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NISEI: A ROLE IN AN AMERICAN MINORITY

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October 1944

Introduction

"Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941!" The name and date will long be imprinted in the minds of all Japanese residents in America. It was the beginning of events which were to have profound disruptions upon their lives. Being identified by physical appearance with the enemy, this group has probably felt the greatest impact of the war on any civilian group in the United States. In view of the fact that they comprised only 1/10 of one percent of the total United States's population plus the knowledge that millions of others both in Europe and Asia have been victims of great social upheaval, the Japanese question in the U.S. appears almost a minor incident of the war. Nevertheless its implications are great, as a local California problem has become a national problem definitely related to the vex-question of racial minorities. As Robert Redfield points out: "The very center of the problem lies in the fact that the evacuation and confinement were done on a racial basis."¹

Soon after the outbreak of the war, 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were swiftly incarcerated into 15 assembly centers in the West and later transferred to 10 relocation centers located in various inland areas. They had been concentrated in the West Coast living in neighboring areas to business districts in cities and scattered in ranches of rural districts. Their habits of life were generally similar to those of the middle urban and farm classes of the West Coast. To adequately discuss evacuation would require a

1. Redfield, Robert. "The Japanese-Americans", American Society in Wartime. U. of Chicago Press, 1943.

thorough study into the background and historical setting of the Japanese in California. Whether evacuation was necessary and justified will take the efforts of a wise and exhaustive historian some time in the future when the complex facts are not hazy as in time of total war.

In the relocation center itself, the evacuees faced a totally new condition of life. They lived close together in Army-type barracks in small 20x25 rooms and ate in common mess halls. The family role began to disintegrate as the role of home had been drastically altered. Thrown together into an isolated racial island of frustrated people living by day to day, they tended to grow in upon themselves and each other, becoming almost completely detached from American life, the war, and the world. Sensing this, the Government officials formulated a policy of resettling as many of the evacuees as soon as possible outside the centers. It opened the way for many of the Japanese-Americans to flow once again into the general stream of American life.

Those who chose to go out were with few exceptions those who were young and single. They were for most part Nisei, the American-born children of the original immigrant--the Issei. More than 30,000 persons have accepted the opportunity of resettlement. However another 20,000, in the meanwhile, has definitely rejected resettlement and have indicated their desire not to go out again into American life. These are the "segregants" who, upon their own request, have been placed in the Tule Lake Relocation Center, most of whom are eventually looking to relocation in Japan. The remaining 60,000 are still in the various camps.

| | No. of Evacuees |
|---|-----------------|
| Segregants | 20,000 |
| Resettled Evacuees in normal communities..... | 30,000 |
| Evacuees remaining in centers..... | <u>60,000</u> |
| Total population..... | 110,000 |

The 90,000 are those who in spite of many agitations, plan to remain in this country. This is their country by adoption or birth, but primarily by choice. This is their faith. With the theme focused to "What role is the Nisei playing?", it becomes necessary to examine closer this group of 90,000 Japanese who plan to continue living in this country after the war. They are far from being a homogeneous group; included are all kinds of persons--old and young, rural and urban, aged farm laborer to the sophisticated college students. They differ widely in level of education, general background, and occupation. Yet if a reasonable understanding is to be attained in the hope of achieving a less blind conception of these evacuees, individuals must become grouped as a matter of mental convenience. It become imperative to reduce these people to a few clear-cut ~~people~~ groups. The writer, therefore, has broken down the 90,000 evacuees into four distinct groups:

| | No. of Evacuees |
|---|-----------------|
| <u>First Generation:</u> | |
| 1) Issei..... | 30,000 |
| <u>Second Generation:</u> | |
| 2) Nisei (above 15 years of age)..... | 32,000 |
| 3) Kibei (Japanese-American educated in Japan)..... | 8,000 |
| 4) Children (Nisei below 15)..... | <u>20,000</u> |
| Total..... | 90,000 |

To understand the role ~~x~~ that the Nisei is enacting today in interrelationship with each of these groups, the dominant emotions, sentiments, and conflicts of each are set forth. The charts after

each group is presented to summarize and also to focalize some of the divergent, often incompatible, set of sentiments. Individuals oftentime hold ambivalent and conflicting sentiments at one and the same time which add to the confusion. The charts illustrate the feelings they hold -- some making for security and satisfaction and others for insecurity and uneasiness. These attitudes do not exist in the same degree in all individuals of the group; however, they are the dominant ones. They are obviously based on the writer's judgment as there are no devices in measuring such attitudes and sentiments. Nevertheless they do give a deeper insight into the complex problem of the Japanese in America and particularly to the Nisei's role.

Nisei

In order to comprehend the Nisei's role in the social group of the Japanese in America, it seems logical first to know what is a Nisei?

The Nisei is one born and bred in this country. This second generation group did not appear in large number until after 1921 which makes his average age approximately 23. The language of the Nisei is English. Although his parents, like other immigrant parents, tried to encourage the native language, very few Nisei can speak and write Japanese with any real proficiency. In his mannerisms and behavior he is as American as any other second generation group in the U.S. The way he dresses, the food he eats, and even his method of courtship, are typically American.

His most popular sports are basketball, baseball, ping-pong, and football. Not only do Nisei play these American games, but they play them well. Many were and are prominent in these sports as

members of high school teams prior to evacuation and subsequent to resettlement. Another favorite recreation of the Nisei is dancing-- dancing to the same music and to the same name-band as is popular with all young Americans. A Nisei jitterbugging is not an uncommon sight though it deviates far from the reserved behavior of his parent's culture.

In education he is stated to be unusually successful in scholastic achievement. High school valedictorians and membership in honorary fraternities are reported as "disproportionately higher than that of any other group." In the four West Coast states, the Nisei population, 25 years and older, were conspicuously better educated than is the native white population of the country at large.² Furthermore, the American educational system has done an exceedingly good job of Americanizing the Nisei.

As true with other immigrant children the Nisei has been exposed to two cultures. Therefore, he is more likely to know how to handle a chopstick just as an Irish-American understands better the songs of old Ireland. But these things are foreign matters. The way of the American culture has proved too strong a pull for the Nisei with the result that he is typically American in his ways. The American ideals and values are an integral part of this citizen with the Japanese face.

It was this face that made the Nisei possess a strong consciousness of himself as a person of Japanese ancestry at the outbreak of the war. He was to become one of the most suspected groups in the U.S. The average Nisei had until then led a rather sheltered life

2. This is to the credit of the Issei when it is noted that the occupations of the parental group is lower than those of Caucasians who sent their children to college.

which his parents had built around him. These young American-born Nisei had not by December 7, 1941 assumed the leadership of the Japanese community altho they would have done so in another decade. It might be of interest to note here that in Hawaii where immigration had taken place at an earlier date than in California, the Japanese there had become more stably assimilated with American-born leadership in Japanese community. War struck as the American-educated generation was beginning to displace the alien generation in positions of social and economic leadership. With the reality of evacuation, the Nisei actually became of age. Altho many were disillusioned, some bitter and resentful, most took evacuation as a sacrifice and regarded their deprivation of liberty as one which was ~~xxxxxx~~ required of them as Americans for the nation's good. It was taken as "a way of wars." The speed of the vast movement, altho not too well done, is a tribute to Army efficiency but also a demonstration of the loyalty of the Japanese-Americans themselves as was pointed out by Secretary of War Stimson.

Once inside the center the negative aspect of his character became the trend. Altho there was a sentiment of making the best of a bad situation, feeling insecure he became more embittered. The outside world and its events became a rather sketchy and not concrete or real. His chief preoccupation were the immediate events and problems of local life. He felt frustrated and unhappy. He griped with and to other Nisei vigorously and frequently. And yet at the same time the Nisei held on to his faith in the American ~~x~~institutions. He hoped of recovering his rights and privileges of citizenship; he held on to the belief of the traditional rights of the minorities in this land. The Nisei did not necessarily show these sentiments overtly, but they were there nevertheless.

With the policy of resettlement on the "outside," many enterprising Nisei moved into the main stream of American life. The possibility of resettling during wartime in itself was evidence of the American way. They left the centers without bitterness or rancor--but neither ~~was~~ flag-wavers.

Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt, who ~~was~~ Commanding General of the Western Defense Command conducted the evacuation, was quoted as declaring: "A Jap's a Jap. It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not..." As Nisei moved out of the centers, the Honorable Tom Steward of Tennessee declared in the Senate: "I believe that the history of the Japanese race has proved to the absolute satisfaction of every American citizen--and when I say 'American citizen' in my own mind I exclude the Japanese--that they are constitutionally deceptive... Show me a Jap and I will show you a person who is the embodiment of treachery and deception..." When slammed with such statements, some Nisei began to feel and act like America's symbol of racial persecution and martyrs of racial injustice. For others it involved nothing but more bitterness and a feeling of frustration. However, great many began to realize their problem in the light of the country's situation ~~and~~ began to show more active and healthy concern with the problem of other racial minorities and sought to become more embedded into America.

The reinstitution of the Japanese American Combat team in 1943 constituted an important part of reassimilation into American society. The Nisei then began fighting for the protection of the honor and reputation of Japanese in America. Theirs was a crusade for Americans of Japanese descent as well as fighting the Axis for democracy. They were among the first troops to land on the beaches of Salerno where their valor was singled out for special praise by

Lt. Gen. Mark W. Clark. These Nisei men serve as dramatic symbol of the loyalty of the Nisei. But they fight not for the preservation of Jap Crowism--nor Jim's for that matter.

Probably the feeling of the Nisei can best be exemplified by the creed of the Japanese-American Citizens League:

"I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this nation, which has permitted me to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak, and act as I please--as a free man equal to every other man.

"Altho some individuals may discriminate against me, I am firm in my belief that American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of action and achievement, and not on the basis of physical characteristics.

"Because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me, and because I have received innumerable benefits from her, I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and in all places, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America."

NISEI SUMMARY CHART

| <u>Sentiments Making for Security and Satisfaction</u> | <u>Background</u> | <u>Sentiments Making for Insecurity and Uneasiness</u> |
|--|---|--|
| Faith in the American Institutions and Ideals | American citizen | Bafflement by Evacuation |
| Continuance of Residence in America | American Language, Social Interests & Recreational habits | Skepticism of American Ideals |
| Families Ties in Centers | Lack of Japanese, culturally | Fear of Discrimi- nation |
| Adaptibility to Resettlement | Youthfulness | Shy and Sensitive |

Issei

The Issei is the original immigrant group excluded from citizenship by law; they are the fathers and mothers of the Nisei. In 1944, his average age was 50 to 60 years with the average life in the U.S. about 35 years. The immigrants, arriving in a rather compact period before the Exclusion Act in 1924 and marrying late in life, have produced a pronounced gap between themselves and the Nisei.

He arrived in the U.S. after the beginning of the twentieth century to fill the gap in the labor supply resulting from the exclusion of the Chinese. The Issei came to the U.S. for practically the same reasons which stimulated other immigrants. He came to better himself economically, to search for education or adventure, and some even for the purpose of escaping military service from the Japanese Government as required by the conscription act.

The Japanese, like the Chinese before him, were welcomed at first, especially by Western bankers and large landholders. Unlike other oriental groups, the male Japanese brought on or later sent for his wife or family and began acquiring farms of his own and did his best to fit into the American scene. As he became increasingly successful in operating farms of his own or organizing self-sufficient businesses, criticisms against him began to mount.³ He became stereotyped just as the Chinese before him--Japs were too thrifty, worked too hard, too independent, racially inferior, and so on. This hostility eventually led to the ~~Exkxx~~ Exclusion Act in 1924 and to the Alien Land Act which forbade his owning land in California. Nevertheless, during the 35 year's residence the Issei's contribution

3. Young, Donald. Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression. Bulletin 31. N.Y.: Social Science Research Council. 1937.

added greatly to the efficiency of Western American agriculture. He had brought under cultivation formerly marginal and worthless land and had adapted crops to particular soils. He set a new and high standard of operating vegetable, fruit, and produce markets.⁴ Considering the obstacles in his way the Issei has made wonderful economic adjustment as an immigrant group. Yet, this also meant social friction and economic competition. Antipathy and antagonism arose as he refused to accept the inferior place designated and contended for equal opportunity on basis of merit. His strong desire for adequate economic status may have been motivated by his children so that they may at least be on equal grounds there for assimilation. The fitting of the alien Japanese into American life is best seen in terms of what he has allowed his children to become. These alien parents have insisted on giving their children as much American schooling as possible. The result was an extensive adoption of American ways by the Nisei in language, diet, social interests, and recreational habits as has been already discussed.

Evacuation wiped out the accomplishments and life savings that the Issei had built for himself and his children the past 30 or 40 years. He became frustrated, fearful of the future on one hand and resentful on the other. These emotions expressed themselves in apathy, inactivity, and non-cooperation in the centers. Prior to evacuation, Americanization of the Issei as of other immigrant groups increased with the length of residence--perhaps unconsciously and certainly slowly. Evacuation impeded this process which might have been accomplished through his children.

Culturally, however, the Issei is yet dominantly Japanese. The

4. Rademaker, John A. "Japanese-Americans," Our Racial and National Minorities. N.Y.: Prentice-Hall. 1939.

identification is cultural not political. Evacuation did turn some of them toward Japan as a source of future security manifesting a lack of confidence in democracy. Most of them had emigrated from Japan before the militarists had assumed control, and the memories of Japan are of peaceful existence. Since he has been denied citizenship in the U.S., his ties necessarily became divided between the U.S. and Japan. Not to become a "man without a country" he found it necessary to look back to Japan; yet his daily living, his home and children were in the U.S. "My feeling goes to peace and goodwill among both people," is the expression of old, old Issei. He for one is doing everything he can for the war effort--buys war bonds, has two sons in the U.S. Army, one a volunteer. Yet there is evident~~ly~~ tenderness for Japan. He doesn't want to go back to Japan; he's happy here but yet he doesn't want to see Japan violently crushed. This type of sentiment has led many Issei to acquire a "citizen of the world" attitude.

The Issei is definitely not interested in resettlement. He feels strongly that even with victory for the Allies, it will entail suffering as the casualty lists flow in with the indirect saddling of blame and responsibility to the Issei. This he feels more as the European theatre closes and the entire nation's vigor is concentrated on Japan. Discrimination will become greater he feels, adding to his skepticism of public reception. Also he speaks of his lack of financial status. He apathetically and correctly states that he is too old to start anew again. Some even look longingly toward California much in the same light as his previous attachment to Japan. No, resettlement on the "outside" is not for him. He would rather stay in the center where he at least has the social and economic security, even though it may be a temporary one. The Issei

fear for his future status; he is skeptical of the American government; and his apathy and resignation are that which verge on defeat.

ISSEI SUMMARY CHART

| <u>Sentiments Making for Security and Satisfaction</u> | Background | <u>Sentiments Making for Insecurity and Uneasiness</u> |
|---|--|---|
| Looking to Nisei's American Future for Their Own Security | Parent of Nisei | Breaking-up of Family Caused by Resettlement |
| Temporary Social and Economic Security in Centers | Denied Citizen- ship by U.S. | Skepticism of U.S. with Resentment of Evacuation |
| Nostalgic idealiza- tion of California and Japan | Old Age Culturally Japanese | Limited American Assimilation Economic Insecurity Apprehension of "Outside" Fear of Future |

Kibei

The Kibei is the minority within a minority group. Translated, Kibei means "returned to America." Therefore, it literally includes many person who had gone to Japan and returned to the U.S. However, its more common usage in America is applied to those Nisei who had gone to Japan in his formative years and had returned to the U.S. culturally Japanese. The degree to which he became "Japanesey" depends upon the age he went to Japan, the length of stay and the amount of education he received.⁵

The theme in the life of a typical Kibei seems to be one of conflict in personal adjustment. He returned to the "States" in his late teens more or less upon completion of his studies, to evade

5. Not more than 14% of the total Nisei fit into the Kibei group.

the conscription in Japan, to better his lot (in this sense he was like any new immigrant), or simply because he preferred the freedom of American ways to the rigidity of the Oriental. However, upon returning to America he found himself apart from not only the majority of the Americans in speech and custom, but also apart from the Nisei. Added to this was the necessity to adjust himself to the new school environment and even to his family who were almost strangers to him. He met rebuffs in his attempts to adjust by native Americans who, along with the Nisei, shunned and often ridiculed him.

Because of this situation it made some of the Kibei "hot-headed" and over-aggressive. The Kibei group as a whole acquired a bad reputation, not only among the native Americans but also among the Nisei and even the Issei. Knowing this in turn made other less-aggressive Kibei react in unsocial manners or to exhibit defense attitudes of cockiness. Being disliked and misunderstood they stuck together and bolstered their pride by ridiculing the Nisei, which resulted in a vicious circle.

With the outbreak of war, the Kibei found himself distrusted from all directions, thus intensifying his conflict. The Kibei responded to this maladjustment in many ways. Some who were liberal and anti-militaristic than most Issei or Nisei in this country, leaned over backward to demonstrate their loyalty to the U.S. Some of these assumed the role of liaison personnel in the centers and in governmental positions and utilized beneficially their two diverging backgrounds. Others dared resettlement into normal communities in spite of their "Japanesy" characteristics. To still others Japan began to look good again, when things began to look impossible in America. Being blocked and misunderstood in this

country they tended to go in the other direction with which they were familiar. They became aggressive and tended to take initiative and leadership in such matters as strikes and other agitations which have occurred in the centers. They rejected the American ways and most of these are now in the Tule Lake Relocation Center as "segregants." They are the small part of the Kibei who gave their reputation to the whole. They must be recognized for what they are.

However, the majority tended merely to withdraw into their own shell. They tried to be as unnoticed as possible. Straddling two cultures in such a way as to fit neither led them to frustrations and apathy. Now since evacuation they further withdrew insofar as they could, accepting a limited sphere of action where rebuffs were less possible. They remain in the relocation centers today. Some of these withdrawing Kibei have been drafted and are serving as interpreters and as intelligence officers with American units throughout the Pacific, in India, and in Washington's Pentagon. According to Lt. Col. Gould, they play "an indispensable role" in this war. These men have proven to be an important communication medium as they had been in the centers where they constituted the surest source of liaison between the administration and the people. However, many of these "unobstrusive" Kibei still remain in the centers. They are unlike Issei in that they are young and have their lives before them. They are confused as to their future for they would fit no better in Japan than they have in the U.S., for ironically Kibei are viewed with the same suspicions in Japan. They are trying to fit but the lack of opportunity and preconception of them cause the Kibei to take on a defensive and negativistic attitude that they wish to do nothing which might jeopardize their

future. These Kibei are not so much a problem to be solved but rather a human being to be understood.

KIBEI SUMMARY CHART

| <u>Sentiments Making for Security and Satisfaction</u> | <u>Background</u> | <u>Sentiments Making for Insecurity and Uneasiness</u> |
|--|------------------------|--|
| Good Liaison Between two Diverging Cultures | American Citizen | Maladjusted to American Society |
| Withdrawing | Culturally Japanese | Distrusted by American and by Japan |
| Defiantly Tries to Live up to Preconception | Unsocial Youthful | Unaccepted by Nisei Lack of Opportunity to "Fit" |

Children

To the three foregoing social groups which seem recognized by most people writing on this subject, the writer believes there is a fourth. This category would include the children--Nisei below the age of 15 years. A close scrutiny will reveal that they do not exactly fit the first grouping of older Nisei.

With the emphasis laid on the adult Nisei's rehabilitation into normal American communities, little active interest has been seen in the welfare of these children. Many of the Issei and older Nisei seem to feel that daily living in a relocation center is just a matter of passing events unrelated to the importance of character building. They have been so absorbed in their own problems and frustrations they tended to forget that idle talks of dissatisfactions in the presence of children might leave a dent in the young minds. This can result in unknowing resentment and development of hatred and unfriendliness toward some external force. This

in turn would lead to great inferiority complex when these children are ever re-established into normal living.

Pre-school children seem to romp about all day without much concern by the parents over what they do to occupy their time and energy in the relocation centers. Many youngsters do not eat with their parents in mess halls but eat with their new-found chums in the communal type of living. When there is a heavy rain, the school age kids stay away from school. This leads to bad habits as truancy leading further into dice-rolling and card games while absent from classes. Petty thefts and undisciplinatory actions are not too uncommon. Evacuation to these young ones was first a train joyride to a new location; then, an opportunity to see and meet other children.

The early teen-age youth, for the most part nurtured in American high school, was most idealistically pro-American. But lacking adequate historical and political perspective for causes of evacuation, he ~~was~~ most confused by it. This adolescent group trended toward racial hypersensitivity. Also gang formations evolved to give themselves a sense of power, exclusiveness, and defiance. Many youths, especially the boys, roam about the camps in such gangs at night. Others have taken on obvious and superficial features such as the zoot-suits. Then, too, the uncertainty of the future has been compensated by living merely in the present with the result that recreational activities are over-emphasized. They lack high ideals and ambitions. These children are reflecting the disorganization of the community and the disintegration of the family.

They are subjected to two types of conflicting behaviors by the group to which they belong. In the plight to adjust to both

occidental and oriental cultures, they are taking the worst of both. Their speech, for example, is becoming a queer mixture of English and colloquial Japanese. Furthermore in the social disorganization, a lack of definitely accepted social controls or sanctions by the evacuees as a whole added to the confusion of behavior. An example of this was the acceptance by some of the "borrowing" habit--walking off with Government lumber, nails, etc.--while others harshly condemned such acts as pure stealing.

These children may be freed now of feeling frustration and resentment but with each passing month's daily living impressed on their minds, their later life habits will fall back to those of ~~xx~~ their childhood. Living in the relocation centers for these tender and innocent children is not just a passing affair. With each new day, with each incident, with each new contact, their characters are being moulded. Nisei who are resettling cannot burden themselves at the beginning with younger brothers and sisters; hence, these children must stay with Issei parents in camp. The older Nisei is more or less capable of readjustment into new communities; the Issei problem will be ~~far~~ a forgotten issue with the passing of years; but it will be these children who will feel the evacuation and all its consequences in their lifetime.

CHILDREN SUMMARY CHART

| <u>Sentiments Making for Security and Satisfaction</u> | <u>Background</u> | <u>Sentiments Making for Insecurity and Uneasiness</u> |
|--|---|---|
| Looks to Nisei and Issei for Guidance and Training | American Citizen | Confusion Caused by Evacuation Frustrations all Around Him |
| Bad Choice from Both American and Japanese Cultures | Center Life Non-American Contact Communal Living | Lack of Future Ideals and Hopes |
| Daily Activities Over-emphasized | Extreme Youthfulness | Lack of Normal Family or Home Life |
| Formation of Gangs, Vandals, etc. | Lack of Proper Guidance | |

Nisei's Role

(1) The above has given the reader some insight as to what role the Nisei must play and to some extent are playing today. Nisei must first of all, in the days to come, steadily earn the right to citizenship and all its privileges. They realize that they will be judged by their deeds. The Nisei himself is anxious to forget the entire experience of evacuation and become an accepted part of American life.

The war has given the Nisei the leadership formerly held by the Issei. The old folks are tired and afraid. They look toward the Nisei to care for them in their old age. Nisei need to renew the Issei's faith in themselves and in democracy. As this is written, events are happening that brings the Issei residents in the relocation centers closer to the war. Evacuation shocked and embittered the Issei. When selective service was reinstituted, they resented it, as it mean further disruptions in their lives. But as the men continue to be drafted away and as the Nisei casualty

list of the wounded and dead pile in from the warfront in Italy, they feel a sense of participation in the war. The loyalty of the Issei is coming to accept the service of their sons in the U.S. as right and proper. In other words, "the war" is becoming "our war" for the Issei.

For both the Kibei and the children, the Nisei leadership is the principal influence for American contacts. They need the influences of American ideologies and values. The Kibei has special problems of his own which can be more easily solved with the understanding and aid of the Nisei. Those "unobtrusive" evacuees should be sought out and given opportunity to learn the fluent usage of English the better understanding of American ways, and a chance to fulfill liaison positions for which they fit so well. They need trust and sincere encouragement. For the children the need is proper and guidance and training. These are children who have a stake in the future here in the U.S. An equal chance should be given to these youngsters so as to succeed in later contacts with the post-war communities. Nisei must show more active participation in what a growing child normally needs and should have. It must not be forgotten that the characters of the Nisei of tomorrow is being shaped day by day in the various relocation centers. For both of them, the greatest force of Americanization is the free, friendly, and continuous contact with non-Japanese in normal communities. Americanization will be through no formal programs of education in the centers but by the continuous day-by-day mingling among the general American population. The Nisei who are aggressively Americans themselves can lead and pave the way for them into communities throughout the U.S.

(2) The Nisei also plays a further role together with his social group in the American minority drama. He has begun to feel

that his is not an isolated or unique problem but a part of the broader setting of American society. He has become more sensitive to the role that racial discrimination plays in the lives of other ~~gk~~ fellow Americans. Experiencing evacuation made on a racial basis and seeing discriminatory actions against other ethnic groups as he resettles, he begins to make legitimate queries. He begins to probe the sincerity of Americans' profession of democratic faith. The Nisei is thoroughly Americanized, but ordinary human reaction to all the talk of democracy, four freedoms, American way of life, all the denunciations of Nazis' race hatred of Jews on one hand and the inconsistent actual behavior of racial discrimination at home on the other seems mockingly paradoxical to say the least. Nisei began to feel the need of America to realize that a true democracy is incompatible with prejudice against minorities. Nisei clearly senses the one sure thing evacuation taught him. That is, one cannot escape the fate or fact of being a Japanese. He could be thoroughly acculturated but he cannot change the color of ~~skin~~ ~~maxixmaxix~~ face. This is not a "Jap is a Jap" idea. It is more the consciousness that an individual has nothing to do with what color of skin he is born with.

What is occurring in American society today? To quote Robert Park, "Changes and crisis which occur on the economic level where human relationships are relatively abstract and impersonal must bring about repercussions on every other level... When changes on the ~~second~~ economic level are more rapid than changes on the political and religious levels, the solidarity and efficiency of society on every other level are inevitably affected." This war period is a "revolution" in which rapid changes are made in communication, transportation, and in other economic fields. But the

"lag" still occurs in the ways we think about one another and the relationship with one another. The Nisei has experienced more fully than others some aspects of this revolution. He therefore begins to realize a duty and obligation to American ~~society~~ democracy. It is the gigantic task of squaring the social practice with the democratic creed. He alone certainly cannot accomplish it, but he can along with the minorities in America make a start in bending the attitude toward the right direction. He realized the need of changing or rather modifying the mind and mentality of the American people in the matter of race and color. America, democratic in mind needs to be democratized in the heart. Nisei wonders if he cannot be a step, no matter how small, toward a new re-evaluation of the American values. In the Negro problem in America where there seems to be too much antagonistic race consciousness, Nisei indirectly can make contributions. Being a color "in-between", he may prove to be a wedge for this darker minority. He along with the Chinese-Americans, Korean-Americans, Indians, or the Filipino-Americans, is often mistaken by the average American--by improving his own status condition, the nation may have its eyes and its hearts opened for its more complex Negro problem. America must begin to see racial minorities on their basis of character, worth, and achievement. She needs a reinterpretation of the rights of an individual. Nisei can be a small but energetic part in bending what Gordon Allport and his students call (1) predilection of the American public toward (2) tolerance, (3) hence to respect, and finally to (4) active cooperation in solving this problem of minorities. This is to be done primarily by becoming an accepted integral part of America rather than any harassing on minority "rights" to somewhat already race-conscious America.

The Nisei 100th Infantry Battalion in Italy was shown recently in a motion picture newsreel being presented by Lt. Gen. Mark W. Clark of a presidential unit citation. A survey at Salt Lake City, Chicago, and in Washington, D.C. relates the warm audience applause they received. The behavior of the audiences toward these Nisei G.I.'s is a pleasant indicator for the future. The boys have in the words of the Lt. General "demonstrated your Americanism on the field of battle... The 34th Division is proud of you, the Fifth Army is proud of you, and the whole United States is proud of you." Other Nisei though not as dramatically have taken on resettling as their task to proof of their loyalty. All these Nisei are playing their role in abolishing the disparity between the belief and behavior of Americans. They may be a "drop in the bucket"; nevertheless, Nisei are a "drop" toward the reevaluation of American concepts.

The hope of the Nisei has been to rely to the great extent on outspoken Americans who championed their cause, but now Nisei is realizing that the major part of the work must be done by himself if he is to earn his place. Democracy is a fluid and expanding idea. America is unfinished and it is in this sense that the Nisei share with other minorities in America a common objective.

(3) This role in the American scene proceeds then directly to the tremendous international implication. More and more the issue of economic "have and have-nots"--in the world are becoming racial and cultural. Americans are making sacrifices and accepting it in terms of a practical action necessary for winning the war. It must be stressed now that a new point of view is necessary for winning the "peace" not only at home for the minorities but for the world. The post-war world will depend a great deal upon the general de-

velopment of attitudes toward race in America. By a solution of her minority problems which are paralleled all over the world-- problems of adjustment, of accommodation, of cultural conflict-- America has a definite positive contribution to make to the people of the world by teaching them to live together in harmony regardless of race, creed, or color. This will depend upon the ability of Americans to achieve a new set of attitudes toward alien and colored peoples.

What the Japanese in the South West Pacific are doing in the Philippines or Burma can only be hypothesized. Nevertheless, it can be taken for certainty that she has awakened racial consciousness with her "Asia for Asiatic" propaganda. So too, it will be in Indo-China, in Java, and other countries in that area. The Chinese and the India's masses as members of the Allies will be looking to America for keeping faith in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. The war might well be won without aid of these people, but the winning of the "peace" and preserving it will need the trust and confidence of all groups. Mere glittering generalities of liberty and equality will surely meet with skepticism.

It might seem far-fetched to visualize a world conflict between races for it ignores the fact that white, black, and yellow peoples on the earth have diverging customs, religions, linguisticss, and other differences. Yetx, if the smug, complacent attitude is not discouraged, people of the earth may come to have a common fundamental interest in the color of their skin.

The American people have an opportunity to shape the course of the world's direction. Nisei, as a part of the profound social process that is going on today, can be an important "drop" into the bucket of mutual understanding. United States is better fitted

than any other nation to take the lead toward that new institutional way of thinking because she already possesses progressive patterns of thought along this line. The racial problem in America and of the world is not static. It is undergoing profound changes and modifications. Societal pressures are at work in the world today, as one sociologist recently observed, which are making for an integration of all peoples in all areas into a common world culture. America must conceive of herself living on terms of mutual understanding not only with her minorities but with all the nations of the world. This is the challenge to America. Then so, too, Nisei as a part of America must answer the challenge by playing well his small but dynamic role in his own primary social group, in the American panorama, and hence suffuse into the international scene.