice. ~~Many~~ Most Issei, while culturally not too well assimilated in this country, had attachments to it through their many years of residence, through their economic stakes, and through their children. Many of <sup>however,</sup> them, still ~~maintained~~ cherished the thought ~~that~~ of being able to retire to their hometown. The Kibei had difficulty in gaining acceptance among both Caucasians and Nisei, and most of them had not lived in the country ~~long~~ ~~en~~ very long to build up the economic interest that the Issei had done. This was especially true of the Kibei who was unable to acquire sufficient amount of American culture to adjust himself to this country comfortably. Where maladjustment existed, the thought of seeking one's fortune in the Orient was likely to exist.

To the extent that an evacuee thought in terms of seeking his future in the Orient the likelihood of his planning on resettlement outside of the center in this



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V. Resettlement---51

and mother did not have more than grammar school education in Japan, and spoke very little English. Masami had a younger sister, who resembled ~~xxx~~ <sup>their</sup> mother in being plump and not particularly attractive to other Nisei boys. Masami stuttered when he was small, and his father succeeded in curing him of it to the extent that he showed only slight traces of it. He grew up to be a somewhat withdrawn lad, lanky at first, but later developed ~~intoxaxaki~~ a strong physique. His interest in the Japanese language school, <sup>which he attended every Saturday</sup> was indifferent. In judo, however, he found greater interest, ~~andxxxxxx~~ ~~thexxixdexofthexxjuxdexinstuxetorxx~~ and was able to work his way up to ~~the~~ a san-dan, a high rank. This and his studies occupied most of his time. Prior to evacuation he attended the University of California at Los Angeles, taking courses in business administration. He differed from some of the other Nisei in the neighborhood in that he did not share their social activities such as sports, ~~and~~ dating, and dancing.

Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor the family moved to Sacramento, where Masami's uncle ran a cleaning establishment. The movement was evidently motivated <sup>partially</sup> by the fear of ~~th~~ complication with the FBI, since Masami's father had been an official of the Japanese language schools, some of whom were being picked up and interned. ~~H~~ In Sacramento Masami was urged by his uncle to take up <sup>the study of</sup> industrial chemistry to prepare to go into this business after the war. The two families

Segregation Report

V. Resettlement--52

were evacuated to Walerga and then sent to Tule Lake. Here Masami took a job as a fireman, and became known as one of the quieter boys in the crew. He spent some of his spare time taking a correspondence on industrial chemistry and reading. He had only begun to break away from his shyness sufficiently to take a girl out on a date.

*well* [At the time of registration Masami had to contend with his parents and with his block. His parents firmly believed that there was a good future awaiting Nisei in Japan, and expounded this idea to Masami. His block *[which?]* wavered between not registering and doing so, and ended *after several dinners,* up by *to joint* ~~deciding that registering~~ *of its result.* ~~was the wiser course.~~ Masami was not *then vacillated between* ~~sure whether he should register in the~~ affirmative or *and* ~~in the~~ *answer* negative. He had toyed with the idea of leaving the center to attend college or to take a job as judo instructor. ~~Although he did not register~~ *A relative warned him not* to register in the affirmative because he would be ~~it, he stood the chance of being drafted if he answered~~ *in the affirmative* ~~drafted if he did.~~ He began to think more in terms of seeking his future in the Orient. His uncle *judged that they had* ~~strongly~~ *resources, and* ~~urged him in this line of thinking, stating that they~~ *in the Orient.* ~~could both return and start a cleaning business.~~ He could handle the financial end, while Masami learned the more technical end. Masami accepted the idea that in America there would be no future for Nisei, and that in the Orient there would be. When he registered, he answered "no, no." *he* *heavily worked* When segregation rolled around, Masami did not change

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V. Resettlement--53

his stand even though most of his Nisei friends were leaving ~~the~~ Tule Lake ]<sup>1</sup>

1. Ibid. 3/8/43 #1, 3/14/43 #2

Kiyo Aiura was past 25, an age at which girls found increasing difficulty in getting married. She was brought up in a Christian home in Sacramento. A close relative was a minister, and Kiyo had the advantage of college education. She had associated with other Nisei freely, going out on dates ~~xxxx~~ with them. After her graduation she attended business college, and then found a job as a secretary to a professor at the University of California at Davis. She had visited Japan briefly, and reported that she enjoyed her stay there. In fact, she sometimes said that she didn't mind returning there to live. At the time of registration ~~she~~ her family and relatives had been opposed to registration. Her block had first decided against registering, and later allowed block residents to register if they wished. Her relatives, the Hitomis, (~~related~~ of the Hitomi murder) were opposed to registering in the affirmative, declaring their intention of returning to Japan. ~~Kiyo had aged parents to xxxxxx~~ Kiyo registered ~~xxxxxxx~~ in the negative, saying that there was no future in this country and that she wanted to return to Japan. ~~She was embittered against the~~ administration

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--54

Although Kiyō was dated for a dance occasionally, she did not have a steady boyfriend. A rowdy fellow, several years her junior, attached himself to her, but her family and friends opposed it, and she herself showed that she did not care for him. Several of the older Nisei men had paid her some attention in ~~the~~ the center, but nothing ~~xxxxxx~~ definite resulted. Then in the summer of 1943 she was suddenly courted by Oliver Noji, an artist in his forties. After a whirlwind courtship, they were married, ~~and~~ prior to the segregation program where her husband was offered a job entirely relocated to Chicago, marriage had/changed the future outlook for Kiyō.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 3/8/43 #3

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The belief that the extent to which a Japanese could climb socially was limited by the existence of prejudice against them was maintained by many Issei. Even when they themselves did not intend to pull up whatever stakes they possessed in this country, it was common for them to talk of their home country with gusto. Oftentimes they were led to advise Nisei that they had a better chance for success in Japan than in a country where prejudice against them abounded. The Akahoshis, who ran a cleaner in Oakland, did not intend to return to Japan in the near future. Their son, a regular jitterbugger, was one of the first ones in the block to register, and was determined not to return to Japan where he could see no future for himself. In

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--55

speaking with Sakoda, a Kibei with six years of education in Japan and college education in this country, Mrs. Akahoshi advised him to seek his future on the Asiatic mainland. If Japan were overcrowded, the mainland was certainly not. She pointed out to him that he could make a good living by becoming a customs inspector, since he knew both languages and had previous associations with Caucasians. Sakoda himself after having lived in Japan for six ~~months~~ <sup>years</sup> was inclined to believe that most Nisei would ~~not~~ find difficulty making an adjustment and that they would be happier in this country.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. ~~5/8/43~~ /3/20/43 #1

Y

To give another example, an Issei barber from Washington, was heard giving the following advice to a ~~the~~ young fellow. He said that the war ~~would probably not last~~ ~~so long~~ might last a long time. After the war, ~~he~~ he predicted that there would be many opportunities in the Far East for Nisei, if they only had enough sense to keep fit. He advised Nisei to keep out of the draft, if possible, ~~because they would be~~ since their future was in the Orient.<sup>2</sup>

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Ibid.  
2.7/5/8/43 #2

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Watanabe was in his middle twenties. He had been ~~brought~~ born in America, but was brought up in Japan. He had attended Meiji University before coming to this

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--56

country shortly before the outbreak of hostilities. Some Nisei accused him of having come to this country only to avoid being drafted, but he himself did not admit this. He had come over, he explained, to take courses in business administration, for which United States was noted. He entered junior college, and had difficulty in keeping up with his school work because of his deficiency in English. On the project he worked as a truck driver,~~an~~ warden, and research worker for the Planning Board. He rarely spoke in English, and read only Japanese books. He took little or no interest in girls and in Nisei social activities such as dancing. Since his intention had always been to return to Japan after receiving an education, he answered in the negative at the time of registration. He and his family remained in Tule Lake.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 4/2/43 #3

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Yukio Masaki was intent on learning. He was sent to Japan when he was small, and stayed there until he finished eight years of grammar school. He returned to ~~this~~ Thornton, California, to live with his father and brother, also a Kibei. When he attended the grammar school at Thornton, he found only six or seven other Japanese there. During the three years in grammar school and several years in the high school, Yukio made considerable progress in learning English and adjusting himself to Caucasian schoolmates. At home he

## Segregation Report

### V. Resettlement--57

got along well with his father and brother, and in turn was well-behaved himself. In camp he studied ~~very~~ diligently, showing special interest in mathematics. Although he was 20 years of age and a senior in high school, he showed little interest in girls. He got along fairly well with some of the Nisei fellows in the block with whom he participated in sports. He tried to speak English whenever he could.

At the time of registration he answered "no,no." His reason for such an answer was simply that Japanese were not being treated right. He believed that after the war there would be better opportunities for him in the Orient, assuming that Japan would win the war. He expressed a desire to return to Japan after the war, which was a common reaction of those who first attempted to adjust themselves in this country. He was willing to study hard in order to qualify for some sort of job in the mechanic line. Segregation posed a dilemma for him because if he remained in Tule Lake he would not be able to go out to study. He stayed in Tule Lake with his family and many of his friends.

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### V. Resettlement--58

Ken Yasuda was considered to be eccentric by some of his friends. He spent his seventh to 13th year in Japan, where he received training at a school run by Quakers. His parents had an 80 acre orchard in Placer County, where they were able to make a comfortable living. He attended grammar school and high school, and then went on to university. He took up banking and international trade, and later changed over to the study of Japanese poetry, which he wrote himself. At the time of evacuation he had not received his ~~a~~ AB, and he was anxious to work for a ~~MA~~ MA. He spoke English most of the time, with a trace of his Kibei background, and did not associate with the majority of the Kibei. Instead he found companions among the more intellectual Nisei. He was fond of talking, and ~~xxxx~~ <sup>many</sup> found his discourse on fourth dimension poetry difficult to follow.

Ken's outlook on the future was tinged with eccentricity. He seriously considered the possibility of becoming a professor of Japanese poetry, ~~xxx xxx~~ a subject on which he showed promise of becoming an expert. However, he scoffed at the low ~~xxxxx~~ salary paid to professors, and declared that he could only retain poetry as a hobby. He believed that there would be a good <sup>in Manchuria</sup> future ~~xxxx~~ Nisei who spoke both English and Japanese, if only they had the ~~xxxx~~ courage to ~~xxxxxxx~~ make the trip. He declared that he wanted to ~~xxxxx~~ go to Manchuria where he would be able to ~~xxx~~ "enjoy his Japanese face." He ~~xxxx~~ even went to the extent of deciding

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V. Resettlement--59

to work in the hog farm rather than in the Recreation Department, since he had heard that hog raising in Manchuria~~s~~ was profitable. He worked on the project hog farm and soon lost interest in the routine work.

~~At the time of registration Ken stood up in his block for registration, even though the majority of the block residents were against it. He was suspected of by the Kibei bloc because of his stand, but no harm was done to him. In spite of his stated future plans he le~~

~~At one time he gave up the idea of leaving the center for the duration, stating that ~~he~~ Japan would soon begin to bomb~~x~~ the American mainland.~~

At the time of registration Ken stood up in his block for registration, even though the majority of the block residents were against it. He was suspected by the Kibei bloc because of his pro-registration stand, but no hard was done to him. At the time of segregation, he and his family parted company with the majority of the people from Placer County, and proceeded to Jerome. He relocated from there, and carried out his original plan of studying and becoming an expert in the field of poetry.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 4/23/43 #1

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## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings

#### A. Introduction

When segregation was announced, residents were led to believe that they would have a choice of determining for themselves whether they ~~were to be considered~~ loyal wished to follow the American or the Japanese way of life. Evacuees, in other words, were to be allowed ~~x~~ to choose between being considered "loyal" and "disloyal." As a matter of fact, however, the die had already been cast for the majority of the residents at the time of registration. Those who repatriated or failed to answer in the affirmative to Question 28 at that time were already considered to be "disloyal" to the United States, while those who had answered in the affirmative were labelled as "loyal." An answer to a single question asked within the confines of a barbed-wire fence was ~~to be~~ the basis of determining "loyalty" or "disloyalty." Late registration and changing of answer had been allowed following the registration crisis. With the announcement of the segregation program no further changes were allowed except for a ~~ix~~ particular group. Those who had failed to answer Question 28 in the affirmative (Group II) were to be allowed an opportunity to change their stand from a negative ~~one~~ to a positive one. Only those who had failed to cooperate ~~xxx~~ with the administration during the registration crisis, so to speak, were now allowed a second chance.

The issue facing the large number who appeared for

## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--2

segregation hearings was nominally the determination of "loyalty" or "disloyalty." Some appeared at the hearings and declared without hesitation that they intended to return to Japan and that their sympathies were with that country. In some there was evidence of sincerely believing that their future was in Japan rather than in this country. In others, however, it was plain that they were giving answers implying a declaration of "disloyalty" as a matter of convenience. Some showed considerable reluctance to declare themselves as "disloyal" to the United States or "loyal" to Japan. Others attempted to ~~find~~ seek a rational basis for their desire to ~~remain~~ retain their Group II status by citing their bitterness over race prejudice and evacuation. One of the major reasons for not desiring to change an answer was clearly a reluctance to leave Tule Lake for another center. The fear of forced relocation was firmly imbedded in the minds of some of the residents. Other specific reasons for reluctance to change an answer was the fear of being drafted and the desire to conform with the status of other members of the family. ~~xxx~~ Evacuees expressed little dissatisfaction with the results of the hearings except where some board members attempted to change the status of an individual against his wish on the ground that the individual actually was not "disloyal." By and large the hearing panel was helpless in its attempt to persuade an individual to change his

## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--3

most stand on Question 28, as ~~many~~ of them were willing to make extreme statements classifying them as "disloyal," if this were found to be necessary.

Hearings were begun around August 11, when the educational program was only getting underway. There was also little opportunity at the hearing itself for the hearing board members to attempt to influence evacuees to change their answers. The hearings were brief, and within two weeks they were completed. Silverthorne, project attorney, was placed in charge of the hearings, and as panel members he had Jacoby, Harkness, Carter, Gunderson, Lowery, Cooke, Cole and Fagan. Each member of the panel held hearings with the aid of a Caucasian witness, secretary, and evacuee interpreter. In most case the hearings did not last for five minutes. Questions were asked in a conversational style, and very sketchy notes were taken by the secretary. After the interview a short statement of the case was dictated to the secretary, recommending that the individual be placed on the Removal List or the Segregation List.

At the hearing those who desired to do so were able to change ~~thix~~ their answer from a negative ~~xxx~~ to an affirmative one, or to retain the negative stand. Most of the declarations of evacuees either for retaining or changing ~~answers~~ stands were taken at face value. On the one hand, a person who declared himself loyal to the United States and willing to answer "yes" to Question 28 was not asked to show any other evi-

## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--3.

dence of his professed loyalty. In fact, the administrative personnel showed some signs of desiring to have as many residents as possible change their answer. This was understandable in the light of the extraordinarily large number of residents who had failed to answer in the affirmative to Question 28 ~~and~~ or to register at all. Some of the appointed personnel were willing to admit that this situation had been the partial result of mishandling on the part of the administration. Many residents were cognizant of the ease of changing an answer from "no" to "yes," and often attributed to a desire on the part of the administration to rid the projects of as much of the financial burden of supporting evacuees as possible. On the other hand, it was also possible for a resident to declare ~~that~~ himself as "disloyal," ~~in~~ without being closely questioned about his real feelings on the matter. It was only when an individual hesitated in taking a definite stand, that he was likely to be questioned in some detail. Some of the panel members, realizing that actually "loyal" residents were declaring themselves as "disloyal" attempted to ignore the "disloyal" front maintained by an evacuee. Many evacuees believed that it was much harder to retain a negative stand than to change to a positive one, ~~but~~ and there was considerable truth in this belief.

In all only a ~~s~~ relatively small percentage--possibly 20 per cent--changed their ~~XXXXXXXX~~ stand from a negative to a positive one. Those who ~~WERE~~ changed their stand were

## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--4

automatically reclassified into Group III. They were eligible to move to another center, but had to undergo a somewhat thorough leave clearance hearing before being allowed to leave the project on indefinite leave.

The ~~small number~~ large number of residents who remained in Group II did not necessarily indicate that Tule Lake possessed a larger number of persons dangerous to the United States than the other centers. As has already been indicated, the matter of being tagged as "loyal" or "disloyal" was largely secondary to other issues which faced evacuees. Through some record of hearings and evacuee comments on them their attitudes toward the issues facing them will be examined.

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--5

B. ~~Loyalty-Disloyalty~~ Return to Japan

The vast majority of those who appeared for their hearing retained their negative answer. In attempting to retain their Group II status, many of them merely stated plainly that they desired to return to Japan and that their sympathies were with Japan. Where such declarations were made simply and without hesitation, it was difficult to know whether the answers were sincere, or whether it was only a means of avoiding having to wrangle over the choice of staying in Tule Lake. The similarity of answers ~~gix~~ given ~~to~~ to one member of the panel indicated that those who appeared ~~for~~ before him were prepared with the ~~proper~~ answer, which insured the retention of their "disloyal" status. <sup>(creation of)</sup> Several interviews are sufficient to ~~gi~~ know the routine nature of some of the questions and answers:

An unmarried Issei, 54 years of age, without relatives in the United States, and who lived in Block 17, was asked through an interpreter:

~~Q~~ "Does he understand much English?"

"No."

[ "Why didn't he register?"

"His intention was to return to Japan after the war. He didn't want to leave for the outside."

"Does he feel he is more loyal~~ix~~ to Japan than to the United States?"

"Since he intends to go back to Japan his sympathies are with that country."

"That's all, thank you."<sup>1</sup> ]

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--6

\_\_\_\_\_ was born in Washington, and lived for six or seven years in Japan, where she finished a year of girls' high school. Her parents~~s~~ were still living in Japan. She was 29 years of age, and married to an Issei. She lived in Block 14.

"Do you expect to go to Japan after the war?"

"Yes."

"Is your husband Issei or Nisei?"

"Issei."

[ "Do you still want to answer Question 28  
"No!?"

"My feeling is the same."

"Because you want to go back to Japan?"

"Yes."

"Would you say you are disloyal to the United States?"

"Yes."

"That's all. Thank you." ]

(Placed on Segregation List.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. ~~8/20/43~~ 8/20/43, Case No. 10

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\_\_\_\_\_ was a Kibei, 24 years of age. He was born in Marysville, and lived in Japan for 15 years between 1923 and 1938. He received education only in Japan and spoke no English. He was married and lived in Block 49.

"He didn't register, did he understand the registration program?"

"His intentions are to return to Japan."

"His sympathies are with Japan?"

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--7

"Yes, with Japan."

"That's all, thank you."

(Placed on Segregation List.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/21/43 Case No. 6. For similar cases see ~~8/~~ Ibid. 8/20/43 Cases No. 1, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; 8/21/43 Cases No. 1, 2, 3,

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These simple declarations of intention of returning to Japan and having sympathies for Japan were difficult to evaluate. They were ~~most common~~ found among Issei, Nisei, and Kibei, and most commonly among Issei and Kibei. Some of them were undoubtedly sincere, while others were merely for the purpose of staying in Tule Lake. Some were based on unrealistic thinking which exaggerated the maltreatment in this country and the good life which awaited them in the Orient. Still others undoubtedly ~~xxx~~ represented <sup>(conviction and)</sup> practical planning. Members of the Hearing Board, according to Billigmeir, did not believe that they were determining loyalty or disloyalty. They realized the peculiar circumstances under which residents were asked the loyalty question, and the desire of many residents to stay in Tule Lake even at the cost of being considered disloyal.

[ No member of the Hearing Board believes that the hearings are actually determining the loyalty of the evacuees in most instances. In the first place they have become aware of the fact that loyalty is not something that can be weighted or measured or easily inspected. Secondly, many of the appointed personnel regret that questions of loyalty should be raised when the evacuees are in a relocation center; they feel that questions of loyalty cannot fairly be asked under the circumstances. In the third place, it soon became evident that a large number of people were claiming sympathy or loyalty to Japan in order to remain at Tule Lake.

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--8

It is obvious that many Japanese Americans are bitter, but not disloyal if that term ~~denotes~~ notes any dangerous or active anti-American sentiment. The members of the hearing panel are cognizant of this fact. ~~Delbert Cole~~ remarked upon his hearings, "Almost all of these people are loyal, they just don't want to be shoved around any more."...Gunderson expressed the belief that these hearings could not really determine individual loyalty. ]

Mr X

Mr Y

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1. Ibid. See also comment on 8/20/43, Case No. #3 4

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## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--9

#### C. Reluctance to Declare Disloyalty

In a number of cases it was clear that an evacuee was attempting to retain his segregate status without making statements which would commit himself definitely as having declared his disloyalty. This reluctance to take a firm stand either as one leaving ~~th~~ Tule Lake or as one being classified as "disloyal" and being retained in Tule Lake was characteristic of many persons who remained behind. ~~xxxx~~ Not only were they afraid of being forced out of Tule Lake, they ~~were~~ also ~~xxx~~ feared ~~of~~ making an unwise commitment at this time. They were later tagged as "fence-sitters" and treated with scorn by those who were willing to take a firm stand as a "disloyal" evacuee, especially those who arrived from other centers. Some declared their loyalty after being assured of being able to stay in Tule Lake with another member of the family. Others wanted to know whether they would be allowed to stay on the strength of the feeble "disloyal" statement that they had made. Still others sought to find justification in their stand by pointing out the injustices committed against them. All of these indicated a strong reluctance to make definite commitments at this time.

\_\_\_\_\_ was born in Marysville, and completed two years of high school there. She spoke, read, and wrote both English and Japanese, <sup>although</sup> ~~she~~ had never been to Japan. She was married to an Issei 38 years of age,

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who had declared that he planned to return to Japan. She was caught in a dilemma. Her father, sister and brother were relocating to Cincinnati. She had a son who would finish high school in two years, whom she wanted to send to college. She did not want to relinquish her ties with this country at this time.

"Did you register?"

"No."

"Any special reason?"

"I didn't understand."

"How would you answer Question 28?"

"It's ~~x~~ hard to answer."

"Yes, it is. Can you say you feel allegiance to the United States?"

"My husband wants to go to Japan," she answered after a long pause.

"Your husband is a citizen of Japan. You're an American citizen and your status is different. There is no assurance you can go to Japan despite his citizenship. What we are concerned with is how you feel about allegiance despite the evacuation and the injustices you have suffered." After a long pause, Mr. Anderson continued, "Ask questions you want answered and we'll try to meet them."

"I think question of disloyalty is better."

[ "Are you disloyal?"

"Yes,"

"Why?"

"Well,...no reason./...If I say 'loyal' will they take me or leave me here?"

"We don't split families. If one member is on the segregation list the others in the family are given their choice of leaving or remaining. We don't want you to answer a certain way just because your husband does. This hearing is just to determine your loyalty!"

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"Then it doesn't have anything to do with staying?"

"N", you'll just be given the choice of following your husband or not."

"Then I'm loyal."

"Then you'd say 'yes' on question 28? That's the question on loyalty."

"Yes," she replied after a pause.

"Do you feel you still have enough faith in America to swear allegiance?"

"Yes...I have a boy who has two years to go to finish high school. He's 16. Could he go out to school when he finishes?"

"When he is 17, he will be given a chance to leave. It's his decision then. Now he must stay. Suppose his father wants to be segregated, if you have declared loyalty and your son wants to leave, you'll be given a chance to ask for a hearing to decide whether you can follow your son. Upon the favorable decision of the hearing board, you may leave Tule Lake if you want to. The Social Welfare Department will ask you whether you want to stay here now or not. According to your answer you ~~xx~~ will remain here or leave."

"My father, sister and brother are going to Cincinnati. They may want to call my son there later."

"Your father, sister and brother are ~~re~~relocating?"

"Yes,"

"I guess that's all. If there is any question you would like answered, feel free to come here."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/20/43, Case #2

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he spoke very little Japanese, while his command of English was good. He had evidently come before the hearing board determined not to change his status as a segregee. When questioned about his loyalty, however, he ~~was~~ declined to commit himself. He defended himself on the ground that ~~he~~ Japanese-Americans and other minority groups had been mistreated in this country. The panel member choose to argue with him, and the 21 year old boy very ably defended his somewhat vague stand. He was determined to stay in Tule Lake to see "how the American people react." Clearly, he was reserving his final decision concerning his loyalty status.

"Was there any reason why you didn't register?"

"I was undecided."

"If you could register, would you?"

"I don't know."

"The big question was the loyalty question, number 28. How do you feel about it. Perhaps I'd better put it this way, after the injustices of the evacuation do you have enough faith in this country to believe that it will rectify the wrongs you have experienced?"

"Put yourself in my place. What would you do?"

"I couldn't put myself in your place and I wouldn't be foolish enough to assume that I can. It's a personal decision you have to make. It must be remembered that in war time things happen that would never occur otherwise. The wrongs that occur in war time cannot always be avoided. Let me put it this way. Are you going to Japan?"

"I don't know."

"But speaking of the present, do you have plans at present to return?"

"I can't say."

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[ "Do you feel that you'd fit in well in Japan?  
Where do you think you'd best fit in--here or in  
Japan."

"I can't say, because of racial prejudices in  
this country."

"We're fighting against racial prejudices and  
persecution."

"I don't know, the colored people have faced  
it ever since they came here."

"You mean the negroes?"

"Yes." ]

"Among the Nisei themselves there is discrimi-  
nation. Isn't there a class distinction among  
Japanese? Isn't it true that some classes can't  
marry members of other classes?"

"I don't know."

"I've been told that this is so. What I'm  
trying to point out is that every country has cer-  
tain prejudices and for the hope of any country  
prejudices against classes, races and religions  
must be eliminated. Otherwise we'll fight wars  
eternally."

"With this country it's race prejudice."

"Some people feel prejudices others do not.  
The Nisei themselves are partly responsible for the  
prejudices against them. There are Nisei in this  
country who never made any effort to mix with  
Caucasians, others did. I've seen Nisei whom I think  
are the finest people I've ever met and others  
aren't worth the powder to blow them up. The  
same is true of any racial group."

"That's true of all peoples."

"We've got to learn to treat people as indi-  
viduals. You mentioned the negro problem, that is a  
tremendous problem, the more so because the biggest  
majority of the Negroes are unintelligent."

"Because they're oppressed."

"That's true. The Nisei on the other hand are  
well educated. I admit freely that the treatment  
of negroes is bad, but the treatment of poor whites  
is equally bad. It takes a wiser man than me to

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### VI. Hearings--15

solve the question....You have the choice of remaining in the United States and making it the country you like or do as many people in America, ignore the minority problem. I think it is one of the jobs of the Nisei to help solve the problem of minority people and make this country better. Many Nisei are on the outside now and making Caucasians with whom they come into contact aware of the minority problem. Before the evacuation it was a problem of all of us. After the evacuation it now becomes a chance for you to become especially aware of the problem. It's a tough situation, I'll admit. But we all have to make a decision."

"I want to stay in Tule Lake and see how the American people react."

"If you remain here, in four months you'll be more bitter than ever."

"Why?"

"Because you'll not enjoy being kept in this camp under strict care. If you feel bitter now you'll be more so with greater restrictions placed upon you....You're not dangerous, you can fit well into American life. You won't like being considered dangerous and disloyal by those on the outside. The fact is that you're very American. The fact that you oppose being deprived of your rights is an indication of your being American!.....Do you want to make a decision?"

"Let it stay."

"You've got to make the decision now and it is an all-important one. Some day the American people are going to realize what has happened. Most of the American people aren't aware of the fact that there has been an evacuation. One of the teachers just came back from West Virginia. Most people there were amazed to learn that evacuees were still living in relocation centers. The largest proportion of the American people know little about the situation. You can't create public opinion to oppose this sort of thing when no one knows about it. You mention the Negro problem. Most people in the United States know nothing about how Negroes are treated in the South....I'm not trying to persuade you or sway you from your decision but I want to point these things out to you. Think it over. But make your own decision. I don't want to decide for you nor see others decide for you. Put the question on this basis: Which way will

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I have the most choice. Which will be best for me in the years to come. Think it out yourself carefully. Try to forget the mistakes of the past and look into the future. When you have made your decision come back and let us know."

"In case I don't come back, turn in my papers as they are."

"All right, I'll do that."<sup>1</sup>

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I Ibid. 8/20/43 ~~#7~~ Case.No. 7

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\_\_\_\_\_ was embittered. She was 32 years of age, was born in Washington, and had received a high school education in this country. She had never been in Japan, and could only speak the Japanese language. She was married to a 41 year old ~~Kibe~~ ~~K~~ Hawaii-born Kibe, who had already declared his intention of returning to Japan. She seemed to believe sincerely that there was no longer any hope for her and her children in this country, and that conditions in Japan could not be ~~so~~ worse than it was here.

"Can you read and write Japanese?"

"No."

"Do you speak it?"

"Yes."

"You didn't register, why?"

[ "I have American citizenship. It's no good, so what's the use?"

"Has the evacuation caused you to lose faith?"

"I feel that we're not wanted in this country any longer. Before the evacuation I had thought that we were Americans, but our features are against us," she giggled nervously as she spoke.

"I realized that you've suffered hardships,

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but I wish you could make your decision without bitterness."

"I've got to go to Japan with my husband anyway, how would I eat?"

"You have a child? Do you want him brought up as a Japanese?"

"Yes, I found out about being an American. It's too late for me, but at least I can bring up my children so that they won't have to face the same kind of trouble I've experienced."

"You realize that you will have difficulty in adjusting to life in Japan?"

"I know that, but I'm willing to try it anyway. It's too late for me. The important thing is that my children will not have to go through the same experiences as I have."

"That's all, thank you."

(Placed on Segregation List.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/20/43 Case No. 12

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\_\_\_\_\_ was ~~xxxxx~~ cautious. He was born in Placer County, but was sent to Japan as a baby, and returned to this country in 1929. He had eight years of schooling in Japan, and only one ~~in xxxxx~~ in the United States. He could ~~speak~~ understand only a little English. He was 30 years of age. He lived in Block 45, which had been strongly opposed to registration. He desired to remain in Tule Lake, but did not want to commit himself on the loyalty question more than necessary. After some questioning he finally stated that his sympathies under existing circumstances were more with Japan than the United States and that he intended to return to Japan after the war.

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"Was there any reason why you didn't register?"

"Didn't understand."

"Do you want to live in the United States after the war or do you want to live in Japan."

(The person being interviewed seemed unable to understand enough English to comprehend the question. He looked around the room as though searching for something to help him and shrugged his shoulders, making plain his need for an interpreter. An interpreter was called.)

"Ask him if he feels more loyal to Japan or to the United States."

"He hasn't thought of that."

"Put it this way, would he be loyal to the United States?"

"Not necessarily, he hasn't given it much thought either way."

"Does he have any brothers in Japan?"

"Three."

"Any relatives in this country?"

"One brother and one sister."

"Where?"

"The brother is in the U.S. army, the sister is in an Arizona relocation center."

"Would he like to go to the camp where his sister is."

"Definitely not. He wants to remain here."

"Are his brothers in Japan in the Japanese Army?"

"He doesn't know because of the difficulty in communication between this country and Japan."

When asked to make his feelings of loyalty more clear and definite, the young Kibei stated that at present under existing circumstances his sympathies would be more with Japan, and that he has the intention of returning to Japan after the

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war.

"On the basis of what he has said," the interpreter related, "he wants to know whether or not he can stay here. He says he is going to stay in this camp."

"Thank you, that's all," replied Mr. Gunderson without committing himself on the question.

(Placed on Segregation List.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/21/43, Case No. 5

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\_\_\_\_\_ was disturbed about the necessity of having to appear before the hearing board to declare that he was more loyal to Japan. He was born in Wyoming, ~~and~~ lived in Japan from 1922 ~~x~~ to 1937, and was 22 years of age. He understood enough English to carry on a conversation without an interpreter. He had spent the time since ~~leaving~~ returning to the United States in ~~leaving~~ studying. ~~Most~~ His family, except for a brother, lived in Japan. He explain that his teachers had been kind to him, but that the evacuation had hurt him very much.

"You didn't register, why?"

"I didn't want to register."

"Do you plan to return to Japan after the war?"

"Yes."

"Do you feel more loyal to Japan?"

"Yes. I feel very good to grammar school teachers. They very good. But this evacuation hurt very much. Now I can't feel good about America."

"We can understand how you, but we're sorry you feel that way. That's all and thank you."

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(Placed on Segregation List.)<sup>1</sup>

1. Ibid. 8/21/43 #2

Mr. Tanabe<sup>2</sup> was determined not to leave Tule Lake.

2. For detailed account of family circumstances, see \_\_\_\_\_

He was aged, and on top of that both he and his wife were not well enough to work very hard. Both he and Mrs. Tanabe had not registered at the time of registration, largely due to the pressure from block residents. When both received notices of a hearing, Mr. Tanabe was disturbed. He was anxious to insure being able to stay in Tule Lake. ~~His~~ He had two daughters, one of whom had relocated to Salt Lake City to attend ~~xxxx~~ college, and the other who was planning to accept a job in <sup>Salt Lake</sup> ~~Washington,~~ City ~~xxxx~~ as secretary. He was willing to let them relocate, but he did not want to leave Tule Lake. His daughters begged him to go to another center, where they could at least visit their parents. He stubbornly held to the idea that those in other centers would be forced to relocate. His wife showed signs of leaning toward the children, and he ordered her not to appear for ~~his~~ her hearing. He would fix matters himself.

When Mr. Tanabe appeared for his hearing, he was unable to declare himself disloyal to the United States. He had lived ~~xxx~~ for many years in Marysville, working for a Caucasian. He was well-accepted among them, and did not feel the need for associating closely with

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### VI. Hearings--21

other Japanese in the neighborhood. He wanted to return to his job after the war was over, and had no intention of returning to Japan in the near future. When he was asked whether he would be loyal to the United States, he replied that he would not do anything against it. He was then asked whether he intended to returning to Japan, and he answered that did not intend to right away. He did not know what the outcome of his hearing had been. He hoped that he would be allowed to stay.

Mrs. Tanabe did not report for her hearing, and she was questioned at home. She ~~believed that her husband~~ stated that she wanted to go to another center, but ~~hand was going to be allowed to stay, and stated~~ that she wanted to be with her husband. Subsequently the couple were placed on the Removal List, which came as a surprise to ~~them~~ <sup>Mr. Tanabe.</sup> He ~~they~~ went to the administration building and lodged a protest, and was finally allowed to ~~change the status from~~ stay on the Segregation List.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 8/26/43 #4, 9/11/43 #4

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The reluctance to declare the intention of returning to Japan or of having sympathies with the United States was found among Issei, Kibei, and Nisei. ~~It~~ ~~was the latter~~ Those who had been well-accepted in this country, however, were mostly likely to be on the defensive when asking to be placed on the Segregation List. Their hearts were often not in the statements that they had to make to be able to stay in Tule Lake.

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D. Desire to Remain in Tule Lake

Some who appeared for their hearing did not remember that the official issue of the hearings was the question of loyalty. ~~or disloyalty~~ Instead they made it plain that they were primarily concerned about being able to stay in Tule Lake. To these individuals loyalty was a secondary issue. Some ~~who~~ wanted to stay in Tule Lake because of old age or family responsibility. Others stated that they feared forced relocation if they left Tule Lake. The widespread interpretation that the main issue of segregation was the choice of being able to stay in a center or forced to resettle were evident in these cases. They had been told that they were to be allowed to make a free choice, and their answer was not in terms of "I am disloyal," but simply <sup>"I want to stay."</sup> ~~that they did not wish to leave Tule Lake.~~ *The interviewer had to remind them that the question was one of loyalty.*

Mr.                      <sup>41 years of age,</sup> had no plans for relocation. He was born in Japan, had come to the United States in 1919, and had not returned to Japan since then. He believed that those who registered and considered to be "loyal" would be forced out of the centers, and he was determined to stay.

"Was there any reason for his not registering?"

"He didn't register because of the rumor that those who registered would be forced to leave and he had no place to go."

"Does he understand now that that isn't so?"

"I guess he does."

"

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"He can't understand or speak English."

"Very little."

"Does he plan to return to Japan after the war?"

"Yes."

"Does he feel more more sympathy to Japan than to the United States?"

"His sympathy lies with Japan."

"Why?"

"He was a law abiding citizen, worked hard, respected law, and yet he was placed here. He can't stand it any longer." ]

"That's all, x thank you."

(He was placed on the Segregation List with the notation that he had been embittered by evacuation.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. ~~Hi~~ Billigmeir, Op. cit. 8/20/43 Case #4

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Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ feared being forced to leave Tule Lake. Her husband had registered and answered "yes" to Question 28. Whether she registered or not had not been so important, but now ~~xxx~~ whether the family would be able to stay in Tule Lake or not depended upon her refusal to change her status in Group II. She ~~had been~~ was born in Japan, and had come to the United States when she was 18, and was now 39. She had had 9 years of education in Japan, and spoke only a little English. If she answered "yes" to Question 28, she would have to leave Tule Lake. If she answered "no," she would be considered a potential dangerous person. She did not want to sign anything.

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"Do you understand and speak English?"

"Only a little."

"Is your son in camp?"

"Yes."

(Through the interpreter)

"She didn't register, why?"

"At that time she was sick, but had no intention of signing the registration forms."

"Will she abide by the laws of the United States and not harm the war effort?"

"She says that if she answers yes, she might have to leave. Should I tell her that her fears are not valid?" the interpreter asked.

"It's not a question of leaving, it's a matter of loyalty. We're merely asking questions--it's not for us to decide whether or not she stays. She can sign all the papers and still can go to Japan. That is for Japan to decide if it wants her."

"She can't answer the question."

"She can't answer whether she'll harm the war effort and abide by the laws of the United States?"

"She says she can't do any harm anyway because she doesn't want to leave. She has that fear she can't squelch."

"How would she answer question 28 which her husband answered 'yes' to?"

"Did that pertain to the sabotaging of the war effort?"

"It pertained to the impeding of the war effort and obeying the laws of the United States."

"She won't sign anything."

"She doesn't have to sign anything. Does she feel disloyal to the United States?"

"Her sympathies are towards Japan."

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"Why are her sympathies with Japan?"

"She said she was born in Japan and raised there and for that reason she is loyal to Japan."

"That's all, thank you."

(She was placed on the Segregation List.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/20/43 #6 Case No. 6

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\_\_\_\_\_ was born in Seattle. He had ~~just~~ completed high school, and was now 19 years of age. He had never been to Japan.

"You regist~~ered~~ and said "no," is that correct?"

"Yes."

"Has anything happened to make you want to change that answer?"

"No."

"Any reasons?"

"I'm the only one in the family, and my parents are weak and can't move."

"You want to stay here because of your parents?"

"Yes, and if they want to return to Japan, I'll go too."

"That's all. Thank you."

(Placed on Segregation List.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/21/43 Case No. 4

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Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ 59 years of age and was/old enough to retire. ~~XXXXXX~~

He had come to the United in 1903 and had not visited Japan since. He did not know for sure whether his parents were still alive. He lived in Block 44, where



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For this and possibly other reasons, he wanted to stay in Tule Lake until the end of the war. His Nisei wife was willing to follow him if he returned to Japan. He was 27 years of age. He was born in Lodi, California, and resided in Japan from 1920 to 1930. He had received 8 years of education in Japan, and 2 years in the United States after his return. He lived in Block 26 where pressure against registering had not been excessively strong.

"Does he plan to go to Japan after the war?"

"He's not definite yet."

"Does he have any property in Japan?"

"His father has property. He is the oldest son."

"Was there any reason for his not registering?"

"He planned to stay at Tule Lake so he signed 'no, no.'"

"Does he feel loyal to the United States?"

"He feels more loyal to Japan because he wants to go back there and see if he likes it there."

(His wife was then called.)<sup>1</sup>

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1. & Ibid. 8/21/43 Case No. 10. For wife's case see \_\_\_\_\_, Case No. 11.

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These cases revealed that the desire to stay in Tule Lake was often <sup>greatly</sup> dominant over the loyalty ~~issue~~ issue. What had been mere fear and suspicion at the time of registration was now reinforced by the segregation program. Some of the evacuees claimed that they had not

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### VI. Hearings--28

registered because they did not want to be forced out of the center. For the same reason, they stated, they did not want to change their status. On the other hand, it was not clear in these cases why it was that they wished to stay in Tule Lake even at the expense of being branded as disloyal. Those who mentioned old age and family responsibility were thinking of the security that confinement in Tule Lake would offer them. Other cases in which more specific reasons for staying are indicated will now be reviewed.

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#### E. Fear of the Draft

The most important reasons for ~~staying~~ desiring to stay in Tule Lake was often concealed at the hearings. This was evident from a comparison of statements made at the hearing, and reports and discussions of the hearings among evacuees. In the records the reason most often ~~stated~~ stated in defense of retaining status in Group II was a desire to return to Japan or sympathy for Japan. In franker discussions at home and in the block, other reasons were mentioned more frequently. One of these reasons, which have already been reviewed in the section on attitudes toward resettlement, was the fear of being drafted. This played a dominant part in the resistance to registration, to ~~segregation~~ resettlement, and now to being sent to another center. Two examples will be reviewed to show how the attitude toward the draft affected the stand taken at the hearing.

Tatsuo Egi was in his late twenties, and one who impressed the elders as having a responsible character. He was reasonable, and got along well with the people in his block. He worked in the messhall in Block 25 as the head waiter, and treated block people with respect. He spoke little English, ~~having been brought up~~ ~~in~~ having been born in this country and brought up in Japan. He maintained some of the traditional Japanese systems of value. His Nisei wife, for instance, complained that even while she was pregnant he did not

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offer to carry ~~xxxxxxx~~ water to the apartment for her. They had been married soon after coming to Tule Lake, and seemingly got along well in their little apartment. Dorothy was in her middle twenties, and ~~the~~ <sup>a member</sup> oldest of the Sofye family.<sup>1</sup> ~~It was believed~~ She was not particularly attractive, and the marriage had been arranged for her by elders.

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1. See \_\_\_\_\_ for family details.

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Mr. Sofye was anxious to remain in Tule Lake for fear <sup>Bob,</sup> that if the family did not his son, would be drafted. <sup>and</sup> His wife, his children, however, were inclined to believe that it was better to go to another center. Dorothy had thought that ~~it would~~ if it were not for the matter of Bob's being drafted, it would be better to leave. Tatsuo was willing to stay in Tule Lake with the Sofye family, and he probably would have left if the latter had decided to do so.<sup>2</sup>

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2. The dependence of the Kibei husband married to a Nisei on the wife's family is often very strong. Can this be tested statistically? It would mean that husband and wives would have to be ~~be~~ matched.

---

At the time of registration Tatsuo had answered "no." When he returned from his hearing, he reported that he had not changed his status. As his reason for ~~not~~ wanting to ~~xxxxxxx~~ stay in Tule Lake he had stated that he did not want to be drafted. An observer recorded:

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They asked me whether I wanted Japan to win or not, and I said, "Yes." Then they asked me whether I wanted to stay in Tule Lake, and I said "yes." When they asked me why I wanted to stay, I said that I didn't want to be drafted. They told me that many people who wanted to stay in Tule Lake were not disloyal.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 8/16/43 #2, 9/20/43 #3

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Mr. Oda loved his family, and he was in a predicament. He had one son in the army, and two in the center, ~~xxx~~ The son in the army had written to him advising him to ~~proceed to another center~~ start farming in Colorado. He wanted to do this, but there were other considerations. He had lost one son to the army already, and he did not want to lose the others one by one. He feared that if he left Tule Lake they would be drafted, and they would be gone forever. His eldest son had written advising them not to enter the army if they could avoid it. With evacuation he had given up hope of ever reestablishing himself in America. *He had been a farmer in the Delta Region, and had been thinking of retiring.* On the other hand, he did not want to face the prospect of being deported to Japan. What could his family do there? Anyway, someone would have to stay behind to look after the eldest son in case he returned from battle a cripple. His wife was more upset about the problem than he was, and talked of *bringing up the younger children in Japan.* ~~returning to Japan as soon as possible.~~ He had half hoped that his two sons would solve matters for him by changing their status and be willing to leave Tule Lake. But they were not. In Mr. Oda's own

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words we hear of his predicament/ before the hearings of his sons ~~take~~<sup>took</sup> place:

[ I'd be willing to go out now if it weren't for the draft. I have one son in the Army now, and I don't want my other sons to be drafted one by one. < It's different if my sons wanted to go to the Army or to another center. My eldest son says that he's not going to move from this place. The son in the Army wrote and said that his brother should try to stay out of the Army if at all possible--no matter how hard they had to work. I suppose it's because Japanese are discriminated in the Army. The Ketos are able to advance, but Japanese are hardly ever allowed to > You can't blame them for not wanting to serve in the Army when they've been treated the way they have. In Walnut Grove they had to attend a different school. If we hadn't been evacuated, I wouldn't mind their serving in the Army. I'd be glad to see them go, but it makes you mad when you've been discriminated against so much. Ever since I came to America there wasn't a day when I didn't have to feel small because I was a Japanese. < Even when I went to a show and paid the same price, I couldn't enjoy it as much as the others. >

I've lost all hope of a future in America. I can't make money here/ anymore. I've lost everything. My wife feels worse than I do about the whole thing. She wants to send the younger children back so that they can get a Japanese education over there. < We were going to return to Japan anyway if the war hadn't come for half a year. I'm thinking of staying by myself to look after the son in the Army in case he comes back wounded or something. He's in the hospital unit, but you never can tell. I really don't want to go back until the war is over. I don't think that an exchange ship will come, anyway. >

] I wouldn't mind going to another center, but I just can't stand the chance of my sons being drafted one by one. I would be willing to go to the Army in their stead. After all I haven't more than ten or fifteen years more to live. I don't forget for a minute the son who is away from home. Unless you are a parent you can't tell how we Issei feel. 1 ]

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--33

When his sons reported for their hearing, they refused to change their status. Even the youngest son, only 17 years of age, ~~xxx~~ who was usually obedient at home, and declared himself disloyal. Mr. <sup>seemed chagrined, but</sup> Oda/was optimistic. He did not think that an exchange ship would arrive. Next spring he thought that the ~~xxx~~ family would be ready to relocate. "They'll probably let us out about the beginning of next year. They want us to get out, anyway."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/20/43 #3

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## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--34

#### F. Group Loyalty

Among the bases for deciding to remain in Tule Lake was the desire to ~~ax~~ take action in agreement with someone else. ~~They~~ Many evacuees showed that they were desirous of answering in conformity to a decision reached by the family as a group or to the stand taken by friends. With some this action was not ~~at~~ at all willing, but one taken with reluctance. ~~In~~ With others it was carried out without any sign of ~~reluctance~~ <sup>hesitation</sup>. The operation of family and group pressure was observed previously, and it also appeared unmistakably at the hearings. ~~xxxx~~ The process of segregation was one ~~of separating individuals into two large groups~~ which often ~~cut across family and group lines~~ cut the entire population into those remaining and those leaving. Where such a cleavage did not cut across other important cleavages, the decision of the individual could coincide with that of the groups ~~to which~~ with which he identified himself. Unfortunately the segregation program ~~affected~~ often forced individuals to make a choice of declaring himself loyal or breaking his loyalty to his family or group. This situation, as it appears in the hearings, will now be examined.

In many families individuals could not make a personal decision on the "loyalty" question when he considered the ~~ax~~ family circumstance. If a family decided to remain in Tule Lake for some reason, it was necessary for at least <sup>one</sup> member of the family to be considered <sup>v</sup> dis-

VI. Hearings--35

loyal." Since only those in Group II ~~w~~ had in any sense a choice at the time of ~~registrat~~ segregation, it was often necessary for the member of the family in Group II to retain his "disloyal" status. Where it happened to be the son who had answered "no" to Question 28, he was obligated to his family not to change his answer. If the parent happened not to have registered, he was required to refuse to answer "yes" to ~~the~~ Question 28, which simply asked whether he would abide by the laws of the United States. In other ~~families~~ families where several ~~were~~ were ~~one~~ members ~~was~~ already in Group II, ~~another~~ ~~member~~ ~~sometimes~~ they would all refuse to change their status. While it was necessary actually for only one member of the family to ~~be~~ be considered "disloyal" in order for the whole family to remain behind, there was a decided tendency ~~is~~ for family members to desire to be in the same category with the others in the family. This was especially true of wives, who did not want to be in a different category from their husbands. Part of this was motivated by the fear of possible separation in the future. In some families individuals members were simply told ~~by~~ what stand to take. In still others it was not without considerable struggle between different members of the family that the final decision ~~was~~ to give at the hearing was <sup>reached</sup> ~~made~~.



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VI. Hearings--37

\_\_\_\_\_, 22 years of age, was married to a young Kibei. She had never been to Japan, while he had lived there from 1923 to 1938. She spoke Japanese with some fluency; he could ~~xxx~~ hardly speak any English at all. They had lived in Block 49, where the pressure against registering had not been as great as in some of the blocks in Ward V. The husband undoubtedly had to contend with the stand taken by the Kibei bloc against the issue of registration and segregation. At any rate, he had declared at the hearing that his intentions were to return to Japan. \_\_\_\_\_ was placed in the predicament of having to declare herself disloyal in order to be classified alike with her husband.

"You feel you are more American than Japanese?"

"I feel same as my husband."

"Did you register?"

"Yes."

"How did you answer question 28?"

"No."

"Why?"

"Because I have to go with my husband."

"How would you answer it now?"

"The same."

"Because you want to stay with your husband?"

"Yes."

"Do you really feel disloyal to the United States?"

"I am."

"That's all, Thank you."

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--38

( Both were put on the segregation list.)<sup>1</sup>

1. Billigmeir, Op. cit. 8/21/43 Case #6 and #7

Mrs. Ishizuka was a Kibei and married to an Issei. She had one baby, and was expecting another one. At the time of registration the block had decided to register, and her husband answered in the affirmative to Question 28 while she answered it in the negative. Mrs. Kaya and Mrs. Kishiyama, who were in similar relationship to their husbands, had also answered differently from their husbands. This difference in stand was actually motivated by a desire to be on the same side. The reasoning was that it was natural for an alien to answer in the affirmative to a question asking whether he would obey the laws of the United States. For a citizen to be on the same side with an alien, it was reasoned, she would have to refuse allegiance to the United States. When segregation came, they found themselves on different sides, and it was the wives who were given the chance to appear at the hearing. Mrs. Ishizuka was not quite sure whether it was a wise thing to stay in Tule Lake or not. Early in August she had said: "If they aren't going to close the other centers, it's better to leave than to stay here." Later she came to believe that if she went to another center she would have to leave it sooner or later, and living ~~in the center~~ on the outside was much harder than in Tule Lake. At the hearing Mrs. Ishizuka intended to be

Segregation Report

Vi. Hearings--39

classified as "disloyal." It was no longer a matter of being on the same side with her husband, but one of being able to stay in Tule Lake. She was not prepared, however, to be emphatic about her "disloyalty." She reported that at the hearing she had been asked whether she had changed her mind about the answer to Question 28. She said that she hadn't. She was asked why she wanted to stay, and she said that she couldn't go out and make a living very easily. At the end of the hearing the Board told her that she might have to leave Tule Lake. She was not unduly excited over this prospect, and did not seem to care too much whether she ~~w~~ had to leave or to stay. It later developed that ~~xxxx~~ her family was placed on the Removal List, and they requested to stay in Tule Lake until after she had had her baby.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 8/4/43 # , 8/16/43 #6

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Mrs. Kaya had been told by her husband to answer "no" to Question 28 at the time of registration. Mr. Kaya decided that it was wisest to leave Tule Lake for another center, and instructed Mrs. Kaya to change her stand/ at the hearing. Mrs. Kaya did so without any hesitation, but was anxious to know whether they would be forced to leave if they went to another center.

"How is your feeling now toward Question 28?"

"I want to change my answer from 'no' to 'yes.'"

"How is your husband's answer?"

"No, yes."

## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--40

"Do you want to go to another center or go outside?"

"Go to another center. Whether I go outside or not will depend on my husband."

That was all that happened at the hearing. but she asked: "Will people be forced out of a center?"

The answer was: "It will be the same as here, with the added possibility of going out if you wish." Mrs. Kaya feels that she has made the right choice in changing her answer.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 8/17/43 #1

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Mary's marriage to Kishiyama, a middle-aged Issei, had been arranged prior to evacuation. She was brought up in Japan, but spoke English with some fluency. At the time of registration she had answered "no," while her husband answered in the affirmative. They had a baby, which was born on December 7 and named Pearl. Her husband had ~~xxxxxxxx~~ pondered over an appropriate Japanese name, and had emerged with Kachie--Victory Harbor. Both showed some vacillation on the segregation issue. Mr. Kishiyama was inclined to believe that on the whole it was better to try to stay in Tule Lake. Mrs. Kishiyama believed that it was better to leave, but did not dare to oppose her husband openly. It was she, however, who ~~was~~ in a position to determine whether they would be placed on the Segregation or Removal List. When the notice for Mary's hearing came, Mr. Kishiyama tore it up, showing where he stood on the matter. Mary, however, reported for her hearing, but did not dare change her

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--40

answer to Question 28. However, she did not take an emphatic stand, and was placed on the Removal List.

~~JS stopped~~ Mary had her hearing Sunday. JS stopped her and asked her if "they" succeeded in making her change her answer. She didn't know. JS asked her what they had asked her. Mary said:

"They asked me if I would like to change my 'no' answer, and I said 'no.' Then they asked me why, and I said that I could not say. Then they asked me if I wanted to part from my husband, and I answered, 'Of course not.' That's all."

JS said that she may have to go, and she said, "I don't care."

JS pointed out that her husband might not like it, and she retorted: "I can't help it!"

The family was placed on the Removal List, but Mr. Kishiyama refused to report for his welfare interview, and the family finally remained behind in Tule Lake.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/21/43 #12, 8/10.43 #1, 8/18/43 #4

## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--41

#### G. Protests of Hearing Results

Protests of hearing results by some individuals indicated again the basis for some of the answers given at the hearings. By and large most people seemed satisfied with the results of the hearings. This was due to the ease with which most individuals were allowed either to retain their "disloyalty" status or change to the category of "loyal." Where individual members of the family had taken ~~independent~~ action independent of the desire of other members of the family protests arose. These were directed not so much at the manner in which hearings were conducted, but at the individual appearing for the hearing. The limited number of protests registered <sup>against hearing results desired</sup> were almost wholly those protesting having been placed on the ~~list~~ Removal List against their wish. The manner in which these protests were registered indicated that the primary concern of the protesters was not the matter of loyalty, but that of staying in Tule Lake. They pointed out that the WRA had promised that they would be allowed to make a free choice, and that they had made it clear that they desired to remain in Tule Lake. They charged that the administration was attempting to force them to change their stand in order to force them to leave Tule Lake. The primary source of these protests was the belief on the part of certain hearing board members that evacuees were falsely declaring themselves "disloyal"

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and ~~xxxattempt~~ <sup>they board</sup> that/should prevent such attempts.

Other board members had sympathized with the evacuee who desired to remain in Tule Lake ~~ix~~ even if they falsely declared themselves to be "disloyal" and had allowed For the protest cases rehearings were held, at which more definite their statements to be accepted at face value. / To statements of "disloyalty" illustrate the nature of the protests, some examples could be made. will now be <sup>viewed</sup> ~~removed~~. It will be remembered that Mr. and Mrs. Tanabe were placed on the Removal List, and they took steps to have their status changed. Mrs. Ishizuka and Mrs. Kishiyama had ~~xxxx~~ both been placed on the Removal List contrary to what they answered at the hearing, although they did not register a protest. Other examples will follow/

[ John Matsumoto was ~~highly indignant~~ when he saw <sup>how he felt</sup> ~~the results of his hearing~~. At the time of registration he ~~had been ill~~, and did not have a chance to register. When he saw the results of his hearings, <sup>(of "loyal")</sup> it stated that his family was on the Removal List. He had <sup>felt all he</sup> too much at stake to leave Tule Lake, ~~now~~. He was 30 years of age, married, and had several children. He had lived with his aged parents and brothers and sisters prior to evacuation on a farm near Sacramento. It was a family enterprise which had assured all members of the family economic security. John had had pleurisy, and was advised by the doctor not to work full time. His father had a weak heart, ~~but had~~ ~~savings~~. As long as the family kept together, ~~xxxx~~ they would be assured of some security. His father,

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--43

now aged, had despaired of rebuilding what they had lost at the time of evacuation, and was thinking of retiring to Japan with what savings he now had. John believed that he would be unable to support his wife and two children on the outside, and therefore desired to take joint action with his father.

At the hearing, he contended, he had told the interviewer (Cole of the Internal Security) that he ~~w~~ desired to remain in Tule Lake with his family and later return to Japan with them. He claimed that ~~xxxxx~~ the Board had assured him that he could stay in Tule Lake. He received a notice, however, stating that he was on the ~~Removal~~ "Loyal List," and was to report for a social welfare interview to determine to which center he was going. ~~To an acquaintance he had revealed:~~ *(He said:*

Hell, you can't consider me disloyal. I've been loyal too long. But if I can't stay by being loyal, I'm going to be disloyal. I told Cole that I wanted to stay here, and he said that I could.

When he reported for his interview and protested, ~~he~~ *against being removed from Tule Lake, he was given another hearing.* ~~was~~ told that there was very little that he could do because he was on the Removal List. John became frightened and went to see Cole, and demanded to see the notes of the interview. On it it was stated that he had a property in this country to which he intended to return after the war. John argued with Cole, telling him that ~~xxxxxx~~ no such statement had been made. He had said that he intended to return to Japan with his family because there was ~~no~~ hope of rebuilding anything ~~in~~ here. Cole

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--44

apologized. They went to see Best, who advised a re-hearing. In the <sup>rehearing</sup> ~~second testimony~~ John declared that he intended to return to Japan after the war and that in effect he was no longer loyal to the United States. Cole's comments were: "You can be sure of staying here for the duration if you have it down like this, but I sure hate to see you do it." ]

That same evening John was advised by a social welfare interviewer to cancel the second testimony. The interviewer had discussed John's case with his supervisor, and they had decided that ~~John's case~~ his family should be consider as a part of his parent's family and be allowed to stay as one family unit. In this way they would be able to prevent John's declaring himself "disloyal" ~~in order to be assured of staying~~ in order to be assured of staying in Tule Lake. The interviewer wrote a <sup>memorandum</sup> ~~testimony~~ clarifying John's stand, explaining to him: "You can't tell what's going to happen. You may some day want to go out, and then you'll have some basis on which to appeal." John, however, was afraid that if he did that he would not be assured of staying. Cole had assured him that with the second testimony he could be sure of staying. He did not want to risk the chance of being made to leave in order to clarify his loyalty status. No further steps were therefore taken.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/17/43 #2, 8/29/43 #2

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## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--45

\_\_\_\_\_ was indignant because his answer was changed from "no" to "Yes" as a result of the hearing, and ~~XXXX~~ <sup>went</sup> to the Social Welfare <sup>Department</sup> ~~Section~~ to find out what could be done to correct the error. He was still in his early twenties, and spoke English imperfectly. He was a Kibei who ~~XXXXX~~ was quiet and somewhat timid. He declared that people had been promised a choice as to whether they wanted to stay or to go. Perhaps, if he had an interpreter, he would have been able to answer more adequately. He had been asked a number of simple questions, and he had given only simple answers, he said. When he was asked why he had not registered, he answered that he did not intend to go outside and did not see any need for registering. He was asked when he returned from Japan and what he intended to do after the war. He replied that he did not know what he would be doing 5 or 10 years from now. He had not been asked whether he would be loyal to Japan or to America, and said that he had been fooled by the hearing board. He was ~~re~~ referred back the hearing ~~board~~ board, which was having rehearings for those who were not satisfied with the results of the first hearing.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/26/43 #9

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## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--46

George \_\_\_\_\_ came to the Social Welfare Department with a very sullen attitude and wanted to know whether he could have ~~ix~~ the results of his hearing changed. He lived in Block 30 with a mother, 49 years of age, and a sister, 17. He himself was 19. He had gone to the Internal Security office, and there had been told to see the social welfare counselor, who was in charge of interviewing residents. At the hearing, he claimed, the ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>board member</sup> interviewer (Cole) had told him that he could stay. When asked whether he would like to change his answer from "no" to "yes," he replied in the negative. When questioned as to his intention of returning to Japan, he replied honestly that he did not know. He said that he wanted to stay in Tule Lake. He thought that he had made it plain that he wanted to stay. He had been given to understand that everybody was going to be allowed their own choice in the matter.

Questions by the interviewer revealed that he and his family were concerned about two possibilities if they left Tule Lake--forced relocation and the draft.

Questions by the interviewer revealed that what really bothered him was the fact that his mother was afraid of leaving the place because she thought she would be forced out of the center if she did. Consequently, he felt that as the head of the family he had to do what his mother wanted him to do. He himself believed that if he went to another center that he would be forced out.

Another thing that bothered him was the fact that he was afraid that if he went out to work he would be drafted. When asked whether he was afraid

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--46

of being drafted, his defense was: "Everybody's afraid of the draft."

When asked whether he knew the chances he was taking by remaining in Tule Lake, he replied that since the WRA was so anxious to relocate people, he had a good chance of leaving Tule Lake later. Mr. Cole, he said, had told him that an appeal board would be set up next July. He was fearful, however, that force might be employed in moving him to another center, and did not possess the confidence that he would be able to resist such a drastic step.

He kept repeating that he was told that no force would be used. "I've been shoved around long enough; I'm not going to stand for it anymore," was the way he put it.

Evidently he was considering ~~g~~ the possibility of being sent to another center, and asked the interviewer whether he would be able to go to the center of his choice. When told that this could not be assured him, he became indignant and went back to the idea that he was not going to leave Tule Lake. He declared:

"I'm not going to leave the place. I'll take out ~~repatriation papers~~ if it is necessary."

He was sent to the hearing board to register for a rehearing.<sup>1</sup>

*1. He was willing to risk the possibility in order to stay.*

H He was willing to take the chance of being deported. He was willing, also, take out repatriation papers if that was the only way he could stay here...."I'm not going to leave the place. I'll take out repatriation papers if they are necessary," he declared....However, he really did not want to return to Japan. He thought that common

Segregation Report

VI. Hearings--47

people like himself would not be sent back on the exchange ship, and it was all right with him if he were sent back after the war. If he couldn't stay here where he wanted to, he would as soon return to Japan where he could. ~~xxxxxxwherehe wanted to.~~

He was sent to the hearing board to register for a re-hearing.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 8/27/43 #1

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An examination of the proceeding and discussion surrounding segregation hearings has shown the difficulty of determining loyalty or disloyalty of an individual. The fact that the question was being determined in the confines of a barbed-wired fence after ~~xxx~~ <sup>evacuees had</sup> ~~having~~ lost the major proportion of their ~~stake~~ <sup>made</sup> social and economic stake in the country by the process of evacuation, ~~make~~ the term "loyalty" a subject of mockery, resentment, negativistic attitudes. On top of that the issue of loyalty could not be separated from that of leaving or staying in Tule Lake since loyalty status was to determine who were to be segregated. Only the ruling that families would not be separated to some extent made it possible for some members of the family to decide the loyalty question on its own merit. Attempts on the part of the board to make loyalty the issue, only resulted in false declarations of "disloyalty" to safeguard the right to stay in Tule Lake. In addition, the issue of staying or leaving was entangled by the belief that those who went to another center

## Segregation Report

### VI. Hearings--48

would be ~~drafted~~ forced to relocate and those of draft-able age would be drafted. Under these circumstances segregation on the basis of "loyalty" could hardly be expected. ~~The~~ Dr. Opler, the Community Analyst for the ~~WRA~~ Tule Lake WRA, for instance, declared that the the whole procedure of segregation at Tule Lake was "just a lot of dice throwing," and point~~ed~~ed to the fact that the three individuals on the project considered to be "pro-fascist" were leaving for other centers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Billigmeir, Op. cit., Introduction

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Hayashida Case

Interview sheet

Hayashida, Mamoru Bob		2316-A	Family # 28176
Hayashida, Koto	Mother	F-51	Yes
" Mamoru	Head	M-20	No
" Kunio Frank	Brother	M-23	
" Kikuye	Sister	F-16	
" Yorozu	Brother	M-12	

Segregation hearing

Hayashida, Koto                      2316-A                      August 14, 1943

Alien. Did not register. Registering seemed unnecessary to her because she plans to return to Japan with her daughter and son-in law. The son-in-law is very definite in his Japanese preference.

Hayashida, Bob Mamoru

American citizen. Did not register. Reason--misunderstanding. He thought if he registered he would have to leave the camp. If asked to register today-- "I would not register because now I know the score. We had to sell our farm equipment for half price or less, so now we have nothing to go back to or to build on. It looks hopeless. It will mean lots of hardship to get back where we were. My mother wants to go back to Japan, she is not in good health. I have to look after her. I have no choice." He has never been to Japan. "I feel I have a better chance to build up in Japan."

Recommendation:

It is the opinion of this panel that Koto Hayashida be retained in Class 2 and remain at Tule Lake.

/s/ J. Sheldon Lowery

/s/ M. Cook

It is the consensus of opinion of this panel that Mamoru Bob Hayashida was a loyal citizen prior to evacuation and that in his heart he is still a loyal citizen but feels that he has lost practically all that he had and all that his father and been able to

Hayashida Case--2

accumulate and that there is no future for him in America. He feels that he is responsible for his mother's care and he will not shirk the responsibility.

He has never been to Japan and is not familiar with the Japanese way. He admits that all he knows about it is hearsay as told by his parent and acquaintances. He is very much under the dominance of the elder members of the family.

It is the recommendation of this panel that he be removed from Group 2 and placed in Group 3 and be permitted to leave this center if he so desires.

/s/ J. Sheldon Lowery

/s/ M. Cook

Note to Welfare Section

This panel feels that Bob Mamoru Hayashida is very much under the influence of his parent and brother-in-law. Bob desires to remain at this center with his mother as he feels his responsibility very keenly. If it is necessary to interview him will you please see that the rest of the family is not informed of this fact unless it is absolutely necessary.

Welfare Interview

It is indicated by Segregation Board that mother and younger children will remain in Tule Lake.

Interview Sheet for Kyotani, Ishimatsu

2206-D (27640)

Kyotani, Ishimatsu	head	M-55	
" Kumano	wife	F-40	
" Ayame	dau.	F-19	No
" Gentaro	son	M-14	

Segregation hearing for Kyotani, Ayame

She registered "no-no" because she was reared in Japan and wishes to go back there. She spent twelve years there.

She speaks English very well and Americanized in dress and action. She has been in the U.S. for about seven years.

She tried to go back but was unsuccessful.

/s/ M.C. Gunderson

/s/ M.C. Cooke

Recommendation:

This young lady returned to Japan when she was about 14 months old, remaining there about eleven years and spending the last six or seven years in the United States. She answered "no-no" to Question 28 and does not wish to change her decision. As her education has been largely in Japan she wishes to return there as soon as possible, in fact would have asked for repatriation if she had been afforded the opportunity. Her father and mother and younger brother are cleared for removal to another center and as there is no evidence of disloyalty to the United States, we recommend that she be removed with her family to another center.

/s/ M. C. Cooke

/s/ M. C. Gunderson

Kyotani Case--2

Social Welfare Interview

Ishimatsu Kyotani is ill. Kumano M. Kyotani came in for the interview.

Determined to remain here.

Reasons:

Prior and after evacuation Kyotani Ishimatsu is under medical care.

Ayame Kyotani had her hearing and stated that she is planning to go back to Japan.

Her family is planning to go back to Japan as soon as possible.

Health:

Ishimatsu Kyotani is ill.

Referred to Social Medical Welfare.

Naka Case

Interview Sheet

Naka, Yataro                      3302-B      Family # 27520  
Naka, Yataro                      Head              M-57              No

Segregation Hearing

Naka, Yataro      Age 57      3302-B              8;16-43

Came here 1904--back in 1921 and stayed 3 years.

Doesn't know if mother is alive or not.

Has 1 younger brother and sister but isn't sure they are alive.

No plans on returning to Japan after the war.

He feels sympathetic to this country, has been here so long,  
he is old and wouldn't care to go to Japan.

No property in Japan, is the oldest son and has an obligation to  
his family.

He didn't register--was mis-informed--couldn't understand English,  
too many stories.

Will obey laws of U.S. and won't harm the war effort.

He would be loyal to America and feels no ties to Japan.

Recommendation: Be put on the removal list even though he did not  
register. This was because he was misinformed and confused at the  
time. He stated that he is definitely loyal to America and has no  
ties with Japan.

/s/ Martin P. Gunderson

/s/ Donald O. Johnson

Social Welfare Interview

No choice.

Reasons:

At the time of hearing he requested very strongly that he wants  
to stay here and that he wants to go back to Japan. Was very disap-  
pointed because of the interpreters ~~mis~~misinterpretation.

The result of the hearing is entirely the opposite of his request  
and his feeling.

Naka Case--2

Is going to stay here regardless.

Remarks:

Has a very strong feeling in staying here.

He is the eldest son of his family, therefore he has to go back to Japan and take the rein of his devoted family.

Masui Case

Interview Sheet

Masui, Ryuichi                      1707-AB                      Family # 29957

~~Ryuichi~~  
Masui, Ryuichi              Head      M-48  
"      Masano              Wife      F-36  
"      Sachiko              Dau.      F-18      No  
"      Taiko                  Dau.      F-16  
"      Hitomi                  Dau.      F-11  
"      Midori                  Dau.      F-10  
"      Takako                  Dau.      F-8  
"      Tamaki                  Dau.      F-5

Segregation Hearing

Sachiko Masui

August 15, 1943

I want to return to Japan since my grandfather passed away. I must take care of his business and anyway my parents are returning.

"Where is your loyalty?" Japan I guess! I am not exactly bitter.

I can still say "No" can't I?

We can stay here can't we?

We want to stick together (my cousins and I).

My parents had "no" down but the block Mgr. said to sign yes.

Conclusion: Born in America. Has never been to Japan. Parents have decided to go back to Japan after the war; for this reason she signed "no" to this Question 28 during registration. Committee is convinced that her sympathies are entirely pro-American.

Recommendation: Be put on the removal list.

/s/ Kenneth M Harkness

/s/ James H. Porter

Social Welfare Interview

Mr. Masui wishes to return to Japan. He turned down an offer for work on a Utah farm which indicates he does not desire to remain

Masui Case--2

in U.S. Also he wanted to go to Japan on the last boat which departed just before the war.

Sachiko Masui (daughter) expresses desire to return to Japan with parents. It is obvious that strong parental pressure was brought to bear in bringing about the decision.

Recommendation:

Case should be given further consideration in the event she requests an appeal.

Kumagai Case

Interview Sheet

Kumagai, Toyotsugu	4201-D	Family # 38728
Kumagai, Toyotsugu	Head	M-36      Yes
"      Hatsumi	Wife	F-32
"      Floyd	Son	M-12
"      Setsuko	Dau.	F-11
"      Yoshimi	Son	M-7
"      Yooko	Dau.	F-4

Segregation hearing

Toyotsugu Kumagai                      4201-D

Filled out reg. form but did not answer #28 or #27 and did not sign.  
Does not wish to change.

Born U.S. 1907. Lived in Japan 1911-1928. Wishes to go to Japan  
and take whole family with him. Loyal to Japan.

One of the men who insisted in going to CCC camp with Blk. 42  
group. A dull, stolid individual who is without doubt a factor  
on the Blk. 42 case. Should be helped to return to Japan.

Recommendation:

This man filled out registration Form 304a but did not sign  
Question 27 and 28. Before completing the form the Block 42 trouble  
arose and he tore up his sheet and insisted on being sent to the  
CCC Camp with others from that block. He is a kibeï who lived  
seventeen years in Japan and wishes to go there to live. He states  
definitely he is loyal to Japan.

/s/ Harold S. Jacoby

/s/ C. L. Norman

Social Welfare Interview

Segregation interview states that Mr. Kumagai has expressed his  
desire to take children to Japan. See segregation hearing record.

# Segregation Report

## VII. Interviews

### A. Introduction

One of the "concessions" to those who were considered "loyal" and were being forced to move to another center was the choice of centers to which they could proceed. Those who were too ill to move were also to be allowed to stay upon certification by the medical authorities. In keeping with the WRA policy of <sup>keeping</sup> ~~not separating~~ families together wherever possible, members of the immediate family of persons on the Segregation List were to be allowed to remain in Tule Lake if they so desired. The Social Welfare Department of the project was assigned the task of organizing a system of interviewers to carry out these necessary steps. A crew of about thirty interviewers <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ selected from among evacuees, school teachers<sup>1</sup>, and workers from outside of the center who

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1. School was closed during the segregation program.

---

were sent to aid in the segregation program. Interviewing centers were set up in recreation~~x~~ halls in Blocks 6, <sup>13</sup> ~~14~~, and 25. These centers were also employed for the purpose of answering questions and registering complaints/ concerning the segregation program.<sup>2</sup>

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2. A more complete discussion of the interviewing program and the problems of those leaving Tule Lake will be discussed in another section. Here it will only be necessary to touch upon the attitudes of those who remained ~~in~~ Tule Lake.

or attempted to remain

## Segregation Report

### VII. Interviews--2

For the purpose of ~~the~~ this section families could be divided into three types. The first was the family wherein all of the ~~men~~ immediate members were all on the Segregation List. After their individual segregation hearings, if none ~~changed~~ in the family changed their status, it was allowed to remain in Tule Lake without any further interviewing. The second was the family in which some members were on the Segregation List and others on the Removal List. This was the "split family", which had to appear for the interview to determine whether the members on the Removal List would remain in Tule Lake with the rest of the family or not. A relatively small proportion of persons in split families left Tule Lake, and the majority chose to remain behind without breaking up the family unit. The third type of family was that in which all members were on the Removal List. This type was interviewed primarily for the purpose of making arrangements for leaving Tule Lake. Of this type of families a noticeable number indicated in various ways that they desired to remain in Tule Lake. These constituted the "resistance cases," and many of them eventually remained in the segregation center. Interviews were held in family groups, and generally one member of the family represented the whole group. Bachelors were considered as one family <sup>unit.</sup> ~~group~~. In this section we are concerned primarily with the attitudes of those who remained in Tule Lake--those

Segregation Report

VII. Interviews--3

in the split families and <sup>so-called</sup> the/resistance cases.

Segregation Report

VII. Interviews--5

B. Split Families

The predicament facing those on the Removal List but with some members of the family on the Segregation List was often a difficult one. The decision to break ~~xxxx~~ up the family unity by leaving the project was up to him, since those on the Segregation List had already made their choice to remain in Tule Lake. The attitude of the latter has already been examined, and here the attention is focused on those on the Removal List, with a choice of either staying with the family or leaving.

~~The xxxxxxxx majority xxxxxxxx~~ For some the attraction to leave was great, and the prospect of remaining in Tule Lake was highly distasteful. Some were willing to leave their families behind ~~xxxxxxx~~ to seek what they considered more desirable. Caught in a dilemma, others chose to remain with their family for the sake of family unity. The strength of the family unity was through the segregation program was demonstrated/to be great, and the majority of the so-called split families remained in Tule Lake as a unit.

~~Some xxxxxxxx factors operating xxxxxxxx~~ Obviously there were factors which encouraged leaving the family, and other which tended to make them remain. For those on the Removal List the question of loyalty was no longer at stake, since it was understood that they were remaining in Tule Lake in order to be with their family. For many residents the issue of loyalty had been buried beneath other issues considered more pressing. With these individuals

## Segregation Report

### VII. Interviews--6

the basis for staying in Tule Lake could not be interpreted as being based on the loyalty issue. These constituted the bulk of the individuals who were later denounced as being "loyal" and therefore not belonging in a segregation center. They became the unwanted minority in Tule Lake after segregation. The divergent attitudes within the split family will now be examined.

For those on the Removal List the attractions of leaving Tule Lake were worth considering. Probably the most obvious difference between Tule Lake and another center was that movement out of Tule Lake was to be greatly restricted. For one thing, seasonal leave from the segregation center was not going to be allowed, and this meant that able working members would not be able to supplement their earnings within the project by ~~short~~ work furloughs to the outside where a sizable savings could be earned in a short time. To wives with a family to support and to the younger people who desired to get a taste of the outside world this was an important consideration. Mrs. Ishizuka, for instance, who had a baby and another on its way and a ~~xxxxxxx~~ young Issei for a husband, was inclined to believe that it was better to go to another center if they were not ~~to~~ going to be forced out.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Supra.

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Another important consideration was the possibility of

## Segregation Report

### VII. Interviews--7

leaving the center on indefinite leave. This was especially true of the younger people, many of whom were leaving the project for schools and for jobs. To those anxious to leave the project leaving Tule Lake meant ~~the possibility of~~ escaping being confined in a virtual jail. While ~~the possibility of~~ later relocation/through from Tule Lake an appeal was a procedure which had been official announced, some believed that this would be at best difficult, and perhaps impossible for a long time. WRA officials, for instance, were inclined to be dubious that once the segregation center ~~was~~ became widely known to the public that it would allow a resident of the center, even if he were "loyal" to leave it and be at large.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Attitudes of those ~~leaving~~ relocating will be covered more thoroughly in another section, to be written for Volume II.

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An examination of the persons who left their family ~~and~~ in Tule Lake and proceeded to another center indicates the type of persons for whom ~~the outside~~

On the other hand, the ~~more~~ prospect of remaining for some was a dismal one. This was again especially true for the younger people, especially those who were Americanized. Life within Tule Lake/could not be expected to be the same as ~~in the other centers~~ after segregation it was prior to that program. Even though the tendency was for both the administration and residents generally to minimize the difference between post-segregation Tule Lake and other centers, it was not difficult for most Nisei to

## Segregation Report

### VII. Interviews--8

imagine some of the changes that might take place. For one thing, many ~~of the~~ Nisei families which had favored registration were ~~leaving~~ leaving, so that those who ~~had~~ had few friends among those remaining would be a minority among a large number of people with whom they had little in common. Some believed that Tule Lake would be filled with troublemakers from other centers. They would consist, they imagined, of Kibei, bachelor~~s~~/ Issei, and other ~~xxx~~ troublemaking elements of the community. It was unavoidable that the Americanized Nisei would become a small minority following segregation.

An examination of the persons who left <sup>part of</sup> their family in Tule Lake and proceeded to another center or to the outside indicates the type of persons for whom there was attraction to leave. Of a random sample of 16 split families ~~which~~ in which at least one member declared willingness to leave Tule Lake 15 were Nisei. Ten were males between the ages of 17 and 29, and five ~~xxx~~ females between 18 and 23. One was an old woman 80 years of age who desired to leave her husband to join her children in another center. In other words, it was the Nisei in their late teens and twenties who were most strongly desirous of leaving Tule Lake, even if they left their family there. This was the group which was most likely to desire to leave the project on seasonal work and on indefinite leave. The larger proportion of males over females was significant in that the former were more independent of their family and therefore more mobile than the latter. These figures were indicative of

Segregation Report

VII. Interviews--9

the overall picture of families divided by segregation. Very rarely did parents leave their children in Tule ~~Lake~~ Lake. There were a few examples in which husband and wife were separated. ~~xxxxxxx, xxxxxxxxxx~~ Some of the mothers left their husband in order to be with their children. (e.g. Mrs. Mano and Mrs. Miyake.)  
of split families  
Several examples/~~xxxx~~ in which some members ~~of the family~~ left Tule Lake will be reviewed.

Sofye Family Bob wanted to leave Tule Lake. He had registered "no," but after registration changed his answer to "yes." He was 21 years of age, and ~~is~~ born in a family of six (or more) children. He had a married sister in Colorado who was farming, and he wanted to relocate there directly if he could. He had learned of the possibility of being ~~draft~~ deferred from the draft, if Nisei were drafted, if he were doing essential farm work. He knew of a Caucasian in Colorado who was willing to vouch for him as being an essential worker. "I don't want to stay in a place like this," he said. /Bob's father was definitely against his leaving Tule Lake. Two things weighed on his mind. He did not want to be considered disloyal to Japan, he ~~decided~~, and also he did not want to have his only son drafted into the Army. One of the daughters who had just become 17 had been prevailed upon by her parents to register in the negative. However, when she went to check to see why she was not called for a hearing, she was told that there was no record of her registration. The family was therefore placed on the

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VII. Interviews--10

Removal List, but Mr. Sofye insisted upon not leaving Tule Lake.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The family actually falls into the category of resistance case, but is treated here to illustrate the division in the family.

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Even at the mess table the father and son could be heard arguing back and forth. The other children, all girls, believed that it was better to leave Tule Lake. A married sister (Dorothy Egi) thought that it was best for the family to leave. \* A girl still attending grammar school (Aiko) mar/said that she wanted to leave Tule Lake because she did not want to return to Japan. The mother's attitude was most ambivalent. She sided with her husband at times, but when she saw that Bob was determined to leave, she believed that there was little that ~~the xxxxxxx~~ rest of the family could do except follow him. ~~xxx~~ "Shikata ga nai ja nai no" (what can we do about it) expressed her stand. Mr. Sofye, however, did not weaken in his insistence that the family could not leave. Bob applied for leave to Granada secretly, and made arrangements to have any notices sent to his place of work.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 8/20/43 #7, <sup>9/2/43 #9</sup> 9/11/43 #1, 9/12/43 #14

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Yagi Family Sadayoshi's decision to leave Tule Lake was based ~~xxx~~ on a sense of responsibility. ~~xxxx~~  
14  
Xx He was the oldest of the Yagi children, 31 years of age. There were several boys of draftable age in the family, some of the girls were married, and others were

Segregation Report

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doubted  
still in grammar. He ~~was not sure~~ that the family  
could make a ~~comfortable~~ living if it returned to Japan,  
~~his parents claimed~~ in spite of his father's insis-  
tence that something could be worked out ~~if~~ there. He  
claimed that the family had an asset amounting to \$50,000  
or \$60,000 in property and farm equipment, which he  
could keep alive by relocating. After the war he would  
be in a position to take care of the whole family, where-  
as if it returned to Japan it would have nothing. <sup>In leaving his family</sup> He  
was thinking of the welfare of the whole family, he  
disclosed to the block manager in his block. He was  
taking with him his wife, his brother-in-law, ~~and his~~  
~~children~~ and his wife and ~~his~~ child. ~~My~~ The elder  
Yagi was highly indignant, and went around in the block  
calling his son oyafukomono (unfilial).<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. S. Journal 9/20/43 #4, 9/21/43 #6, #10.

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Tanabe Family<sup>1</sup> Kazuko wished she had more influence

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1. See pages \_\_\_\_\_

---

over her father. ~~He seemed to have a wall between himself and other people,~~  
He seemed to have a wall between himself and other people,  
and now he was being stubborn. He insisted on not moving  
from Tule Lake because he feared that if the family did,  
it would be forced to relocate. On the other hand, Kazuko  
could not think of staying with her parents. She had  
associated only on superficial terms with Nisei, and  
had mostly Caucasian friends prior to evacuation in

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VII. Interviews--12

Marysville. ~~Forxxxxxxx~~ She had been quite miserable in the camp, and for some time now she had wanted to relocate. She did not feel that she could stand living in Tule Lake after segregation. Her parents were willing to allow her to relocate. This was especially in view of the fact that her sister, Kazuye, was attending college in Salt Lake City, and they did not want to have one daughter alone on the outside. By mutual consent, therefore, Kazuko made plans to relocate directly to Salt Lake City. She had tried to make her parents see the wisdom of going to Topaz, where the children could at least visit them occasionally. Mr. Tanabe insisted on staying. Mrs. Tanabe vacillated between siding with her children and her husband. At one time she had thought that it was wiser to be in Topaz, and take her children's word that the WRA did not intend to force anyone to leave the center. On the other hand, she was inclined to believe that her husband was right.

~~xxxxfirstxx~~  
In ~~On~~ September 10 she was saying:

~~At first I wanted to go out, but after hearing a lot of people I don't want to any more. They tell me that if we go to another center it's not going to be so good. We're old and I can't work if I'm forced to go out. There are some people who say that even if you go to another center you don't have to go out, but we can't tell. There is talk that after next June you can't stay in a center. It may be all rumor, of course, and you can't do a thing if you begin to believe them all. But I don't want to leave here now.~~

The old couple stayed in Tule Lake, while Kazuko relocated to Salt Lake City. 1.

1. Ibid. 9/10/43 ~~1#1~~ 9/11/43 #4

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In July she was saying:

Papa and I didn't register because he was afraid that if we registered we may be forced to leave this place some time in the future. I can't work because of my health. And he says that he's too old now to go out and work on a farm like other people. He's afraid that if he should go out, people on the outside will be unreceptive to Japanese and he'll be unable to make a living. What I'm most concerned about is to have my children close to us. Kazuko and Kazuye may live in the city and we may have to live in the country, but at least we'll be able to see each other. Maybe there's a possibility that we can go to a disloyal camp until our children get ready to call us out, I don't know. The children think that we should register, and so do I. They've talked to papa, but he won't listen to them. I wish there were someone who could really explain things to him and assure him that those who are considered loyal will not be forced to go out. I don't think that America would do such a thing as to force a person out when he was not able to make a living on the outside.

In September her stand had changed, and she was inclined to believe that her husband was right:

At first I wanted to go out, but after hearing a lot of people I don't want to any more. They tell me that if we go to another center it's not going to be so good. We're old and I can't work if I'm forced to go out, ~~but I don't want to~~. There are some people who say that even if you go to another center you don't have to go out, but we can't tell. There is talk that after next June you can't stay in a center. It may be all rumor, of course, and you can't do a thing if you begin to believe them all. But I don't want to leave here now.

The old couple stayed in Tule Lake, while Kazuko relocated to Salt Lake City.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/19/43 #6, 9/10/43 #1, 9/11/43 #4

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VII. Interviews--14

Matsuda Family Jim's break with his family dated back to the registration issue. At that time he had been considered an educated lad who could furnish the younger people in the block with proper supervision. ~~xx~~ The three children in the family had ~~xxxx~~ spent their childhood days in Japan. Jim had returned to this country at the age of about 12. His parents ~~xxxxx~~ were fruit farmers in Placer County, but wanted to have their children have the advantage of a good education. Jim went to college, and learned to speak English with some fluency. He then entered an aeronautical school, for which his parents were willing to pay expenses. At the time of registration, ~~xxxxxx~~ the family was living in Ward V, where the opposition to the program had been great. Jim decided that for his own future welfare he should leave Tule Lake to get some training on the outside. His younger brother was out of the camp attending college. His parents and his sister took out repatriation papers, and his father refused to cancel them. He

He said:

"If there's going to be a split in my family, I can't help it. I can't help it. I can't go along with them now because my whole future is at stake. I want to do the things that I should be doing. I should have gone out long ago when I had job offers, not exactly what I wanted, but something I could have done."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid. 7/21/43 #4

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He refused to repatriate, and ~~to~~ throw away his future.

His father was adamant. He <sup>had</sup> threatened to disown Jim if he had answered "yes" to Question 28, and consequently Jim had ~~xxxxxxxx~~ registered but answered in the negative. He ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ regretted this step and the next day attempted to have his answer changed, but discovered that he ~~to~~ had to go through cumbersome procedures. His father was furious when he learned that his son was considering working as an engineer in a war industry. At a time when ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ neighbors were criticizing those who left the project on farm work, he declared, he could not have a member of the family helping the war industry. His mother was an introvert and under the domination of his father. She was willing to go to another center, but was not able to influence her husband to her way of thinking.

People in the block began to say that education hadn't done Jim much good. One Kibei said: "~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~xxx~~ / I'm glad that I quit going to school early. At least the people have some respect for me now." <sup>1</sup>

Jim ceased attending block meetings, and gave up arguing with his father. He waited quietly for the day of his departure. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>8/6/43 #4,</sup>  
Ibid. 7/21/43 #4, 9/11/43 #1, 9/31/43 #3  
1. <sup>a</sup> more complete case history of Jim can be written for Volume II.

## Segregation Report

### VII. Interviews--~~15~~ 16

~~as being "loyal" and therefore not belonging in a segregation center. They became the unwanted minority in Tule Lake after segregation.~~

The vast majority of those faced with the choice of remaining in Tule Lake with their family or leaving chose to stay. The number of families split by the segregation program into different centers was relatively small. ~~Of~~ A random sample of 115 split families interviewed ~~sixty~~ showed 99 or 86 per cent remaining as one unit. When the split families were to be interviewed, some of the interviewers had expect<sup>ed</sup>/violent conflicts between members of the family at the interviews. Actually, in most cases the answer was simply that the whole family had decided to remain in Tule Lake. Some attempt was made by some Caucasian interviewers to encourage individual members of the family to relocate, but generally with~~out~~ little effect.

Some  
~~many~~ of the family members on the Removal List were glad to be able to stay in Tule Lake. The fact that they had members of the family on the Segregation List meant that they had ~~of~~ the choice of remaining in the segregation center. This was especially true of parents who had registered--and most aliens registered in the affirmative--and desired to stay in Tule Lake. This was also true of children who did not want to leave the center, and was able to stay without being considered "disloyal" or breaking any regulation. It was already revealed in the section

## Segregation Report

### VII. Interviews--~~6~~ 7

on hearings that individuals declared themselves "disloyal" in order to accommodate other members of the family. Many ~~families~~ <sup>people</sup> were greatly concerned over their "loyalty" status until they were informed that if they possessed a family member who was on the Segregation List, they would be allowed to remain in Tule Lake. Still others were still anxious, and took steps to insure being allowed to stay in Tule Lake. A Kibei who had registered in the negative, related ~~his~~ the attitude of his parents, who had registered in the affirmative:

My parents are going to take out repatriation papers this afternoon because they want to make sure that they can stay here....They can't sit still until they do something about it to make sure that they can stay here.

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#### 1. J. S. Journal 7/30/43 #5

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Others showed that their primary reason for staying in Tule Lake was the belief that the family unity should not be broken. Parents generally preferred to stay if their children remained in Tule Lake. Husbands and wives generally kept together in the center. It was among the <sup>older</sup> children on the Removal List that experienced the greatest amount of vacillation. ~~XXXX~~ <sup>Many</sup> of them did not want to stay, but did so because they believed that it was their duty to be with their family. One married girl requested that she, her husband, and baby be allowed to stay with her parents, who were