

25:2

Instructions for AFFIDAVITS

n.d.

Class Designations: I, II, III, IV,
V, VI, XX (Japan)

78/177
C

Senig. Class I - (Jagan)
NOTICE

The attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" are intended simply to refresh your recollection of the times, places and events which had a bearing on the mass renunciations of U. S. citizenship. They may help you to recall the time, places, reasons and fears which may have caused you to renounce your citizenship.

However, it is important that you should give your own particular and personal answers to the questions contained in the Affidavit forms and that you should state your own reasons and fears truthfully and in your own words. You should not copy the language or quote verbatim the reasons and fears which are stated in the "Memoranda" or in the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship". If you do new Affidavit forms will have to be sent to you to fill out.

It is important, too, that you keep the attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" in your own possession for future use and reference, especially in the event that it finally becomes necessary for you to have an individual court trial.

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department *asserts that it has documentary evidence showing* (1) that you are a Kibei who received your education and formal schooling in Japan; (2) that you were a leader of a pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake and (3) that, after you renounced U. S. citizenship you voluntarily returned to Japan. It contends that these things tend to prove that your renunciation of citizenship was a voluntary act on your part and that they also indicate that you may have been loyal to Japan and not to the United States.

(However, *it has not specified* in its offer of proof that it has any documentary evidence showing that you made application for repatriation to Japan.)

You should be able to answer Questions numbered 1, 4, 8(A), 8(C), 11(A), 11(B), 11(C), 11(D) and 12 in the Affidavit forms without difficulty. (If you never received any formal education in Japan and never attended school there your answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms should be "None.")

Orig. Class II - (Japas)

NOTICE

The attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" are intended simply to refresh your recollection of the times, places and events which had a bearing on the mass renunciations of U. S. citizenship. They may help you to recall the time, places, reasons and fears which may have caused you to renounce your citizenship.

However, it is important that you should give your own particular and personal answers to the questions contained in the Affidavit forms and that you should state your own reasons and fears truthfully and in your own words. You should not copy the language or quote verbatim the reasons and fears which are stated in the "Memoranda" or in the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship". If you do new Affidavit forms will have to be sent to you to fill out.

It is important, too, that you keep the attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" in your own possession for future use and reference, especially in the event that it finally becomes necessary for you to have an individual court trial.

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department *asserts that it has documentary evidence showing* (1) that *you were a leader of a pro-Japanese organization* at Tule Lake and (2) that, *after you renounced U. S. citizenship you voluntarily returned to Japan*. It contends that these things tend to prove that your renunciation was voluntary and that they also indicate that you may have been loyal to Japan and not to the United States.

(However, *it has not specified* in its offer of proof that it has any documentary evidence showing that you made application for repatriation to Japan.)

You should be able to answer Questions numbered 1, 4, 8(A), 8(C), 11(A), 11(B), 11(C), 11(D) and 12 in the Affidavit forms without difficulty. (If you never received any formal education in Japan and never attended school there your answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms should be "None.")

Genig. Class III - (Japan)
NOTICE

The attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" are intended simply to refresh your recollection of the times, places and events which had a bearing on the mass renunciations of U. S. citizenship. They may help you to recall the time, places, reasons and fears which may have caused you to renounce your citizenship.

However, it is important that you should give your own particular and personal answers to the questions contained in the Affidavit forms and that you should state your own reasons and fears truthfully and in your own words. You should not copy the language or quote verbatim the reasons and fears which are stated in the "Memoranda" or in the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship". If you do new Affidavit forms will have to be sent to you to fill out.

It is important, too, that you keep the attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" in your own possession for future use and reference, especially in the event that it finally becomes necessary for you to have an individual court trial.

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department *asserts that it has documentary evidence showing* (1) that you are a Kibei who received your education and formal schooling in Japan (2) that you were a member of a pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake and (3) that, after you renounced U. S. citizenship you voluntarily returned to Japan. It contends that these things tend to prove that your renunciation was voluntary and that they also indicate that you may have been loyal to Japan and not to the United States.

(However, *it has not specified* in its offer of proof that it has any documentary evidence showing that you made application for repatriation to Japan.)

You should be able to answer Questions numbered 1, 4, 8(A), 8(C), 11(A), 11(B), 11(C), 11(D) and 12 in the Affidavit forms without difficulty. (If you never received any formal education in Japan and never attended school there your answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms should be "None.")

Pres. Class IV - (Japan)
NOTICE

The attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" are intended simply to refresh your recollection of the times, places and events which had a bearing on the mass renunciations of U. S. citizenship. They may help you to recall the time, places, reasons and fears which may have caused you to renounce your citizenship.

However, it is important that you should give your own particular and personal answers to the questions contained in the Affidavit forms and that you should state your own reasons and fears truthfully and in your own words. You should not copy the language or quote verbatim the reasons and fears which are stated in the "Memoranda" or in the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship". If you do new Affidavit forms will have to be sent to you to fill out.

It is important, too, that you keep the attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" in your own possession for future use and reference, especially in the event that it finally becomes necessary for you to have an individual court trial.

Des. Class IV

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department *asserts that it has documentary evidence showing* (1) *that you were a member of a pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake and* (2) *that, after you renounced U. S. citizenship at Tule Lake you voluntarily returned to Japan.* It contends these things tend to prove that your renunciation was voluntary and that they also indicate that you may have been loyal to Japan and not to the United States.

You should be able to answer Questions numbered 1, 4, 8(A), 8(C), 11(A), 11(B), 11(C), 11(D) and 12 in the Affidavit forms without difficulty. (If you never received any formal education in Japan and never attended school there your answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms should be "None.")

Genj. Case I - (Japan)

NOTICE

The attached "Memoranda" and the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship" are intended simply to refresh your recollection of the times, places and events which had a bearing on the mass renunciations of U. S. citizenship. They may help you to recall the time, places, reasons and fears which may have caused you to renounce your citizenship.

However, it is important that you should give your own particular and personal answers to the questions contained in the Affidavit forms and that you should state your own reasons and fears truthfully and in your own words. You should not copy the language or quote verbatim the reasons and fears which are stated in the "Memoranda" or in the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship". If you do new Affidavit forms will have to be sent to you to fill out.

It is important, too, that you keep the attached "Memoranda" and the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship" in your own possession for future use and reference, especially in the event that it finally becomes necessary for you to have an individual court trial.

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department *asserts that it has documentary evidence showing* (1) *that you are a Kibei who received your education and formal schooling in Japan* and (2) *that, after you renounced U. S. citizenship at Tule Lake you voluntarily returned to Japan.* It contends that these things tend to prove that your renunciation was voluntary and that they also indicate that you may have been loyal to Japan and not to the United States.

(However, *it has not specified* in its offer of proof that it has any documentary evidence showing that you made application for repatriation to Japan or that you were a member of any pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake.)

You should be able to answer Questions numbered 1, 4, 8(A), 8(C), 11(A), 11(B), 11(C), 11(D) and 12 in the Affidavit forms without difficulty. (If you never received any formal education in Japan and never attended school there your answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms should be "None.")

Seig. Cloud VI - (Jager)
NOTICE

The attached "Memoranda" and the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship" are intended simply to refresh your recollection of the times, places and events which had a bearing on the mass renunciations of U. S. citizenship. They may help you to recall the time, places, reasons and fears which may have caused you to renounce your citizenship.

However, it is important that you should give your own particular and personal answers to the questions contained in the Affidavit forms and that you should state your own reasons and fears truthfully and in your own words. You should not copy the language or quote verbatim the reasons and fears which are stated in the "Memoranda" or in the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship". If you do new Affidavit forms will have to be sent to you to fill out.

It is important, too, that you keep the attached "Memoranda" and the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship" in your own possession for future use and reference, especially in the event that it finally becomes necessary for you to have an individual court trial.

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department *asserts that it has documentary evidence showing that after you renounced U. S. citizenship at Tule Lake you voluntarily returned to Japan.* It contends that this tends to prove that your renunciation was voluntary and that it also indicates that you may have been loyal to Japan and not to the United States.

(However, *it has not specified* in its offer of proof that it has any documentary evidence showing that you made application for repatriation to Japan or that you were a member of any pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake.)

You should be able to answer Questions numbered 1, 4, 8(A), 8(C), 11(A), 11(B), 11(C), 11(D) and 12 in the Affidavit forms without difficulty. (If you never received any formal education in Japan and never attended school there your answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms should be "None.")

Gen.

MEMORANDUM

You must bear in mind that in filling out the Affidavit forms you are trying to convince the Justice Department that your "No" answer to Question No. 28 or your failure or refusal to answer it (if you gave such an answer or failed or refused to answer it); your membership or activities in any organization at Tule which the Justice Department contends was pro-Japanese (if you were a member or were active in any such organization); your request for expatriation to Japan (if you made such a request to be sent to Japan); your renunciation of citizenship; your return to Japan (if you are one of those who returned to Japan); and any other acts the Justice Department asserts it holds against you were not voluntary acts on your part and were not acts expressing disloyalty to the United States and were not acts expressing loyalty to Japan.

You are trying to convince that Department that any such acts were not the result of free choice on your part but were involuntary acts due to the discrimination practiced against you by the Government simply because you were of Japanese ancestry and the duress conditions to which you were subjected and the coercive influences which existed in camp. You are trying to explain that you were compelled to do such things by reason of the fears you had resulting from your evacuation, consequent loss of assets and your prolonged confinement to a WRA Center. You are trying to explain that the abnormal conditions existing inside the camp and your fear of what might happen to you outside that camp deprived you of the hope, chance or expectation of being relocated in the U. S. with safety to yourself and your family. You are trying to explain that you were forced to do such things because you feared to be relocated in the U. S. in a community hostile to citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry where your safety and that of your family might be endangered; or because you feared to be relocated and thus separated from alien members of your family whom you believed were to be deported to Japan; or because you feared that, on being deported to Japan against your will, the Japanese Government or its people might take reprisals against you and your family if you had not done such things or had not first renounced U. S. citizenship; or that you feared you or members of your family would be subjected to acts of violence if you did not do such things; or that you were compelled to do such things by a parent, spouse, brother or other family members; or that you were the victim of other fears or combination of fears arising out of your evacuation and subsequent prolonged detention in a WRA camp and out of the abnormal conditions existing in that camp which forced you to do such things.

MEMORANDUM

If you were born *before* December 1, 1924, and never have renounced Japanese nationality the Justice Department presumes that you were a *dual citizen*. Therefore, you should answer *Question 2 (A)* in the Affidavit forms by stating, if it be true, that you never knew or recognized that you had any such foreign nationality or, if you knew you had such foreign nationality, that you did not know of any method by which it could be renounced or that you did not know it was necessary to renounce it because you considered yourself to be an American citizen who did not owe or give any allegiance to Japan. (State the truth in your own words.)

If you were born *since* December 1, 1924, and your name was registered with a Japanese Consulate for the purpose of preserving Japanese nationality and you never thereafter renounced Japanese nationality the Justice Department presumes you were a *dual citizen*. Therefore, you should answer *Question 3 (A)* in the Affidavit forms by stating, if it be true, that your parents so registered your name while you were an infant without your knowledge or consent. If you did not, thereafter, renounce Japanese nationality you can state, if it be a fact, that you never knew or recognized that you had Japanese nationality and therefore, that you did not know that it could be renounced or how it could be renounced or that it was necessary for you to renounce it and that you considered yourself to be an American citizen who did not owe or give any allegiance to Japan. (State the truth in your own words.)

The Justice Department takes the view that renunciation of U. S. citizenship by a dual citizen indicates that such a person probably felt a tie of loyalty to Japan and that such a tie and not fear probably caused him to renounce citizenship.

(The theory of the Justice Department is that a person could hold dual citizenship, that is, U. S. citizenship by reason of birth in the U. S., and also Japanese citizenship by reason of the fact that, if born before December 1, 1924, Japanese law considered him a citizen of Japan and, if born since December 1, 1924, Japanese law considered him a citizen of Japan only if he was registered with a Japanese consular officer within two weeks of his birth. Therefore, the Justice Department took the view that when a dual citizen renounced U. S. citizenship he thereupon became solely a citizen of Japan. It also took the view that when a dual citizen renounced U. S. citizenship his renunciation indicated that he probably felt loyal to Japan and not to the United States. However, when a U. S. citizen who was not a dual citizen renounced his U. S. citizenship he thereupon became a "stateless" person, if his renunciation was valid, whether he remained in the U. S. or went to Japan and he would remain stateless thereafter until and unless he became naturalized as a citizen of the U. S., Japan or other foreign country.)

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department probably suspects that the fact that you are a Kibei who received part of your education and formal schooling in Japan might indicate that you felt a closer tie of loyalty and allegiance to Japan than to the United States. However, it is likely that it had no relationship to any such thing. The fact that you went to school in Japan probably was a matter decided upon by your parents. It may be that they made provision for your schooling in Japan in order to prepare you for future opportunities in business, such as the import-export trade between the U. S. and Japan, or in professions or occupations which would necessitate familiarity with the language, culture, customs and traditions of Japan. (Therefore, in answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms you can state, if it be true, that your parents sent you to school in Japan for such purposes. If you made your own decision to attend school in Japan for any such purposes you should state so. If you were in Japan and received your education there because of other reasons you should state those reasons.)

MEMORANDUM RE QUESTION 6

Inasmuch as you were one of those who returned to Japan the Justice Department asserts you returned to Japan voluntarily. After you went aboard the ship that was to transport you to Japan the Attorney General cancelled the removal order he had issued against you.

It is likely that you (or some member of your family) at some time between June 1, 1943, and the time of your renunciation or after you renounced U. S. citizenship, signed an application to be expatriated to Japan (that is to say, signed a request to be sent to Japan). Such a request may have been signed on a form supplied by the WRA if you made such request before your renunciation or on a form supplied by the U. S. Immigration Service if you signed such a request after you renounced citizenship. Such a written request also may have been in the form of a letter sent to the WRA, the Attorney General, the Justice Department or to the Immigration Service.

If you are positive that you never signed any written request to be sent to Japan it is likely that you, nevertheless, made a verbal request to be sent to Japan at the time of your "mitigation hearing" held at Tule from about December 15, 1945 to April 1, 1946. (It is possible also that you may have made a verbal request to be sent to Japan before or shortly after your "mitigation hearing" at Tule. If you were one of those transferred to another internment camp by the Justice Department it is possible that you there made a verbal request to be sent to Japan.

If you made a written application (request) or verbal application (request) to be sent to Japan you should state so in answering *Question 6* of the Affidavit forms and state the time when you made such request and the reasons why you made such request truthfully and in your own words. If you have no recollection of ever having made a written or verbal request for repatriation to Japan you should state, in answer to *Question 6* of the Affidavit forms, "I am uncertain" or "I do not recall" or "I do not remember" or words of similar import. (If your parents or a family member or some other person made such a request for you, either with or without your knowledge or consent, you should state the facts truthfully.)

It is possible that some renunciants may not have signed any written request for repatriation to Japan (although this is unlikely) and it also is possible that some may not have made verbal requests to be sent to Japan. However, if they did not do so, it is likely that they refused to attend a "mitigation hearing" and the hearing officers thereupon drew the conclusion that they wished to be sent to Japan.

However, if you recall that you applied for expatriation or repatriation to Japan (that is to say, if you made an application or request to be sent to Japan) either *in writing or verbally* you should answer *Question 6* of the Affidavit forms truthfully and *in your own words* stating the time you did so and your own reasons for having done so. (See "*Requests for Repatriation*" on page 1 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" which may help you to recall why such requests were made.) If you made such a request when you were under 21 years of age you should state what your age then was.

Many requests for expatriation to Japan were made while persons were detained in WRA Centers other than Tule. Those who made such requests were scheduled by the WRA to be segregated at the Tule Lake Center. If your request for expatriation to Japan was made while you were held in a WRA Center other than the Tule Lake Center you should state in answer to *Question 6* where you were when it was made and the reasons why you made that request, and if it was made for the purpose of preventing your separation from your family or because of conditions existing in that camp or because of any fears you then had you should state the facts fully in your answer to *Question 6* in the Affidavit forms.

If your request for expatriation to Japan was made while you were at Tule but after October 15, 1943, when the segregation program had been completed, and before April, 1944, your request for expatriation may have been due to the activities or fear of the underground pressure movements which preceded the formation of the Saikakuri Seigan or due to the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule.

In April, 1944, however, the resegregationist pressure group, largely made up of aliens who wished to be sent to Japan and to be separated from those who wished to remain in the U. S., emerged from the underground at Tule under the name of the "*Saikakuri Seigan*" and became openly active in its propaganda activities. If your request for expatriation to Japan was made between April, 1944, and August, 1944, it may have been caused by fear of the propaganda and activities of the Saikakuri Seigan pressure group and the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule. (See the subject of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" for a partial list of incidents and occurrences at Tule

from November 1, 1943, through August, 1944, many of which have been attributed to alien members of the Saikakuri Seigan and the underground resegregationist movement which preceded it.) Fear arising from the activities of those groups and from the many threats and acts of violence, such as beatings and assaults and the murder which occurred at Tule also may have caused many persons to ask for repatriation to Japan simply for reasons of personal security and the security of their family members.

In August, 1944, alien leaders of the Saikakuri Seigan at Tule organized the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan and this later was divided into the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan and the Hokoku Seinen Dan. Therefore, neither the Seinen Dan nor the Hoshi Dan could have been responsible for persuading, influencing or pressuring citizens at Tule to ask for repatriation to Japan before August, 1944, when they were organized. (The Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan appears to have been formed even later.)

You should bear in mind that *most of the renunciation hearings at Tule* were held from January 11, 1945, to March 17, 1945. *During that time the propaganda, activities and influence of the Seinen Dan and the Hoshi Dan reached its height and had the greatest effect.* After that time, however, a smaller number of persons applied for permission to renounce citizenship and, therefore, renunciation hearings were held for them in July, 1945, after the leaders and members of the pressure groups and others persons suspected of being disloyal and troublemakers had been removed from Tule to other internment camps. The Justice Department evidently believes that those who applied at Tule for renunciation after March 17, 1945, and who were given their renunciation hearings in July, 1945, were less likely to have been influenced in so doing by the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups and other persons it suspected were disloyal and troublemakers because such groups and persons had been removed from Tule before the time when they applied for forms on which to renounce and before they had their renunciation hearings.

In early January, 1945, the Hokoku Seinen Dan supplied John Burling of the Justice Department with a list of the names of its members. The *first group of officers* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan was removed from Tule by the Justice Department on December 27, 1944, and interned at Santa Fe, New Mexico. Its *next group of some 50 officers* was removed from Tule on January 26, 1945, and interned in Bismarck, North Dakota, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. On February 11, 1945, about 650 *members* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan were removed from Tule to other internment camps and, on March 4, 1945, about 125 more were removed from Tule to other internment camps. By March 4, 1945, therefore, all the leaders and all the active members of the Hokoku Seinen Dan whose names were on the membership list which had been supplied to John Burling in early January, 1945, had been moved from Tule. By March 4, 1945, *several sets of the officers* of the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, all the *writers* for the "Fatherland Magazine", all the *teachers* of the "Greater East Asia School", all the *teachers* at the number of other Japanese Language Schools who had been found to be active in what the Justice Department terms was pro-Japanese propaganda and a number of *Buddhist priests* who had been active in propaganda likewise were removed from Tule to other internment camps. *The Justice Department considered all the persons who had been removed from Tule to other internment camps to be disloyal troublemakers.*

Because so many leaders and members of such groups had been removed from Tule by March 4, 1945, the Justice Department may believe that those who renounced citizenship at Tule *after* the removal of such persons and those who requested repatriation to Japan at Tule *after* the removal of such persons may not have renounced citizenship and may not have made their requests to be sent to Japan because of any fear on their part of the propaganda or activities of those groups and may not have been influenced by those groups in making their decisions to renounce citizenship and to request expatriation to Japan. (However, a number of those who renounced citizenship after the removal of such groups and who requested to be sent to Japan after the removal of such groups still may have been in fear that some of the leaders and members of those groups may not have been removed but were still in camp or may have been in fear of the younger boys under 18 years who continued to drill and blow bugles. Also, a number of those who asked to be sent to Japan after they renounced citizenship may have done so because of other fears, such as fear of being separated from family members who they still believed would be deported to Japan, or because of fear that when the camp was closed out they would be forced to relocate in the U. S. in communities hostile to them where their safety would be endangered, or because of being compelled to do so by a parent, spouse, brother or other family members, or because of other fears.) In answering *Question 6* in the Affidavit forms you should state truthfully the reasons or fears that caused you to request to be sent to Japan, if you made such a request.

MEMORANDUM

During February, 1943, at all WRA Centers, and at Tule Lake Center also in March, 1943, citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry were required to answer registration forms. All the *male citizens* over 17 years of age were required to answer the questionnaire bearing the seal of the Selective Service System and entitled "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" DSS Form 304-A. In addition thereto the *male citizens* were required by the WRA to register on another abbreviated questionnaire form entitled "War Relocation Authority Application for Leave Clearance", Form WRA 126-Rev.

On both forms, DSS Form 304-A and Form WRA 126-Rev., which all *male citizens* were required to answer appeared Questions Nos. 27 and 28 which read as follows:

"Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?"

"Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and/or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"

On the similar forms which *all female citizens* and also all *male* and *female* aliens were required to sign the questions read as follows:

"Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC?"

"Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"

A person who gave a "No" answer to Question No. 28 or who failed or refused to answer it or who did not give a "Yes" answer to it *was deemed* by the Justice Department or by the WRA *not to be loyal* to the United States.

The Justice Department asserts that you personally were sent to the Tule Lake Center or were segregated and held there *because you answered question No. 28 on either DSS Form 304-A or Form WRA 126-Rev. in the negative* (that is to say, that you gave a "No" answer thereto) *or as the result of your failure or refusal to answer that question*. Therefore, *you were deemed not to be loyal to the United States*. In consequence, you should give full and truthful answers to Questions 7 (A), (B) and (C) in the Affidavit forms *in your own words*. (If you will refer to the last six paragraphs of the subject of "Registration and Question No. 28" appearing on pages 2 and 3 of the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship" you will learn the reasons why a number of citizens answered Question 28 in the negative or failed or refused to answer it. These reasons may help you to recall why you answered it in the negative or failed or refused to answer it.)

If you gave a "No" answer to Question No. 28 while you were held in a WRA Center your answer to *Question 7 (A)* in the Affidavit forms reading "Have you ever expressly indicated that you would not swear unqualified allegiance to the United States?" *should be "Yes"*.

If you failed or refused to answer Question No. 28 while you were held in a WRA Center your answer to *Question 7 (A)* in the Affidavit forms reading "Have you ever declined to answer when asked whether you would swear unqualified allegiance?" *should be "Yes"*.

If you were under 21 years of age at the time you answered Question No. 28 in the negative or failed or refused to answer it you should mention that fact in your answer to Question 7 (A) in the Affidavit forms.

(The Justice Department *has not asserted* that you gave a qualified answer to Question No. 28. It has supplied the names of a few persons who gave a qualified answer thereto but has not specified that you were one of them.)

Inasmuch as you answered Question No. 28 in the negative or failed or refused to answer that question while you were held in a WRA Center you should answer *Question 7 (B)* in the Affidavit forms truthfully. If you, after giving a "No" answer to Question No. 28 or after failing or refusing to answer it, ever notified the WRA or the Justice Department or any of their officers verbally or by letter that you had changed your mind and were willing to give a "Yes" answer thereto you should state the time, place and to whom you gave such a notice. If you, after giving a "No" answer to Question No. 28 or after failing or refusing to answer it, changed your mind and would have been willing to give a "Yes" answer to it (that is to say, to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States) your answer to *Question 7 (B)* in the Affidavit forms should be "Yes". If you would have been willing to take such an oath if the Government had not discriminated against you and you believed that both you and your family could have been relocated in the U. S. without danger to you and your family or that you could have been freed from the terror and fear that arose from camp conditions you should state so. If you later joined the armed forces you should state that you took such an oath at the time of your induction.

MEMORANDUM

You were sent to the Tule Lake Center or were kept segregated there because of one or more of the following reasons specified by the provisions of Chapter 10 of the War Relocation Administrative Manual, Sec. 110.3, as reasons why a person was to be sent there or was to be kept segregated there, namely:

(1) Because he formally asked for repatriation or expatriation to Japan and did not retract his request before July 1, 1943; or

(2) Because at the time he registered for Army service and war industries purposes he answered Question 28 of Form WRA-126 or DSS Form 304-A in the negative, or he failed or refused to answer it and did not change his answer before July 1, 1943. (*A person who failed or refused to answer that question in the affirmative by a "Yes" answer was deemed by the Justice Department or WRA not to be loyal to the United States.*)

(3) Because he was denied leave clearance by the Director of the WRA because:

(a) An adverse report had been filed against him by a Federal Intelligence agency; or

(b) He had answered Question No. 28 in the negative by a "No" answer and changed it to a "Yes" answer by July 1, 1943, or he answered that question with a qualification; or

(c) He had requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan and retracted such request before July 1, 1943, or he requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan after July 1, 1943; or

(d) He was a person concerning whom the Japanese American Joint Board established in the Provost Marshal General's Offices did not affirmatively recommend leave clearance; or

(e) He was a person about whom there was information indicating he had loyalty to Japan.

(4) A member of the immediate family of any person who fell within one of the above-mentioned three classes or categories was allowed to remain in the Tule Lake Center or to be sent there with him if he made an individual request to remain there or to be sent there with him, and *this included adult members of such a person's family as well as minors under the age of 21 years.*

The Justice Department has not specified the precise reason why you personally were sent to the Tule Lake Segregation Center or why you were kept segregated there. However, you were sent there or were kept segregated there for one of the above-mentioned reasons. If you do not recall which of those reasons was applicable to your case it is likely that you gave a "No" answer to Question No. 28 or failed or refused to answer that question on either DSS Form 304-A or Form WRA-126 Rev. while you were at Tule or one of the other WRA Centers.

During February, 1943, at all WRA Centers, and at Tule Lake Center also in March, 1943, citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry were required to answer registration forms. All the *male citizens* over 17 years of age were required to answer the questionnaire bearing the seal of the Selective Service System and entitled "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" DSS Form 304-A. In addition thereto the *male citizens* were required by the WRA to register on another abbreviated questionnaire form entitled "War Relocation Authority Application for Leave Clearance", Form WRA 126-Rev.

On both forms, DSS Form 304-A and Form WRA 126-Rev., which all *male citizens* were required to answer appeared Questions Nos. 27 and 28 which read as follows:

"Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?"

"Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and/or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"

On the similar forms which *all female citizens* and also all *male* and *female* aliens were required to sign the questions read as follows:

“Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC?”

“Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?”

A person who gave a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or who failed or refused to answer it or who did not give a “Yes” answer to it was deemed by the Justice Department or by the WRA not to be loyal to the United States.

If you are positive that you gave a “Yes” answer to Question No. 28 on either DSS Form 304-A or Form WRA 126-Rev. while you were confined at the Tule Lake Center or at any other WRA Center your answer to *Question 7(A)* in the Affidavit forms should be “No”.

If you do not recall whether you gave a “Yes” or a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or whether you refused to answer it you should state in answer to *Question 7(A)* of the Affidavit forms either “Uncertain”, or “I am uncertain”, or “I do not recall” or words of similar import.

However, if you gave a “No” answer to Question No. 28 while you were held at Tule or at any other WRA Center your answer to *Question 7(A)* in the Affidavit forms reading “Have you ever expressly indicated that you would not swear unqualified allegiance to the United States?” *should be “Yes”* and you should state the reasons why you refused to swear unqualified allegiance.

If you failed or refused to answer Question No. 28 while you were held at Tule or at any other WRA Center your answer to *Question 7(A)* in the Affidavit forms reading “Have you ever declined to answer when asked whether you would swear unqualified allegiance?” *should be “Yes”* and you should state the reasons why you declined to answer that question.

(If you will refer to the last six paragraphs of the subject of “*Registration and Question No. 28*” appearing on pages 2 and 3 of the “*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*” you will learn the reasons why a number of citizens answered Question No. 28 in the negative or failed or refused to answer it.)

If you were under 21 years of age at the time you answered Question No. 28 in the negative or failed or refused to answer it you should mention that fact in your answer to Question 7(A) in the Affidavit forms.

(The Justice Department *has not asserted* that you gave a qualified answer to Question No. 28. It has supplied the names of a few persons who gave a qualified answer thereto but has not specified that you were one of them.)

If you, after having given a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or after failing or refusing to answer it, ever notified the WRA or the Justice Department or any of their officers verbally or by letter that you had changed your mind and were willing to give a “Yes” answer thereto you should answer *Question 7(B)* in the Affidavit forms and you should state the time, place and to whom you gave such a notice. If you, after giving a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or after failing or refusing to answer it, changed your mind and would have been willing to give a “Yes” answer to it (that is to say, to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States) your answer to *Question 7(B)* in the Affidavit forms should be “Yes” and you should state when you changed your mind and your reasons for changing your mind. If you would have been willing to take such an oath if the Government had not discriminated against you and you believed that both you and your family could have been relocated in the U. S. without danger to you and your family or that you could have been freed from the terror and fear that arose from camp conditions you should state so. If you later joined the armed forces you should state that you took such an oath at the time of your induction.

Q-7(C)

MEMORANDUM RE QUESTION 7 (C) IN AFFIDAVIT FORMS

If you ever indicated that *you would not swear unqualified allegiance* to the United States, either expressly or by a refusal to answer, or by a qualified answer, *knowing that by so doing you would be sent to the WRA Segregation Center at Tule Lake* you should give a "Yes" answer to *Question 7 (C)* in the Affidavit forms and state the reasons why you refused to swear unqualified allegiance or refused to do so or gave a qualified answer.

(A number of persons refused to swear unqualified allegiance hoping that, by so doing, they would be sent to Tule Lake and there be kept united with members of their family who had asked to be sent to Japan or who they believed had been scheduled by the Government to be sent to Japan. A few refused to swear unqualified allegiance simply because they wanted to be sent to California and believed that if they were not sent to Tule they would never be permitted to live in California again. A few refused to swear unqualified allegiance simply because they believed that if they refused to do so they would be sent to Tule Lake where they would be able to go to work on the WRA farm at Tule instead of remaining in the WRA Center where they were confined and there was little or nothing for them to do. You should state your own personal answer to *Question 7 (C)* truthfully and *in your own words.*)

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department *has not asserted* that you were a member of any organization at Tule which it claims was engaged in pro-Japanese activities. *Therefore, it is to be presumed you were not a member of any such organization.* In consequence, *Questions 8 (A), (B), (C), (D), (E) and (F)* in the Affidavit forms will not be difficult for you to answer.

(However, if you were, in fact, a member of any of the organizations specified in *Question 8 (A)* of the Affidavit forms you should answer *Questions 8 (A), (B), (C), (D), (E) and (F)* truthfully and in your own words. If such an organization was known to you or believed by you to be engaged in legal or legitimate activities you should state what your understanding was of its purposes and activities.)

(If you were, in fact, a member of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan, the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, the Hokoku Seinen Dan or the Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan you should state so in answer to *Question 8 (A)* in the Affidavit forms. If you joined or were led into joining any such organization by reason of information supplied to you or by a belief on your part that it was not organized for or engaged in any improper or illegal activities, or that it was sponsored by the WRA and that our Government wanted you to join it, or if you were compelled or forced for security reasons to join it and you were afraid to discontinue membership in it, or you were prevented from so doing, you should state the facts fully and truthfully in answering *Questions 8 (B), (E) and (F)* in the Affidavit forms. *If you were a member of any of these so-called pro-Japanese organizations at Tule Lake it would be best for you to write and let me know before you answer Question 8 (B) in the Affidavit forms and I can send you additional information relating to that question.*)

MEMORANDUM RE QUESTION 8 OF AFFIDAVIT FORMS

The Justice Department asserts that *it has documentary evidence proving that you were a member of an organization at Tule Lake which it claims was engaged in pro-Japanese activities.* By this the Justice Department means that you were a member of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan, the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, the Hokoku Seinen Dan or the Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan.

(If you were a member of any of the *other* organizations specified in *Question 8 (A)* of the Affidavit forms you should answer *Questions 8 (A), (B), (C), (D), (E) and (F)* relating thereto truthfully and in your own words. If such organization was not active in Tule you, nevertheless, should answer those questions fully, and if such organization was known to you or believed by you to be engaged in legal or legitimate activities you should state what your knowledge or understanding was of its purposes and activities.)

If you were, in fact, a member of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan, the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, the Hokoku Seinen Dan or the Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan you should state so in answer to Question 8 (A) in the Affidavit forms.

In answering *Question 8 (B)* of the Affidavit forms you should state truthfully and *in your own words your own reasons for becoming a member* of such organization. If you joined or were led into becoming either an *active* or an *inactive* member because of information supplied to you or by a belief on your part that at the time you became a member it was a lawful organization formed for lawful purposes and that it was not organized for or engaged in any improper or illegal activities you should state so. *If you had been told or were advised and believed the organization was approved or sponsored by the WRA or that our Government wanted you to join it you should state so.* (The fact that the WRA permitted the organization to hold meetings and assigned it quarters for its meeting places and offices and permitted it to hold gymnastic exercises and to drill in camp may have convinced you it was a lawful organization.) If you believed that it was necessary for you to join it for security reasons, that is to say, to prevent an anticipated or expected possible harm to yourself or members of your family you should state so. If you were urged, persuaded or forced by your parents or family to become a member you should state so and also state the reasons they gave to persuade you to join. If any officer or employee of the WRA told you it was all right for you to join it because you were going to be sent to Japan anyway along with your family you should state so. If you believed or feared that you were going to be deported to Japan by our Government either alone or with alien members of your family who had requested to be sent there and that becoming a member of such organization and participating in its activities might help you to prepare for your future life there you should state so. If your name was listed as a member of such organization without your knowledge or consent you should state so.

If you were an *officer* in any such organization at Tule you should state the office or offices you held in such organization and the duties, if any, you performed in answering *Question 8 (C)* in the Affidavit forms. If you performed any duties as such officer you should state what your duties or activities were. If you were selected or named as an officer without your knowledge or consent you should state so. If you did not perform any duties or work for such organization or did not participate in its meetings you should state that you did not.

If you *voluntarily discontinued membership* in such an organization or *resigned* therefrom you should state so in answering *Question 8 (D)* in the Affidavit forms. You should state the approximate date you discontinued membership or resigned from it or the date you stopped attending its meetings or stopped participating in its activities and also explain fully the reasons why you did so. If you did not attend meetings or participate in its activities but were only an *inactive* member you should state so.

If, after you became a member, you heard or learned that the organization had developed into an unlawful or disloyal organization or that it engaged in unlawful or disloyal or trouble-making activities and that, as a result, you discontinued your membership, or you resigned from it or stopped attending its meetings or stopped participating in its activities, you should state so. If you discontinued membership or stopped attending its meetings or stopped taking part in its activities or demonstrations because the WRA or the Justice Department accused it of unlawful activities and you thereupon became suspicious of its purposes and activities you should state so. You might recall that on January 25, 1945, John Burling of the Justice Department wrote letters to Masao Sakamoto and Tsutomu Higashi, the alien heads of the Hoshi Dan and Seinen Dan, telling them and their organizations that they must stop their disloyal activities. See material under heading of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*". Mimeographed copies of that letter from Burling were posted in the mess-halls and elsewhere in Tule and hundreds of copies were distributed to the confined citizens and aliens.

Therefore, if you resigned from the organization shortly after those notices were posted and circulated in Tule or stopped attending meetings or stopped participating in the activities of such organization it may have been due to the fact that you learned from the contents of that letter that the Hoshi Dan and Seinen Dan were engaged in unlawful activities. *It may be that you then became aware that the organizations were dominated or had become dominated by aliens who wanted to go to Japan and who had succeeded in converting them into organizations engaged in unlawful activities.* If you resigned or stopped attending meetings or stopped participating in its activities between December 27, 1944, when the first group of officers of the Seinen Dan were moved out of camp, and March 4, 1945, when the last of the so-called trouble-making groups were moved from Tule it may have been because such things convinced you that such organizations or the alien members who had gotten control and dominated those organizations had gone beyond the limits of legality and had tried to convert the organizations into disloyal organizations you should state so.

If your *membership* in such organization, your *activities* therein or your *acceptance of an office* therein was due to a *misunderstanding on your part* of the purpose or nature of that organization you should give a full explanation thereof *in your own words* in your answer to *Question 8 (E)* of the Affidavit forms.

If you had become a member or officer because you were told and believed the organization was formed for legitimate purposes you should state what information and understanding you had of its purpose and nature and the sources of that information. If your parents or members of your family persuaded or compelled you against your own wishes to become a member or to accept an office in such organization you should state what they told you and what you were led to

believe about its purposes. If you were told by anyone and believed that it was a legal organization sponsored and approved by the WRA or that our Government wanted you to join it you should state so. If you joined it for security reasons, that is to say, because you believed it was necessary to join it so that you would avoid being harmed by its members you should state so. If you were forced or compelled by any threats to become a member or to become an officer you should state the facts. If any person or member of your family persuaded or compelled you to join it or listed your name as a member without your knowledge or consent you should state so. If you joined it because you feared you were going to be deported to Japan without your consent and because you believed it would be best that you join it in order to be trained and prepared physically or mentally by the organization to start life in Japan you should state so. If you joined it or became an officer in the belief that it was necessary or desirable to do this so that on arrival in Japan following your deportation the Japanese government and its people would not punish you or your family for having openly exhibited an unwillingness to conform to a Japanese way of life you should state so.

If, while you were a member of any such organization, you had a genuine wish to discontinue your membership, activities or office therein and *you were prevented from so doing* you should explain the facts fully *in your own words* in answering *Question 8 (F)* in the Affidavit forms. If you failed to discontinue your membership, activities or offices in such an organization because you were afraid to do so you should state the reasons why you were afraid to do so. If any person or group of persons prevented you from so doing you should state the facts fully and truthfully, giving the name of the group or the names, if known to you, of the persons who prevented you from so doing. If you tried to resign or discontinue your membership and were prevented from so doing you should state how you were prevented from so doing.

(A number of persons wrote letters to the Justice Department stating that they had resigned from the Hokoku Seinen Dan and perhaps, also from the Hoshi Dan. A number of them stated at their renunciation hearings that they had resigned from the Seinen Dan. Officers of the Seinen Dan wrote several letters informing the hearing officers of the names of a number of members who had resigned from that organization. The Justice Department apparently is of the opinion that because some persons did resign and that no harm resulted to them that all those who really wanted to resign knew they could do so without being harmed by the organization or its members. If you did not resign it may have been because you had heard, believed and feared harm to yourself if you tried to resign. You may not have known that anyone had resigned. If you tried to resign you should state the time and place and steps you took to do so. If you simply stopped attending its meetings or simply stopped participating in the activities you should state so.)

If you did not have any personal knowledge of any illegal purposes or activities of the organization of which you were a member or you did not learn or believe the organization was responsible for any such things but that other organizations may have been and that you believed the organization of which you were a member was being accused of the illegal activities of a different organization you should state so. If you believed that aliens who wanted to be sent to Japan or that the alien members of the Saikakuri Seigan who had asked to be sent to Japan or other groups were responsible for the demonstrations or illegal activities you should state so and state whether your beliefs and suspicions of such persons and groups was based on actual knowledge or merely on rumors and hearsay or the accusations of persons.

MEMORANDUM

(RE QUESTION 9, AFFIDAVIT FORM)

During September, 1943, and to about October 15, 1943, persons from other WRA Centers were sent to the Tule Lake Center which was intended to be converted into a segregation center for those who wanted to be sent to Japan and who had made requests to be sent there and also for those who were scheduled by the WRA to be sent there. (See subjects of "*Segregation*" and "*Reasons Why Persons Were Sent to the Tule Lake Center or Were Segregated There*" on page 3 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*".)

Believing that there were citizens as well as aliens at Tule who were loyal to Japan and who desired to create trouble for our Government and that such persons had been responsible for the incidents of November 1, 1943, November 4, 1943, and the night of November 4, 1943, described under the heading of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*", and other illegal acts the Justice Department prevailed on Congress to pass the law which permitted citizens to renounce their citizenship in time of war. This law became effective on July 1, 1944. The theory of the Justice Department was that if a citizen renounced U. S. citizenship thereunder and asserted his loyalty to Japan *it would presume he was a dual citizen who, thereupon, became solely a Japanese citizen and, therefore, automatically an alien enemy and, as such, to be interned* in a Justice Department alien internment camp and be removable to Japan under the provisions of the Alien Enemy Act.

The agitators among the aliens who, in September and October, 1943, had been sent to Tule from other WRA Centers because they wished to be repatriated to Japan and like aliens who remained in Tule for such a purpose became active in propaganda for repatriation to Japan. They demanded that their group be separated from those at Tule who wished to remain in the United States. This "resegregationist" pressure group does not appear to have been very active at Tule until about April, 1944, when it emerged from its underground movement, adopted the name of "Saikakuri Seigan" and became an open and very active propagandist and pressure organization in favor of resegregation and of requesting repatriation of aliens and their U. S. citizen children to Japan.

You were at Tule between October 15, 1943, when the segregation program was completed, and before April, 1944. If you made a *request* during that period of time for *expatriation* to Japan that request could have been the result of fears engendered by the propaganda and activities of underground movements existing at Tule or by the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule. If you made a *request for expatriation* to Japan at Tule between April, 1944 and August, 1944, such a request could have been due to fear of the propaganda and activities of the "Saikakuri Seigan" or to the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule. (See the subject of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" for a partial list of occurrences at Tule from November 1, 1943, through August, 1944, *many of which have been attributed to alien members* of the resegregationist underground movement and to the "Saikakuri Seigan", such as threats of violence, beatings and assaults. Such conditions may have influenced or compelled a number of citizens to make a *request for expatriation* to Japan between October 15, 1943, and July 1, 1944.)

The law permitting renunciation of citizenship in time of war became effective on July 1, 1944. The *first letters and group petitions* of U. S. citizens at Tule *requesting permission to renounce*

their citizenship were received by the Justice Department in July, 1944. The propaganda and activities of the "Saikakuri Seigan" during July, 1944, may have engendered fear in the minds of some citizens at Tule and compelled them to write such letters and to sign such petitions.

In August of 1944, alien leaders of the "Saikakuri Seigan" organized the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan and this later divided into the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan and the Hokoku Seinen Dan. The Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan was formed later. The agitation of these new organizations from August, 1944, up to March 4, 1945, and the fears they created in the minds of persons could have been responsible for persuading or pressuring many citizens to *ask for permission to renounce citizenship, to renounce their citizenship and to request to be sent to Japan*. By March 4, 1945, the last of the leaders and active members of these organizations and others suspected of disloyal acts were moved from Tule to other internment camps.

In October, 1944, the Justice Department mailed out to the citizens who had sent letters and petitions for permission to renounce proper forms for applying for permission to renounce citizenship. Shortly thereafter several hundred typewritten copies of such forms were mailed from Tule to the Justice Department and that Department also received petitions for permission to renounce from Tule bearing the signatures of hundreds of persons. Because the Justice Department believed that some of the signatures might have been coerced or forged it decided to take steps to make certain that the applicants knew what they were doing. John Burling was sent to Tule to investigate.

Mr. Burling arrived at Tule on December 5, 1944. He separately questioned about 62 persons who had filled in the typewritten copies of the printed form requesting permission to renounce citizenship and all of them told him they wished to renounce American citizenship so as to be solely Japanese and most of them stated they wished to return to Japan immediately and hoped Japan would win the war. He also talked to the leaders of the Seinen Dan and the Hoshi Dan and those of them who were citizens told him they had applied for renunciation. Each of these who was a citizen signed the form for renunciation of citizenship. On December 23, 1944, Burling returned to Washington, D.C., and, on his recommendation, Attorney General Biddle approved their renunciations of U. S. citizenship. He also ordered those leaders of the groups who were aliens and those who were citizens interned as alien enemies under the provisions of the Alien Enemy Act and arranged to move them to Justice Department alien enemy internment camps.

That order of Attorney General Biddle providing for the internment of those aliens was a legal order. It also may have been a justifiable order insofar as it related to the internment of those citizens who held dual citizenship, for, if their renunciations of U. S. citizenship were valid, they would have retained Japanese citizenship and, therefore, would have become alien enemies. (The question whether a *resident U. S. citizen* can be a dual citizen will require final settlement by the U. S. Supreme Court. However, a U. S. citizen who resides abroad and is given foreign citizenship by foreign law without committing an act of expatriation which would cause him to lose U. S. citizenship by our law might thereby become a dual citizen.)

That order of Attorney General Biddle *probably was an illegal order as to any of those U. S. citizens in that group who were ordered interned but who did not have dual citizenship* because, if their renunciations of U. S. citizenship were valid, they would not have become Japanese citizens but would have become "stateless" persons having permanent resident status in this country and would not have become alien enemies subject to the provisions of the Alien Enemy Act. *They, therefore, were not legally internable by the Attorney General thereunder*. At the same time the

Attorney General approved a plan to dissolve the Seinen Dan and the Hoshi Dan. He decided that the plan most likely to succeed would be to intern any new leaders of the organizations as alien enemies and to remove them from Tule to alien internment camps.

The *first group of officers* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan was removed from Tule by the Justice Department on December 27, 1944, and interned at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

In early January, 1945, John Burling returned to Tule Lake to supervise the renunciation hearings. By the time he arrived at Tule over 1,000 registered letters addressed to him at Tule had been received, many of which asked for application forms on which to renounce citizenship, many contained such application forms already filled out and many contained requests for immediate hearings on their applications to renounce citizenship. The hearing officers arrived at Tule on January 11, 1945, to conduct renunciation hearings.

In the early part of January, 1945, the Hokoku Seinen Dan supplied John Burling with a list of the names of its active members. The renunciation hearings at Tule started on January 11, 1945. While the hearings were being given *the next group of some 50 officers* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan was removed from Tule and interned in Bismarck, North Dakota, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. On February 11, 1945, *about 650 members* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan were removed from Tule to other internment camps and, on March 4, 1945, *about 125 more* were removed from Tule to other internment camps. By March 4, 1945, therefore, all the leaders and all the active members of the Hokoku Seinen Dan whose names were on the membership list which had been given to John Burling had been moved from Tule. By March 4, 1945, *several sets of the officers* of the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, *all the writers* for the "Fatherland Magazine", *all the teachers* of the "Greater East Asia School", *all the teachers* at the number of other Japanese Language Schools who had been found to be active in what the Justice Department terms was pro-Japanese propaganda and *a number of Buddhist priests* who had been active in propaganda likewise were removed from Tule to other internment camps. *The Justice Department considered all the persons who had been removed from Tule to other internment camps to be disloyal troublemakers.* The renunciation hearings were completed on March 17, 1945.

The great majority of the renunciation hearings at Tule were held from January 11, 1945, to March 17, 1945. *During that time the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups reached its greatest height and had the greatest effect.* Their members drilled, blew bugles, took exercises, agitated for renunciation of citizenship, studied Japanese, the history, customs and culture of Japan. They did these things in preparation for their future life in Japan following their expected deportation to Japan. (These persons, too, were innocent victims of evacuation and confinement, of the Government's discrimination against them and of its mistreatment of them, of abnormal living conditions and restrictions. Most of them believed that it long had been the Government's intention to deport them and their alien parents to Japan without giving them a chance to remain in this country. Most of them joined those organizations to prepare for life in Japan following their deportation—many of them feared that if they did not renounce citizenship and ask to be sent to Japan and did not give a "No" answer to Question No. 28 that they might be punished or subjected to reprisals by the Japanese government or its people when they arrived in Japan.)

In June and July, 1945, additional persons at Tule were interned by the Justice Department as "undesirables" at the request of the WRA.

After March 17, 1945, a smaller number of persons applied for permission to renounce citizenship and, therefore, renunciation hearings were held for them in July, 1945. The renunciation hearings for these applicants for renunciation *were held after the leaders and members of the pressure groups* and other persons suspected of being disloyal and troublemakers *had been removed from Tule* to other internment camps. (The Justice Department evidently believes that those who applied for renunciation after March 17, 1945, and who renounced citizenship at their renunciation hearings in July, 1945, were not influenced in so doing by the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups and other persons it suspected were disloyal or troublemakers because such groups and persons had been removed from Tule before the time they applied for forms on which to renounce and before they had their renunciation hearings.)

Because so many leaders and members of such groups had been removed from Tule by March 4, 1945, the Justice Department may believe that those who renounced citizenship after the removal of such persons (and also those who requested repatriation to Japan after the removal of such persons) may not have renounced citizenship (and may not have made their requests to be sent to Japan) because of any fear on their part of the propaganda or activities of those groups and may not have been influenced by those groups in making their decisions to renounce citizenship and to request expatriation to Japan.

(However, a number of those who renounced citizenship after the removal of such groups and who requested to be sent to Japan after the removal of such groups still may have been in fear that some of the leaders and members of those groups may not have been removed but were still in camp. They also may have been in fear of the boys under 18 years who continued to march and blow bugles. Also, they may have renounced citizenship and also requested to be sent to Japan because of other fears, such as fear of being separated from family members whom they still believed would be deported to Japan, or because of fear that when the camp was closed out they would be forced to relocate in the U. S. in communities hostile to them where their safety would be endangered, or because of being compelled to do so by a parent, spouse, brother or other family members, or because of other fears or combination of fears. It is suggested that you read the material captioned "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" starting on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" which may assist you in answering Question 9 and its subdivisions in the Affidavit forms.)

SUB-MEMORANDUM

Before you answer *Question 9 (A)* in the Affidavit form it is suggested that you read the material under the caption "*Applications for Renunciation*" on page 4 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*". It may refresh your recollection as to the time and place such applications for forms on which to renounce were made and the reasons and fears which caused many citizens to decide to request or to apply for forms upon which to renounce citizenship. You should also read the material under the caption "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" to learn of various fears which caused persons to renounce citizenship. In answering *Question 9 (A)* in the Affidavit forms you should state in your own words what your personal reasons and fears were which caused you to decide to apply for forms upon which to renounce your citizenship.

If the reasons you give in answer to *Question 9 (A)* in the Affidavit forms are different from the reasons you gave to the officer who conducted your renunciation hearing you must explain, in answering *Question 9 (B)* of the Affidavit forms, why the reasons you give in answer to *Question 9 (A)* are different from those you gave to the hearing officer at the time of your renunciation hearing. The Justice Department knows that at their renunciation hearings many persons gave wild, distorted and stereotyped answers to the hearing officers as to why they wanted to renounce—and that it appeared that many of them had been coached to give such answers either by pressure groups, parents or family members. See the material under the captions "*The Renunciation Hearings*" and "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" to learn why many answers given by persons at the time of their renunciation hearings to the officers conducting their hearings were not true.

A large number of those applying for renunciation told the hearing officers at their renunciation hearings that they individually and voluntarily had decided to renounce citizenship. None of them told a hearing officer that their renunciations were coerced. A large number of them appeared at the hearings with shaved heads and wearing the regalia and emblems of the organization to which they belonged. A large number of them told the hearing officers they were loyal to Japan and to the Japanese Emperor. The hearing officers told each person appearing for a renunciation hearing that it was not necessary for them to renounce citizenship in order to be repatriated to Japan. (It is likely that the applicants did not believe this and that they believed it was necessary to renounce before they could be sent to Japan to prevent separation from their families.)

It is apparent that at the time of their renunciation hearings many were very reluctant to reveal the real reasons and did not wish or dare to tell the truth to the hearing officers why they were renouncing citizenship. They were in fear of so doing and of what might happen to them and to their families if they did not renounce and that fact became known in camp. They also feared that if the Government did not accept their renunciations it would have resulted in their separation from their families who they believed were to be deported to Japan. It is apparent that since their release from detention and from the abnormal conditions that prevailed at Tule before and at the time of the renunciation hearings and afterward they no longer are affected by those fears and, therefore, now can tell the truth. You should answer *Question 9 (B)* in the Affidavit forms truthfully and in your own words.

In *Question 9 (C)* in the Affidavit forms it is stated that if you claim your renunciation was caused by fear, you should explain fully why such fear extended from the time you applied for renunciation papers until the actual date of your renunciation, that is to say, to the date you had your renunciation hearing. The Justice Department may be of the opinion that if you renounced by March 4, 1945, while leaders and members of the pressure groups still may have been active in Tule that it is possible that you renounced as a result of fear of those groups. It also may be of

the opinion that if you renounced between March 4, 1945, by which time the last of the leaders and members of the pressure groups had been removed from Tule, and March 17, 1945, when the renunciation hearings were completed that you may not have been influenced by the pressure groups in deciding to renounce citizenship. It also may be of the opinion that if you were one of those who renounced citizenship afterward and had your renunciation hearing at Tule in July, 1945, that you could not have been influenced by the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups because the leaders and members of those groups had been removed from Tule by March 4, 1945. (However, the young men under 18 years who belonged to the Seinen Dan were active in Tule after those over 18 years of age had been removed and their activities may have influenced these last renunciations. Further, Tuleans may have believed that some of the leaders and members of the pressure group may not have been removed from Tule and that they still were active.)

Further, many were in fear continuously from the time they applied for renunciation papers until the date they renounced *because of fears other than fear of the pressure groups*. See material under the caption of "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" commencing on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" for the fears and combination of fears that caused the renunciations. (The fear that it was necessary to renounce citizenship to make sure they would not be forced by the closing of the Center within one year to relocate in communities hostile to persons of Japanese ancestry but would be permitted to remain in camp in the protective security of the Justice Department, however, could not have risen in a person's mind until December 19, 1944, when the closure of the WRA Centers within one year was announced by the WRA.) In answering *Question 9 (C)* in the Affidavit forms you should explain in your own words, the particular fears you had from the time you applied for renunciation papers until the date you renounced.

(If you were a member of any of the so-called pro-Japanese organizations which were active in Tule and you did not join such organization for what you may have deemed to be security reasons your renunciation probably was caused by one of the other fears or combination of fears which are specified under the caption of "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" commencing on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*". Members of such groups probably did not renounce for the purpose of being interned by the Justice Department to prevent being forcibly relocated in the U. S. in communities hostile to them where their security and that of their families might be endangered because they probably became members of the organization before December 19, 1944, when the WRA announced the Centers would be closed within one year. It is to be remembered that the leaders and members of the pressure groups belonged to such organizations only because they, too, had been evacuated and confined to WRA Centers and were subject to the same discrimination and mistreatment by our Government and had to live in camp under the same adverse circumstances as the others—and that, in becoming identified with such organizations they, too, acted abnormally because of the abnormal treatment they received from the Government.)

In *Question 9 (D)* of the Affidavit forms you are asked, in substance, to state whether you made any effort to withdraw your application for renunciation if your fear did not extend from the date you made the application for renunciation to the date the Attorney General approved your renunciation and if you did not to explain why you did not do so.

If you made any effort or took any steps to withdraw your application for renunciation you should explain what you did and the time you did it if you can recall. If you sent a letter to the Justice Department or to the WRA asking to withdraw or cancel your renunciation or asked any of their officers or agents to cancel it you should state the time, place and the officer to whom you made such request. If fear of reprisal from any of the pressure groups, or your parents, spouse, brother or other family members in the event it became known that you wanted or attempted to do such a thing prevented you from so doing you should state the facts. If you feared that your renunciation might be cancelled if you did such a thing during that period of time and that you

thereafter might be forcibly relocated and thus separated from those in your family whom you believed were to be deported to Japan, or you feared that you and your family might be compelled on the closing of the camp to be relocated without funds and in communities hostile to you and without the ability to support yourself and your dependents you should state the facts in your own words.

For your information, John Burling states that there was substantially no move to withdraw or cancel renunciations until June, 1945, in which month a number of applications to cancel renunciation were received by the Justice Department. He says also that none of these asserted the renunciations had been made under coercion but appeared to assume that since renunciation was a voluntary matter the cancellation of renunciations likewise would be voluntary. He says also that the Justice Department sent letters to such persons stating that the renunciations were valid because they had not been coerced and could not be cancelled. He says that thereafter more letters seeking cancellation of renunciations were received by the Department, some of these claiming that their renunciations had been coerced—and that these letters appeared to have been prepared for them by WRA personnel.

The Attorney General approved your application for renunciation and sent you a letter notifying you that he had approved it. His letters were addressed to you at Tule where you were confined. Most of his letters approving renunciations were delivered to the addressees while they still were in camp. A number of his approval letters were mailed to the addressees at the camp after they had left the camp and had been relocated after the mass class suits in equity were filed on November 13, 1945, and, in consequence, those letters of approval were never received by them. Likewise a number of his approval letters were addressed to persons at the camp after they had been sent to Japan and, in consequence, these were not received by the addressees. *Your renunciation was approved by the Attorney General whether or not you actually received a letter from his office notifying you of the fact.*

If, after the Attorney General approved your renunciation of U. S. citizenship, you sent a letter to the Attorney General cancelling your renunciation and asking him to withdraw his approval of it and to cancel your renunciation you should answer *Question 9 (E)* in the Affidavit forms fully, explaining why you delayed doing so until then and why you did not do so earlier. (A great many of the renunciants, substantially all those who first joined in the mass suits filed in the District Court on November 13, 1945, and many more, did send such letters to the Attorney General in 1945 during the months of August, September, October, November and December, and many who joined the suits later also sent him similar letters. These letters were sent to the Attorney General on the advice of Attorney Wayne M. Collins, who also sent like letters of cancellation on their behalf. Others who did not originally join in the mass suits may have sent like letters when they learned that it was a proper thing to do. Others who later joined the mass suits may not have sent such letters.)

Up to the time they were advised by Mr. Collins or engaged his services as their attorney a majority of the renunciants still may have been in fear that they might be punished by individuals or groups in camp if it were learned that they had not really wanted to renounce citizenship but had been compelled to do so or if it were learned that they wanted or tried to cancel their renunciations by sending such a letter. It may be that until then many believed that it would be hopeless to send such a letter or that they delayed sending such a letter until they were convinced by Mr. Collins that no harm would happen to them from any source if they sent such letters. You should answer *Question 9 (E)* truthfully and in your own words.

In answering *Question 9 (F)* in the Affidavit forms you can state any other facts which influenced you in renouncing U. S. citizenship you may believe you have not covered adequately in your answers to *Questions 9 (A)* and *9 (C)*.

Spec. Re Q-9 (F);
Kibei—Duals; URO & PJO and
In Part for All

MEMORANDUM ON QUESTION 9 (F) OF AFFIDAVIT FORMS

This memorandum is intended especially *for those against whom the Attorney General issued removal orders; also for those who are Kibei; also for those who are so-called dual citizens; and also for those who were members of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan, the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, the Hokoku Seinen Dan or the Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan; for those who made requests to be sent to Japan; and, in part, for all other renunciants.*

(You are not one of those against whom the Attorney General issued a removal order *unless* you are notified in a separate Memorandum that the Justice Department asserts it has documentary evidence showing that a removal order was issued against you.)

The Justice Department believed that all the Kibei had been sent to Japan to be educated and that they had returned to the United States only after having spent most of their formative years in Japan. It believed that a very large proportion of the Kibei were wholly Japanese in culture and education and that they spoke little or no English. Dillon Myer expressed his opinion to the Justice Department that many Kibei were loyal to Japan—that many Kibei were Japanese by race, ties of family, ties of friendship, education and language and that many were American only by reason of their birth in the United States. Apparently it also believed that the so-called *dual citizens*, whether or not they were Kibei, probably felt a tie of loyalty to Japan rather than to the United States.

However, the suspicion directed against the Kibei and the Nisei who were deemed to be dual citizens by the WRA and the Justice Department was wholly unjustified. They were just as patriotic as other American citizens, as proved by the following facts:

All the *male Kibei*, all the *male dual citizens* and, in fact, all the *male Nisei*, had registered for the draft in 1940 and 1941 and at the time of their registration for the draft clearly indicated their patriotism and willingness to serve in the armed forces of the United States. (None of them, so far as is known, except possibly for a few who may have been ministers of religion, claimed exemption from such military service. A very few, if any, asked to be given the conscientious objector's classification.) Further, the fact that the Kibei had returned to the United States before war broke out on December 7, 1941, was evidence that they preferred to live here rather than in Japan and that they had elected to come home before war broke out so that they would be of service to the United States if war started. Further, when war with Japan was imminent and impending if any Kibei or dual citizens had wanted to go to Japan they could have done so on the ships that Japan sent to the United States in November, 1941, to take her nationals back to Japan. The fact that the Kibei and so-called dual citizens stayed in the United States proves that they were not willing to go to Japan. It also proves that they did not give any allegiance to Japan. It also proves

Spec. Re Q-9 (F);
Kibei—Duals; URO & PJO and
In Part for All

that the sole allegiance they had was to the United States. Their refusal to go to Japan at that time proves that they felt loyal to the United States and that they had no loyalty to Japan.

Therefore, in answering *Question 9(F)* in the Affidavit forms, a *male Kibei*, a *male dual citizen*, and a *male Nisei* who was a member of any of the so-called pro-Japanese organizations at Tule Lake, and any other *male Nisei* renunciant can state *in his own words*, if it is true, in addition to any other facts which may have influenced him in renouncing U. S. citizenship, that he was not disloyal to the United States; that he had registered in 1940 or 1941 for the draft and was willing to serve in the armed forces but that the Government refused to let him serve; that the Government classified him as an alien enemy by giving him a IV-C draft classification; that he believed that the Government thereby had repudiated his American citizenship and had indicated that it would not recognize him as a citizen but only as an alien enemy and that he believed, therefore, that the Government had no intention of ever letting him be a citizen and that it intended finally to deport him to Japan.

A male or female Kibei or dual citizen can state also that he or she refused to go to Japan when the Japanese ships came to the U. S. in November, 1941, to take Japanese citizens back to Japan because he or she was an American citizen and not a Japanese citizen.

Male and female renunciants, whether or not they were Kibei, dual citizens, members of any so-called pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake or persons who requested to be sent to Japan, and any other male or female renunciants who went to Japan or who stayed in the U. S., also can state, if it is true, that they believed that their evacuation and confinement to camp was a rejection by our Government of their American citizenship. They can state, if it is true, that they believed they never again would be accepted as citizens and that, in consequence, they feared they would be kept in confinement for an indefinite period of time to be followed by deportation to Japan on exchange ships or when the war ended or that, if kept in confinement until the war ended they would not be accepted as citizens in the U. S. and, therefore, would have no place to go except to Japan and, in consequence, they believed they had to renounce U. S. citizenship. If you had such beliefs and fears and these influenced you in renouncing citizenship you should state the reasons in your own words in answering Question 9 (F) of the Affidavit forms.

MEMORANDUM

Inasmuch as you returned to Japan you should answer *Question 10 (A)* in the Affidavit forms fully. The Justice Department contends that you returned voluntarily to Japan and that such indicates that your renunciation was not the result of duress, coercion or fear on your part.

If you were compelled to go to Japan, against your will and desire, by your husband, wife, parents, brother or other family members, or if you were compelled to go there as the result of fear of any threats of violence against you or of any force used against you by anyone or as the result of any fear or combination of fears arising out of the abnormal conditions at Tule you should state the reasons fully and in your own words.

If you were a dual citizen it is likely that the Justice Department took the view that on renunciation of U. S. citizenship you automatically became a Japanese citizen. If you were a dual citizen or a Kibei who had received part of your education and formal schooling in Japan the Justice Department may believe that your renunciation probably was due to the fact that you felt loyal to Japan rather than to the United States and that a feeling of loyalty to Japan and not fear caused your renunciation.

However, when a U. S. citizen who is not a dual citizen validly renounces U. S. citizenship he does not become a citizen of Japan but becomes a "stateless" person whether he remains in the U. S. or goes to Japan. He remains a "stateless" person wherever he goes until and unless he acquires citizenship in a foreign country through naturalization proceedings taken in a foreign country.

If *you now are in Japan* you should answer *Question 10 (B)* of the Affidavit forms which asks you if, since you returned to Japan, you have taken any action to resume or acquire Japanese citizenship. If you registered your name in your family Koseki and you intended thereby to become a Japanese citizen you should state so. If you were registered in the Koseki by a family member without your knowledge or consent you should state so. If you registered as a Japanese citizen or took any act to become a Japanese citizen *by reason of duress or coercion* you should explain the circumstance which compelled you to do so. *If you were compelled to take out Japanese citizenship through any threats made against you or through fear that if you failed to register as a Japanese citizen that you or your family would be deprived of a ration card and, therefore, might have to go without food or starve* you should state the facts fully and truthfully.

(The Justice Department apparently believes that if, after arrival in Japan you took steps to renew or acquire Japanese citizenship that such also indicates that you voluntarily renounced U. S. citizenship and voluntarily returned to Japan because you desired to be a Japanese citizen and reside permanently in Japan.)

Reg. class xx - (Jayan)
NOTICE

The attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" are intended simply to refresh your recollection of the times, places and events which had a bearing on the mass renunciations of U. S. citizenship. They may help you to recall the time, places, reasons and fears which may have caused you to renounce your citizenship.

However, it is important that you should give your own particular and personal answers to the questions contained in the Affidavit forms and that you should state your own reasons and fears truthfully and in your own words. You should not copy the language or quote verbatim the reasons and fears which are stated in the "Memoranda" or in the "Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship". If you do new Affidavit forms will have to be sent to you to fill out.

It is important, too, that you keep the attached "*Memoranda*" and the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" in your own possession for future use and reference, especially in the event that it finally becomes necessary for you to have an individual court trial.

Desig. Class XX

MEMORANDUM

Because you renounced U. S. citizenship at a WRA Center other than the Tule Lake Center, the Justice Department has not informed me of the precise evidence it asserts it holds against you and which it asserts indicates that your renunciation of U. S. citizenship was voluntary and not the product of duress or coercion.

Although you did not renounce at the Tule Lake Center it is likely that similar conditions existed in the Center where you were detained as existed at Tule Lake. Therefore you may find the annexed Memoranda of help to you in answering the questions in the Affidavit forms you are to fill out. The Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship, although made especially applicable to the Tule Lake Center, nevertheless should prove helpful to you in filling out the Affidavit forms.

You should be able to answer Questions numbered 1, 4, 8(A), 8(C), 11(A), 11(B), 11(C), 11(D) and 12 in the Affidavit forms without difficulty. (If you never received any formal education in Japan before your renunciation and never attended school there before, then your answer to Question 5 in the Affidavit forms should be "None.")

Gen.

MEMORANDUM

You must bear in mind that in filling out the Affidavit forms you are trying to convince the Justice Department that your "No" answer to Question No. 28 or your failure or refusal to answer it (if you gave such an answer or failed or refused to answer it); your membership or activities in any organization at Tule which the Justice Department contends was pro-Japanese (if you were a member or were active in any such organization); your request for expatriation to Japan (if you made such a request to be sent to Japan); your renunciation of citizenship; your return to Japan (if you are one of those who returned to Japan); and any other acts the Justice Department asserts it holds against you were not voluntary acts on your part and were not acts expressing disloyalty to the United States and were not acts expressing loyalty to Japan.

You are trying to convince that Department that any such acts were not the result of free choice on your part but were involuntary acts due to the discrimination practiced against you by the Government simply because you were of Japanese ancestry and the duress conditions to which you were subjected and the coercive influences which existed in camp. You are trying to explain that you were compelled to do such things by reason of the fears you had resulting from your evacuation, consequent loss of assets and your prolonged confinement to a WRA Center. You are trying to explain that the abnormal conditions existing inside the camp and your fear of what might happen to you outside that camp deprived you of the hope, chance or expectation of being relocated in the U. S. with safety to yourself and your family. You are trying to explain that you were forced to do such things because you feared to be relocated in the U. S. in a community hostile to citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry where your safety and that of your family might be endangered; or because you feared to be relocated and thus separated from alien members of your family whom you believed were to be deported to Japan; or because you feared that, on being deported to Japan against your will, the Japanese Government or its people might take reprisals against you and your family if you had not done such things or had not first renounced U. S. citizenship; or that you feared you or members of your family would be subjected to acts of violence if you did not do such things; or that you were compelled to do such things by a parent, spouse, brother or other family members; or that you were the victim of other fears or combination of fears arising out of your evacuation and subsequent prolonged detention in a WRA camp and out of the abnormal conditions existing in that camp which forced you to do such things.

MEMORANDUM

If you were born *before* December 1, 1924, and never have renounced Japanese nationality the Justice Department presumes that you were a *dual citizen*. Therefore, you should answer *Question 2 (A)* in the Affidavit forms by stating, if it be true, that you never knew or recognized that you had any such foreign nationality or, if you knew you had such foreign nationality, that you did not know of any method by which it could be renounced or that you did not know it was necessary to renounce it because you considered yourself to be an American citizen who did not owe or give any allegiance to Japan. (State the truth in your own words.)

If you were born *since* December 1, 1924, and your name was registered with a Japanese Consulate for the purpose of preserving Japanese nationality and you never thereafter renounced Japanese nationality the Justice Department presumes you were a *dual citizen*. Therefore, you should answer *Question 3 (A)* in the Affidavit forms by stating, if it be true, that your parents so registered your name while you were an infant without your knowledge or consent. If you did not, thereafter, renounce Japanese nationality you can state, if it be a fact, that you never knew or recognized that you had Japanese nationality and therefore, that you did not know that it could be renounced or how it could be renounced or that it was necessary for you to renounce it and that you considered yourself to be an American citizen who did not owe or give any allegiance to Japan. (State the truth in your own words.)

The Justice Department takes the view that renunciation of U. S. citizenship by a dual citizen indicates that such a person probably felt a tie of loyalty to Japan and that such a tie and not fear probably caused him to renounce citizenship.

(The theory of the Justice Department is that a person could hold dual citizenship, that is, U. S. citizenship by reason of birth in the U. S., and also Japanese citizenship by reason of the fact that, if born before December 1, 1924, Japanese law considered him a citizen of Japan and, if born since December 1, 1924, Japanese law considered him a citizen of Japan only if he was registered with a Japanese consular officer within two weeks of his birth. Therefore, the Justice Department took the view that when a dual citizen renounced U. S. citizenship he thereupon became solely a citizen of Japan. It also took the view that when a dual citizen renounced U. S. citizenship his renunciation indicated that he probably felt loyal to Japan and not to the United States. However, when a U. S. citizen who was not a dual citizen renounced his U. S. citizenship he thereupon became a "stateless" person, if his renunciation was valid, whether he remained in the U. S. or went to Japan and he would remain stateless thereafter until and unless he became naturalized as a citizen of the U. S., Japan or other foreign country.)

MEMORANDUM

The Justice Department probably suspects that the fact that you are a Kibei who received part of your education and formal schooling in Japan might indicate that you felt a closer tie of loyalty and allegiance to Japan than to the United States. However, it is likely that it had no relationship to any such thing. The fact that you went to school in Japan probably was a matter decided upon by your parents. It may be that they made provision for your schooling in Japan in order to prepare you for future opportunities in business, such as the import-export trade between the U. S. and Japan, or in professions or occupations which would necessitate familiarity with the language, culture, customs and traditions of Japan. (Therefore, in answer to *Question 5* in the Affidavit forms you can state, if it be true, that your parents sent you to school in Japan for such purposes. If you made your own decision to attend school in Japan for any such purposes you should state so. If you were in Japan and received your education there because of other reasons you should state those reasons.)

MEMORANDUM RE QUESTION 6

Inasmuch as you were one of those who returned to Japan the Justice Department asserts you returned to Japan voluntarily. After you went aboard the ship that was to transport you to Japan the Attorney General cancelled the removal order he had issued against you.

It is likely that you (or some member of your family) at some time between June 1, 1943, and the time of your renunciation or after you renounced U. S. citizenship, signed an application to be expatriated to Japan (that is to say, signed a request to be sent to Japan). Such a request may have been signed on a form supplied by the WRA if you made such request before your renunciation or on a form supplied by the U. S. Immigration Service if you signed such a request after you renounced citizenship. Such a written request also may have been in the form of a letter sent to the WRA, the Attorney General, the Justice Department or to the Immigration Service.

If you are positive that you never signed any written request to be sent to Japan it is likely that you, nevertheless, made a verbal request to be sent to Japan at the time of your "mitigation hearing" held at Tule from about December 15, 1945 to April 1, 1946. (It is possible also that you may have made a verbal request to be sent to Japan before or shortly after your "mitigation hearing" at Tule. If you were one of those transferred to another internment camp by the Justice Department it is possible that you there made a verbal request to be sent to Japan.

If you made a written application (request) or verbal application (request) to be sent to Japan you should state so in answering *Question 6* of the Affidavit forms and state the time when you made such request and the reasons why you made such request truthfully and in your own words. If you have no recollection of ever having made a written or verbal request for repatriation to Japan you should state, in answer to *Question 6* of the Affidavit forms, "I am uncertain" or "I do not recall" or "I do not remember" or words of similar import. (If your parents or a family member or some other person made such a request for you, either with or without your knowledge or consent, you should state the facts truthfully.)

It is possible that some renunciants may not have signed any written request for repatriation to Japan (although this is unlikely) and it also is possible that some may not have made verbal requests to be sent to Japan. However, if they did not do so, it is likely that they refused to attend a "mitigation hearing" and the hearing officers thereupon drew the conclusion that they wished to be sent to Japan.

However, if you recall that you applied for expatriation or repatriation to Japan (that is to say, if you made an application or request to be sent to Japan) either *in writing or verbally* you should answer *Question 6* of the Affidavit forms truthfully and *in your own words* stating the time you did so and your own reasons for having done so. (See "*Requests for Repatriation*" on page 1 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" which may help you to recall why such requests were made.) If you made such a request when you were under 21 years of age you should state what your age then was.

Many requests for expatriation to Japan were made while persons were detained in WRA Centers other than Tule. Those who made such requests were scheduled by the WRA to be segregated at the Tule Lake Center. If your request for expatriation to Japan was made while you were held in a WRA Center other than the Tule Lake Center you should state in answer to *Question 6* where you were when it was made and the reasons why you made that request, and if it was made for the purpose of preventing your separation from your family or because of conditions existing in that camp or because of any fears you then had you should state the facts fully in your answer to *Question 6* in the Affidavit forms.

If your request for expatriation to Japan was made while you were at Tule but after October 15, 1943, when the segregation program had been completed, and before April, 1944, your request for expatriation may have been due to the activities or fear of the underground pressure movements which preceded the formation of the Saikakuri Seigan or due to the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule.

In April, 1944, however, the resegregationist pressure group, largely made up of aliens who wished to be sent to Japan and to be separated from those who wished to remain in the U. S., emerged from the underground at Tule under the name of the "*Saikakuri Seigan*" and became openly active in its propaganda activities. If your request for expatriation to Japan was made between April, 1944, and August, 1944, it may have been caused by fear of the propaganda and activities of the Saikakuri Seigan pressure group and the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule. (See the subject of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" for a partial list of incidents and occurrences at Tule

from November 1, 1943, through August, 1944, many of which have been attributed to alien members of the Saikakuri Seigan and the underground resegregationist movement which preceded it.) Fear arising from the activities of those groups and from the many threats and acts of violence, such as beatings and assaults and the murder which occurred at Tule also may have caused many persons to ask for repatriation to Japan simply for reasons of personal security and the security of their family members.

In August, 1944, alien leaders of the Saikakuri Seigan at Tule organized the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan and this later was divided into the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan and the Hokoku Seinen Dan. Therefore, neither the Seinen Dan nor the Hoshi Dan could have been responsible for persuading, influencing or pressuring citizens at Tule to ask for repatriation to Japan before August, 1944, when they were organized. (The Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan appears to have been formed even later.)

You should bear in mind that *most of the renunciation hearings at Tule* were held from January 11, 1945, to March 17, 1945. *During that time the propaganda, activities and influence of the Seinen Dan and the Hoshi Dan reached its height and had the greatest effect.* After that time, however, a smaller number of persons applied for permission to renounce citizenship and, therefore, renunciation hearings were held for them in July, 1945, after the leaders and members of the pressure groups and others persons suspected of being disloyal and troublemakers had been removed from Tule to other internment camps. The Justice Department evidently believes that those who applied at Tule for renunciation after March 17, 1945, and who were given their renunciation hearings in July, 1945, were less likely to have been influenced in so doing by the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups and other persons it suspected were disloyal and troublemakers because such groups and persons had been removed from Tule before the time when they applied for forms on which to renounce and before they had their renunciation hearings.

In early January, 1945, the Hokoku Seinen Dan supplied John Burling of the Justice Department with a list of the names of its members. *The first group of officers of the Hokoku Seinen Dan* was removed from Tule by the Justice Department on December 27, 1944, and interned at Santa Fe, New Mexico. *Its next group of some 50 officers* was removed from Tule on January 26, 1945, and interned in Bismarck, North Dakota, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. On February 11, 1945, about 650 members of the Hokoku Seinen Dan were removed from Tule to other internment camps and, on March 4, 1945, about 125 more were removed from Tule to other internment camps. By March 4, 1945, therefore, all the leaders and all the active members of the Hokoku Seinen Dan whose names were on the membership list which had been supplied to John Burling in early January, 1945, had been moved from Tule. By March 4, 1945, *several sets of the officers of the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, all the writers for the "Fatherland Magazine", all the teachers of the "Greater East Asia School", all the teachers at the number of other Japanese Language Schools who had been found to be active in what the Justice Department terms was pro-Japanese propaganda and a number of Buddhist priests who had been active in propaganda likewise were removed from Tule to other internment camps. The Justice Department considered all the persons who had been removed from Tule to other internment camps to be disloyal troublemakers.*

Because so many leaders and members of such groups had been removed from Tule by March 4, 1945, the Justice Department may believe that those who renounced citizenship at Tule *after* the removal of such persons and those who requested repatriation to Japan at Tule *after* the removal of such persons may not have renounced citizenship and may not have made their requests to be sent to Japan because of any fear on their part of the propaganda or activities of those groups and may not have been influenced by those groups in making their decisions to renounce citizenship and to request expatriation to Japan. (However, a number of those who renounced citizenship after the removal of such groups and who requested to be sent to Japan after the removal of such groups still may have been in fear that some of the leaders and members of those groups may not have been removed but were still in camp or may have been in fear of the younger boys under 18 years who continued to drill and blow bugles. Also, a number of those who asked to be sent to Japan after they renounced citizenship may have done so because of other fears, such as fear of being separated from family members who they still believed would be deported to Japan, or because of fear that when the camp was closed out they would be forced to relocate in the U. S. in communities hostile to them where their safety would be endangered, or because of being compelled to do so by a parent, spouse, brother or other family members, or because of other fears.) In answering *Question 6* in the Affidavit forms you should state truthfully the reasons or fears that caused you to request to be sent to Japan, if you made such a request.

MEMORANDUM

You were sent to the Tule Lake Center or were kept segregated there because of one or more of the following reasons specified by the provisions of Chapter 10 of the War Relocation Administrative Manual, Sec. 110.3, as reasons why a person was to be sent there or was to be kept segregated there, namely:

(1) Because he formally asked for repatriation or expatriation to Japan and did not retract his request before July 1, 1943; or

(2) Because at the time he registered for Army service and war industries purposes he answered Question 28 of Form WRA-126 or DSS Form 304-A in the negative, or he failed or refused to answer it and did not change his answer before July 1, 1943. (*A person who failed or refused to answer that question in the affirmative by a "Yes" answer was deemed by the Justice Department or WRA not to be loyal to the United States.*)

(3) Because he was denied leave clearance by the Director of the WRA because:

(a) An adverse report had been filed against him by a Federal Intelligence agency; or

(b) He had answered Question No. 28 in the negative by a "No" answer and changed it to a "Yes" answer by July 1, 1943, or he answered that question with a qualification; or

(c) He had requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan and retracted such request before July 1, 1943, or he requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan after July 1, 1943; or

(d) He was a person concerning whom the Japanese American Joint Board established in the Provost Marshal General's Offices did not affirmatively recommend leave clearance; or

(e) He was a person about whom there was information indicating he had loyalty to Japan.

(4) A member of the immediate family of any person who fell within one of the above-mentioned three classes or categories was allowed to remain in the Tule Lake Center or to be sent there with him if he made an individual request to remain there or to be sent there with him, and *this included adult members of such a person's family as well as minors under the age of 21 years.*

The Justice Department has not specified the precise reason why you personally were sent to the Tule Lake Segregation Center or why you were kept segregated there. However, you were sent there or were kept segregated there for one of the above-mentioned reasons. If you do not recall which of those reasons was applicable to your case it is likely that you gave a "No" answer to Question No. 28 or failed or refused to answer that question on either DSS Form 304-A or Form WRA-126 Rev. while you were at Tule or one of the other WRA Centers.

During February, 1943, at all WRA Centers, and at Tule Lake Center also in March, 1943, citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry were required to answer registration forms. All the *male citizens* over 17 years of age were required to answer the questionnaire bearing the seal of the Selective Service System and entitled "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" DSS Form 304-A. In addition thereto the *male citizens* were required by the WRA to register on another abbreviated questionnaire form entitled "War Relocation Authority Application for Leave Clearance", Form WRA 126-Rev.

On both forms, DSS Form 304-A and Form WRA 126-Rev., which all *male citizens* were required to answer appeared Questions Nos. 27 and 28 which read as follows:

"Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?"

"Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and/or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"

On the similar forms which *all female citizens* and also all *male* and *female* aliens were required to sign the questions read as follows:

“Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC?”

“Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?”

A person who gave a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or who failed or refused to answer it or who did not give a “Yes” answer to it was deemed by the Justice Department or by the WRA not to be loyal to the United States.

If you are positive that you gave a “Yes” answer to Question No. 28 on either DSS Form 304-A or Form WRA 126-Rev. while you were confined at the Tule Lake Center or at any other WRA Center your answer to *Question 7(A)* in the Affidavit forms should be “No”.

If you do not recall whether you gave a “Yes” or a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or whether you refused to answer it you should state in answer to *Question 7(A)* of the Affidavit forms either “Uncertain”, or “I am uncertain”, or “I do not recall” or words of similar import.

However, if you gave a “No” answer to Question No. 28 while you were held at Tule or at any other WRA Center your answer to *Question 7(A)* in the Affidavit forms reading “Have you ever expressly indicated that you would not swear unqualified allegiance to the United States?” *should be “Yes”* and you should state the reasons why you refused to swear unqualified allegiance.

If you failed or refused to answer Question No. 28 while you were held at Tule or at any other WRA Center your answer to *Question 7(A)* in the Affidavit forms reading “Have you ever declined to answer when asked whether you would swear unqualified allegiance?” *should be “Yes”* and you should state the reasons why you declined to answer that question.

(If you will refer to the last six paragraphs of the subject of “*Registration and Question No. 28*” appearing on pages 2 and 3 of the “*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*” you will learn the reasons why a number of citizens answered Question No. 28 in the negative or failed or refused to answer it.)

If you were under 21 years of age at the time you answered Question No. 28 in the negative or failed or refused to answer it you should mention that fact in your answer to Question 7(A) in the Affidavit forms.

(The Justice Department *has not asserted* that you gave a qualified answer to Question No. 28. It has supplied the names of a few persons who gave a qualified answer thereto but has not specified that you were one of them.)

If you, after having given a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or after failing or refusing to answer it, ever notified the WRA or the Justice Department or any of their officers verbally or by letter that you had changed your mind and were willing to give a “Yes” answer thereto you should answer *Question 7(B)* in the Affidavit forms and you should state the time, place and to whom you gave such a notice. If you, after giving a “No” answer to Question No. 28 or after failing or refusing to answer it, changed your mind and would have been willing to give a “Yes” answer to it (that is to say, to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States) your answer to *Question 7(B)* in the Affidavit forms should be “Yes” and you should state when you changed your mind and your reasons for changing your mind. If you would have been willing to take such an oath if the Government had not discriminated against you and you believed that both you and your family could have been relocated in the U. S. without danger to you and your family or that you could have been freed from the terror and fear that arose from camp conditions you should state so. If you later joined the armed forces you should state that you took such an oath at the time of your induction.

MEMORANDUM RE QUESTION 8 OF AFFIDAVIT FORMS

The Justice Department asserts that *it has documentary evidence proving that you were a member of an organization at Tule Lake which it claims was engaged in pro-Japanese activities.* By this the Justice Department means that you were a member of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan, the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, the Hokoku Seinen Dan or the Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan.

(If you were a member of any of the *other* organizations specified in *Question 8 (A)* of the Affidavit forms you should answer *Questions 8 (A), (B), (C), (D), (E) and (F)* relating thereto truthfully and in your own words. If such organization was not active in Tule you, nevertheless, should answer those questions fully, and if such organization was known to you or believed by you to be engaged in legal or legitimate activities you should state what your knowledge or understanding was of its purposes and activities.)

If you were, in fact, a member of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan, the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, the Hokoku Seinen Dan or the Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan you should state so in answer to Question 8 (A) in the Affidavit forms.

In answering *Question 8 (B)* of the Affidavit forms you should state truthfully and *in your own words your own reasons for becoming a member* of such organization. If you joined or were led into becoming either an *active* or an *inactive* member because of information supplied to you or by a belief on your part that at the time you became a member it was a lawful organization formed for lawful purposes and that it was not organized for or engaged in any improper or illegal activities you should state so. *If you had been told or were advised and believed the organization was approved or sponsored by the WRA or that our Government wanted you to join it you should state so.* (The fact that the WRA permitted the organization to hold meetings and assigned it quarters for its meeting places and offices and permitted it to hold gymnastic exercises and to drill in camp may have convinced you it was a lawful organization.) If you believed that it was necessary for you to join it for security reasons, that is to say, to prevent an anticipated or expected possible harm to yourself or members of your family you should state so. If you were urged, persuaded or forced by your parents or family to become a member you should state so and also state the reasons they gave to persuade you to join. If any officer or employee of the WRA told you it was all right for you to join it because you were going to be sent to Japan anyway along with your family you should state so. If you believed or feared that you were going to be deported to Japan by our Government either alone or with alien members of your family who had requested to be sent there and that becoming a member of such organization and participating in its activities might help you to prepare for your future life there you should state so. If your name was listed as a member of such organization without your knowledge or consent you should state so.

If you were an *officer* in any such organization at Tule you should state the office or offices you held in such organization and the duties, if any, you performed in answering *Question 8 (C)* in the Affidavit forms. If you performed any duties as such officer you should state what your duties or activities were. If you were selected or named as an officer without your knowledge or consent you should state so. If you did not perform any duties or work for such organization or did not participate in its meetings you should state that you did not.

If you *voluntarily discontinued membership* in such an organization or *resigned* therefrom you should state so in answering *Question 8 (D)* in the Affidavit forms. You should state the approximate date you discontinued membership or resigned from it or the date you stopped attending its meetings or stopped participating in its activities and also explain fully the reasons why you did so. If you did not attend meetings or participate in its activities but were only an *inactive* member you should state so.

If, after you became a member, you heard or learned that the organization had developed into an unlawful or disloyal organization or that it engaged in unlawful or disloyal or trouble-making activities and that, as a result, you discontinued your membership, or you resigned from it or stopped attending its meetings or stopped participating in its activities, you should state so. If you discontinued membership or stopped attending its meetings or stopped taking part in its activities or demonstrations because the WRA or the Justice Department accused it of unlawful activities and you thereupon became suspicious of its purposes and activities you should state so. You might recall that on January 25, 1945, John Burling of the Justice Department wrote letters to Masao Sakamoto and Tsutomu Higashi, the alien heads of the Hoshi Dan and Seinen Dan, telling them and their organizations that they must stop their disloyal activities. See material under heading of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*". Mimeographed copies of that letter from Burling were posted in the mess-halls and elsewhere in Tule and hundreds of copies were distributed to the confined citizens and aliens.

Therefore, if you resigned from the organization shortly after those notices were posted and circulated in Tule or stopped attending meetings or stopped participating in the activities of such organization it may have been due to the fact that you learned from the contents of that letter that the Hoshi Dan and Seinen Dan were engaged in unlawful activities. *It may be that you then became aware that the organizations were dominated or had become dominated by aliens who wanted to go to Japan and who had succeeded in converting them into organizations engaged in unlawful activities.* If you resigned or stopped attending meetings or stopped participating in its activities between December 27, 1944, when the first group of officers of the Seinen Dan were moved out of camp, and March 4, 1945, when the last of the so-called trouble-making groups were moved from Tule it may have been because such things convinced you that such organizations or the alien members who had gotten control and dominated those organizations had gone beyond the limits of legality and had tried to convert the organizations into disloyal organizations you should state so.

If your *membership* in such organization, your *activities* therein or your *acceptance of an office* therein was due to a *misunderstanding on your part* of the purpose or nature of that organization you should give a full explanation thereof *in your own words* in your answer to *Question 8 (E)* of the Affidavit forms.

If you had become a member or officer because you were told and believed the organization was formed for legitimate purposes you should state what information and understanding you had of its purpose and nature and the sources of that information. If your parents or members of your family persuaded or compelled you against your own wishes to become a member or to accept an office in such organization you should state what they told you and what you were led to

believe about its purposes. If you were told by anyone and believed that it was a legal organization sponsored and approved by the WRA or that our Government wanted you to join it you should state so. If you joined it for security reasons, that is to say, because you believed it was necessary to join it so that you would avoid being harmed by its members you should state so. If you were forced or compelled by any threats to become a member or to become an officer you should state the facts. If any person or member of your family persuaded or compelled you to join it or listed your name as a member without your knowledge or consent you should state so. If you joined it because you feared you were going to be deported to Japan without your consent and because you believed it would be best that you join it in order to be trained and prepared physically or mentally by the organization to start life in Japan you should state so. If you joined it or became an officer in the belief that it was necessary or desirable to do this so that on arrival in Japan following your deportation the Japanese government and its people would not punish you or your family for having openly exhibited an unwillingness to conform to a Japanese way of life you should state so.

If, while you were a member of any such organization, you had a genuine wish to discontinue your membership, activities or office therein and *you were prevented from so doing* you should explain the facts fully *in your own words* in answering *Question 8 (F)* in the Affidavit forms. If you failed to discontinue your membership, activities or offices in such an organization because you were afraid to do so you should state the reasons why you were afraid to do so. If any person or group of persons prevented you from so doing you should state the facts fully and truthfully, giving the name of the group or the names, if known to you, of the persons who prevented you from so doing. If you tried to resign or discontinue your membership and were prevented from so doing you should state how you were prevented from so doing.

(A number of persons wrote letters to the Justice Department stating that they had resigned from the Hokoku Seinen Dan and perhaps, also from the Hoshi Dan. A number of them stated at their renunciation hearings that they had resigned from the Seinen Dan. Officers of the Seinen Dan wrote several letters informing the hearing officers of the names of a number of members who had resigned from that organization. The Justice Department apparently is of the opinion that because some persons did resign and that no harm resulted to them that all those who really wanted to resign knew they could do so without being harmed by the organization or its members. If you did not resign it may have been because you had heard, believed and feared harm to yourself if you tried to resign. You may not have known that anyone had resigned. If you tried to resign you should state the time and place and steps you took to do so. If you simply stopped attending its meetings or simply stopped participating in the activities you should state so.)

If you did not have any personal knowledge of any illegal purposes or activities of the organization of which you were a member or you did not learn or believe the organization was responsible for any such things but that other organizations may have been and that you believed the organization of which you were a member was being accused of the illegal activities of a different organization you should state so. If you believed that aliens who wanted to be sent to Japan or that the alien members of the Saikakuri Seigan who had asked to be sent to Japan or other groups were responsible for the demonstrations or illegal activities you should state so and state whether your beliefs and suspicions of such persons and groups was based on actual knowledge or merely on rumors and hearsay or the accusations of persons.

MEMORANDUM

(RE QUESTION 9, AFFIDAVIT FORM)

During September, 1943, and to about October 15, 1943, persons from other WRA Centers were sent to the Tule Lake Center which was intended to be converted into a segregation center for those who wanted to be sent to Japan and who had made requests to be sent there and also for those who were scheduled by the WRA to be sent there. (See subjects of "*Segregation*" and "*Reasons Why Persons Were Sent to the Tule Lake Center or Were Segregated There*" on page 3 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*".)

Believing that there were citizens as well as aliens at Tule who were loyal to Japan and who desired to create trouble for our Government and that such persons had been responsible for the incidents of November 1, 1943, November 4, 1943, and the night of November 4, 1943, described under the heading of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*", and other illegal acts the Justice Department prevailed on Congress to pass the law which permitted citizens to renounce their citizenship in time of war. This law became effective on July 1, 1944. The theory of the Justice Department was that if a citizen renounced U. S. citizenship thereunder and asserted his loyalty to Japan *it would presume he was a dual citizen who, thereupon, became solely a Japanese citizen and, therefore, automatically an alien enemy and, as such, to be interned* in a Justice Department alien internment camp and be removable to Japan under the provisions of the Alien Enemy Act.

The agitators among the aliens who, in September and October, 1943, had been sent to Tule from other WRA Centers because they wished to be repatriated to Japan and like aliens who remained in Tule for such a purpose became active in propaganda for repatriation to Japan. They demanded that their group be separated from those at Tule who wished to remain in the United States. This "resegregationist" pressure group does not appear to have been very active at Tule until about April, 1944, when it emerged from its underground movement, adopted the name of "Saikakuri Seigan" and became an open and very active propagandist and pressure organization in favor of resegregation and of requesting repatriation of aliens and their U. S. citizen children to Japan.

You were at Tule between October 15, 1943, when the segregation program was completed, and before April, 1944. If you made a *request* during that period of time *for expatriation* to Japan that request could have been the result of fears engendered by the propaganda and activities of underground movements existing at Tule or by the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule. If you made a *request for expatriation* to Japan at Tule between April, 1944 and August, 1944, such a request could have been due to fear of the propaganda and activities of the "Saikakuri Seigan" or to the general abnormal conditions existing at Tule. (See the subject of "*Terroristic Activities at Tule*" on page 5 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" for a partial list of occurrences at Tule from November 1, 1943, through August, 1944, *many of which have been attributed to alien members* of the resegregationist underground movement and to the "Saikakuri Seigan", such as threats of violence, beatings and assaults. Such conditions may have influenced or compelled a number of citizens to make a *request for expatriation* to Japan between October 15, 1943, and July 1, 1944.)

The law permitting renunciation of citizenship in time of war became effective on July 1, 1944. The *first letters and group petitions* of U. S. citizens at Tule *requesting permission to renounce*

their citizenship were received by the Justice Department in July, 1944. The propaganda and activities of the "Saikakuri Seigan" during July, 1944, may have engendered fear in the minds of some citizens at Tule and compelled them to write such letters and to sign such petitions.

In August of 1944, alien leaders of the "Saikakuri Seigan" organized the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan and this later divided into the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan and the Hokoku Seinen Dan. The Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan was formed later. The agitation of these new organizations from August, 1944, up to March 4, 1945, and the fears they created in the minds of persons could have been responsible for persuading or pressuring many citizens to *ask for permission to renounce citizenship, to renounce their citizenship and to request to be sent to Japan*. By March 4, 1945, the last of the leaders and active members of these organizations and others suspected of disloyal acts were moved from Tule to other internment camps.

In October, 1944, the Justice Department mailed out to the citizens who had sent letters and petitions for permission to renounce proper forms for applying for permission to renounce citizenship. Shortly thereafter several hundred typewritten copies of such forms were mailed from Tule to the Justice Department and that Department also received petitions for permission to renounce from Tule bearing the signatures of hundreds of persons. Because the Justice Department believed that some of the signatures might have been coerced or forged it decided to take steps to make certain that the applicants knew what they were doing. John Burling was sent to Tule to investigate.

Mr. Burling arrived at Tule on December 5, 1944. He separately questioned about 62 persons who had filled in the typewritten copies of the printed form requesting permission to renounce citizenship and all of them told him they wished to renounce American citizenship so as to be solely Japanese and most of them stated they wished to return to Japan immediately and hoped Japan would win the war. He also talked to the leaders of the Seinen Dan and the Hoshi Dan and those of them who were citizens told him they had applied for renunciation. Each of these who was a citizen signed the form for renunciation of citizenship. On December 23, 1944, Burling returned to Washington, D.C., and, on his recommendation, Attorney General Biddle approved their renunciations of U. S. citizenship. He also ordered those leaders of the groups who were aliens and those who were citizens interned as alien enemies under the provisions of the Alien Enemy Act and arranged to move them to Justice Department alien enemy internment camps.

That order of Attorney General Biddle providing for the internment of those aliens was a legal order. It also may have been a justifiable order insofar as it related to the internment of those citizens who held dual citizenship, for, if their renunciations of U. S. citizenship were valid, they would have retained Japanese citizenship and, therefore, would have become alien enemies. (The question whether a *resident U. S. citizen* can be a dual citizen will require final settlement by the U. S. Supreme Court. However, a U. S. citizen who resides abroad and is given foreign citizenship by foreign law without committing an act of expatriation which would cause him to lose U. S. citizenship by our law might thereby become a dual citizen.)

That order of Attorney General Biddle *probably was an illegal order as to any of those U. S. citizens in that group who were ordered interned but who did not have dual citizenship* because, if their renunciations of U. S. citizenship were valid, they would not have become Japanese citizens but would have become "stateless" persons having permanent resident status in this country and would not have become alien enemies subject to the provisions of the Alien Enemy Act. *They, therefore, were not legally internable by the Attorney General thereunder*. At the same time the

Attorney General approved a plan to dissolve the Seinen Dan and the Hoshi Dan. He decided that the plan most likely to succeed would be to intern any new leaders of the organizations as alien enemies and to remove them from Tule to alien internment camps.

The *first group of officers* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan was removed from Tule by the Justice Department on December 27, 1944, and interned at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

In early January, 1945, John Burling returned to Tule Lake to supervise the renunciation hearings. By the time he arrived at Tule over 1,000 registered letters addressed to him at Tule had been received, many of which asked for application forms on which to renounce citizenship, many contained such application forms already filled out and many contained requests for immediate hearings on their applications to renounce citizenship. The hearing officers arrived at Tule on January 11, 1945, to conduct renunciation hearings.

In the early part of January, 1945, the Hokoku Seinen Dan supplied John Burling with a list of the names of its active members. The renunciation hearings at Tule started on January 11, 1945. While the hearings were being given *the next group of some 50 officers* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan was removed from Tule and interned in Bismarck, North Dakota, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. On February 11, 1945, *about 650 members* of the Hokoku Seinen Dan were removed from Tule to other internment camps and, on March 4, 1945, *about 125 more* were removed from Tule to other internment camps. By March 4, 1945, therefore, all the leaders and all the active members of the Hokoku Seinen Dan whose names were on the membership list which had been given to John Burling had been moved from Tule. By March 4, 1945, *several sets of the officers* of the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, *all the writers* for the "Fatherland Magazine", *all the teachers* of the "Greater East Asia School", *all the teachers* at the number of other Japanese Language Schools who had been found to be active in what the Justice Department terms was pro-Japanese propaganda and *a number of Buddhist priests* who had been active in propaganda likewise were removed from Tule to other internment camps. *The Justice Department considered all the persons who had been removed from Tule to other internment camps to be disloyal troublemakers.* The renunciation hearings were completed on March 17, 1945.

The great majority of the renunciation hearings at Tule were held from January 11, 1945, to March 17, 1945. *During that time the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups reached its greatest height and had the greatest effect.* Their members drilled, blew bugles, took exercises, agitated for renunciation of citizenship, studied Japanese, the history, customs and culture of Japan. They did these things in preparation for their future life in Japan following their expected deportation to Japan. (These persons, too, were innocent victims of evacuation and confinement, of the Government's discrimination against them and of its mistreatment of them, of abnormal living conditions and restrictions. Most of them believed that it long had been the Government's intention to deport them and their alien parents to Japan without giving them a chance to remain in this country. Most of them joined those organizations to prepare for life in Japan following their deportation—many of them feared that if they did not renounce citizenship and ask to be sent to Japan and did not give a "No" answer to Question No. 28 that they might be punished or subjected to reprisals by the Japanese government or its people when they arrived in Japan.)

In June and July, 1945, additional persons at Tule were interned by the Justice Department as "undesirables" at the request of the WRA.

After March 17, 1945, a smaller number of persons applied for permission to renounce citizenship and, therefore, renunciation hearings were held for them in July, 1945. The renunciation hearings for these applicants for renunciation *were held after the leaders and members of the pressure groups* and other persons suspected of being disloyal and troublemakers *had been removed from Tule* to other internment camps. (The Justice Department evidently believes that those who applied for renunciation after March 17, 1945, and who renounced citizenship at their renunciation hearings in July, 1945, were not influenced in so doing by the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups and other persons it suspected were disloyal or troublemakers because such groups and persons had been removed from Tule before the time they applied for forms on which to renounce and before they had their renunciation hearings.)

Because so many leaders and members of such groups had been removed from Tule by March 4, 1945, the Justice Department may believe that those who renounced citizenship after the removal of such persons (and also those who requested repatriation to Japan after the removal of such persons) may not have renounced citizenship (and may not have made their requests to be sent to Japan) because of any fear on their part of the propaganda or activities of those groups and may not have been influenced by those groups in making their decisions to renounce citizenship and to request expatriation to Japan.

(However, a number of those who renounced citizenship after the removal of such groups and who requested to be sent to Japan after the removal of such groups still may have been in fear that some of the leaders and members of those groups may not have been removed but were still in camp. They also may have been in fear of the boys under 18 years who continued to march and blow bugles. Also, they may have renounced citizenship and also requested to be sent to Japan because of other fears, such as fear of being separated from family members whom they still believed would be deported to Japan, or because of fear that when the camp was closed out they would be forced to relocate in the U. S. in communities hostile to them where their safety would be endangered, or because of being compelled to do so by a parent, spouse, brother or other family members, or because of other fears or combination of fears. It is suggested that you read the material captioned "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" starting on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" which may assist you in answering *Question 9* and its subdivisions in the Affidavit forms.)

SUB-MEMORANDUM

Before you answer *Question 9 (A)* in the Affidavit form it is suggested that you read the material under the caption "*Applications for Renunciation*" on page 4 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*". It may refresh your recollection as to the time and place such applications for forms on which to renounce were made and the reasons and fears which caused many citizens to decide to request or to apply for forms upon which to renounce citizenship. You should also read the material under the caption "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" to learn of various fears which caused persons to renounce citizenship. In answering *Question 9 (A)* in the Affidavit forms you should state in your own words what your personal reasons and fears were which caused you to decide to apply for forms upon which to renounce your citizenship.

If the reasons you give in answer to *Question 9 (A)* in the Affidavit forms are different from the reasons you gave to the officer who conducted your renunciation hearing you must explain, in answering *Question 9 (B)* of the Affidavit forms, why the reasons you give in answer to *Question 9 (A)* are different from those you gave to the hearing officer at the time of your renunciation hearing. The Justice Department knows that at their renunciation hearings many persons gave wild, distorted and stereotyped answers to the hearing officers as to why they wanted to renounce—and that it appeared that many of them had been coached to give such answers either by pressure groups, parents or family members. See the material under the captions "*The Renunciation Hearings*" and "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" to learn why many answers given by persons at the time of their renunciation hearings to the officers conducting their hearings were not true.

A large number of those applying for renunciation told the hearing officers at their renunciation hearings that they individually and voluntarily had decided to renounce citizenship. None of them told a hearing officer that their renunciations were coerced. A large number of them appeared at the hearings with shaved heads and wearing the regalia and emblems of the organization to which they belonged. A large number of them told the hearing officers they were loyal to Japan and to the Japanese Emperor. The hearing officers told each person appearing for a renunciation hearing that it was not necessary for them to renounce citizenship in order to be repatriated to Japan. (It is likely that the applicants did not believe this and that they believed it was necessary to renounce before they could be sent to Japan to prevent separation from their families.)

It is apparent that at the time of their renunciation hearings many were very reluctant to reveal the real reasons and did not wish or dare to tell the truth to the hearing officers why they were renouncing citizenship. They were in fear of so doing and of what might happen to them and to their families if they did not renounce and that fact became known in camp. They also feared that if the Government did not accept their renunciations it would have resulted in their separation from their families who they believed were to be deported to Japan. It is apparent that since their release from detention and from the abnormal conditions that prevailed at Tule before and at the time of the renunciation hearings and afterward they no longer are affected by those fears and, therefore, now can tell the truth. You should answer *Question 9 (B)* in the Affidavit forms truthfully and in your own words.

In *Question 9 (C)* in the Affidavit forms it is stated that if you claim your renunciation was caused by fear, you should explain fully why such fear extended from the time you applied for renunciation papers until the actual date of your renunciation, that is to say, to the date you had your renunciation hearing. The Justice Department may be of the opinion that if you renounced by March 4, 1945, while leaders and members of the pressure groups still may have been active in Tule that it is possible that you renounced as a result of fear of those groups. It also may be of

the opinion that if you renounced between March 4, 1945, by which time the last of the leaders and members of the pressure groups had been removed from Tule, and March 17, 1945, when the renunciation hearings were completed that you may not have been influenced by the pressure groups in deciding to renounce citizenship. It also may be of the opinion that if you were one of those who renounced citizenship afterward and had your renunciation hearing at Tule in July, 1945, that you could not have been influenced by the propaganda and activities of the pressure groups because the leaders and members of those groups had been removed from Tule by March 4, 1945. (However, the young men under 18 years who belonged to the Seinen Dan were active in Tule after those over 18 years of age had been removed and their activities may have influenced these last renunciations. Further, Tuleans may have believed that some of the leaders and members of the pressure group may not have been removed from Tule and that they still were active.)

Further, many were in fear continuously from the time they applied for renunciation papers until the date they renounced *because of fears other than fear of the pressure groups*. See material under the caption of "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" commencing on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*" for the fears and combination of fears that caused the renunciations. (The fear that it was necessary to renounce citizenship to make sure they would not be forced by the closing of the Center within one year to relocate in communities hostile to persons of Japanese ancestry but would be permitted to remain in camp in the protective security of the Justice Department, however, could not have risen in a person's mind until December 19, 1944, when the closure of the WRA Centers within one year was announced by the WRA.) In answering *Question 9 (C)* in the Affidavit forms you should explain in your own words, the particular fears you had from the time you applied for renunciation papers until the date you renounced.

(If you were a member of any of the so-called pro-Japanese organizations which were active in Tule and you did not join such organization for what you may have deemed to be security reasons your renunciation probably was caused by one of the other fears or combination of fears which are specified under the caption of "*Fears Causing Renunciations*" commencing on page 6 of the "*Outline of Events Leading to Renunciation of Citizenship*". Members of such groups probably did not renounce for the purpose of being interned by the Justice Department to prevent being forcibly relocated in the U. S. in communities hostile to them where their security and that of their families might be endangered because they probably became members of the organization before December 19, 1944, when the WRA announced the Centers would be closed within one year. It is to be remembered that the leaders and members of the pressure groups belonged to such organizations only because they, too, had been evacuated and confined to WRA Centers and were subject to the same discrimination and mistreatment by our Government and had to live in camp under the same adverse circumstances as the others—and that, in becoming identified with such organizations they, too, acted abnormally because of the abnormal treatment they received from the Government.)

In *Question 9 (D)* of the Affidavit forms you are asked, in substance, to state whether you made any effort to withdraw your application for renunciation if your fear did not extend from the date you made the application for renunciation to the date the Attorney General approved your renunciation and if you did not to explain why you did not do so.

If you made any effort or took any steps to withdraw your application for renunciation you should explain what you did and the time you did it if you can recall. If you sent a letter to the Justice Department or to the WRA asking to withdraw or cancel your renunciation or asked any of their officers or agents to cancel it you should state the time, place and the officer to whom you made such request. If fear of reprisal from any of the pressure groups, or your parents, spouse, brother or other family members in the event it became known that you wanted or attempted to do such a thing prevented you from so doing you should state the facts. If you feared that your renunciation might be cancelled if you did such a thing during that period of time and that you

thereafter might be forcibly relocated and thus separated from those in your family whom you believed were to be deported to Japan, or you feared that you and your family might be compelled on the closing of the camp to be relocated without funds and in communities hostile to you and without the ability to support yourself and your dependents you should state the facts in your own words.

For your information, John Burling states that there was substantially no move to withdraw or cancel renunciations until June, 1945, in which month a number of applications to cancel renunciation were received by the Justice Department. He says also that none of these asserted the renunciations had been made under coercion but appeared to assume that since renunciation was a voluntary matter the cancellation of renunciations likewise would be voluntary. He says also that the Justice Department sent letters to such persons stating that the renunciations were valid because they had not been coerced and could not be cancelled. He says that thereafter more letters seeking cancellation of renunciations were received by the Department, some of these claiming that their renunciations had been coerced—and that these letters appeared to have been prepared for them by WRA personnel.

The Attorney General approved your application for renunciation and sent you a letter notifying you that he had approved it. His letters were addressed to you at Tule where you were confined. Most of his letters approving renunciations were delivered to the addressees while they still were in camp. A number of his approval letters were mailed to the addressees at the camp after they had left the camp and had been relocated after the mass class suits in equity were filed on November 13, 1945, and, in consequence, those letters of approval were never received by them. Likewise a number of his approval letters were addressed to persons at the camp after they had been sent to Japan and, in consequence, these were not received by the addressees. *Your renunciation was approved by the Attorney General whether or not you actually received a letter from his office notifying you of the fact.*

If, after the Attorney General approved your renunciation of U. S. citizenship, you sent a letter to the Attorney General cancelling your renunciation and asking him to withdraw his approval of it and to cancel your renunciation you should answer *Question 9 (E)* in the Affidavit forms fully, explaining why you delayed doing so until then and why you did not do so earlier. (A great many of the renunciants, substantially all those who first joined in the mass suits filed in the District Court on November 13, 1945, and many more, did send such letters to the Attorney General in 1945 during the months of August, September, October, November and December, and many who joined the suits later also sent him similar letters. These letters were sent to the Attorney General on the advice of Attorney Wayne M. Collins, who also sent like letters of cancellation on their behalf. Others who did not originally join in the mass suits may have sent like letters when they learned that it was a proper thing to do. Others who later joined the mass suits may not have sent such letters.)

Up to the time they were advised by Mr. Collins or engaged his services as their attorney a majority of the renunciants still may have been in fear that they might be punished by individuals or groups in camp if it were learned that they had not really wanted to renounce citizenship but had been compelled to do so or if it were learned that they wanted or tried to cancel their renunciations by sending such a letter. It may be that until then many believed that it would be hopeless to send such a letter or that they delayed sending such a letter until they were convinced by Mr. Collins that no harm would happen to them from any source if they sent such letters. You should answer *Question 9 (E)* truthfully and in your own words.

In answering *Question 9 (F)* in the Affidavit forms you can state any other facts which influenced you in renouncing U. S. citizenship you may believe you have not covered adequately in your answers to *Questions 9 (A)* and *9 (C)*.

Spec. Re Q-9 (F);
Kibei—Duals; URO & PJO and
In Part for All

MEMORANDUM ON QUESTION 9 (F) OF AFFIDAVIT FORMS

This memorandum is intended especially *for those against whom the Attorney General issued removal orders; also for those who are Kibei; also for those who are so-called dual citizens; and also for those who were members of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan, the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan, the Hokoku Seinen Dan or the Hokoku Joshi Seinen Dan; for those who made requests to be sent to Japan; and, in part, for all other renunciants.*

(You are not one of those against whom the Attorney General issued a removal order *unless* you are notified in a separate Memorandum that the Justice Department asserts it has documentary evidence showing that a removal order was issued against you.)

The Justice Department believed that all the Kibei had been sent to Japan to be educated and that they had returned to the United States only after having spent most of their formative years in Japan. It believed that a very large proportion of the Kibei were wholly Japanese in culture and education and that they spoke little or no English. Dillon Myer expressed his opinion to the Justice Department that many Kibei were loyal to Japan—that many Kibei were Japanese by race, ties of family, ties of friendship, education and language and that many were American only by reason of their birth in the United States. Apparently it also believed that the so-called *dual citizens*, whether or not they were Kibei, probably felt a tie of loyalty to Japan rather than to the United States.

However, the suspicion directed against the Kibei and the Nisei who were deemed to be dual citizens by the WRA and the Justice Department was wholly unjustified. They were just as patriotic as other American citizens, as proved by the following facts:

All the *male Kibei*, all the *male dual citizens* and, in fact, all the *male Nisei*, had registered for the draft in 1940 and 1941 and at the time of their registration for the draft clearly indicated their patriotism and willingness to serve in the armed forces of the United States. (None of them, so far as is known, except possibly for a few who may have been ministers of religion, claimed exemption from such military service. A very few, if any, asked to be given the conscientious objector's classification.) Further, the fact that the Kibei had returned to the United States before war broke out on December 7, 1941, was evidence that they preferred to live here rather than in Japan and that they had elected to come home before war broke out so that they would be of service to the United States if war started. Further, when war with Japan was imminent and impending if any Kibei or dual citizens had wanted to go to Japan they could have done so on the ships that Japan sent to the United States in November, 1941, to take her nationals back to Japan. The fact that the Kibei and so-called dual citizens stayed in the United States proves that they were not willing to go to Japan. It also proves that they did not give any allegiance to Japan. It also proves

Spec. Re Q-9 (F);
Kibei—Duals; URO & PJO and
In Part for All

that the sole allegiance they had was to the United States. Their refusal to go to Japan at that time proves that they felt loyal to the United States and that they had no loyalty to Japan.

Therefore, in answering *Question 9(F)* in the Affidavit forms, a *male Kibei*, a *male dual citizen*, and a *male Nisei* who was a member of any of the so-called pro-Japanese organizations at Tule Lake, and any other *male Nisei* renunciant can state *in his own words*, if it is true, in addition to any other facts which may have influenced him in renouncing U. S. citizenship, that he was not disloyal to the United States; that he had registered in 1940 or 1941 for the draft and was willing to serve in the armed forces but that the Government refused to let him serve; that the Government classified him as an alien enemy by giving him a IV-C draft classification; that he believed that the Government thereby had repudiated his American citizenship and had indicated that it would not recognize him as a citizen but only as an alien enemy and that he believed, therefore, that the Government had no intention of ever letting him be a citizen and that it intended finally to deport him to Japan.

A male or female Kibei or dual citizen can state also that he or she refused to go to Japan when the Japanese ships came to the U. S. in November, 1941, to take Japanese citizens back to Japan because he or she was an American citizen and not a Japanese citizen.

Male and female renunciants, whether or not they were Kibei, dual citizens, members of any so-called pro-Japanese organization at Tule Lake or persons who requested to be sent to Japan, and any other male or female renunciants who went to Japan or who stayed in the U. S., also can state, if it is true, that they believed that their evacuation and confinement to camp was a rejection by our Government of their American citizenship. They can state, if it is true, that they believed they never again would be accepted as citizens and that, in consequence, they feared they would be kept in confinement for an indefinite period of time to be followed by deportation to Japan on exchange ships or when the war ended or that, if kept in confinement until the war ended they would not be accepted as citizens in the U. S. and, therefore, would have no place to go except to Japan and, in consequence, they believed they had to renounce U. S. citizenship. If you had such beliefs and fears and these influenced you in renouncing citizenship you should state the reasons in your own words in answering Question 9 (F) of the Affidavit forms.

MEMORANDUM

Inasmuch as you returned to Japan you should answer *Question 10 (A)* in the Affidavit forms fully. The Justice Department contends that you returned voluntarily to Japan and that such indicates that your renunciation was not the result of duress, coercion or fear on your part.

If you were compelled to go to Japan, against your will and desire, by your husband, wife, parents, brother or other family members, or if you were compelled to go there as the result of fear of any threats of violence against you or of any force used against you by anyone or as the result of any fear or combination of fears arising out of the abnormal conditions at Tule you should state the reasons fully and in your own words.

If you were a dual citizen it is likely that the Justice Department took the view that on renunciation of U. S. citizenship you automatically became a Japanese citizen. If you were a dual citizen or a Kibei who had received part of your education and formal schooling in Japan the Justice Department may believe that your renunciation probably was due to the fact that you felt loyal to Japan rather than to the United States and that a feeling of loyalty to Japan and not fear caused your renunciation.

However, when a U. S. citizen who is not a dual citizen validly renounces U. S. citizenship he does not become a citizen of Japan but becomes a "stateless" person whether he remains in the U. S. or goes to Japan. He remains a "stateless" person wherever he goes until and unless he acquires citizenship in a foreign country through naturalization proceedings taken in a foreign country.

If *you now are in Japan* you should answer *Question 10 (B)* of the Affidavit forms which asks you if, since you returned to Japan, you have taken any action to resume or acquire Japanese citizenship. If you registered your name in your family Koseki and you intended thereby to become a Japanese citizen you should state so. If you were registered in the Koseki by a family member without your knowledge or consent you should state so. If you registered as a Japanese citizen or took any act to become a Japanese citizen *by reason of duress or coercion* you should explain the circumstance which compelled you to do so. *If you were compelled to take out Japanese citizenship through any threats made against you or through fear that if you failed to register as a Japanese citizen that you or your family would be deprived of a ration card and, therefore, might have to go without food or starve* you should state the facts fully and truthfully.

(The Justice Department apparently believes that if, after arrival in Japan you took steps to renew or acquire Japanese citizenship that such also indicates that you voluntarily renounced U. S. citizenship and voluntarily returned to Japan because you desired to be a Japanese citizen and reside permanently in Japan.)

OUTLINE OF EVENTS LEADING TO RENUNCIATION OF CITIZENSHIP.

Between March 30, 1942, and October 27, 1942, U. S. citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry were excluded from the Western States by a series of blanket civilian exclusion orders issued by Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt, a Military Commander.

These persons were evacuated from their homes and forcibly were taken to Assembly Centers. Next they were confined to War Relocation Centers which were surrounded by barbed wire fences and were guarded by armed sentries. In consequence, the citizens were deprived of substantially all citizenship rights. Many of them lost practically all their assets as a result. (Many of the evacuees then may have believed and feared that our Government viewed them and treated them as enemies of the United States and that it intended to keep them in detention indefinitely and ultimately to deport them to Japan.)

In March, 1942, the Government inactivated persons of Japanese ancestry serving in the armed forces in Hawaii and on the U. S. mainland. (It did not inactivate the Nisei soldiers serving in the Far Western Pacific area although this fact was kept secret from the public.)

After September 12, 1942, the inactivated soldiers and all male Nisei of draft age arbitrarily were given the draft classification of IV-C, that is to say, the "alien enemy" classification, by our Government simply because they were of Japanese ancestry. (Many of these may have believed that this treatment constituted a repudiation of their citizenship by our Government and that it intended to remove them to Japan at the first opportunity.)

In late January, 1943, the Government decided to accept volunteers of Japanese ancestry for the 442 Combat Team and accepted them in April, 1943. However, it did not reinstitute the draft for boys of Japanese ancestry until January 20, 1944.

In 1942, shortly after their arrival in the War Relocation Centers, the confined citizens were given a printed notice by the WRA informing them that the Centers would be available to them as shelters throughout hostilities.

Requests for Repatriation.

From about June 1, 1942, to July 1, 1943, approximately 6,400 applications for repatriation to Japan were made by aliens and citizens in the various camps. (By December 1, 1943, 1,600 more evacuees made like requests; by April 1, 1944, 2,000 more did likewise; by July 1, 1944, 5,000 more made such requests and, by October 15, 1944, 4,000 additional persons made like requests.)

(It is likely that many citizens who made such requests before July 1, 1943, did so because their alien parents, expecting that a future life in this country was rendered impossible for them and that they were going to be deported to Japan anyway, had requested or pressured their citizen children into making like requests to be sent to Japan for the purpose of keeping their families united and preventing their separation. It is possible that many parents made the requests in the names of their citizen children without the knowledge or consent of their children. It also is possible that such requests were made by other persons in the names of citizens without the citizens' knowledge or consent.)

The requests of citizens to be sent to Japan (that is to say, for expatriation or repatriation to Japan) which were made before and also after their renunciation of U. S. citizenship may have been caused by any one or more of the following reasons, among others, namely:

1. Belief that their alien parents or alien family members were to be deported to Japan, voluntarily or involuntarily, and that, unless they also asked to be sent to Japan their families forever would be separated.
2. Fear that the U. S. Government had repudiated their citizenship by evacuating and confining them to camp and that it intended to deport them without their consent to Japan as soon as possible and that, therefore, they must ask to be sent to Japan or else be confined for an indefinite period or for the duration of the war and finally be removed to Japan when circumstances permitted such a removal.
3. Fear that if they did not first ask to be sent to Japan that they would be forced without funds to be relocated in the U. S. in communities where they would be subject to physical violence from hostile citizens of Caucasian ancestry.
4. Belief that our Government never would let them remain in the U. S. and fear that it was going to deport them to Japan without their consent and that they first must request repatriation to Japan so that they would be accepted in Japan as though they had been sent there willingly and thereby avoid being punished as enemies of Japan on arrival in Japan.
5. Fear that if they did not ask for repatriation they would be subject to physical violence from Japanese alien agitators or gangs, the resegregationist group called the "Saikakuri Seigan" which was largely made up of aliens, or pro-Japanese agitators or gangs the WRA permitted to be active in camp and which tried to persuade or compel citizens and aliens to request repatriation to Japan.

Registration and Question No. 28.

During February, 1943, and at Tule Lake Center also in March, 1943, citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry were required to answer registration forms. All the male citizens over 17 years of age were required to

answer the questionnaire bearing the seal of the Selective Service System and entitled "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" DSS Form 304-A. In addition thereto the male citizens were required by the WRA to register on another abbreviated questionnaire form entitled "War Relocation Authority Application for Leave Clearance", Form WRA-126-Rev.

On both forms, DSS Form 304-A and Form WRA 126 Rev., which *all male citizens* were required to answer appeared identical questions Nos. 27 and 28 which read as follows:

"Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?"

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"

On the similar forms for *female citizens* and also for both *male* and *female aliens* the questions read as follows:

"Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC?"

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?"

(Question No. 27 was a silly one to have asked of the male aliens for they were not eligible to serve as army nurses or in the WAAC. Question No. 28 also was an improper question to ask of aliens who then were not eligible for U. S. citizenship and, if they had answered Yes they could have been punished by the Japanese if they were sent to Japan for having exhibited disloyalty to Japan—or they would thereby have become stateless persons in the U. S. Our Government, therefore, a few days after registration began changed Question No. 28 on the forms for aliens to sign to read as follows: "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and to take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States?"

In March, 1943, the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California sent letters to the WRA offices in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco protesting against the compulsory registration of U. S. citizens of Japanese ancestry because it discriminated against them to the exclusion of Caucasian citizens and because it was unnecessary and repetitious for the males. All of the males previously had registered with their local draft boards under the draft law and there had indicated their loyalty to the United States and willingness to serve in our armed forces. (Apparently none of them, so far as is known, claimed exemption from service in our armed forces unless there may have been a few who asked for the conscientious objectors' classification or a few who claimed exemption as ministers of a religious organization.)

The WRA Semi-Annual Report, January 1 to June 30, 1943, pages 10-15, admits the unfairness of the questionnaires.

John Burling, while an official of the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Justice Department, stated in an affidavit that:

"Due probably in part to the manner in which the questionnaire was handled both by military authorities and by officials of the War Relocation Authority and probably in part to distress at having been moved into guarded, barbed-wire-enclosed camps and probably in part due to genuine loyalty on the part of some toward Japan, a considerable number of persons, both citizens and aliens, either answered the questions pertaining to loyalty in the negative or refused to answer."

The WRA announced that the filling out of the questionnaires was compulsory but the army authorities announced that it was not compulsory but was to be handled on a voluntary basis. The WRA announced that penalties would be inflicted for failing or refusing to answer the questionnaires but the army authorities announced there were no penalties.

Many of the aliens already had applied for repatriation to Japan because they believed there was no future for them in the U. S. Many aliens believed they were to be deported to Japan. They wanted their families kept united. In consequence, many alien parents pressured their children into refusing to answer Questions Nos. 27 and 28 or in giving a "No" answer thereto, hoping that when they were deported to Japan it would appear that they had not been opposed to Japan and, therefore, would not be punished in Japan for having signed questions openly admitting loyalty to the U. S. and admitting opposition to Japan.

Many of the citizens were afraid that if they answered Yes to Questions 27 and 28 they would be forcibly resettled in the U. S. without means of support in communities where their safety would be endangered while their alien parents and family members would be deported to Japan and their families thereby separated. Many male citizens believed they had been deprived of U. S. citizenship by the evacuation and confinement and by the IV-C draft classification. They may have believed this mistreatment had left them without a country and without hope of a future life in this country.

Many citizens were willing to sign the questionnaire but refused to sign it because they feared that if they did they would be subject to acts of physical violence against them by groups opposed to signing it. A number of the citizens had refused to sign a petition prepared by a group of evacuees which protested the registration. They were threatened with ostracism and physical violence for failing to sign such petition. In Blocks 41 to 48, inclusive, in Ward V at Tule Lake, those who refused to sign the petition protesting registration were isolated in the mess halls at special "inu" tables. No one would speak to them. A number of them received anonymous written threats. Many of them believed that a large number of persons had been beaten by gangs for refusing to sign the petition protesting registration.

Perhaps the most important reason why so many of the citizens answered "No" or refused to answer Question 28 was because they believed that if they answered "Yes" they eventually would be forced to relocate in the U. S. during the war period and, therefore, they answered "No" or refused to answer so that they would be denied leave clearance and would be kept in camp and not be forced to relocate in communities hostile to them.

Many aliens believed they were going to be deported to Japan simply because they were aliens. They believed that if their own answers to their questionnaires admitted loyalty to the U. S. and disloyalty to Japan that they would be punished for having done so when they arrived in Japan. Therefore they pressured their citizen children into failing or refusing to answer Questions 27 and 28 and into giving "No" answers to said questions so that the children would be sent to Japan along with them and thus the families would remain united and not be forced to separate.

Many of the citizens also believed that if they gave a "Yes" answer to Question No. 28 which required them to "forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor" that such an answer would be construed by our Government as an admission by them that up to the time of signing the questionnaires they actually had such an allegiance to Japan. They feared if they made such a false admission that our Government might punish them as though they had admitted allegiance and loyalty to Japan.

Segregation.

On May 25, 1943, the Project Directors of the WRA Centers agreed to set up a separate Center for quartering aliens and their families who desired to be repatriated to Japan. On June 25, 1943, Dillon Myer, Director of the WRA, recommended that the Tule Lake Center be transformed into a segregation Center. In August, 1943, the WRA conducted a survey at Tule and asked each person there confined whether he or she wished to remain in that Center or be transferred to another Center. Approximately 5,000 citizens and aliens applied for transfer to another Center. Approximately 10,000 citizens and aliens stated a preference to remain at Tule. (A number of these who wished to stay at Tule wished to be sent to Japan. A number of citizens wished to remain there only until their alien family members were sent to Japan. A number wished to remain at Tule simply because they believed that if they were sent to another Center they never would be permitted to settle in California again.) Thereafter, aliens and citizens from other Centers who requested repatriation to Japan and many others who had not made such requests were sent to Tule. On October 15, 1943, the WRA abandoned its segregation plan because of complex administration, transportation and other problems involved in the undertaking.

The group of persons who desired to be sent to Japan, largely made up of aliens belonging to the "Saikakuri Seigan", resented the presence in the camp of persons who wished to remain in the U. S. Each group wished to be kept separated from the other. However, the WRA refused to segregate them in the camp. The failure of the WRA to segregate the groups enabled the aliens and pressure groups, who either wanted to be sent to Japan or believed they were to be sent there anyway by our Government, to embark on their campaign of propaganda and intimidation to persuade or compel citizens to renounce their citizenship. The WRA officials were of the opinion that all persons at Tule were scheduled for removal to Japan. The WRA authorities thought it was essential that the confined persons be taught the Japanese language and the customs and traditions of Japan so that they would be prepared for life in Japan on their arrival there. In consequence, the WRA allowed Japanese language schools to operate in the camp and also pressure groups of aliens who wanted to be sent to Japan to spread propaganda. The alien groups brought pressure on citizens to request repatriation to Japan and later brought pressure on them to renounce their U. S. citizenship. The alien agitators and their groups which were seeking to be sent to Japan have been accused of threats and acts of violence against citizens who failed or refused to request to be sent to Japan and who failed or refused to renounce citizenship. (These conditions spread fear in the minds of many citizens and aliens that they were going to be deported to Japan by our Government even though they wished to remain in the U. S. Many citizens may have feared that if they did not request to be sent to Japan and also that if they did not renounce citizenship that their security was threatened by the activities of the alien agitators and their groups.)

Reasons Why Persons Were Sent to the Tule Lake Center or Were Segregated There.

Persons were sent to the Tule Lake Center or were segregated there for one or more of the following reasons, specified by the provisions of Chapter 10 of the War Relocation Administrative Manual, Section 110.3, viz.:

- (1) Because he formally asked for repatriation or expatriation to Japan and did not retract his request before July 1, 1943, or
- (2) Because at the time he registered for Army service and war industries purposes he answered Question 28 of Form WRA-126 or DSS Form 304-A in the negative, or he failed or refused to answer it and did not change

his answer before July 1, 1943. (A person who failed or refused to answer that question in the affirmative by a "Yes" answer was deemed by the Justice Department or WRA not to be loyal to the United States.)

(3) Because he was denied leave clearance by the Director of the WRA because:

- (a) An adverse report had been filed against him by a Federal Intelligence agency or
- (b) He had answered Question No. 28 in the negative by a "No" answer and changed it to a "Yes" answer by July 1, 1943, or he answered that question with a qualification; or
- (c) He had requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan and retracted such request before July 1, 1943, or he requested repatriation or expatriation to Japan after July 1, 1943; or
- (d) He was a person concerning whom the Japanese-American Joint Board established in the Provost Marshal General's Offices did not affirmatively recommend leave clearance; or
- (e) He was a person about whom there was information indicating he had loyalty to Japan.

However, a member of the immediate family of any person who fell within one of the above-mentioned three classes or categories was allowed to remain in the Tule Lake Center or to be sent there with him if he made an individual request to remain there or to be sent there with him, and this included adult members of such a person's family as well as minors under the age of 21 years.

Thereafter, in 1943 the WRA informed the confined persons segregated at the Tule Lake Center that they would be kept in that Center until they were removed to Japan.

The relocation office in the "colony", the area where the evacuees were confined, at Tule was closed out in October, 1943 by the WRA. In consequence no applications for relocation could be made there until that office was reopened by Raymond R. Best in June, 1945. (During that time the evacuees in the colony may have believed they would not be relocated and, therefore, that our Government intended to remove them to Japan.)

None of the persons in the colony, except those who were employed in the administrative section of the camp, could leave the colony to apply to the relocation office in the administrative section because of fear they would be spied upon. They feared to ask for permission to leave the colony to apply for relocation in the administrative section because they believed they would be reported to leaders of the pressure groups and that their safety thereby would be endangered. The pressure groups maintained a spy system in the camp to report anyone who asked for such permission. The persons in the colony feared to trust anyone.

On December 19, 1944, a mimeographed announcement by Dillon Myer, Director of the WRA, was distributed among all male residents of the Tule Lake Center. This informed them that all relocation centers would be closed within a period of six months to one year after the civilian exclusion orders were cancelled and the ban on their return to their homes in the Western States was lifted. A like notice was published in the Newell Star, the camp newspaper.

On December 19, 1944, an Army team of some 20 officers began to hold hearings for male residents of the Tule Lake Center to ascertain whether or not they were to be issued individual civilian exclusion orders or were to be allowed to return to their homes. (No females were given those hearings.) (There is some evidence that a number of the army officers asked those called for hearings, "Do you want to go out or do you want to renounce your citizenship?") As a result of such questions many evacuees may have believed that in order to be permitted to stay in the protective security of the center and avoid being forced to relocate in an impoverished condition in communities hostile to persons of Japanese ancestry where their security would be endangered that it was necessary for them to renounce U. S. citizenship in order to be interned by the Justice Department and to be allowed to remain in the camp.

Applications for Renunciation.

Following the announcement of the closing of the camps approximately 2,000 persons sent applications for renunciation to the Justice Department where they were received on December 26, 1944. In January, 1945, approximately 3,400 like requests were received by the Justice Department in Washington, D. C. (This flood of applications for renunciation immediately following notice of the lifting of the blanket military ban indicates that the primary reason these persons renounced was that they feared they would be forced to relocate in the U. S. in a destitute condition in communities hostile to them where their safety was threatened unless they renounced and were ordered interned by the Justice Department and allowed to remain in the protective security of the camp. It also indicates that the citizens feared that if they were forced out of camp that their alien parents would be sent to Japan and thus that the families forever would be separated. It also indicates that alien parents brought pressure upon their citizen children to renounce to prevent their families from being separated.)

The fact that practically all the applications for renunciation, except about 337, were mailed to the Department of Justice, evidently between Dec. 17th and Dec. 23, 1944, indicates that the male evacuees did not renounce through any fear of being drafted into the military forces of the U. S. It suggests that they did so primarily because they expected that if they did not renounce they would be forced out of camp in an impoverished condition and that their safety would be in jeopardy if they were forced to relocate in communities where the people were hostile to them.

(Alien parents of citizen children, however, may have feared, in view of propaganda and rumors spread in camp, that if their children would be relocated that they would become subject to the draft. They may have

feared that if their children were drafted that they would be discriminated against in the armed forces, would be singled out for persecution and might be used as cannon fodder. Many alien parents doubtlessly feared that they, the parents, would be sent to Japan anyway and that if their citizen children did not renounce that their children might be kept in detention or be forced to relocate in the U. S. and be drafted and thus that the families forever would be separated. Because of such fears it is likely that the parents brought pressure to bear on their children to renounce citizenship so that the children would be allowed to stay in camp or would be deported to Japan with them.)

Terroristic Activities at Tule.

On November 1, 1943, while a mass meeting was held in front of the administration building at Tule which was addressed by Dillon Myer a fight took place in the hospital corridor between a Caucasian staff physician and several evacuees.

On November 4, 1943, eighteen evacuees of the center were taken by members of the internal security police to the police squad room where they were severely beaten with clubs and were hospitalized. (This incident caused a good deal of fear in the Tuleans because the WRA officials failed to give them adequate protection against violence.)

On the night of Nov. 4, 1943, Project Director Raymond Best, acting under a rumor that a number of youths were on their way to attack him, called in the troops. The armed soldiers, with tanks, marched into the center and drove all the evacuees indoors and thereafter for twelve days conducted a house to house search for contraband. (The WRA referred to this occurrence as the "Incident".) The army arrested numbers of suspected persons and threw them into the "Stockade" where they were kept for months without charges being filed against them and without being given hearings. After the troops were relieved from duty at the Center about March 1, 1944, the internal security police conducted like forcible seizures and imprisoned many persons in the "Stockade" without filing charges against them and without giving them hearings. (Those confined to the Stockade may have feared that as a result of their mistreatment they would never be allowed to stay in the U. S. but eventually would be deported to Japan.)

On May 16, 1944, James Okamoto, a citizen, employed as a driver of a construction truck, while presenting his credentials was shot dead by an M.P. sentry. This unjustified shooting spread terror in the camp. (It may have convinced many that the Government had no use for them and that it did not care what happened to them.)

On the night of July 2, 1944, Yaozu Hitomi, an alien internee, was stabbed to death. The killer escaped—his identity was not established. (The fact that the WRA authorities were unable to prevent this crime and that a murderer was loose in the camp spread more terror among the residents of the Center. It also contributed to the belief that the Government had no use for them and that it either could not or would not give them protection against violence.)

From June, 1944, until after the renunciation hearings, frequent acts of violence occurred in Tule. A number of persons were beaten by unknown assailants and many persons received threats. (These things caused a great deal of fear in the Tuleans. They may have feared they were not given adequate protection against threats and violence by the WRA because the Government was not much concerned about them because they were Japanese who were to be sent to Japan.)

In August, 1944, a group of aliens (leaders of the Saikakuri Seigan) who had requested to be sent to Japan organized the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan which later divided into two sections, one composed of men being called the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan and one composed of boys being called the Hokoku Seinen Dan. A similar organization for women and girls also was formed and was called the Joshi Dan.

Many citizens may have joined the pressure groups in the belief that by so doing they would save themselves and their families from threats and violence at the hands of strong-arm gangs. Many may have joined in the belief that they were going to be sent to Japan against their will and that, therefore, it would be best for them to be able to say on arrival in Japan that they had not been opposed to Japan. Many of them may have joined in the belief that they were going to be deported to Japan and that the WRA wanted them to join in order to prepare for their future life in Japan. Many of them may have believed that the organizations were not doing anything illegal. (Many persons may have been listed as members by their parents or by other persons without their knowledge or consent.)

On January 25, 1945, John Burling wrote letters to Masao Sakamoto and Tsutomu Higashi, the two *alien heads* of the Hoshi Dan and the Seinen Dan warning them and their followers to stop their activities. Mimeo-graphed copies of the letter were posted in the Center for all to read. That letter read, in part, as follows:

"I am well aware that your two organizations have put pressure on residents of this Center to assert loyalty to Japan and that in a number of cases physical violence was employed . . . It is as treasonable to coerce others into asserting loyalty to Japan here as it would be outside. All those activities will stop."

"What is intolerable is that the activities of your two organizations continue. Since those activities are intolerable, they will not be tolerated but, on the contrary, will cease."

The WRA fostered the Japanese language schools and the evacuees may have believed that the Government wanted to have them taught the Japanese language, ways, customs and traditions so that they would be prepared for life in Japan when they were deported to Japan. The alien language instructors tried to indoctrinate the students with pro-Japanese sentiments. The evacuees may have thought that our Government approved what

the Japanese language schools were doing. The WRA didn't interfere with the "Greater East Asia Language Schools" until March, 1945, and let the other Japanese language schools operate until October, 1945.

Many of the evacuees believed that the Government sponsored the Hoshi Dan and the Seinen Dan because it gave those organizations meeting places and let their leaders proselyte and engage in propaganda work.

The Renunciation Hearings.

The Justice Department conducted the renunciation hearings at Tule Lake between January 11, 1945, and March 17, 1945. Each applicant there was given a hearing and there signed a renunciation application. The camp then was in a turmoil. The hearings were held behind closed doors by government agents. No witnesses were allowed to be present. Many of the applicants may have feared that if they did not there renounce that everyone in camp would know about it and may have feared that they would be subjected to physical violence by gangs if they did not renounce. Many of them acted very strangely at those hearings. Many gave wild, distorted and fantastic answers and statements as to the reasons why they were renouncing citizenship. Many even said they were loyal to Japan. (It appeared to the hearing officers that many of the answers were stereotyped—and this indicated that many had been coached to give the same answers—and that they had been persuaded or pressured to give such answers by their parents or by pressure groups.) Burling stated:

"It was a commonplace witticism among the officials of the center at the time of these hearings that the population of the center was largely mad and that the center might properly be taken from the management of the War Relocation Authority and transferred to the Public Health Service to be run as a species of mental institution."

Fears Causing Renunciations.

Witnesses have stated in affidavits that the following were fears of many of the confined persons which led to their renunciations of U. S. citizenship:

1. That many believed it was necessary for them to renounce U. S. citizenship to make sure they would not be forced by the closing of the WRA camps to relocate in communities hostile to them but would be permitted, by renouncing, to remain in camp in the protective security of the Justice Department.
2. Alien parents who expected to be removed to Japan, either because they had requested to be sent to Japan or because they feared our Government was going to deport them to Japan simply because they were aliens, persuaded or pressured their citizen children to renounce so that their citizen children would be sent to Japan along with their parents and thereby prevent family separations.
3. Alien parents who expected to be removed to Japan, either because they had requested to be sent there or because they feared our Government was going to send them there, believed that their citizen children would be drafted and their families thereby separated and that, therefore, they pressured their citizen children to renounce citizenship to preserve family unity.
4. The generalized belief in stories of atrocities committed by Caucasians against relocated evacuees led them to believe that if forced to relocate their safety would be endangered and that, to prevent relocation, they must renounce citizenship in order to be permitted to remain in the protective security of the camp.
5. That upon arrival in Japan, following their deportation, it was necessary for U. S. citizens of alien parents who were sent there to be able to prove that they were not enemies of Japan and that, if they had not first renounced U. S. citizenship, they would be deemed to be enemies of Japan on their arrival there and be punished as such and that their alien parents also might be punished by the Japanese Government.
6. That it was necessary for them to renounce citizenship and be interned by the Justice Department so that they would not be forced to relocate in the U. S. without funds and without the ability to support themselves and their dependents which might cause their starvation.
7. The threats and activities of strong-arm gangs, judo experts and individual mobsters caused many of the citizens and their alien family members to fear that their security was endangered unless the citizen members of their families renounced citizenship. Nearly everyone in camp was in fear of harm from such sources and believed the stories that circulated that many persons had been threatened or been beaten by them. (The failure of the WRA to protect them against the pressure groups added to their terror and caused many of the citizens to believe our Government had abandoned them and that it intended to remove them to Japan and that, because of their expected removal to Japan, the WRA refused to do anything to stop the activities of the pressure groups. (In January, 1945, an internee told the WRA Project Attorney that strong-arm squads were intimidating citizens to renounce and to request removal to Japan but he said the WRA would not do anything about it and that it was a problem for the Justice Department to handle.)

In his affidavit John Burling gives his opinion that the renunciations were due to the following eight (8) major causes, namely:

1. He states that the most significant reason was the blunder of the WRA in giving notice on December 19, 1944, that the camps would be closed out in one (1) year. This notice caused citizens to renounce so that they could be interned by the Justice Department and thereby prevent themselves from being forced out of camp in an impoverished condition to start life over again in communities hostile to them where they believed their lives and safety would be endangered. Burling's opinion is that about one-half of the renunciations were

caused by that announcement which led citizens to renounce because of their belief that if they did renounce they would be interned as though they were alien enemies and thus be allowed to remain in the camp and be protected.

2. He also states that there was a genuine disaffection with the U. S. and loyalty to Japan. He states there were some 2,000 Kibei in camp who had lived and been educated in Japan with no experience of American life; that many Kibei, in view of the hostile sentiments of people on the West Coast against Japanese which prevailed during hostilities, felt that they had no chance for life in the U. S. and therefore sentiments of loyalty to Japan sprang up; that agitators and leaders managed to instil in those who were not Kibei a sentiment of loyalty to Japan because the U. S. had discriminated against them by confining them in barbed-wire concentration camps guarded by armed sentries so that they realized they were not accepted as equals to other citizens. (His conclusion that a number of Kibei and other citizens were loyal to Japan or had feelings of loyalty to Japan does not seem to be justified. The Kibei were just as loyal to the United States as other citizens. They were objects of governmental suspicion merely because they had lived in Japan and had received part of their education there and probably because many Kibei did not speak English quite as well as others. They asked for repatriation to Japan, and answered or refused to answer questions Nos. 27 and 28 and renounced for the same reasons that the others renounced. They were under the same governmental duress and coercion as the other citizens and reacted the same way as other citizens to the fears that arose out of the evacuation, confinement and conditions existing in the Center.)

3. Many alien parents had decided in 1943 to return to Japan. The parents believed their sons might be drafted into the U. S. military forces. When the announcement was made on December 19, 1944, that the center might be closed a rumor arose that men of draft age would be drafted. Then the parents may have feared that their sons might be drafted and be discriminated against and be persecuted in the armed forces unless their sons renounced U. S. citizenship and persuaded them to renounce to escape that persecution.

(It may be that at the time of renunciations some of the male citizens feared they were or would become subject to the draft law and that they renounced to avoid being drafted. However, it is unlikely that any such fear existed because all of them knew they then were not subject to the draft law. They knew that in the case of *U. S. v. Kuwabara*, decided on July 22, 1944, Judge Goodman had held that the 26 Nisei at Tule who were indicted for failure to report for pre-induction physical examination as required by draft boards were held in duress by the Government and, in consequence, were not subject to being drafted. As a result he dismissed the indictments. He declared:

"It is shocking to the conscience that an American citizen be confined on the ground of disloyalty, and then, while so under duress and restraint be compelled to serve in the armed forces or be prosecuted for not yielding to such compulsion . . . defendant is under the circumstances not a free agent, nor is any plea that he may make, free or voluntary, and hence he is not accorded 'due process' in this proceeding."

After that decision had been handed down the citizens confined at Tule were aware that they were not subject to the draft. In consequence, at the time of the renunciation hearings which took place long afterward, probably none of the confined citizens were laboring under a belief that they were subject to the draft. Therefore, none of them renounced because of any fear of being drafted if they did not renounce. It may be, however, that alien parents feared their sons might be drafted, basing their conclusions on rumors which circulated after December 19, 1944. Alien parents, however, in view of the propaganda and rumors rife in the camp may have feared that if their children were forced to relocate that they would be subject to the draft and be discriminated against in the armed forces, would be singled out for persecution and possibly might be used as cannon fodder, and, in consequence, may have persuaded or pressured their children to renounce citizenship.

4. He states that family loyalty also caused renunciations. A rumor circulated and generally was believed that all aliens were to be repatriated to Japan. Officials in the Justice Department and in the WRA also believed that the aliens would be repatriated to Japan after the war. The Japanese Government in January 1945 announced that it intended to exchange U. S. citizens held in Japan for Japanese citizens held in the U. S. and this matter was published in the *Newell Star* in camp. Aliens who expected to be exchanged or repatriated after the war were fearful that their sons might be drafted into the U. S. military forces or be forced to relocate in the U. S. and that their families forever might be separated. The alien parents believed they were to be sent to Japan and that they would be separated from their children who would be left here by themselves. Therefore the alien parents persuaded or pressured their children to renounce in order to be interned so that the families could be held together and all be sent to Japan.

5. He states that another factor which increased the fear of the evacuees in camp was the belief that unless they renounced citizenship they would be forcibly expelled from camp into hostile communities where they would be endangered. Exaggerated reports of many atrocities against persons of Japanese ancestry spread throughout the camp and were believed by the residents, such as stories of Japanese families being burned alive in their homes, being shot, beaten, killed, etc.

6. Another factor was a sense of pride in consistency and in the determination of a citizen to adhere to a decision earlier made. Burling states his belief that a number of those who answered Question No. 28 in the negative or refused to answer it, felt that they might lose prestige by failing to adhere later to a pro-Japanese position.

7. Another factor in Burling's opinion was that a citizen who expected to go or be sent to Japan to live permanently believed renunciation of U. S. citizenship was desirable in order to have a record of pro-Japanese loyalty and activity with which to establish himself in Japan.

8. Another factor was irrational mass hysteria arising from detention conditions behind barbed wire, exclusion from contacts with Caucasians, lack of entertainment, lack of occupation, fantastic rumors, racial discrimination and emotional instability arising from the conditions.

Another Government witness, *Rosalie Hankey*, states that the following were the causes of the renunciations:

1. Fear of grave economic hardship in the event of ever being relocated in the U. S. after loss of all their assets.
2. Fear of physical violence from hostile citizens of Caucasian ancestry if they were relocated.
3. Fear of family separation in the event their alien parents were to be sent to Japan while they would be kept here if they didn't renounce.
4. Fear that they would be drafted into the U. S. military forces unless they renounced. (This fear seems to have existed in some alien parents' minds but it is doubtful if a citizen held the same fear.)
5. Parental pressure or family pressure. (This means that the parents expected to be sent to Japan and, therefore, persuaded or forced their children to renounce so that they could be sent to Japan along with their parents.)
6. She also says that a great number of the citizens did not appreciate the gravity of renouncing and believed they would get their citizenship back and that they believed that renunciation was not a final act.

Judge Goodman's decision held that the renunciations were caused by one or more of the following factors:

1. The internal pressure to renounce (by indoctrination of young and threats of violence against recalcitrant internees and their families) exerted by the two pro-Japanese factions at Tule Lake which were permitted to carry out nationalistic activities. (He also found, in effect, that leaders and members of those organizations also acted abnormally because of the abnormal conditions resulting from evacuation and detention and, in consequence, he did not hold them responsible for their acts which may detrimentally have affected other persons.)
2. Parental pressure by alien parents on citizen children to prevent family breakup.
3. Parental pressure by alien parents on citizen children to avoid draft induction. (This means that parents forced their citizen children to renounce so that the children would be interned and be sent to Japan when their alien parents were deported to Japan.)
4. The fear of community hostility on release from camp for relocation in the United States where their safety would be endangered.
5. The conviction that the Government would deport them to Japan in any event and that, unless they renounced, they would be subject to reprisals by the Japanese and the Japanese Government on arrival in Japan.
6. Mass hysteria, the outgrowth of the combined experience of evacuation, loss of home, isolation from outside communication and concentration in an enclosed, guarded, overpopulated camp with little occupation, inadequate and uncomfortable living accommodations, dreary and unhealthy surroundings and climatic conditions,—producing neuroses built on fear, anxiety, resentment, uncertainty, hopelessness and despair of eventual rehabilitation.

A witness for the plaintiffs, the *Rev. Thomas W. Grubbs*, stated the renunciations resulted from the following:

"The psychology of the internees that led to the renunciations was born of their mass evacuation, prolonged internment with no expectation of release, anticipated deportation to Japan, hostility which surrounded them outside the Center, the constant menace of the pressure groups inside the Center, the apathy of the WRA toward their plight and its failure to afford them protection from the menace of the pressure groups. The resultant worries, distress and fears these things engendered in their minds drove them into despair and deprived them of all sense of reality and they did not and could not respond as normal beings. The psychological pressure brought upon the citizens to renounce and to ask to be sent to Japan was constant, terrific and intense."

When the relocation office in the colony was reopened in June, 1945, by order of Mr. Raymond Best, the applications for relocation poured in so fast that several additional relocation offices had to be opened to handle the volume of applications. A witness for the plaintiffs states that "practically all of the renunciants applied for relocation before the middle of July, 1945, but these applications were denied while those of aliens and children under 18 years were approved." (Most of these were denied because the persons already had renounced U. S. citizenship and were interned by the Justice Department. Renunciants were not eligible for relocation at that time because they were held for removal to Japan from and after the time of renunciation even though the internees may not have been aware of this.)

On November 13, 1945, mass class suits in equity and proceedings in habeas corpus were filed in the U. S. District Court at San Francisco to prevent the removal of the renunciants to Japan and to cancel their renunciations.

Between January 17, 1946, and January 26, 1946, the Attorney General conducted "mitigation" hearings in Tule Lake and later, in 1946, conducted like hearings in Bismarck, N. D., Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Crystal City, Texas.

As a result of the suits all the internees finally were released from internment and those who were in the United States returned to their homes.