

Rosalie Hankey
July 29, 1943

SEGREGATION AT GILA

The WRA policy of segregation which, so far as the evacuees at Gila were concerned was actively initiated on July 20, proceeded in a relatively ordered and uneventful manner. Except for the unexpectedly large number of applications for repatriation, the administration met with no unanticipated difficulties. After the initial surprise occasioned both by the large number of people who showed up to verify their signatures at the compulsory interviews of the evening of July 20 and by the steady stream of additional requests for repatriation which kept pouring into their unprepared hands during the two weeks immediately following the 20th, the administrative staff, headed by Wolter, rallied rapidly and went about their assigned tasks with fair efficiency. When the magnitude of the task and the slovenliness with which some of the applications were originally recorded are taken into consideration, it must be admitted that so far the administration has handled the mechanics of the task capably and has avoided any major errors in policy.

In this account I shall first present a chronological account of events and then discuss the reactions of the evacuees from evidence based on the remarks of many Japanese and on my own observation. Having been in residence here only eleven days when the first overt administrative action was taken, my viewpoint is confined; had I lived at Gila a few months instead of a few weeks, I would be in a far better position to sense the subtler reactions of the community. However, I had the invaluable advantage of possessing the confidence of Mr. Hikida and Mr. Yahanda, the Central Block Manager of Canal, both of whom spoke with absolute frankness on the sentiments and motives which motivated the repatriates. On the administrative side I had the cooperation of Gordon Brown who openly discussed administrative intentions, successes and shortcomings as the action progressed.

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It was most advantageous to have this insight into the intentions of the administration and meanwhile be able to observe evacuee reactions and make note of their criticisms.

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT:

The prospect of segregation had occupied an important place in the minds of the evacuees for many months.

On July 14 a few days after I had arrived in Gila, Mr. Hikida told me that the evacuees had been thinking about segregation for a long time. Ever since Senator Chandler's visit at the first of this year people had been discussing the matter. Mr. Bennett's remarks, made after his return from the Project Director's Conference added fuel to the rumors. For several months, therefore, the prospect of segregation, when it would come, and how it would affect people has been causing concern. In recent weeks this concern had, in some cases, grown into a great anxiety. The worry over possible separation of families, which I have since heard expressed again and again, was frequently corroborated by Mr. Hikida, Mr. Yahanda and others.

During the week of July 11th to 17th, I made several attempts to establish contact with various administrative officials, feeling obligated to familiarize myself with the functions of some of the departments and desiring to make the acquaintance of the men in charge. However, I was met by an atmosphere of frantic activity. Nobody would see anybody. Even the typists were working day and night. I was told, "We are awfully busy with this segregation." Not another detail was forthcoming. So I kept my eyes and ears open and worked on other matters.

The first indication of impending action came from Tuttle. At a chance meeting Tuesday afternoon he revealed that, "something big was on tonight." All persons over 15 years of age who had requested repatriation were to be granted private interviews to verify their signatures. Eight spots had been designated

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as meeting places, five in Butte and three in Canal. Brown, Okuno, Wells, Wolter, Tuttle, Terry, and three others served as interviewers. Tuttle intimated that there were several cases in which signatures had been forged by parents or husbands trying to get their children or wives to Japan by any method possible. He anticipated a hard evening's work and complained about it as usual. But he had no suspicion that the response would be so great and that so many people would appear. On the contrary, he seemed to be of the opinion that people, in general, were tending to cancel their applications for repatriation.

I visited two of the "designated places" that evening. One was Canal Rec. Hall 6. About forty people of all ages were standing about outside the hall or sitting on the thin lawn. A young man was taking down names and giving out slips. The name of the person desiring an interview and a number was placed on the slip. A crowd of about one hundred people was gathered in and outside of the Canal administration building. I sat down on a bench. A young, pregnant Japanese woman next to me asked me if I intended to repatriate. I said that I was a student. I asked her if she intended to repatriate. She said, "My family wants to, and what they decide to do, I'll do." The crowd appeared to be in a fairly good humor and there was no outward sign of resentment at my presence.

The course of this activity soon became apparent. The administrative staff at Gila was preparing to follow the instructions in Myer's memorandum for July 14, where under point one, they were ordered to "reconcile as quickly as possible the project records of repatriates and expatriates (who had not retracted their request prior to July 1, 1943) with the Washington records and to determine the desires of any members of families who were listed as requesting repatriation on the basis of the statement of the head of the family instead of their own request."

From several reliable Canal informants I have since gathered that the outward appearance of calm was far from a true reflection of community sentiment. When

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the block managers rushed about late Tuesday afternoon attempting to tell all the affected members in their blocks that they must be interviewed that night, the community became excited and a few individuals became panic stricken. One woman remarked, "The people were scared stiff. At a time like this all the things that have happened to us come back. The way the F. B. I. came into houses, tore everything up, pulled out drawers, in one place, they even tore open the sofa pillows with razor blades." This lady is no doubt an emotional individual, but her statement that many people were alarmed was born out by several more reliable informants who indulged in less picturesque language.

Some block managers got no dinner that night, Mr. Yahanda, the Central Block Manager in Canal, told me that the very suddenness with which the interviewing was announced and accomplished alarmed many of the people. Their fundamental and thorough distrust of all WRA policies, their growing fear that they would be forced out of the centers into a hostile world whether they liked it or not (several people mentioned Myer's speech) may have been instrumental in convincing some of the potential repatriates who were as yet undecided, that they should seize upon the comparative safety of segregation. Yahanda said that many ~~became~~ had become convinced that camp life in Tule Lake couldn't be very different life in Gila. They knew what to expect. They chose a future which, though it might be far from ideal, offered a life with which they were familiar. At Tule they would have their families and some of their friends and they would be in a Japanese community.

It is possible, but ^{no} by ~~no~~ means certain, that if the block managers had been given time to approach the people gradually, to explain fully what was going to happen, this tendency to grasp this certain, if restricted safety in Tule might not have been so pronounced. Yahanda expressed resentment of the

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administration's lack of trust in the Block Managers. "How can the people trust us, how can we accomplish anything, if the administration never consults us about these things?"

After discussing the matter with several other people and observing subsequent events I was convinced that the suddenness of the order to appear for interviews was not in itself ^{an} important factor in the volume of new applications which brought so much surprise and concern to the administration. It is reported that Hoffman took this opportunity to become very very annoyed with Wolters, blaming him before other staff members for the unwarranted suddenness of this action. He is quoted as threatening to give Wolter "Hell," over the affair. But when Wolter returned from Denver Hoffman apparently retired without action.

In the face of the constant administrative attempts to quiet rumor and panic and, what was no doubt more important, the absence of any sudden, forceful move on the part of the administration, this primary reaction of excited apprehension slowly subsided. It is my undocumented guess that the phenomenal haste was partly the result of the Washington demand for immediate figures on the number of repatriates and Wolter's idea that if the matter was accomplished without delay there would be no opportunity for the development of group feeling and group pressure.

Viewed from the perspective of the passage of a month's time, the surprise and concern of some members of the administration is amusing. Hoffman, who had been left in charge while Wolter and Bennett were in Denver attending the conference on segregation policy, became quite perturbed. He finally became so anxious over the rising tide of applications that he asked Gordon Brown, the social analyst, for advice. It seems that the administration had been prepared for a few hundred applicants in both camps. Counting all family members almost a thousand ^{persons appeared for the} ~~applied on~~ July 20. The number of applications increased every day and

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by July 29th, the number had mounted to close to 1,600 people from both camps. As an evacuee remarked to me with gentle malice on the evening of the 29th, "If this desire to repatriate holds for all the camps, they're going to have to get a bigger place than Tule Lake to keep the people."

On the 29th Brown and I agreed that stemming this tide would be next to impossible. If the rush for repatriation was caused by fear engendered by the sudden administrative action, the damage had already been done. I am now convinced, however, that this fear was only a minor factor.

Yet, many people were thoroughly frightened; almost everyone, whether they were repatriation applicants or not, was worried. I was personally acquainted with only one who has asked for repatriation, but several people told me that their friends were terrified. Most of the persons to whom I spoke, Nisei persons who had of no intention of repatriating and were awaiting the opportunity to relocate, were anxious. One told me on the night of July 29th, "When this thing came out last Tuesday we all just got panicky." I might add that not a few of the Caucasians also were concerned. Rumors to the effect that there would not be a single person left in camp by the end of the year flew thick and fast. Chance remarks overheard at the luncheon table were repeated and enlarged.

A typical example: "Mr. M. (a fireman) told me that he had heard that this camp and Poston would be the first to be abandoned. I heard some fellows talking at lunch and they were saying that they (those meeting in Denver?) had taken a vote and that they had all voted against Gila and Poston. M. thinks these camps will all be vacated by Jan. 1.

Several Caucasians and some Japanese expressed the fear that this crisis would bring about another manifestation of physical violence or an attempt at mob rule. I saw no evidence of such a possibility. I am certain that the unrest, worry, and occasional panic inspired by the instigation of the process of segregation was a phenomenon not limited to those actually concerned, but

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spread throughout the camp. Nobody, not even the Caucasians, trusted the published assurances of the WRA. "They have told us one thing and done another too often," said several evacuees.

It should be mentioned here that one of the reasons the administration was so surprised at the large number of applicants was that apparently nobody had taken the trouble to count the applications. When Brown went through the files before serving as interviewer, he was appalled at the slovenly way in which the records were kept. This sounds almost unbelievable, but the inadequate preparations made and the great astonishment of the administration corroborate Brown's statement.

No just perspective of this situation can be gained without considering the past experiences of the evacuees. They were uprooted from their homes on the coast, told that they must be evacuated for their own protection. They were again uprooted from the assembly centers. Within recent months extreme pressure has been brought to bear to induce them to leave the comparative safety, security, and comfort of the Relocation Center, and go again to some unknown spot on the outside far from any friends and relatives. This treatment has not conditioned them to a pioneering outlook. Every change they have made previous to this has been for the worst. Reports of the activities of the Dies Committee, and reports coming back from persons already evacuated do nothing to instill a feeling of confidence and security. People have told me again and again that they don't want to go out and face certain economic hardship and possible persecution.

The constant propaganda for relocation, has, apparently not served its purpose. It has merely been an irritating reminder that life was insecure and that the WRA policy favored getting evacuees out of camp by any method. The policy of reduction of employment has not stimulated families who want to make a comfortable living and are waiting for reports from "evacuees from we trust,"

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to storm the relocation offices. Myer's speech, which in spite of the denial in the Gila News Courier of July 27, was definitely taken by many evacuees as evidence that centers would close soon, increased the general unrest considerably.

So far as I can see, no evacuee put any trust whatever in the intentionally soothing statements printed in the Gila Courier from July 21 on. Past experience had shown that such trust would be foolish.

The compulsory interviews were announced by the Gila News-Courier for July 20. A front page article stated that segregation would begin Sept. 1, that Rivers would not be one of the first centers affected and that those who have asked for repatriation and had not withdrawn their requests prior to June 1 would be the first to be segregated.

On the day after the interviews I was able to get some information from Gordon Brown and Mr. Okuno both of whom had served as interviewers. Brown stated that he and all the other interviewers with whom he had spoken were astonished at the large number of people who appeared to verify their repatriation applications. Of the eight interviewers each handled well over ninety applicants. Brown himself led with 125, only nine of whom had asked that their "Nos" be changed. Brown thought that this total of 1,000 repatriates was an enormous surprise to the administration. Okuno's information paralleled Brown's exactly, except that he expressed no surprise over the large number of people. He also added that in his opinion there would not be much family separation as a result of this segregation policy; the families were sticking together. Brown mentioned several cases where young Nisei were staying with their parents and were applying for repatriation with them. All in all, the exhibition of strong family coherence greatly overshadowed the few examples of a desire to separate. It is interesting to note that two people thought that their application to change from "no" to "yes" would

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automatically cancel their applications for repatriation.

Brown was a little daunted at how far off his informants had been on guessing the number of people who would apply to have their answers changed. Brown's informant thought that at least 60% of the people would try to change their answers. But only 134 out of 1156 "Nos" have made this application.

"The administration had been planning," says Brown "to segregate those asking for repatriation first, and then those who answered 'No'." But if the repatriation response was as heavy in all centers as at Gila, he anticipated that they might be faced with the task of finding segregation quarters for eight or nine thousand people. It is apparent that while the administration was assuming that the people would wish to avoid segregation and repatriation and assuring them that only individuals loyal to Japan would be segregated, many persons were making up their minds that segregation in the company of their family, friends, and members of their own race was preferable to the enforced resettlement which the recent statements and activities of the WRA had convinced the people lay in store for them.

Four days after the interviews had been taken, Wolter, Terry, and Mrs. Fleming left for Denver to attend the conference on segregation. Bennett followed the next day by plane. By this time the administration must have become conscious of the trend matters were taking and of the necessity of reassuring the people. The following editorial appeared in the Gila News-Courier of July 24:

As the time for segregation approaches, various questions are bound to arise. Already some rumors and misconceptions are being heard. It is not possible to answer all questions definitely at this time but in order to assist in clarification, the following information can be given:

Q. Are people who aren't segregated forced to resettle?

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A. The answer to this question is definitely "no." The WRA will not force people to leave relocation centers into communities against their will, although every effort will be made to encourage and assist those eligible for leave clearance to relocate.

Q. Will members of a family be forced to separate?

A. If any member or members of a family are in a group to be segregated, all members of the family may accompany the individual or individuals concerned. The members of the family who are not in the designated group for segregation will thus have a chance to remain here or to accompany the segregate to the segregation camp.

Q. Until when can the cancellation of repatriation be made?

A. An individual who wishes to make a cancellation request should do so whenever his mind is made up. Those persons who did not cancel before July 1, 1943 will probably be sent to the segregation center. At the segregation center, a review board will be in operation to hear people who have changed their minds.

Q. Will the parolees be segregated?

A. The instructions do not treat the parolees as a special cases. It is, therefore, presumed that they will be handled on the same basis as everyone else with regard to segregation. In event any changes, which are unlikely, occur the people will be informed.

Q. Is it true that after July 15, no more changes in answers to the military questionnaires will be permitted, and that all "no,no" men are to be segregated.

A. The answer to the first question is that a person will be permitted to apply to change his answer at any time. It is important that this application be made as soon as the individual has definitely decided

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to request a change in his answer. The answer to the second part of the question is that hearings will be held for all who answered "no, no" before final decision is made.

As time goes by, more questions will arise in the minds of the people. The administration will keep the people as fully informed as is possible with the scant information available. The administration realizes that many personal and social problems will arise. The Social Service Department stands ready to be of assistance and case workers of the department will be available for counseling and advice at any time.

The answers to the above questions are interpretation based on the best available information to date, and may be subject to slight modifications.

This editorial appears to have been an attempt to quiet two of the evacuees' chief worries: that those who were not segregated would be forced to relocate against their will and that families of segregees would be separated. The hope of the administration the people that would cancel their repatriation requests and their desire to encourage people to request that their negative replies to the military questionnaire be changed to "yes," was evident in the latter questions and answers.

But additional applications for repatriation continued to pour in. On July 27, the newspaper printed a teletype from Bennett in Denver in which he tried to quiet "rumors and counter rumors that relocation centers would be closed soon after segregation."

The teletype follows:

"MYER QUOTED IN NEWSPAPER AS SAYING QUOTE WE HOPE TO CLOSE CENTERS WHEN WE HAVE MOVED THE PRO -AXIS GROUP TO THE LAKE AND

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RELEASED THE OTHERS UNQUOTE. TERM PRO-AXIS WAS NOT USED BY MYER AND THERE IS NO IMPLICATION THAT ANY OTHER CENTERS WILL BE CLOSED SOON. RELOCATION PROGRAM IS TO BE STRESSED BUT PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FORCED TO RELOCATE. APPROPRIATIONS PROVIDED FOR NEXT TWELVE MONTHS ARE ADEQUATE TO TAKE CARE OF THOSE WHO FOR ANY REASON CANNOT RELOCATE. ANNOUNCE THE LAKE AS CENTER FOR THOSE SEGREGATED."

But these assurances coming as they did after months of administrative urging to relocation, after the printing of pages of encouraging statements of how fine people were getting on, after the reduction in employment and the complete withdrawal of financial support from Japanese recreational activities and after Myer's speech in which he assured the American public that all efforts were being made to relocate loyal and segregate disloyal Japanese, appear to have made no impression at all. People still continued to apply for repatriation.

Two weeks after the administration had taken over action toward eventual segregation, it was obvious that WRA have greatly underestimated the number of persons who would apply. Whether the administration actually hoped that people would cancel their applications for repatriation in order to avoid segregation, I do not know. I do know that they were prepared to be extremely generous to any applicant who wished his answers to the military questionnaire changed.

(27)

#147 ROUTE SLIP

TO: SOYEKO YAMAMOTO

FROM: _____

DATE: _____

REMARKS: _____

SAMPLE

SEGREGATION - July 20,, 1943

The administrative offices have been buzzing for the last few days with intensive activity having to do with the segregation policy. Today the Gila News carried an announcement that all residents who had applied for repatriation were to meet at designated places between 7:30 and 9:30.

Tuttle told me that one of the main reasons for this interview was the determination of the validity of signatures on the applications for repatriation. It seems many were made without witnesses and are not valid. He told me of one case which has come to his attention in which a father had forged the name of his wife and his nineteen year old daughter to an application blank.

I visited two of the "designated places" this evening. One was Canal Rec. Hall 6. About forty people of all ages were standing about outside the hall or sitting on the thin lawn. A young man was taking down names and giving out slips like the one enclosed. The name ~~and~~ of the person desiring an interview and a number was placed on the slip.

A crowd of about one hundred people was gathered in and outside of the Canal administration building. I sat myself down on a bench and a young pregnant Japanese woman next to me asked me if I intended to repatriate. I was tempted to say that I had not quite made up my mind, but decided against it, and said that I was a student. I asked her if she intended to repatriate. She said, "My family wants to, and what they decide to do, I'll do."

The crowd appeared to be in a fairly good humor and there was no outward sign of resentment at my presence. As I left I spoke to the young man giving out the slips and he nearly passed out with fear that he might say something he ought not say. I appropriated a slip just for fun and he blinked with apprehension.

I shall see if Wells will tell me anything tomorrow. Hikida will probably know a lot more than I do and my forty-odd year old Nisei woman friend may be able to give me some information.

It appears to be too early as yet to get any repercussions on the repatriation interviews from the evacuees themselves.

I was able to get some information from Gordon Brown and Mr. Okuno both of whom had served ~~at the various centers~~ as interviewers. Brown stated that he and all the other interviewers with whom he had spoken were astonished at the large number of people who appeared to verify their repatriation applications. Of the eight interviewers each handled well over ninety applicants. Brown himself handled 125, only nine of whom had asked that their "Nos" be changed. Brown thinks that this total of 1,000 repatriates (I think he is exaggerating the number slightly) was an enormous surprise to the administration. They had not prepared for anywhere near that number.

The people who served as interviews were Tuttle, Terry, Gordon Brown, Wolter, Wells and three others.

Okuno's information paralleled Brown's exactly, except that he expressed no surprise over the large number of people.

Okuno also adds that in his opinion there will not be much family separation as a result of this segregation policy. The families are sticking together. Brown mentioned several cases where young Nisei are staying with their parents and are also applying for repatriation. *with them?*

Okuno mentioned one odd case where a Kibei wanted to return to Japan while his parents wished to remain here. In another case a husband wished to repatriate while his wife wished to remain here with their infant daughter. There were also a few cases where daughters wished very much to stay in this country, but had made up their minds to follow their families. This ties up with my one contact yesterday.

All in all, the exhibition of strong family coherence greatly overshadows these few examples of a desire to separate.

The interviewers noted the cases of those people who have expressed a desire to change their answers. These will be given special interviews. Both Brown and Okuno remarked that there were very few. Brown only had 9 cases out of his 125 interviews.

Another example of confusion turned up. Two people thought that their application to change from "No" to "Yes" would automatically cancel their applications for repatriation.

Brown was a little daunted at how far off his informants had been on guessing the number of people who would apply to have their answers changed. (Hikida, incidentally was right.) Brown's informant, George Kawamoto thought that at least 60% of the people would try to change their answers. But only 134 out of 1156 "No" have made this application.

The administration has been planning, says Brown, to segregate those asking for repatriation first, and ~~then~~ ^{then} those who answered "No." But if the repatriation response was as heavy in all centers they may be faced with the task of finding segregation quarters for eight or nine thousand people. Most of the "Nos" may also be repatriation applicants. This would do away with the second

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part of the task. Brown reports that it is the administration policy to do all they can to change "Nos" to "Yesses." If they have to undergo the trouble and expense of segregation these enormous group of people, they may make things even easier for any "Nos" who remain. Of course this is just guessing. We shall see what happens.

By the end of the week I should have Hilda's report and some information from friends in Canal.

E

On August 4 it was announced that the Social Welfare Office would accept no more applications for repatriation. The segregation manual had stated that those who had applied for repatriation were to be segregated first and the Social Welfare staff was head over heels in work trying to get their lists and records in order. Tuttle remarked that there was really no point in taking further applications. He did admit, however, as I had guessed, that the order was also issued to put a stop to the somewhat hysterical mass rush for segregation. As I have mentioned before, certain members of the administration insist on viewing this as mass hysteria completely ignoring the possibility stressed by the abler community leaders that many of the people were waiting for the first indication that repatriation was truly possible and partially ignoring the fact that many persons were asking for repatriation out of a desire for the security and safety promised by Tule Lake. In any case, no applications were taken after August 4; it was announced that they would be accepted again after August 25.

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A rather mischievous delight in the plight of the WRA, struggling with an overwhelming deluge of applications, was manifest in many quarters. The number of applications was enormously exaggerated; I myself was asked if it wasn't true that 5,000 people were repatriating. Some persons expressed the conviction that since so many persons were applying WRA would be forced to change its policies; Gila itself would be turned into a segregation center.

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necessary

Mr. Strickland, principal of Butte Elementary School

August 16

One has scarcely the right to ^{judge} ~~make remarks~~ upon a man's character after one short interview. My main incentive in interviewing these ~~was/were~~ strikingly unsatisfactory committee members was not in the hope of producing scientific data thereby, but ~~merely~~ to satisfy my ~~personal~~ curiosity as to just how they would react and ~~just~~ what they would say. ~~My~~ My judgement as to these men's personalities (which should not be taken ^{too} seriously and may ^{sometimes} ~~early~~ change when I know them better) is that Strickland is educated and stupid and Rogers and Emerick are uneducated and stupid. I think all ^{three} ~~these~~ went about their tasks with ~~absolute~~ honesty and ~~really~~ tried their best to see if any of the evacuees had "changed their minds and become loyal." Naturally, they ^{did not} ~~didn't~~ see how anybody could be ~~loyal~~ disloyal in February and become loyal in August.

Strickland is cagey, but it is my opinion that Rogers and Emerick spoke just as they felt. They ^{showed no indication} ~~had no suspicion~~ of the attitude shown by ^{some} many of the other committeemen - "that these kids had ~~had~~ some reason to feel sore." They saw themselves ~~as~~ ^{judged} placed under the responsibility of not allowing any "disloyal" people the opportunity to leave camp and the matter weighed so heavily upon them that they ~~adigned~~ ^{adigned} two-thirds of their charges to segregation.

*Insert - C
several pages
on*

~~Emerick, for all his limited viewpoint, expressed a truth which~~
Emerick, for all his limited viewpoint, expressed a truth which ^{loyalty has shown last I understand} has apparently escaped those who conceived this questionnaire method of ~~determining~~ ^{when he said:} determining loyalty: "Loyalty is one thing you can't argue about."

August 16

Mr. Strickland, principal of Butte Elementary School.
INTERVIEW WITH STRICKLAND member of interviewing committee.

"My impression is that the young fellows who answered "No-No" were under the influence of a gang, they were in a bad frame of mind, the victims of mass hysteria. Their resentment was brought on because of resentment to evacuation and loss of privileges. I don't know whether it was a matter of an organized group movement or only mass hysteria. They are held together by an emotion rather than a motive."

"I don't believe there has been any change in their feeling since February except in a small number of cases."

"I was struck ~~by this~~ by this observation - out here around the building, when they were waiting, they were talking in harsh tones but as soon as they were brought in before the committee they were very gentlemanly in every case. They always got hold of themselves."

"I see no evidences of terrorism. The Bay citizen here feels that the evacuee teachers are very pro-Caucasian. Although it is true that a small percentage of my staff here is "N^o-No."

"The community has been becoming more and more Japanese since relocation has been going on."

"I had only one odd case: this boy had been in the army and at the time of Pearl Harbor he was discharged. And when he went into the army his Japanese friends gave him a party and presented him with gifts. When he was discharged he suffered a loss of face and ~~wanted to~~ therefore he wanted to go back to Japan."

"~~My~~ The results of our committee were 63 for interment, 21 wished to change. That makes 2/3 who wished to be segregated. A fraction of these 21 wanted their answer changed purely on a personal reason, such as 'I want to go out and work for my uncle.' They hadn't become loyal; We'd say, "Has your mind changed? Are you loyal?" They'd answer, "No, I'm ~~not~~ not exactly loyal /" Their attitude hadn't changed. Still no loyalty."

"The ones who answered "No" were not loyal to Japan. More than one

of them expressed himself as being a man without a country.

MISS BUTTERFIELD My chief reaction (an extremely unscientific one, I admit) after speaking with Mr. Strickland, was ~~that he was~~ not that he was bigoted nor particularly anti-Japanese in feeling but merely that he was stupid. Several times he wandered off onto quite irrelevant topics.

MISS BUTTERFIELD

Rogers and Emerick

C. In interviewing in Rogers and Emerick, I contacted the two men who, according to the opinions of Wolter and Brown had been the most unsuccessful members of the committee, while the committee composed of Rogers and Strickland had so large a percentage of segragees that all the persons assigned to them were secretly re-interviewed. Emerick was reputedly the most narrow minded and ~~bigoted~~ ^{bigoted} ~~impulsive~~ man of the lot. I, therefore, felt quite fortunate in coming upon Rogers and Emerick together and ~~gave them a line about my compunctions in desiring to~~ ^{told them of my} get the truth of the matter. ~~Soon~~ ^{were} both ~~of them~~ expressing their opinions freely.

~~Neither of them impressed me as being rabidly anti-Japanese. They~~ ^{Both,} ~~however,~~ were convinced that anyone with a faintest tinge of "disloyalty" should be segregated. ~~So far as I am able to judge, it was not the fact that Rogers and Strickland were so particularly unsympathetic, and bullying and unreasonable that caused them to assign so many evacuees to segregation, but rather the fact~~ ^{appears} that the other committees leaned over backward to argue and cajole people out of segregation (and sometimes refused it), ~~while~~ ^{while} Rogers and

~~Strickland overrode the letters of the law and assigned~~ ^{*****} ~~every rightly doubtful case to Tule Lake.~~

Rogers: I think segregation is a darn good thing. They should have done it a year ago. Some of these people should never be here in the first place. Also there are a lot who should be behind bars. I think the one group has influenced the other.

Emerick: I thought most of them had pretty well made up their minds.

Rogers: And quite a few, ~~they~~ had had them made up by somebody else.

Emerick: Family ties are ~~most~~ important to the younger ones than their citizenship. There were a young wife and sons and daughter going to Tule Lake not because of loyalty to Japan, but because of loyalty to their family. I think if they don't think any more of America and of American citizenship, then they should go to Tule Lake and go back to Japan.

Rogers & Emerick
 Aug 18, 1943

Rogers: I think one mistake made has been in the choice of people to consult the Japanese. They were more or less the cross section of the Caucasian Personnel and some of them did enter into arguments which, in some cases, resulted in their arguing the evacuees into saying that he was loyal.

Emerick: That was wrong. Loyalty is one thing you can't argue about. I think the Japanese missed the boat. If they said, "We're going to prove that we are citizens. Why, we'll even pick cotton for nothing. We are in a spot. We'll do anything to prove our citizenship." things might have been better. Instead, we have had continual harass^{ment}. The crux of the whole matter is that we're in this situation because of the war. You know we have a farm and other jobs on the Project. *with them* It's never the case of production. It's always a case of how little they can do to collect \$16.00 a month.

Rogers: Here is an interesting feature. They are blind in the attitude they take. Rather than see the significance of this thing, they prefer to do as little as they can. They should do anything to help along. We found it is impossible to get our stuff in.

We had some very definite examples of insolent attitudes. There were especially one or two who jumped to their feet and said that they were loyal to Japan and questioned the right to be consulted.

Emerick: One jumped right up and said, "I'm a Japanese and I want to go back to Japan." He was insulting that we had even brought him up. Another one really got me. He said he was Japanese and wanted to go back to Japan and fight. I turned his name into Graves.

Rogers: One interesting thing I ran into was a young fellow who joined the Army before Pearl Harbor. His family gave him a party and a lot of presents.. A few days after Pearl Harbor they kicked him out of the Army. He claimed he couldn't come back home, that he had lost face. He said, "The only place for me is back in Japan." I really feel sorry for that fellow.

Emerick: Some boys here shouldn't feel any more abused than fellows in school or with good jobs whom the Army takes.

Rogers: The people I felt badly about were the Japanese girls that realized the advantages of being in the United States but whose husbands or families or parents had high pressured them into going back to Japan. One or two were practically in tears.

Several of the people we interviewed said that they were men without a country.

Rogers: I found one really unusual case. It was one young ^{fellow} ~~person~~ in Mess Operations. He was about 28 and very American and is married to a girl who is a Kibei, who wants to go to Tule Lake and Japan. He spent many an hour before the conference trying to convince her to change her "no, no" to "yes, yes". We allowed him to go to Tule Lake.

He is more loyal to the girl he is going to marry than to the country he was born in.

Rogers: ~~One interesting reaction regarding all the people in a great many ways~~
^{Some of} ~~are~~ the best farmers ^{here are} ~~here~~ washing dishes. They are looking for anything that is easy and in the shade and under cover. They are selfish in their attitude. Also a lot of produce from the fields goes into private consumptions in the camp instead of in the mess halls.

MISS BUTTERFIELD

Miss Butterfield served as recorder on the committee with Strickland and Rogers. Her notions were rather foggy, ^{she is very precise and inclined to become} and somewhat emotional. ^{emotional over race problems that} She seemed quite disturbed over the fact, one of her pupils, a little boy who was blind but has considerable scholastic ability has a brother who is asking for repatriation. It seems that some of the teachers have gone to a great deal of trouble with this boy getting him special books and braille and so forth. Miss Butterfield had often visited him at his home and had always been under the impression that Joe, the older brother, was a "loyal American." When she met him at the interview he was most radical. He had requested to be send on the first boat to Japan. They asked him, "Do you want to change?" He answered, "No indeed." The same family has a son at Camp Shelby and another at the University of Mines at ^{El} Paso. Miss Butterfield went on to say, "Oh, we've given so much to that little boy. He was talking to Mr. ~~Walter~~. In my opinion, it would be good to get ^{the} older boy, out of here. ^{I thought} and Joe had always felt so grateful toward his country. I think he has influenced his whole block."

"Strickland couldn't understand it. There was one boy who was about 28, a fine fellow who have been born here and went to Japan when he was 6 years old. He stayed there for 10 years and now he feels like he wants to go back to Japan. Strickland asked him why he had answered "no" and he said, "I really believe that the emperor is God. So naturally I couldn't answer 'no' to that question. I couldn't do anything against my God." (This remark caused Miss Butterfield to lower her voice to a horrified whisper and confided that this was heathenism.)

"There was another case of a young fellow who volunteered for services. They gave him a grand farewell party and then he was discharged from the Army. This caused him to be disgraced and humiliated before his friends. He said he would never volunteer again.

August 16, 1943
Miss Butterfield

"You can see their view point. He said he could never volunteer when his country has dared treat him that way. That's a fine young boy turned against his country.

There were several college fellows, one boy from a technical college. He said "We couldn't claim allegiance to this country." They don't know what they're doing. These young boys are the biggest problem here. There is a gang influence behind this.

No one has taken the time to talk to these boys. Nobody seems to have any patience. They wouldn't do it unless they were paid to do it, but nobody here on the administrative staff would do it. You know we could accomplish a great deal through church people but the WRA rules are very much against allowing a religious revival. They have to be careful of a church pushing itself.

One man made a very beautiful statement. He was an alien and had never been a citizen. He said that his children are ^{by rights} ~~of right~~ Americans but they have no assurance that their citizenship would be returned. ~~He~~ could see no benefit for his children in a future here. He said he was seeking to do the right thing and didn't want to be misunderstood. "I don't want to be disloyal but the Americans won't claim me as a citizen."

Miss Butterfield is an extremely garrulous women and would have kept me talking all afternoon. ~~It is obvious~~ While her view point is narrow it is not ~~particularly bigoted nor~~ anti-Japanese. After speaking with her I decided to talk to Rogers since according to Brown, Rogers had been the most severe member of his committee and most responsible for the large percentage of segregees.

From the final total of ~~six hundred and thirty~~ ~~interviews~~ 603 interviews, 316 were recommended for segregation, 179 were made eligible for ~~clearance~~ and leave clearance, 75 were reheard, 13 did not appear and 17 persons

~~had been called in error~~ were called in error and ought not to have been on the list at all. The fate of the extreme three people I was not able to

determine. *Complete, final statistics on all segregees should be available at the end of the month. Figures for ~~the~~ ~~reasonableness~~ ~~and~~ ~~what~~ ~~might~~ ~~be~~ ~~termed~~ ~~general~~ ~~fundamental~~ some 1800 odd railway fares were sent to Washington August 21.*
The fundamentally reasonable attitude of the ~~convict~~ interviewers

was reflected in the community by a sentiment, which, while in no way favorable to the administration, was at least not hostile. Potential segregees were worried and depressed but ~~they~~ ~~generally~~ ~~and~~ their general opinion was that the administration was doing its best.

~~Those~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~administration~~ ~~staff~~ ~~who~~ ~~were~~ ~~"anticipating~~ trouble"

However, ~~some~~ two somewhat spectacular incidents furnished those members of the staff who were "expecting trouble" with a little excitement.

These were the multiplication of one of Wolter's pet segregation posters, by a *young man named Yamazaki, employed* ~~an~~ ~~employee~~ ~~member~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~hospital~~ ~~staff~~ ~~working~~ as a hospital receptionist, and the sending of ~~poison~~ ~~or~~ threatening anonymous letters to four evacuees who, in the opinion of the letter writers, were cooperating too closely with the administration.

~~Both~~ ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~matters~~ ~~were~~ ~~kept~~ ~~strictly~~ ~~under~~ ~~cover~~ ~~quiet~~ by the administration and I heard of them ~~only~~ ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~accidental~~ accidentally through the ubiquitous grapevine.

The poster, which was in the form of a diagrammatic cartoon, ~~showing~~ depicting ~~the~~ ~~progress~~ ~~of~~ ~~individuals~~ ~~through~~ the progress of individuals, ~~to~~ ~~Tule~~ ~~Lake~~ ~~or~~ ~~to~~ ~~relocation~~ ~~or~~ ~~to~~ ~~continued~~ ~~residence~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~center~~ had ~~been~~ ~~replaced~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~addition~~ ~~of~~ a Japanese flag ~~drawn~~ ~~on~~ ~~it~~ and had ~~supposedly~~ ~~numerous~~ humorous substitutions for the directions. ~~inserted~~ ~~such~~ as "To hell" ~~instead~~ ~~of~~ ~~Tule~~ ~~Lake~~ ~~or~~ ~~relocation~~. The young man was apprehended Saturday the 7th, the same day on which he had applied for repatriation.

The hearing was held the 12th and resulted in the ~~young man~~ offender being sent to Leupp, from where he would eventually be transferred to Tule Lake. The administration suspected that the offender was not the only person involved, but ~~he insisted that he~~ in the face of constant assertion that he was, they were unable to implicate anyone else. Mr. Hikida, who ~~had been approached~~ knew the young man's uncle well, ~~and had been approached by him before the trial and questioned about the~~ ~~culpable chances.~~ ~~stated that he~~ corroborated this fact. He states that the young man "was a good boy" and that he had taken the blame himself to ~~avoid~~ avoid the bad effect that ~~the arrest of five or ten people~~ the arrest of five or ten people might have on community feeling. So far as I can determine from the extremely inadequate evidence, the boy drew the flag on the poster in a temporary fit of pique, ~~following his application~~ immediately following his application ~~for~~ for repatriation.

It is interesting to note that his relatives are more or less content with the sentence imposed at the trial. Hikida reports that they are not complaining and that they are glad that the boy was not sent to jail.

The advent of the poison pen letters caused a considerable amount of ~~behind-the-hand~~ behind-the-hand whispering among the Caucasians and was taken as ~~the~~ the first indications of evidence of ~~coming~~ coming violence by persons who should know better. ~~Hikida~~ When I ^{mentioned} the subject ~~up to~~ to Hikida, ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~laughed.~~ He, ~~along with Miura,~~ ^{Hiyama} and Harry Miyake had been the recipients. He is of the opinion that ~~they~~ ^{the letters} were motivated by ~~jealousy and~~ jealousy and ~~are~~ are the work of one or two men, certainly not more than three or four. ~~Apparently some~~ Apparently some people still hold the evacuee leaders partly responsible for ~~some of the~~ administrative policies. Hikida thinks these ~~bad feeling~~ bad feeling expressed in the letters may be traced to the time of military registrations

and feels that the present unrest has revived it. However, it is not ~~of~~ a matter worthy of serious concern. ~~Hikida~~ He would not have mentioned it to the administration, had he not heard that other men had received the letters and reported the fact. Hikida is certain that he has the confidence and trust of almost all the people and refused to let himself be worried by the remarks of a few cranks. He also remarked upon the fact that evacuation and camp life have engendered this suspicion, jealousy and fear.

No definitely threatening statement was made in the letter he received. But they could be interpreted as a threat. Hikida was advised to go out and relocate and not end his life foolishing in the community. Miyama, a bachelor, was ~~reprimanded~~ reprimanded for fooling around with the segregation issue when he ought to ~~find~~ find a nice widow and go out and relocate.

Both Mr. Graves, head of Internal Security, and Mr. Shelly, head of
Community Enterprises ^{were shown} ~~turned out~~ to have ^{for had} a predominantly reasonable attitude
~~held~~ toward the evacuees they interveiwed.

Mr. Graves

August 12, 1943.

August 16, 1943

Mr. Shelly

Segregation

"I sat in on the rehearings. The original hearings were pretty fast so unless they were definite, the evacuees were assigned to rehearings.

In some of the rehearings it was very apparent that the rehearing was not necessary. They had wanted to go to Tule Lake from the first. But this, I think, was an indication that the original group of interviewers had been trying to be very fair.

I don't know what they're going to do with people like that. We tried again and again to explain that there were other more sensible ways of protest. I tried to reason with them. I told them about the sacrifices on the outside. I feel you just have to be harsh. I cited the cases of people who had been moved from their homes for munitions plants and ~~hadn't~~ ^{I wouldn't} been surprised if they haven't gotten the money for their homes yet.

I claim that practically none of them would have committed acts of sabotage."

(Here Mr. Shelly got off on the subject of the plight of the United States after December 7.)

"I don't think there is any argument in the world that will convince them. I'm not sure that you don't belittle yourself in their eyes in trying to convince them. All you can do is tell them to think.

I just wonder this: How many of the people going to Tule Lake are not more Japanese than American. Most of the hearings I sat on the people were more Japanese than American. They may fit our American standards of living but they are pretty constituted naturally to live in Japan.

The ones that really worry me are the ones who think and act American. The committees I have been on have tried pretty hard to make them see. They have been raised in the American way and speak the American language. Many of them said it isn't the question of disloyalty. They are neutral. But unfortunately there

August 16, 1943
Mr. Shelly

has to be a choice. Millions of people in the United States are just as lackadaisical. Going to Japan, I told them, will be pretty tough and lasting.

I just feel we've been too doggone apologetic for the mistakes that have been made. We made ^{it} as voluntary as it was humanly possible. There was resistance wherever they went. It had to be compulsory. Many have had a pretty tough time. They have lost their money. On the other hand, there are lot more who are lot better off than they've ever been.

The thing that worries me is that the treatment they will get in Japan. It isn't going to be the Japanese's fault. It is going to be our fault. They'll blame us.

So I really feel, "If you don't want to be Americans, well, Hell go to Japan" but I realize the danger to America in that policy. These are the most dangerous people to send back to Japan. But I talk to people for minute after minute to make some attempt to get them to understand what they are getting into and not just because they are mad.

You think they will have another chance to change their minds at Tule but there will be so much pressure to bear that there won't be a one. "

INTERVIEW WITH GRAVES, HEAD OF INTERNAL SECURITY

I was ~~rather~~ ^{friendly} surprised by the reasonableness of Mr. Graves. ~~He~~ ^{Williamson's successor as head of Internal Security} impressed me as having an unusually unbiased attitude toward the repatriators and ~~an appreciation~~ ^{reasonable} feeling toward the evacuees. He remarked in the course of our conversation that in 21 years of experience as a policeman, he has never ~~been~~ ^{worked} in as orderly and cooperative community as this.

From his impressions of the interviewing in which he had a part, he delineated three different classes of repatriates: (1) The Kibei, whose interests ^{consequently} ~~are~~ ^{focused there} Japan. ~~Whose~~ ^{Whose} wives, ~~and~~ children, ~~are~~ ^{are} there or whose father, ~~and~~ mother, or brother are in Japan. ^{and} They are alone in the United States, and naturally feel loyal to Japan, and want to return. (2) Those who are ~~just~~ bitter over evacuation, ~~that~~ ^{refusing} to cooperate with the United States because they were discriminated against as enemy aliens. (3) A miscellaneous group consisting of weaker people who have either been swayed by repatriating friends or pulled along in a group trend toward repatriation. ^{Among these he listed those who} ~~or they~~ are old and are returning to Japan to die. They are not strong either way. It is not a question of loyalty or disloyalty with them.

Graves anticipated no trouble. He said, "There will be arguments among people pro and con and occasionally they will get emotional." But he also said he has channels by which he can tell when trouble is coming and as far as all indications show, things are pretty quiet.

He mentioned that his committee sent about the usual percentage to segregation. About 20% was delegated to group 3 for another hearing. These were the people about whom the committee had doubt. ^{a great many} ~~but~~ of the people who had answered "no" had not signed up either for repatriation or expatriation.

one ~~of the~~ Caucasian, Miss Lancaster, the missionary who has spend
twenty year s in Japan, voice concern over the fate of the Kibei
going to Japan. A few insolent Kibei who were interviewd convinced even

~~Since I was living close to the Ministry of Education Building~~
~~I thought I might be able to see~~ 5/5/5/5/
Brown that the ~~psychical~~ fear of ~~physical~~ ~~violence~~ violence
~~having heard~~
and riots expressed by several Caucasians and a few timorous Japanese
was ~~far from an impossibility~~. *not imaginary*

Having ~~heard~~ presented the viewpoint of the most sympathetic
of the interviewers I shall present the almost verbatim remarks of
some of the less sympathetic. Mr. Shelley could probably be placed in
the middle.. He is a business man and gets along moderately well with
evacuees. I interviewd Mr. Graves, the head of Internal Security
out of personal curitosity. I interviewd Rogers, Strickland and
~~and~~ Miss Butterfield because their committee had ~~been~~ ~~considered~~
~~the~~ ~~recommended~~ such a large ~~number~~ ~~of~~
number of people for segregation. Emerick, who, ~~is~~ ~~usually~~ according to
those who follow Wolter's princiaples, is the most anti-evacuee ^{minded} individual
to serve as an interviewier was fortunaly in Rogers office and ~~spoke~~
~~freely~~ naturally assumed that I would be very glad to hear what he
had to say. I showed proper appreciation.

In interviewing thes individuals ~~that~~ I laid on flattery with
~~and~~ indelicate generosity. I convinced them that ~~my~~ my study would
not be complete unless I made an honest attempt to show both sides of the
pioutre. They agreed and spoke freely and, with the possible exception of
Strickland who was a bit bagy, quite honest ly.

I have had extended conversations with several of the
committeemen who might be considered outstanding for their reasonable
and sympathetic attitude ~~for~~ toward the evacuees. ~~Some of them~~
~~were~~ They took their tasks very seriously and all were impressed with
the honesty, ^{dignity} ~~sincerity~~ and sincerity ~~of~~ character showed by many of
the evacuees interviewed. Some supposedly hard headed business men
developed a characteristically ^{sentimental} socialist - worker's attitude in ~~the~~
their concern over the fate of certain of the Nisei who ~~were~~
had said NO-No ~~and were standing by their~~ as a protest against
injustice and were refusing to change. ~~Many~~ Several such ~~cases~~
individuals were refused segregation ~~in opposition~~ by the
committees ~~in opposition to their~~ ~~retardation~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~progress~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~community~~ ~~enterprises~~
^{Remarks} ~~sentimental conversations~~ about "the poor kids who don't know
what they're doing, my dear, were expressed by some of the
female ~~of~~ staff members, particularly those who had been in
close contact with some particular able, charming Nisei who had
proven to be an adamant "NO-No." Why, they're all American. What
will they do when they get to Japan? I can't understand them."
~~One~~ Mr. Shelley, the head of the ~~Community~~ Community Enterprises,
was particularly concerned about the harm that these American-trained
Japanese could do if they were allowed to go back to the orient.
~~with these ideas~~. I should like to suggest that this attitude might
be an unconscious protest against the abandonment of American
culture by individuals whom these ~~of these~~ ~~more reasonably~~
minded Caucasians had come to regard as ~~entirely~~ ~~American~~ ~~in~~ ~~attitude~~ ~~and~~ ~~upbringing~~.
Though the ~~determination~~ ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~Nisei~~ ~~to~~ ~~stand~~ ~~by~~ ~~their~~ ~~answers~~ ~~was~~ ~~definitely~~ ~~an~~ ~~intentional~~
~~insult~~. ^{she} ~~insulting determination~~ ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~Nisei~~ ~~to~~ ~~stand~~ ~~by~~ ~~their~~ ~~answers~~ ~~was~~ ~~definitely~~ ~~an~~ ~~intentional~~
insult. ^{seemed like an} These Caucasians regarded them as sufficiently close members
of American society to try to wean them back into the fold. I heard only

Since I have had little opportunity to make friends with persons who are repatriating and since both repatriates and "No-Nos" are hesitant about discussing their ideas even with Japanese friends much less with a Hakujin I was not able to get any first hand information of ~~what persons interviewed~~ to what the persons who underwent these ~~interviews~~ interviews thought of their treatment. However, I received repeated assurances from indirect sources that ~~the general opinion~~ in general people thought the matter was being handled very fairly. Nobody voiced any particular complaint that was repeated to me. The committees were thought to be doing their best.

I have very good reason to believe that this ~~policy~~ policy of giving ~~the~~ the "No-Nos" every reasonable chance to avoid segregation and even refusing segregation to some ~~entirely American Nisei~~ ^{in spite of} their requests ^{maybe attributed to Walter} ~~was the result of~~ ^{Walter's efforts}. I was told by ~~one~~ ^a fairly reliable member of the administrative staff that if Bennett got to hear of it it would cause a great deal of trouble and that if the news leaked outside the camp ~~it would cause tremendous repercussions~~ to the America public it would "positively raise hell." Of the latter statement I have small doubt. If the former is true, Bennett must either be exceedingly stupid ~~instead~~ or he ~~may~~ may be preferring to ignore something of which he disapproves but is too lazy to do anything about. Matters ~~ran smoothly~~ ran smoothly, after all, and the interviewing is all over.

Walter went so far as to re-hear all of the persons assigned to segregation by the Strickland-Rogers combination. ~~I am pretty certain~~ ^{Apparently} that neither Bennett nor the gentlemen concerned know anything about this. But when one considers the ^{incidental} power of the grape-vine it is ~~definitely~~ ^{definitely} fairly certain that they will find out eventually.

hesitated to put the block managers in this position since he felt that the people in general do not trust the block managers.

~~Walter~~ In the course of discussing the rumors prevalent among the evacuees I mentioned that I had heard the silliest smaples from Caucasians. Walter became ~~surely angry~~ ^{quite furious} and ^{said this was spreading pernicious rumors} that ^{if} he could find out who was ^{to blame} ~~going to be~~ ~~the~~ ~~would~~ ~~soon~~ ~~have~~ ~~no~~ ~~more~~ ~~to~~ ~~worrying~~ that ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~going~~ ~~to~~ ~~lose~~ ~~their~~ ~~jobs~~ ~~because~~ ~~camp~~ ~~was~~ ~~closing~~ ~~in~~ a few months, he ^{would} see that they soon had no job to worry about.

Incidentally, an article designed to stop these rumors appeared on the front page of that day's newspaper. Obviously the ~~WPA~~ administration was keeping itself ~~well~~ ~~informed~~ ~~as~~ ~~to~~ the people's attitude and was attempting to reassure them. The article pointed out that over a million dollars worth of food supplies ^{must} ~~just~~ be raised in Gila to feed other centers, that dairy ~~herds~~ and stock herds will be increased and that dehydration of food on a large scale has been authorized. It also pointed out that appropriations have been granted by the Congress budgeting Gila for the fiscal year ending July, 1944. It pointed out that the school program is being built ^{up}, laboratories and gymnasiums are being added and that vacant staff appointments are being continually filled. It ended with the statement that WRA is committed to the care of people who wish to remain in the centers.

How much effect this printed denial of rumors will have I do not know. It is my impression that people are not quite so restless as they were a few weeks ago but are rather maintaining a watchful, waiting attitude. ^{This statement is not intended to indicate that there has been any particular lessening in the general feeling of instability.}

pt 2

Having brought their records into some order, ~~At the end of the first week in August~~ the administration now ~~proceeding~~ with the schedule of the elaborately prepared plan of

segregation. On August 7th the first interviews with adamant "Nos" ~~and those whose~~ Chamberlin and Brown ~~requests to change from~~ were held. Two of the Caucasian staff, who served as interviewers, ~~"no" to "yes" had~~ discussed their experiences with me that evening. ~~Both were impressed~~ ~~after June~~ Both were impressed ~~to the point of~~ ~~repeating~~ several times ~~upon~~ the obvious sincerity and honesty of most of the persons they interviewed. (Each was expected to interview some twenty individuals but due ~~to~~ again to faulty recording and listing one had only ~~ten~~.)

Both appeared to have an unusually reasonable and sympathetic attitude, ~~and were, I think, sincere~~ when they said even before Bennett ~~that they respected the fellows for their point of view~~. Each had ~~both~~ however, met with one or two Kibei who had ~~an~~ ~~attitude~~ which ~~was~~ bordered on insolence. ~~After~~ ~~speaking to~~ ~~them~~ Brown was not so sure that isolated incidents of ~~actual~~ ~~violence~~ might not occur at the time of segregation. ~~But he discounted the possibility of organized violence.~~

Bennett remarked, with characteristic drowsiness, ~~that~~ "Well, ~~it's~~ about time somethings was happening. We haven't had any excitement around here since March."

I spoke with Walter on the morning of August Seventh. He was taking the tremendous job before him very seriously, but exuded a sense of faith that after segregation everything would go more smoothly and that the WRA could really get to work and go places with the relocation program. After the "loyal had been separated from the disloyal" relocation would proceed apace. He mentioned his plan of ~~appointing~~ appointing evacuee men of standing in the community to serve as advisors and as sources of information for those who must be segregated. These men, will tell the people what to do, tell them what to do with their property, how much they may take with them, where they can get lumber for crating, etc. He stated that he

The men worked in pairs, assisted by a Japanese interpreter and an usher. I understand that a recorder, who noted down the remarks of the ~~evacuees~~ evacuee, was also present. I was informed by Gordon Brown that these men had been hand-picked for their reasonable broad-minded attitude and that they could be relied upon to do as good a job as ~~any~~ could possibly be expected from untrained individuals.

Some concern was felt by Wolter ~~over one~~ committee ~~that~~

imposed of Strickland and Rogers. This concern was later ~~to be~~ shown to be ~~quite~~ justified since this committee assigned two-thirds of their evacuees to segregation as compared to the slightly more than fifty per cent assigned ^{by all the other committees.} ~~by the total~~ from the total.

This will be discussed in detail later.

The only significant remark ~~made~~ I heard from Mr. Bennett at this time was one which could charitably be described as dense. ~~Over a game of croquet watching a game of~~
 A small group of the Caucasian staff was watching a game of croquet and discussing the possible advent of trouble due to ~~the~~ segregation. Said Mr. Bennett: "Well, it's about time something was happening. We haven't had any excitement around here since March."

Having brought their records into some order the administration now proceeded with the ~~schedule of~~ the elaborately prepared plan of segregation. Their first task was to ~~interview~~ interview the persons who had answered the ~~questionnaire~~ controvertial military questionnaire questions in the negative and had not requested that these answers be changed Before June 15. About six hundred evacuees were involved. The object of the interviews was to determine whether the

~~The individuals~~ individuals concerned were to be segregated, ~~I was~~ or were to be rendered eligible for leave clearance and eventual relocation. ~~Since~~ Since these first interviews were very brief, any ~~cases about which the committee had any doubt~~ *doubtful cases*, were to be relegated to a special group and given a second more thorough interview. I was informed that the interviewers were not supposed to argue with the evacuees, nor attempt to change their minds. However, this policy was ignored in ~~several~~ a considerable number of cases where *some* especially conscientious committeemen went to great pains to try to convince *certain* ~~some of the~~ Nisei to change their minds. In several cases

committees recommended that these individuals be denied segregation, *in spite of the insistence of the evacuee.* Some staff members were astonished to see before them young ~~office~~ *office* employees, *to whom they had spoken almost every day, and never suspected they were "No-Nos."* Though they had never been to Japan, *some* they refused to change their answers, stating that they were answering "No" as a protest against the injustice of their treatment as citizens and against racial prejudice.

(The evacuee letters requesting changes, express these sentiments so well, that it is not necessary to ~~relist~~ relist them here.)

When, however, persons were outspoken about their desire to return to Japan, *the interviewers were supposed to* they were placed on the segregation list without hesitation.

24 The members of the interviewing committees were carefully selected by Wolter. Each was supposed to interview some twenty individuals but due to faulty recording and listing one committee had only ten.

ARTICLE BY O.

War and Evacuation

It has been one year and ten months since two great powerful nations, American and Japan, entered the Second World War. None of us would believe, or had expected Japan to enter this war against America. Befor entry of this war, I was worrying about the international situation because the freindship of two great nations was suddenly taking step toward a crisis. I believe the abandonment of commercial treaty was one of the most seridous steps.

I had hoped that when the Japanese peace envoy arrived to the capital for peace negotiation and exchange of mutual understanding on the matter, it might turn out to a better situation but that hope and dream were suddenly perished when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.

At the time of Pearl Harbor attack, I heard the majority of people were talking about fifth column activities on the Pacific Coast and also I read so often regarding the same facts in the newspapers, giving them warning. I, myself would not like to see the American continent facing a second Pearl Harbor because it will be the most dangerous disaster for national security and the rest of the American people.

Right after Pearl Harbor attack, the public rapidly watched every inch of our movements with the most suspicious and doubtful eyes. I belæved the public and government thought there ~~were~~ were a number of Japanese

secret agencies operating in the island of Hawaii at the time of the attack, and helped them out to a successful raid. Not only that but also, the public and federal government had to take deep consideration for the Japanese situation in California, because California's Pacific Coast is too vital for the maintenance of national defense and where numbers of military installations have been established and operating.

Under such circumstances, I believed the situation of Japanese on the pacific coast was very grave and it might have become a threat to the maintenance of national defense and for the security of democracy. After a thorough study of these critical problems and what I had observed from the public, I believed the government and military authorities had reached a final decision on how to prevent nation and to relieve the public from these serious problems in the best conduct.

There was only one way to choose for the settlement of this critical situation. Whether, Japanese could stay in the vital military defense area or not was the big headache. The best way to conduct and settle this problem was to oust those Japanese from the restricted military zone. By means of doing it, the nation will remain in security, guard itself from the enemy and be able to maintain war policy for the final victory. The resolution of this difficult problem finally appeared as a mass Japanese evacuation from the pacific coast to inland states.

So far as I observed and believed on the movement of mass evacuation, and from my point of view, it was unavoidable. Strategically, it must be done to secure the nation's safeguard, regardless of its circumstances and facts. It could not help doing that for us while the nation is facing tremendous danger from the potential enemy.

As I thoroughly studied this whole complicated situation, I have a little doubt and feeling that the evacuation could not had been done by strategically but also there might had been the involving of the principle of racial prejudice.¹ I believed the force evacuation was the result of it, including 75,000 loyal Japanese American citizens. Later on the effect of evacuation was shown on the day of military registration. Furthermore, this military registration has influenced some for the present resettlement program, which depends upon the way the questions have been answered?

From my point of view, judging this stressed national stand point, the military authorities had to do this strictly on the basis of strategical point, as I said before. However, only one thing I have remained deeply in my heart and I have been kept thinking ever since this evacuation took place is the movement of 75,000 loyal Japanese American born citizens. I shall never be able to understand the necessity of such a movement, because at the time of Pearl Harbor attack, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other government agencies had arrested what they considered the most

¹ O intends racial prejudice and not only military necessity was a factor in evacuation.

dangerous element.

For this reason, I believe the rest of the majority Japanese including 75,000 American citizens are harmless, faithful, and diligent. But, since we had the military registration we were classified into two major groups. One is known as loyal and other as disloyal. As a matter of convenience, the people of at the centers have been calling them "yes men" and "no men".

The evacuation, military registration and resettlement program have been so closely related to our present living that we are not able to consider them separately.¹ The evacuation had brought us into the most tragic and miserable situation¹ in our lives as citizens of America. In addition the movement has completely ruined our home, properties, happiness and the neglect of respected civil rights. Furthermore, it has taken away freedom and completely isolated us from the rest of world.

¹This is a most significant remark.

I shall never be able to forget the day we entered the Assembly Center. I still remember very clearly the day we arrived which was quite late in the evening. We were marched toward the camp under the guard of military police, as if we were prisoners of war. There we had to stay the most darkest three months under the constant watch of heavy military guard. I truly realized how war is so miserable for human beings.

Three months later we were ordered to move to another inland center known as Relocation Center. Since we came to Relocation Center, we are having a little more enjoyable and happier lives as compared with those gloomy three months in Assembly Center. In the midst of our terrible busiest time in arranging home and making furniture, we had to face a most important military registration which was extremely irritating and exciting to the public and reached to the boiling point. Owing to the military registration, some of the families really got into trouble and became divided in opinion.

It seemed to me there were considerable misunderstandings and contradictions among Japanese concerning the military registration and evacuation, which was related closely as rights of Japanese American citizenship. I could not understand thoroughly and the worth of the necessity of military registration, because I felt we had never been

treated as if we were citizens of America within the barbed wire fence. Not only that but also our freedom and rights have completely ruined which was the life line of democracy. Of course, legally and constitutionally we shall remain as citizens. As a matter of fact, I do think we shall never be able to remain as citizens as long as present gloomy lives continue. We feel always as if we were treated as prisnors of war.

With regard to military registration, I shall have to express my opinion frankly. As I look back to early evacuation to Assembly Center, I thought we were no longer remaining as citizens of America. Because the rights as citizens have completely been infringed and distrusted as citizens. In view of these facts, I thought we shall have no longer the duties and opportunities as a citizen for the duration. However, at the time of registration, I found out we are still loyal American citizens. Therefore, they said we shall have the duty to serve the country.¹

In democracy, I believe with sincerity that people love freedom and respect it. People are created equally and have the same privileges. I have been in America exactly eleven years and I love with all my heart the beauty of democracy. I have learned and am deeply impressed with the worth of democracy and how valuable it is for people who love freedom. As I studied carefully the history of America, I could easily understand that America has been fighting for

¹ O has a considerable penchant for irony, which is very apparent when one converses with him. It is difficult for him to express himself gracefully in English.

democracy, freedom, and people. But do you think we have democracy and freedom within the barbed wire fence? If you take freedom from us, we can no longer remain as American citizens. There shall not be existing the rights of citizens. Because our country is a free country, freedom. I have been living as one free man of a free country and our freedom shall not be fear from the enemy. If our freedom has been infringed, we ~~are~~ shall fight for it with all power.

Of course, I would like to serve and contribute to the country so that I could feel at least we have some privileges. But the result of military registration, I had to abandon these privileges and opportunities because I did not gave them favourable answer. There is only one thing I want to make myself clear to everyone is to not misunderstand that I gave an unfavourable answer, because someone thinks I hate to go to war and to be kill. That is not my reason. I am not that much of a yellow coward.¹

Prior to Pearl Harbor, thousands of our Japanese Americans have been drafted by the National Selective Service Law. Ever since this horrible murdering war broke out², they have been playing the most vital role in defending their country all over American war theater. Showing the most remarkable, excellent performances and conducts - our thousands of friends of Japanese American soldiers are fighting for democracy, freedom and people. Not only defending himself from tremendous dangerous potential enemies but also they are fighting for their coming generation, to bring

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This is, nevertheless, an important factor in the requests for segregation.

²Five years ago most Americans spoke of war as "horrible and murdering." For reasons which I shall not attempt to analyze, this attitude is not

them into hopeful, better, and happier future. At screaming, bloody, and brutal battle front they are willing to sacrifice thire lives if the nation need it for secufity.

On the home land, those who are working at vital national defense factories realized how important our home front is. Our home front is just as important as well as those who are fighting at the battle field. Every defense worker women, and children are helping in the war efforts for final victory. What we do and think will help directly or indirectly and will highly influence the moral and fighting spirit of those who are overseas.

We shall have to give them the feeling that we are doing our part at war industries, agriculture, and administration. We shall have to give them the feeling that we are given full opportunities in defending nation, the protection of our rights, and the security of our families. We shall have to show them our cooperation, unity, and the determination. We should not let them have to worry and fear about our home front so that they could fight with the fullest energy and power to destroy enemy's foot print completely from the earth. If we have not been given the opportunities, the protection of our rights, and the security of our families at home front, how can they fight with their full power against the enemy? They shall fail spiritually. If the nation and the people want them to fight and win the war, we shall not let them have toworry a bit about their

COnsidered proper now. However, it is still manifested by many of the evacuees whether they are segregees or not.

families at home!¹

But, here is the most momentous and difficult problems confronting their families which have deeply impressed me to the bottom of my heart. As I said before, our thousands of friends of Japanese- American soldiers have been demonstrating for us the most excellent, splendid, and brilliant abilities in the an armed force. However, as I turn my eyes to their families, I really feel sorry for them. Thousands of their families's sons are fighting to regain the rights, privileges, and security.^X What do they feel and think when they get furlough and visit their folks at Relocation Center, and see their home surrounded by a barbed wire fence. Of course, their families have been given protection and security by the government authorities but I do think none of us want that kind of protection and security without freedom and privileges. Do you think their families have been granted the same opportunities and privileges as the rest of the American families of a member of armed force? The majority of their folks are enemy aliens. I do not know what legal status it is and what connection they do have with those American rights but I wish America would grant a little more opportunities, privileges, and better treatment as members of the armed force so that their families realize what our sons are fighting for.² The embroilment of the home front will bring them into the most serious national disaster. It will soon greatly effect those who are fighting

¹ Here we see an expression of the Japanese concern for the family.

² Here again O employes the irony of which he is so fond.

on the battle field. It will have been loseing their hope for what we are fighting. The collapse of home front will mean the collapse of the battle front. I believe, the people stand together, cooperative with government, and unity of home front will bring nation into the final victory.

In regard to the second most important resettlement program, I could recall the early evacuation to Assembly Center. During the months I was in Assembly Center, I thought Japanese alien and Japanese American born would not be able to go outside except within center until the war is over. But, since we came to Relocation Center, the whole situation has changed. We were allowed to go outside to relocate upon the investigation of F.B.I. except the restricted military zone and be able to find a job through out W.R.A. agencies.

This resettlement program has influenced quite a bit of Japanese, particularly, among Nisei. After we have been over year in camp, the majority of Nisei are getting tired of the way of camp living and gradually realizing the worth of camp life. In fact, this is not a place for us so they feel they might as well go outside. Ever since the resettlement program has proceeded, they have been talking much about the resettlement and a large number of young people have been going for outside employment to the middle eastern states. But here is the most critical and worst point which I have been hearing by some minority groups regarding resettlement, some of the Niseis are only considering relocation for amusement, in stead of showing to the public their loyal attitude.¹ This is really discouraging to me. I do not say everyone because in most cases they have been successfully relocated and doing fine work in various cities. Also there

¹ This identical complaint is heard frequently from the Issei. O. as a Kibei tends to indentify himself with the conservative group. One does not hear the expression of concern over the scandalous behavior of Nisei on the outside from the older Nisei so frequently. They have perhaps fallen more to the American tolerance of "flaming youth."

after

is a minority group which have been interfered by the result of military registration, the way they had answered the questions. A few people among this group has been suffering because previously desiring to relocate but as the result of registration this minority group had to abandon the hope unless they change their decision.

As far as I can see, this resettlement program has been carried out satisfactorily among those who had already relocated. Ever since the end of military registration all residents in the camp, truly realized that this is no longer a place to live.¹ None of us wants to stay in a place like this for life. Everybody is anxious to get out of here to some other place where they could get a little more comfortable and enjoyable living. W.R.A. and other local agencies have been trying to help us out to relocate as much as possible and want us assume the normal American living.

We have been appreciating the way W.R.A. helped us for relocation. Everybody must understand there is considerable difficulties confronting the large families' resettlement as compared with those bachelors and young couples. In accordance with the evacuation our Japanese had to give up agriculture, business, and other various enterprises. This brought us into the most hardest spot to the present relocation plan not only that but also at the time of evacuation, the majority of them had sold out their vital farming

¹ This is not true. Even Issei parents of very Americanized Nisei are in the great majority of cases determined to stay in for the duration.

tools very cheaply which are never be able to buy under the present circumstance except those who had voluntarily evacuated to the middle eastern states. Without those tools the farmers are not able to plough the virgin soil, raise vegetables, and produce foods as well as soldiers can not fight without weapons and with empty stomach. Beside that large number of evacuees has spend large amount of money ever since evacuation. On account this some minority group need help badly economically as they desire to relocate and start to farm. As you know already, the majority of evacuees are farmers and possess abilities, skill, and experience for agriculture. Without those help, they can not hardly relocate and help farm production.¹

With connection to resettlement, loyalty and disloyalty has been highly taken into consideration and considerably effecting those who wish to go out and relocate. Particular, those who have been designated as disloyal by W.R.A. is really a big problem. Those who have changed to loyal attitude, are being released upon careful inquiring and investigation by the W.R.A. officials. ✓

Loyalty and disloyalty is a familiar topic among the people and it seems to me they love to debate about it. If you analyse the meaning of loyalty and disloyalty, it hardly explains clearly and briefly. In other words, I can not hardly understand what degree is disloyalty and loyalty.²

According to the military registration, I was designated as

¹A good expression of a general camp sentiment.

²O, in this respect, does not differ from most of the Caucasian and Japanese residents in camp.

a disloyal citizen by W.R.A. I swear I did not do that on purpose. I do not believe and hope the disloyal attitude means direct sympathy to the Japanese government, or hating American government. Yet, you are not able to find or see the real disloyal people among those who are known as disloyal. None of them has ever been arrested on the grounds of sabotage or interference of W.R.A. policy since we had military registration. None of them has ever been trying to organize pro-Japanese activities and prefer to be Japanese. I feel something deeply in my heart that we still have American ideals and thoughts. I believe the majority of those who are known as disloyal have the same feeling.¹

We are Japanese and Japanese American generation. We hereditied our Japanese blood because our ancestors were Japanese. I am an American. I am a Japanese American because my parents are Japanese. As a Japanese American, hot Japanese blood is circulating in my body and I also posses American ideals and thoughts just as the rest of the Americans because I had been educated in America. I would not like to throw away our oriental culture. In fact, I shall not be able to abandon our hereditied beauty of culture as long as we want to remain as Japanese American. I never had the intention of not learning the beauty of American culture. I have learned the beauty of American culture. As long as we want to remain as Japanese Americans we must posses the combination of American and

¹ A noteworthy expression of the gulf which separates the evacuee and administrative point of view on loyalty and disloyalty. To the evacuee the willingness to work hard, behave himself, and serve in the army if drafted constitutes loyalty. To the administration - the proper reply to questions 27 and 28. - the determinant.

Japanese culture. Without either one of them, we shall not be able to remain as Japanese American. I love my father country as well as I love my mother country.

However, under the present circumstances I must choose one of them, to be American or to be Japanese.

The great majority of Japanese American had shown loyal attitude on the day of military registration. It seems to me those who are designated as loyal, prefer to be American while those who are designated as disloyal prefer to be Japanese. As far as I understood the military registration, army authorities asked us answer the questions with sincerity and swear unqualified allegiance in defending democracy and freedom from the potential enemies.

But I hear some people answered those questions with consideration for money and property they left in California. The minority group had changed to a loyal attitude because they wanted to go outside, because they had to take care of the properties and families!¹ It is perfectly all right to do that but I surely hate the reasons for which they changed. Of course, I would like to have money as much as I could because money is a most valuable precious thing. But I shall not be able to sell my faith and pride as cheaply as that. Sometime people lose life because of money. I shall be glad to sacrifice my life in what I believe is justice. Money makes properties and makes people live happier lives. Money means everything and

¹ This, I believe, is absolutely true and may be proved by an examination of the letters ~~written~~ written by persons desiring to change their answers from No to Yes.

influences our common daily lives. Money distinguishes people into rich and poor. People are working very hard and fighting for money to live. The various defense workers strike because they demand more wages and want better living. I really hate to hear people talk about money and properties while thousands Americans and Japanese Americans are fighting overseas. Do you think they are fighting for money and properties? They are only concentrating on fighting to destroy the enemy and to bring peace with them.¹

^LThe opportunistic attitude ~~of~~ of many of the evacuees, which O correctly points out is most repugnant to him. At the time of my first visit he remarked, "Most of the fellows who changed their answers did it because they wanted to stay here and make money. That's all most of the Japanese came to this country for anyway. All they want is money, money, money."

I must write about the most distinguished person I have ever met in my past twenty-nine years of life. He is a grey haired typical English medical doctor. He is well educated, polite and is a possesor of a most distinguished personal charactor. He is the only one who gave me freedom, opportunity to study, and the privileges as a citizen of a free country. I had stayed with his family for eight years and have been influenced and learned a great deal by his fine charactor and leadership. I can hardly express appreciation in words for what he has done for me. He treated me as an equal and a respectable citizen. He advised and lead me as though I were his beloved son and I still feel as if he were my father. I shall never be able to forget nor repay him for what he had contributed for me. I deeply asmire him from the bottom of my heart. In spite of his kindness and hearty hospitality, I could not give the proper answer on the military registration truthfully and sincerely. Personally, I shall do anything for him with in my power, but as I look over our unresolvable circumstance, I was not able to give the proper answer that he would have liked.

I believe the principle cause of those who are going to Tulu Lake is mainly depending upon the force evacuation and the result of military registration. As I read one of the military questionier, I really sank to the bottom of the ocean and put me on the tough spot. As long as

Japanese blood is circulating in my body, I was not able to answer properly because I love my father country as well as I love my mother country. I could not give a punch right on the nose of either one of them. So you can see what a difficult stressed situation we had to face.¹

He will be disappointed as he hears I am known as a disloyal, expatriator and being transferred to Tule Lake segregation camp. I hope he will understand my circumstances and am hoping no matter where I go our friendship will remain unchanged for ever.

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¹Note well.