

Belgauer: Segregation Report

Introduction

The following notes were written following several day's visit at Tule Lake, from August 17 to 22. We gathered a certain amount of information on the segregation program during that time. We feel that perhaps we had access to some material at Tule Lake that would not otherwise be available to the study. For that reason we submit the following pages.

We have not attempted here a complete detailed analysis of the segregation program, that remains for the field observer living on the project. Rather this report is supplementary.

Robert Billigmeier
August 27, 1943

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Notes on the Segregation Program

The roots of segregation lie deep in the evacuation and registration programs. In a sense segregation was implied in the process of evacuation. Then out of the results of the registration program came forceful demands for segregating the loyal evacuees from those who gave evidence of disloyalty. Effective pressure for segregation came principally from outside the War Relocation Authority.

For a time at least there were strong convictions among members of the appointed personnel at Tule Lake in favor of segregation. During the registration crisis there was a widespread conviction among the appointed personnel that segregation of the loyal from the disloyal in the evacuee community was absolutely essential. In the first place it was believed necessary to prevent the further deterioration of allegiance of the loyal among them. Secondly, segregation was considered necessary for the effective administration of the project.

This conclusion was based upon the premise that the registration crisis had clearly revealed a real division of loyalty among the evacuees. At the time of the crisis only a minority of the appointed personnel doubted that. Granted the premise, it was generally concluded that there could be little success in administering the community without some sort of segregation. Now that lines of loyalty were drawn definitely, every community issue arising in the future would reflect the

differences in allegiance and every important issue would precipitate a great community crisis in which the loyal would be pitted against the disloyal.

Some members of the appointed personnel felt so deeply on the need for such a measure that they made their continued stay at Tule Lake conditional upon it.

Shortly after the termination of the registration program, Dillon S. Myer visited Tule Lake. In a talk to members of the appointed personnel he made it clear that those who clamored for segregation didn't fully realize the magnitude of the process, nor the tremendous difficulties which would attend it.

With the passage of time belief in the need for segregation weakened. After the crisis had passed the situation looked much different and the segregation ceased to be an important issue. More and more the members of the appointed personnel came to regard the failure of the registration program as the result of the inadequacy of the Project Director, Harvey Coverley, and the Assistant Director, Joe O. Hayes. By the same token less importance was laid upon the general perversity of the allegedly disloyal evacuees in precipitating the crisis over the registration program.

Announcement of Plans for Segregation

On July 7, 1943, the San Francisco newspapers carried the news of a segregation to be effected among the evacuee people in W.R.A. centers. This was the first either the evacuees or the appointed personnel at Tule Lake had heard of the impending program. Shortly after the public announcement of the segregation plans, it was further learned that the Tule Lake Center had been selected as the "black camp", that is, the camp where the disloyal evacuees were to be isolated.

The Project Director, Harvey Coverley, had known of the existing plans for segregation since mid-May. In that month Mr. Coverley returned from conferences at the national headquarters of the War Relocation Authority with news of the coming administrative re-organization of the project administration. He did not, however, reveal any information concerning plans for segregation to any members of his staff. This limited the amount of time available to prepare the evacuees at Tule Lake for the segregation process. The whole program fell hardest upon the Tule Lake Center. In other centers the numbers to be segregated ran into the hundreds whereas the movement of people from Tule Lake would necessarily involve thousands of individuals.

Members of the appointed personnel at Tule Lake keenly felt the need for carefully preparing the evacuees for the segregation program. They envisioned another community-shattering crisis such as that which occurred over the registration program in February and March.

It is generally felt among them that Coverley made the preparation far more difficult by not informing the appointed personnel of the impending program before it was publicly announced in the newspapers. He allowed too little time and risked too much thereby.

In mid-July, Dr. Harold Jacoby, Chief of Internal Security; Dr. Marvin Opler, Social Analyst; J.D. Cook, Chief of the Information Division; and Kenneth Harkness, acting Assistant Project Director attended a conference on the plans for segregation. At this conference, held in Denver, Dillon S. Myer acquainted the assembled representatives of the ten projects with national policy on segregation.

In Denver the representatives from Tule Lake learned that the personnel in other centers had known of the plans for segregation for some time. The delegates also learned of the part Harvey Coverley had played in the designation of Tule Lake as the segregation center.

One of the four reasons why Tule Lake was chosen as the so-called "black camp" is given as follows in the W.R.A. pamphlet on segregation:

The Tule Lake Center has more residents who will be designated for segregation, thus reducing the total number of persons to be moved in the segregation process.¹

1. War Relocation Authority, Segregation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry in Tule Lake Relocation Center, Washington, D.C., August, 1943, p12.

According to current reports Mr. Coverley had placed his estimates of the number of disloyal at Tule Lake far above the estimates of any other project director and much higher than other members of his staff felt warranted. This fact is considered part of the indictment against Mr. Coverley.

The liberal members of the appointed personnel feared the problems which would doubtlessly attend the segregation program at Tule Lake if the center were used as the segregation center.¹ Instead they sought to have the W.R.A. construct an eleventh center for those segregated rather than move the thousands of loyal people out of Tule Lake and scattering them throughout the other centers. This project failed because the W.R.A. had neither funds nor facilities necessary for the construction of another center.

Next they sought to have an assembly center transformed into the segregation camp. This also proved unacceptable. There were no alternatives to Tule Lake as the segregation center.

Shortly after the representatives to the Denver conference returned to Tule Lake, Harvey Coverley and Joe C. Hayes left the W.R.A. for the army. Their departure was cause for general rejoicing. Both officials are held in low regard by a large

¹. The liberal members of the appointed personnel includes Corlis Carter, Dr. Opler, Don Elberson, Dr. Jacoby, Kent Silverthorne. With them are associated Martin Gunderson and Kenneth Harkness. The term "liberal" applied to some of the appointed personnel is explained in the report on the administrative staff.

proportion of the evacuees and by an overwhelming majority of the Caucasian staff. When Hayes and Coverley left there were no parties held in their honor by either evacuees or Caucasians. This is noteworthy because Elmer Shirrell, the former Project Director and Paul Fleming, former Chief of Community Services, were widely feted by both groups upon their departure from Tule Lake.

Mr. Coverley was succeeded by Raymond R. Best, August 1, 1943. Before becoming the Project Director of Tule Lake, Mr. Best had worked for a time at the Minidoka Relocation Center and later served as director of the W.R.A. Isolation camp at Moab, Utah, later at Leupp, Arizona.

At first the liberal staff members were a little anxious about Mr. Best because he had served as head of the Isolation Camp. They feared that he might seek to govern Tule Lake too strictly.

The liberal group of administrators had a program to present to the new Project Director, or at least a series of suggestions for the forthcoming segregation program. Mr. Best manifest his willingness to avail himself of the suggestions and plans of members of the appointed personnel. That was a welcome change from the Coverley administration.

Learning much from the registration crisis the liberals on the staff gave special emphasis for the need of a carefully devised program of propaganda to acquaint the evacuees with

the details of the segregation program. They were convinced that once resistance crystallized no amount of propaganda work could achieve co-operation from the evacuees. Therefore it was obviously necessary to do effective educational work to forestall that resistance. Various practical suggestions for effecting the educational program were outlined.

The need for an overall head of the segregation process at Tule Lake was soon manifest. Kenneth Harkness, acting Assistant Project Director was placed in charge of the whole program. Corlies Carter was made director of the educational work. He probably has played the most important role in the whole process. Mr. Lowery, head of the Evacuee Property Section, was made responsible for baggage arrangements and Mortimer Cooke was charged with arranging transportation. Kejt Silverthorne, Project Attorney, was given responsibility for the organization of individual hearings on loyalty for those who failed to register or who register and answered "no" to question 28 or its alternative.

The Social Welfare Department was given responsibility for aiding in the settling of family problems, counselling and guidance work, the preparation of train lists, and the gathering of all documents pertinent to segregation.

The Educational Program

A great amount of care and effort were expended in the dissemination of information on the details of segregation. Corlies Carter and Dr. Marvin Opler, Social Analyst, worked in close co-operation in developing the educational program. Other members of the staff also co-operated in effecting the program.

By means of extensive propaganda work the members of the appointed personnel concerned with segregation hoped to prevent the widespread misconceptions which prevailed among the colonists during the registration period and which gave rise to very persistent fears and apprehensions. They sought to curtail the circulation of rumors by the dissemination of reliable information. They hoped to prevent in this way the chrystalization of resistance to the program arising out of misconceptions, fear, distrust, resentment. These gentlemen are much impressed with the need for giving the evacuees full information, adequate explanation of policy, and the establishment of stable consistant policy.

A speakers bureau was established to effect the work of dissemination. Speeches were made throughout the colony by members of the bureau. Instead of holding block meetings, the gatherings were planned in such a way as to cut across block lines. Through the Community Activities Section arrangements were made for social organizations to request speakers on segregation. The W.R.A. officials spoke to such organizations as the Young Christian Fellowship, Young Buddhist Association, the

Parents of Nisei Soldiers, and various other organizations. Then occupational groups were considered. Community management employees, hospital workers, farm employees were given information on the segregation program by members of the appointed personnel on the speakers bureau. Speeches on the subject were given in the various wards. The speakers bureau continued its activities until there were no more requests by organizations, occupational groups, or ward residents for further information on segregation. By August 19 there were no more requests. Corlies Carter expressed the hope that this indicated that a majority of colonists felt fully informed on the subject. He would gladly have continued the activities of the speakers bureau had there been a continued demand for their services.

The block managers were asked to prevent block meetings on segregation by failing to co-operate with those who sought to institute them; a sort of passive resistance was planned to forestall the development of block resistance to the program comparable to that which developed against the registration program. If a committee appeared before one of the block managers with a request for a block meeting, they were instructed to ~~attend~~ ^{attend} scheduled meetings or arrange for a Ward meeting and request a speaker.

It is interesting to compare the differences in block response to the segregation program and to the registration program. Thus far there is no block resistance~~x~~ to the segregation program comparable at all to that which developed against

registration program. There is none of the intense block activity today that existed in February and March; there are no mob scenes, no gook squads, nor pressure on block residents by a minority determined to oppose the program.

The significant differences in response are due (1) to the difference in approach to the whole program, (2) to the action of the administration to cut through block lines, and (3) to the reluctance of the evacuees themselves to allow a repetition of the extreme emotionalism attending block activities during the registration crisis.

In presenting the segregation program to the evacuees, the W.R.A. administration asked no individual evacuees nor any group among them to endorse or defend the program to the community. Coverley did in February and March. This time no evacuee speakers were asked by the administration to take part in the propaganda work in behalf of the W.R.A. program.

In February, when resistance to registration became acute, Mr. Coverley had turned to evacuee leaders and civic organization in the colony to take a stand in favor of the W.R.A. program when it was a highly unpopular thing to do. He had not sought the advice of the evacuee leaders nor the civic bodies nor even of the Caucasians who know most about the colony as to how the registration program should be presented. He had turned to them only when the crisis had become acute.

In consequence leaders were placed in a difficult position.

They were suspected by the administration because they were reluctant to take a definite stand in its behalf and were also suspected by the community as being tools of the W.R.A. The civic governmental bodies collapsed. This time however, the full burden of responsibility for effecting the program falls upon the appointed personnel.

There has been almost no inu baiting, no spy phobia. In the beginning of the education program, Corlies Carter, relates, some of the speakers stated that one of the reasons for the segregation lay in the evacuees' demand for it. Some individuals, he states, then raised the cry, "What sons-of-bitches wanted this?" The line of argument used by the speakers was subsequently altered to the statement that a demand for segregation had occurred ~~byxxxx~~ among evacuees in other centers.

During the period of the educational work, the newspaper has served as a useful instrument of progaganda under the careful scrutiny of Carter, Opler, and Harkness. J.D. Cook, the Information officer, has a considerable reputation for publishing misinformation. Mr. Harkness has arranged to have all articles published in the Tulean Dispatch checked before they are printed. Mr. Harkness and the others connected with the program are determined to prevent their careful work being undone by careless journalism.¹

1. Mr. Shirrell, when Project Director at Tule Lake, frequently complained about the inaccuracy of Cook's released. Mr. Coverley also found much to complain about in Cook's work. He once remarked to another member of his staff, "Cant that guy Cook get anything right?" According to reports he gave Cook what he termed "every opportunity to resign".

One error in the Japanese language section of the Tulean Dispatch caused some consternation among the appointed personnel connected with the educational program. A mistranslation of Dr. Jacoby's chart of the segregation process suggested the forced return to Tule Lake of all those who left for other centers and refused to relocate from them. Dr. Opler has subsequently arranged to have an Official Translation Board Established to check on all translations thus preventing willful or accidental misrepresentation. Those concerned with the educational work have shown their great concern over supplying reliable and consistent information to the people through the medium of the community newspaper.

Dr. Marvin Opler conducts a rumor clinic in the pages of the Tulean Dispatch. This feature is widely credited with being exceptionally effective. It is so regarded by members of the staff connected with the program. Dr. Opler reports to Mr. Best on community reactions to the segregation. He works in close co-operation with Corlies Carter in mapping out the strategy of the segregation campaign. Opler was responsible for the information carried in Mr. Best's speech of Sunday, August 15, "A Report to the Residents on Segregation." This speech was well received according to indications.

Those concerned with the educational program have spent great effort to acquaint the community with the details concerning the segregation and have tried hard to destroy rumors and prevent misconceptions. When an article in the San Francisco Chronicle reported that other W.R.A. centers would soon be

closed, Corlies Carter and Dr. Opler immediately issued statements through block managers denying the story and gave contrary evidence. They feared community reaction against segregation if this story should begin to gain credence. Whether their action was wise or not it illustrates their quick response to a difficult situation.

Among members of the speakers bureau are the following: Kent Silverthorne, Dr. Harold Jacoby, Corlies Carter, Kenneth Harkness, Mortimer Cooke, and Mr. Lowery. Dr. Opler has worked with Mr. Carter and the other members of the bureau in outlining the information to be presented.

Mr. Carter, who is charge of the educational work, has frankly admitted to the evacuees that segregation was forced upon the W.R.A. by certain political ~~xxxx~~ pressure groups such as the Dies Committee and has laid emphasis upon the fact that the whole program is not something the W.R. A. wished to impose upon the evacuees.

Individual Hearings

Those who have registered for repatriation and have not withdrawn their application by a specified date automatically stay at Tule Lake. Those who answered "yes" to question 28 on the registration forms filled out in February and March automatically leave Tule Lake. That leaves thousands of people who failed to register or who have registered but answered "no" to question 28. Hearings are being held to determine the individual loyalty of these people.

Kent Silverthorne, Project Attorney, was placed in charge of the individual hearings. A panel of interviewers was selected from among the appointed personnel. Included in the panel are the following:

Dr. Harold Jacoby	J.S. Lowery
Kenneth Harkness	Mortimer Cooke
Corlies Carter	Delbert Cole
Martin Gunderson	Frank Fagan

Each member of the panel holds hearings assisted by a Caucasian witness. Among the interviewers, Silverthorne and Carter consider Mr. Fagan the weakest. Mortimer Cooke has shown himself surprisingly effective in his hearings, it is reported. Frank Smith, Employment Officer, made a significant remark in this regard, "When Mortimer Cooke was chosen as a member of the Hearing Board, I felt that he would be too hard and too unsympathetic for such work. Instead he has proven himself to be exceptionally sympathetic and understanding, especially to

Issei. He treats the evacuees kindly and with dignity. When they leave his office they bow to him in appreciation of his consideration."

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

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

Dr. Opler has called the whole procedure of segregation at Tule Lake "just a lot of dice throwing." "We know," he continued, "who the three really disloyal people are in Tule Lake, Dr. Yamato Ichihashi, Noboru Shirai, and Kenji Ito." It is generally felt among the Caucasians that the most important of these three is Professor Ichihashi, the others follow his leader-

ship. Few Issei have any understanding of what Fascism means. No member of the hearing board feels that the Issei or Nisei who wish to go to Japan after the war are tied to that country because of any pro-Fascist sentiment.

Dr. Opler, Don Elberson, Coelies Carter and others among the appointed personnel are convinced, however, that Dr. Ichihashi, is essentially a fascist and by that token far more dangerous than any other individual in the community.

Dr. Ichihashi registered and answered 'yes' to question 28 on the alien registration form, thus he will be sent to another project. Eventually he plans to relocate to an outside community. At the same time he is active in efforts to discourage others from relocating and is spreading criticism of the segregation program. The project administration is watching him as carefully as it can. The appointed personnel have some knowledge of his activities. Sunday evening, August 22, at a wedding reception, Dr. Ichihashi spoke to a small informal group gathered about him on the dangers of relocating, especially for young girls who resettle in areas where there are a lot of soldiers to threaten their virginity. That type of propaganda is effective because many evacuees regard him highly as a learned gentleman. Dr. Opler asserts that Ichihashi has tried to use him in spreading misinformation about the segregation program. One hears much at Tule Lake among the Caucasians about the learned professor.

Among the appointed personnel at Tule Lake there is little disposition manifest to villify those who express their desire to remain at Tule Lake or return to Japan after the war. During the registration crisis, however, a majority of the appointed personnel were hostile to those refusing to co-operate with the W.R.A. program and to those who applied for repatriation. There were frequent suggestions of methods of dealing with such evacuees. Dr. Pedicord, Chief Medical Officer, thought of loading them on a boat and then sinking it in mid-ocean. Anthony O'Brien, the former Project Attorney, longed for a machine-gun to "whittle Down" the applicants for repatriation or expatriation; Peter Kristovich of the Internal Security Division wished for a bomb to drop upon the disturbed community.

That type of hostility isn't prevalent today. It was not only the evacuees who were emotional and panicked during the registration crisis. Many Caucasians were equally disturbed. With the change of Project Directors the general atmosphere of administration changed too. The liberals under Best are now in power as they never have been before. They set the general tenor of administration, especially because they have so far been successful in their conduct of the segregation program at Tule Lake. Men like Frank Smith who remarked during the registration turmoil, "Not any of these people can be trusted," now says, "Why these people/are not disloyal, they just don't want to have to move until war ends."

Corlies Carter believes that members of the staff are far more co-operative than they have ever been before in project experience. There appears to be a general conviction among the appointed personnel that the present job is being well done.

Segregation certainly could cause as much trouble as did the registration. It hasn't thus far. The difference in response of the evacuees to the segregation program is largely attributed to the differences in the manner of presenting the program. Coverley and Hayes are generally held responsible for the crisis arising over the registration. The pendulum has swung to the other extreme. The crisis is no longer attributed to the general perversity and disloyalty of the evacuee population.

There is an extremely widespread dislike of the former Project Direct and Assistant Director, Coverley and Hayes. The liberal members of the appointed staff have expressed freely their deep respect for Mr Best, not only because he has lent a willing ear to their suggestion and allowed them to carry out their ideas, but also because he has proven his administrative ability to their satisfaction.¹

L. One incident is cited by Corlies Carter to illustrate the administrative sagacity of Mr. Best. Carter explained to him the difficulties experienced at Tule Lake over the unloading of coal. The problem had been handled by Mr. Hayes. Best inquired, "Why didn't they put the coal problem in the hands of the evacuees themselves?" "That" remarked Carter "is exactly what we feel should have been done in the beginning." This administrative insight impressed Carter very much.

Although the segregation program is being effected at Tule Lake without any serious problems arising thus far, the liberal staff members are not convinced that segregation itself is of any real benefit.

Dillon S. Myer in referring to segregation stated, "We believe it is possible to distinguish between the loyal and disloyal people of Japanese ancestry to a degree that will safeguard the national security." Many members of the appointed personnel at Tule Lake feel that this could be achieved simply by apprehending a handful of people instead of moving thousands. It is generally believed among the staff members connected with segregation that even those who declare their loyalty or sympathy to Japan are not disloyal to the United States in any way that would imperil its safety.

Dr. Cpler, Dorothy Montgomery, Corlies Carter and others have perceived just one possible benefit from segregation. They believe that the segregated evacuees who will reside at Tule Lake will become or rather might become ~~the~~ a sacrifice on the altar of the welfare of the other Japanese- in the United States. They envision the possibility that the Dies sub-committee under Costello, the American Legion and other such entities will turn their wrath and indignation against those who have been segregated thus freeing the other evacuees from their fatal attention. That at least ~~would~~ be to the benefit of the majority.

Records of Hearings

For part of two days, August 20 and 21, I had the opportunity of sitting in on the hearings held by Martin Gunderson. I took complete notes of the cases appearing before Mr. Gunderson during this period. The records are as nearly complete for every interview as it was possible to make them. Notes were written at the time of the interview. The official records of hearings contain only a resumé of the interview and consequently are of less value.

No attempt at selection of interviews has been made in the following pages. Every case has been included which I listened to. I have made no attempt to analyze the documents. They are simple and require no special background beyond that recorded in the pages above.

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Case #2 (continued)

"It's hard to answer."

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

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

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

"I think question of disloyalty is better."

"Are you disloyal."

"Yes."

"Why?"

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

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

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

"No, you'll just be given the choice of following your husband or not."

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Case #2 (continued)

"Then I'm loyal."

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

"Yes," she replied after a pause.

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

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

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

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

"Your father, sister and brother are relocating?"

"Yes."

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

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Case #4 (continued)

"Was there any reason for his not registering?"

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

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

"I guess he does."

"He can't understand or speak English."

"Very little."

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

"Yes."

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

"His sympathy lies with Japan."

"Why."

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

"That's all, thank you."

(In dictating the note to accompany his recommendation, Mr. Gunderson stressed the fact that this gentleman was embittered by the evacuation. Commenting on this case, Mr. Gunderson expressed the belief that these hearings could not really determine individual loyalty.)

(Segregation list)

August 20, 1943

Case #5 (with interpreter)

Age: 54
Sex: Male
Residence: 1716
Birthplace: Japan
Returned to Japan: No

Relatives: Parents deceased. Brother somewhere in Japan, doesn't know exactly where.
Property in Japan: None.
Married: No

"Does he understand much English?"

"No."

"Why didn't he register?"

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

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

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

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #6

Sex: Female
Age: 39
Residence: 3903
Birthplace: Japan
Immigrated to the United States: 1922

Returned to Japan: One year visit in 1929.
Relatives: Parents, two brothers and five sisters in Japan.
Education: Nine years in Japan

"Do you understand and speak English?"

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Case #6 (continued)

"Only a little."

"Is your son in camp?"

"Yes."

(Through the interpreter)

"She didn't register, why?"

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

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

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

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

"She can't answer the question."

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

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

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

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

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

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#6 (concluded)

"She won't sign anything."

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

"Her sympathies are towards Japan."

"Why are her sympathies with Japan?"

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

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list.)

Case #7

Age: 21

Residence: 3005

Sex: Male

Education: Completed 1 yr. J.C.

Birthplace: Sacramento Language: Little Japanese "between fair and poor".

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

"I was undecided."

"If you could register, would you?"

"I don't know."

"The big question was the loyalty question, number 28.

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

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

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Case #7 (continued)

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

"I don't know."

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

"I can't say."

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

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

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

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

"You mean the negroes?"

"Yes. "

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

"I don't know."

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

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"With this country its race prejudice."

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

"That true of all peoples."

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

"Because they're oppressed."

"That's true. The Nisei on the other hand are well educated. I admit freely that the treatment of negroes is bad, but the treatment of poor whites is equally bad. It takes a wiser man than me to solve the question. . . . You have the choice of remaining in the United States and making it the country you like or do as many people in America, ignore the minority problem. I think it is one of the jobs of the Nisei to help solve the problem of minority people and make this country better. Many Nisei are on the outside now and making Caucasians with whom they come into contact aware of the minority problem. Before the evacuation it was a problem of all of us. After the evacuation it now becomes a chance for you to become especially aware of the problem. It's a tough situation, I'll admit. But we all have to make a decision."

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

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people react."

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

"Why?"

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

"Let it stay."

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

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Case #9 (with interpreter)

A couple interviewed together.

Age: 71

Age: 67

Sex: Male

Sex: Female

Residence: 1113

Birthplace: Japan

Birthplace: Japan

Immigrated: 1905

"Do they plan to return to Japan?"

"Yes, My husband's father is in Japan. Before the war we were planning to return to Japan."

"Because they are returning their sympathies are with Japan?"

"Yes."

"And the lady?"

"I shall abide by my husband's wishes."

"Thankyou, that is all."

(Segregation list.)

Case #10

Age: 29

Residence in Japan: Six or seven yrs.

Sex: Female

Education: One year high school in Japan.

Residence: 1419

Relatives: Parents are living in Japan.

Birthplace: Washington

Married: Yes

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

"Yes."

"Is your husband Issei or Nisei?"

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Case #10 (continued)

"Issei."

"Do you still want to answer question 28 'No'?"

"My feeling is the same."

"Because you want to go back to Japan?"

"Yes."

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

"Yes."

"That's all. Thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #11

Age: 41

Relative: Parents in Japan.

Sex: Male

Property in Japan: Yes

Birthplace: Hawaii

Education: Elementary school education in Japan.

"You registered but answered 'No' to questions 27 and 28?"

"Yes."

"Do you still feel like keeping it that way?"

"Yes."

"Your loyalty lies with Japan?"

"Yes."

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

"Yes."

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Case #12 (continued)

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

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

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #13

Age: 30

Sex: Male

Birthplace: Santa Clara, Calif.

Education: High school education in Japan.

Residence in Japan: Ten years.

Relatives: Mother and sister in Japan.

"Do you have property in Japan?"

"Just a little. I'm not sure now?"

"You didn't register, did you?"

"No."

"Why?"

"I thought I didn't have to because I'm going to return to Japan after the war and so didn't think it was necessary to register."

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

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Case #15 (continued)

"She feels loyalty to Japan and not to the United States?"

"Not her loyalty but her sympathy is with Japan because she's going back there to live."

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #16 (with interpreter)

Age: 59	Immigrated to the United States: 1905
Sex: Male	Education: Four years in Japan.
Birthplace: Japan	Returned to Japan: Never
Residence: 2701	Relatives: Two brothers, sister and father in Japan.

"Why didn't he register?"

"He was sick that time and didn't want to leave the center."

"He plans to go back to Japan after the war?"

"Yes."

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

"Yes, because he is a Japanese citizen."

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

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Case #17 (with interpreter)

Age: 55	Education: Four years in Japan
Sex: Male	Immigrated: 1907
Residence: Block 45	Returned: Twice*
Birthplace: Japan	Relatives: Three brothers and a sister in Japan.

*Not noted in Individual Record Form.

"He didn't register, and why not?"

"Because he wanted to go back to Japan and thought it wasn't necessary."

"Do his sympathies lie with Japan?"

"Yes because he is a Japanese citizen."

"Did he plan to return to Japan before the war?"

"Yes, he missed the last boat and so had to stay here."

"Thank you, that's all."

(Segregation list)

Case #18 (with interpreter)

Age: 63	Returned to Japan: Never
Sex: Male	Relatives: None
Residence: Block 33	Property in Japan: None
Birthplace: Japan	Education: Two years in Japan
Immigrated: 1906	

"He didn't register and why?"

"He planned to return to Japan."

"He still wants to return?"

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Case #18 (continued)

"Yes."

"He feels more sympathy with Japan than with the United States?"

"Yes, because he's Japanese."

"Did he plan to return to Japan before the war?"

"Yes."

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #19 (with interpreter)

Age: 57

Immigrated: 1901

Sex: Male

Returned to Japan: Never

Birthplace: Japan

Relatives: Thinks he might still have a brother in Japan.

Education: Six years in Japan.

"He didn't register, why?"

"He planned to go back to Japan and could see no reason for registering."

"His sympathies lie with Japan?"

"Yes, with Japan."

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #20 (with interpreter)

Age: 71

Immigrated: 1898

Sex: Male

Returned to Japan: Never

Residence: 3119

Education: Six years in Japan

Language: No English

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Case #20 (continued)

"He didn't register, why not?"

"Because he didn't want to leave the center. He's too old. He wants to return to Japan."

"Does he still want to return?"

"Yes."

"Does he have more sympathy with Japan?"

"Yes."

"What about his son?"

"It's up to the boy."

Case #21 (wife of #20) (with interpreter)

Age: 58

Relatives: She thinks she has
a brother and sister in Japan.

Sex: Female

Returned to Japan: Never

Birthplace: Japan

Immigrated: 1915

Education: Six years schooling in Japan

"She didn't register, why not?"

"She wants to return to Japan."

"She feels her sympathies lie with Japan?"

"In as much as she was born in Japan, her sympathies are with Japan."

"And she is willing to allow the boy to decide for himself?"

"Yes."

"That's all, thank you."

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Case #22 (son of #20 and #21)

Age: 22

Sex: Male

Birthplace: U.S.

"You registered 'no' to question 28, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"Do you wish to change your answer?"

"No."

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #23

(A young man accompanied by his wife, a Negress. She acted as interpreter for him. She spoke excellent English and gave the appearance of quiet refinement)

"Did your husband register?"

"No, he was sick during that time."

"When he felt better, did he try to ~~sha~~ register?"

"Yes, I went to see Mr. Frank Smith, but before I could follow up on the matter, I fell sick. I have just recovered so nothing much has been done. I've talked to Dr. Jacoby and he is acquainted with the situation."

The young man appeared either drunk or mentally deranged

"You take brother in camp. I no can talk with him. I no like, see. I NO LIKE DAT, SEE!" His wife tried to calm him down, but he got louder and louder.

"Does your husband wish to return to Japan?"

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Case #23 (continued)

"He wants to return to Japan. But what about me, I'm an American citizen?"

The young man was still rolling his eyes and stating with increasing vigor, "I no like dat, see. You tak me brother away."

His wife was unable to quiet him. She spoke to him in Japanese and in English trying to reason with him. Finally Mr. Gunderson took the couple to see Dr. Jacoby.

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Case #1 (with interpreter)

Age: 32	Marital status: Widow
Sex: Female	Times in Japan: None
Residence: 5704	Language: No English
Birthplace: Hawaii	
Immigrated to continental U.S.: 1928*	

"She didn't register, why?"

"She felt it was unnecessary."

"Her husband is dead?"

"Yes."

"Are both her parents living in Hawaii?"

"Her father is living in Japan."

"Has she brothers and sisters?"

"She has one brother in Hawaii, one in Japan. She has a sister who lives in this center."

"Does she feel she would rather raise her two boys in the United States or in Japan?"

"She wants to take them back to Japan."

"Her loyalties are with Japan?"

"Yes, because she is a Japanese citizen."

"That's all, thank you."

(Segregation list)

* According to the Individual Record Form, this person came to the United States in 1922. She stated positively that the correct date is 1928, not 1922. The Individual Record Form is evidently incorrect in this instance.

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Case #2 (with interpreter)

Age: 67	Immigrated to the U.S.: 1907
Sex: Male	Returned to Japan: Never
Residence: 505	Parents or relatives: No living relative in the United States nor in Japan.
Birthplace: Japan	

"Does he plan to go back to Japan?"

"Yes."

"He didn't register, why?"

"He didn't register because he's an old man and didn't think it necessary."

"Because of his citizenship he is loyal to Japan?"

"He is an old man and his sympathies are with Japan because he is a citizen of that country."

"That's all. Thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #3 (with interpreter)

Warden	Immigrated to the U.S.: 1911
Age: 48	Returned to Japan: Five short visits aggregating five years.*
Sex: Male	Parents: Father living in Japan
Birthplace: Japan	Property in Japan: As the oldest son, father's property will be his.

* No trips to Japan are recorded on the Individual Record Form for this person. This is another instance where the record sheet is inaccurate.

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Case #3 (continued)

"Does he plan to go to Japan to live?"

"Yes, he has in mind to return to Japan."

"He didn't register, would you ask him why?"

"Being a Japanese he didn't see the need to register again."

"Because he is a citizen of Japan he feels his sympathies lie there?"

"Yes, his loyalty is to Japan because he is a Japanese."

"His residence has been in the United States for many years; during that long residence here he has experienced many good things in this country and many bad things too. He feels that his future lies in Japan."

"That is all. Thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #4

Age: 19

Time in Japan: None

Sex: Male

Education: Completed high school

Birthplace: Seattle

Residence: 6908

"You registered and said "no", is that correct?"

"Yes."

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

"No."

"Any reasons?"

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

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Case #4 (continued)

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

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

"That's all. Thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #5

Age: 30

Education: 8 yrs. in Japan, 1 in US.

Sex: Male

Residence in Japan: 16 years, from
1913 to 1929.

Residence: 4506

Parents: Both living in Japan.

Birthplace: Placer County

Language: Reads, writes, Japanese.
Speaks and understands a little
English.

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

"Didn't understand."

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

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

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

"He hasn't thought of that."

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

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

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Case #5 (continued)

"Does he have any brothers in Japan?"

"Three."

"Any relatives in this country?"

"One brother and one sister."

"Where?"

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

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

"Definitely not. He wants to remain here."

"Are his brothers in Japan, in the Japanese army?"

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

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

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

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

(Segregation list)

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Case # 6 (with interpreter)

Age: 24	Education: 11 yrs. in Japan, no education in the United States.
Sex: Male	Residence in Japan: 1923 to 1938.
Birthplace: Marysville	Relatives: Parents, two brothers and a sister are living in Japan.
Residence: 4911	Language: No English.
Marital Status: Married	Occupation: Carpenter.

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

"His intentions are to return to Japan."

"His sympathies are with Japan?"

"Yes, with Japan."

"That's all, thank you."

Case #7 (wife of #6)

Age: 22	Education: In Stockton schools.
Sex: Female	Residence in Japan: None
Birthplace: Stockton	Language: Reads and writes English very well. Speaks and understands Japanese "fairly well".
Residence: 4911	
Marital Status: Married	

"You feel you are more American than Japanese?"

"I feel same as my husband."

"Did you register?"

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Case #7 (continued)

"Yes."

"How did you answer question 28?"

"No."

"Why?"

"Because I have to go with my husband."

"How would you answer it now?"

"The same."

"Because you want to stay with your husband?"

"Yes."

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

"I am."

"That's all, Thank you."

(Both were put on the segregation list)

Case #8 (with some help from an interpreter.)

Age: 59	Immigrated to the United States: 1903
Sex: Male	Returned to Japan: Never.
Birthplace: Japan	Relatives: Parents: "I guess they're all gone." Brothers or sisters:
Residence: 4414	"I hardly think so."

"Does he hope to return to Japan?"

"Yes, as soon as the war ends."

"Does he have any property in Japan?"

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Case #8 (continued)

"He doesn't know for sure."

"How does he feel about going to another center and waiting for the war to end?"

"He doesn't want to move anywhere until after the war. THAT IS THE MAIN REASON WHY HE DIDN'T REGISTER." (The latter point was stressed).

"Does he feel more loyalty to Japan."

"He hasn't been back, but he can't get it out of his mind."

"He doesn't feel disloyal (to the United States.)"

"Before the war he felt sympathetic to the United States. Since being put here, he feels more sympathy to Japan."

"That's all. Thank you."

(Segregation list)

Case #9

Age: 22	Education: 8 years education in Japan, 3 years in the United States.
Sex: Male	Residence in Japan: 1922-1937.
Residence: 2413	Language: Speaks and understands some English.
Birthplace: Wyoming	Relatives: Parents live in Japan, 3 brothers and 2 sisters also there. One brother in Tule Lake.

"You didn't register, why?"

"I didn't want to register."

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

"Yes."

"Do you feel more loyal to Japan."

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

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

(Segregation list).

Case #10 (with interpreter)

Age: 27	Residence in Japan: 1920 to 1930.
Sex: Male	Education: 8 years education in Japan, 2 years in the United States after his return.
Birthplace: Lodi, Calif.	
Residence: 2613	Relatives: Parents and a brother and sister are living in Japan. An older sister lives in Ariz.
Marital Status: Married	

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

"He's not definite yet."

"Does he have any property in Japan?"

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

"Was there any reason for his not registering?"

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

"Does he feel loyal to the United States?"

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

(His wife was then called)

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Case #11 (wife of #10)

Age: ?	Education: Completed high school
Sex: Female	Residence in Japan: None
Residence: 2613	Language: Speaks and understands Japanese but does read the language.
Birthplace: Walnut Grove	

"You registered, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"And answered 'No', why?"

"Because my folks are returning to Japan."

"How do you feel about question 28 now?"

"I can't change my answer now because I want to go with my husband."

"We're not going to separate families, we merely want to determine loyalty. You've worked here in the administration building enough to know that it isn't W.R.A. policy to separate families against their will. Can you feel loyal to the United States?"

"I certainly was before the evacuation. All of us changed our minds after the evacuation."

"Not all Nisei did."

"Oh yes!"

"That's all."

CONCLUSION

The segregation process is far from being completed. Much yet remains to be accomplished, many problems have yet to be solved. It is true that the work of preparing the evacuees for the segregation has been surprisingly effective thus far. The actual machinery required to effect the program has been worked out and is now beginning to function. Individual hearings are being held. The Social Welfare Department is carrying out its guidance and counselling work and is preparing destination lists. But no people have been moved yet. The whole segregation program is still in its early stages.

There are important problems which still confront the W.R.A. administration at Tule Lake. One of the most important of these problems concerns the disposition of those individuals who fail to show up for their interviews with the hearing board or at the Social Welfare Department, or who refuse to leave Tule Lake even though they are scheduled to leave for other centers.

The W.R.A. administration is reluctant to announce that force will be used to effect the program. The use of compulsion might possibly have serious effects upon the people and threaten the successful operation of the whole segregation process. Yet if it is not announced that force will be used against those refusing to co-operate, many evacuees will conclude that they can

resist being moved in they so desire. There are some evacuees who at present believe that they can remain at Tule Lake if they choose despite their declarations of loyalty to the United States. A few individuals have boldly asserted this.

In answer to rumors that Mr. Best had declared segregation a voluntary affair, a statement by the Project Director was published which gave evidence to the contrary, that segregation was not voluntary but compulsory.

Corlies Carter and Dr. Opler are much concerned with this problem at present. They are anxious to reach a solution of the problems before they are confronted with it.

The W.R.A. cannot promise that the segregation is compulsory and then allow those who refuse to leave remain at Tule Lake, even if certain privileges are taken away from them. Those who were willing to co-operate with the W.R.A. would feel that they have suffered again at the hands of the W.R.A. because of their willingness to co-operate. That feeling is strong enough already at Tule Lake, because it is those who declared their loyalty and registered according to W.R.A. instructions that are being required to move, and moving holds no charms for most of the evacuees. This is especially true because another center has few advantages over Tule Lake which would impel them to desire to change.

Carter and Opler are convinced that the problem of compulsion should be postponed until those willing to leave have left so that the use of compulsion will not have negative

affects among those willing to co-operate. When the others have departed from Tule Lake, some sort of force may have to be applied to compel those destined for other centers to leave.

In the meantime, Dr. Opler and Corlies Carter are studying the records of those refusing to call for interviews, attempting by this means to determine whether there are patterns of resistance. They are anxious to learn if the people of some blocks in particular are refusing to be interviewed or whether the individuals are scattered throughout the community. They are compiling statistics on the age and marital status of these persons for the same reason. In this manner they hope to learn enough about the resistance to be able to combat it effectively before the problem becomes important.

Q. Did you ever participate in any Japanese sport?

A. No. Except when we had picnics, where a person ran, high jumped, etc.

Q. That is not a peculiar Japanese sport. You never participated in Judo, Kendo, etc.?

A. No, no Japanese sport.

Q. Have you participated in any activities since you have been here besides your work on the newspaper and your art work?

A. No.

Q. Have you belonged to any Japanese organizations at any time either here or before you came here?

A. No.

Q. Have you belonged to any American organizations other than High School fraternities. Have you been a member of the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A. or any other organization?

A. No.

Q. What is your ability to speak Japanese?

A. At home all I spoke was English, but I can understand Japanese.

Q. Can you speak it?

A. A little bit.

Q. Can you read it?

A. A little bit.

Q. Can you write it?

A. I can write my name but not much more.

Q. Have you subscribed to or read Japanese periodicals or publications?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Have you contributed to any Japanese societies or funds of any sort, or any Japanese organizations of any sort whatsoever?

A. No.

Q. Have you contributed to any American societies or organizations?

A. Red Cross.

Q. Have you purchased any War Bonds or stamps?

A. Yes. I have a \$25 War Bond.

Q. Have you taken any part in American drives or anything of that sort in connection with raising funds?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been arrested or questioned by police?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever had any dealings with Internal Security at the Center or been questioned about any of your activities?

A. No.

- Q. When you first answered question 28 on the military registration questionnaire., you answered that question in the negative?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was that a true answer when you gave it?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Will you explain the reason for your answering the question that way?
- A. In the first place, the Japanese were put in camps while the American citizens of German and Italian ancestry were not. The conditions in the Assembly Center such as living in stables where there was no ventilation and in lining up for hours at a time in order to eat at a mess hall - those were the conditions which influenced me. The main reason was because we were in camp.
- Q. Did any one influence your decision in any way?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you arrive at all these conclusions by yourself?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And the sum total of your objections to this treatment led you to state that you refused to swear allegiance to the United States?
- A. Right.
- Q. Was that the part of the question you were answering in the negative or were you motivated in any way by the other part of the question which asked if you were loyal to Japan? Did that part of the question enter into it at all?
- A. What do you mean by that?
- Q. The question - "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization." You have stated that this request led you to refuse to say you would swear unqualified allegiance to the United States. Did you answer also lead you to feel you would swear ~~to~~ allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or did that enter into it at all?
- A. We were placed in these camps and the attitude of the press as it was then made me feel that maybe Japan was the place where I would have my best opportunity for the future.
- Q. So, at the time you answered this questions you were inclined to feel that you might be willing to swear allegiance to Japan?
- A. That is right.
- Q. Now, in other words, at the time you answered the question on February 11th you definitely felt this way about the United States?
- A. Yes.

Q. And one week later, I believe on February 18th, you expressed a desire to change your answer to Question 27?

A. Yes.

Q. You were willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States and you, I believe, did change your answer on that day?

A. Yes.

Q. Since that time, have you expressed a wish to change your answer to Question 28?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. About when did you make that application the first time?

A. When segregation hearings were begun. I don't remember exactly when that was. It was right after I had my segregation hearing.

Q. That was the early part of this year. Is that right?

A. Yes. It was my desire to have it changed when I had my hearing.

Q. Will you state the basis on which you wished to change your answer at that time? Why, at that time, did you wish to change your answer?

A. Over a year had passed since the war broke out. The attitude of the press had changed since we were first sent to camp and the fact that people were more willing to accept us as citizens and give us equal opportunities. These prompted me to change my answer.

Q. You speak about the press of the nation. How much of the press of the nation did you see during the period when you were disloyal to the United States?

A. Why I saw just the Pacific Coast papers, particularly the Los Angeles Times, Examiner and Herald Express.

Q. What led you to believe the attitude of those papers has changed in any way?

A. Their attitude has not changed but the papers in the Midwest and the East are favorable.

Q. Did you see those papers at the time you were bitter about the attitude of the West Coast?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. What basis of knowledge do you have that the rest of the country felt more kindly towards Japanese-American citizens at any time?

A. They seem to be very agreeable toward us, so I think that is a very healthy sign.

Q. Was your feeling of loyalty or lack of loyalty to the United States dependent entirely upon the attitude of the people and the press towards your minority racial group?

A. I would say yes.

Q. And if you discovered that the government or military policies might affect your minority group in a way which you considered unjust, would you on that basis either gain or lose loyalty to the United States?

A. Well, that would depend entirely on what happens to American citizens of German or Italian ancestry. If those policies might be put into operation against or were applied to Germans and Italians as well as Japanese, I would not mind, but on the other hand, if they applied only to us, then I would not know. I might change my answer.

Q. Are we supposed to infer from these answers that your loyalty or lack of loyalty to the United States is entirely selfish to quality?

A. It could be interpreted as selfish.

Q. I am asking you to interpret it for us. We are anxious to know whether it is based entirely upon the treatment which you received individually as a member of a minority racial group, or whether it is based upon the fact that you consider that democracy has so failed generally as to be an institution to which you cannot be loyal?

A. The two statements which you give are slightly disconnected, are they not?

Q. You will have to separate them and answer them. What I am driving at is this. You are doubtless aware that during the period when you were growing up, if you studied American history, at all times there has been oppression of one class or race by another, based upon race prejudice or class hatred. You are probably also aware of the fact that today there are certain oppressions in the southern states against negroes which do not exist as far as white people are concerned, although both are citizens in the eye of the law and the Constitution. Does the fact that the southern states, to some extent, oppress negroes cause you to be disloyal to the United States, or is it only when the oppression reaches you personally through the group of which you are a member that your loyalty to the United States wavers?

A. I would say that if it affected me personally, I would change my answer. It would depend upon how I am treated personally.

Q. In other words, when I asked you if your loyalty or disloyalty is based entirely upon what we might consider the treatment of yourself, the answer to that would be "Yes?"

A. Yes.

Q. All I can say is this. Is your loyalty which you now profess caused by a change of attitude towards loyalty to the fundamental principles of this country as you learned them in school and college, loyalty to the principles of democracy as set forth in the Constitution of the United States and all the different states and the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation and the other documents which Americans point to as indicative of the government we are supposed to have, or is based upon how nearly the governing bodies, governing individuals--people of the United States--arrive at successful administration of those principles with regard to your own personal place in the population of this country?

A. While the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are all fine documents, they are only documents. It would depend entirely upon how their administration is handled by the people and those documents can only stand as long as the people desire to carry out those principles.

Q. I assume from your original answer to Question 28 that your belief was that the constitutional provisions broke down and failed in so far as the treatment of your group was concerned.

- A. I would not say that the documents broke down but the interpretations broke down.]
- Q. What test of the interpretation have you made, or what attempt have you made to test the strength of those documents in relation to your own situation?
- A. First, we have been promised that we could pursue happiness, a very important principle. I don't think that was possible in the assembly centers or in the relocation centers.
- Q. I am afraid again that you misunderstand the Constitution of the United States, the fundamental law of the United States. As you know, there are judicial bodies throughout the United States up to and including the United States Supreme Court. There are tribunals in which every citizen and every alien may complain of any injustice or violation forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. You are aware of that, are you not?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You feel that there has been injustice and discrimination in your particular case-- in the case of people of Japanese ancestry? What effort have you made to preserve your rights through the democratic channels of the United States?
- A. I have not made any personal effort, but I think a certain person in Portland, Oregon, and another fellow who lives on the Pacific Coast, made that test and took their cases to the Supreme Court.
- Q. Are you familiar with the results?
- A. I am not too familiar, but some of the cases that the Supreme Court passed were unfavorable, were they not?
- Q. You personally, however, have made no effort in your own favor?
- A. No.
- Q. Have you considered any legal aid which is free, which is offered in most any community through the Bar Association or through the other channels or employing a lawyer, in the event that you or your family wanted to do that? Have you taken that step?
- A. No, I haven't.
- Q. Do you consider it fair to condemn a system of government or to relinquish your loyalty to a system of government without giving it a chance to see whether it works or not?
- A. I haven't tested it but these people I mentioned before tested it.
- Q. What I am afraid of is that your original answer and your desire to change were based solely and exclusively upon your own selfish interests, without any regard to your rights or obligations as a citizen. I would like to have you demonstrate to me that I am wrong. If you feel that you are being dealt with with absolute fairness--I want you to be fair to yourself and I want you to be fair to us; but what can I conclude except that your loyalty depends upon how the officials of the press and the people of the United States deal with you personally? Would you serve in the United States Army?
- A. Yes, I would.

Q. Would you serve in the United States Army regardless of whether you were loyal to the United States or not?

A. If I had said I were disloyal, I don't think I would, but I am loyal now and would serve in the Army.

Q. If you were refused leave clearance, would you serve in the United States Army?

A. If I were drafted, I would, yes.

GOODMAN:

Q. That one answer to that question right there--if you were drafted. We know you would serve then, but would you be willing to serve?

A. Yes, I would be.

Q. Are you loyal enough to serve or just serve because you had to serve?

A. You know if I did not want to stay here and if I did not want to serve in the United States Army, I would repatriate to Japan, would I not?

You would ask for it probably.

TERRY:

Q. Under what circumstances would you volunteer for service in the United States Army?

A. It is difficult to say. It would depend upon the time.

Q. Give a set of circumstances under which you would volunteer.

A. Well, I would volunteer if the Japanese people were allowed to return to the Pacific Coast because the threat of invasion by Japan no longer exists.

Q. Would you, under those circumstances, volunteer for service in the Pacific?

A. Yes.

Q. You would have no objection to fighting against your people?

A. No, no objection.

ROGERS:

Q. I have a man working for me who has asked for repatriation. He made a lot of money in the United States. I asked him why he was repatriating and he said his family was in Japan. Then I asked him what his reason was for repatriating in Japan and he said he would go over until this thing is over and then come back. I wonder what your attitude is toward that story. What is going to happen to him in Japan and what will he do when he comes back to the United States. He has made lots of money here in the United States, he has lots of property, and we are talking about loyalty and treatment, etc, here. What do you think of his reception when he lands in Japan and when he comes back to the United States to make more money? Do you think he will be allowed to keep all that money over there? Do you think when the war is over he will be allowed to come back to the United States? So you think that is a true program which he can work out?

A. No, I don't think so, I would not call him a very fine person. He certainly is not patriotic.

TERRY:

Q. If your feelings were based upon inadequate information, not knowing how the country as a whole felt, and if you failed to exercise your rights as a citizen by seeking redress in the courts of the United States, would you still feel that

it was not up to you to do anything, not up to you to find out how the rest of the country felt, but so long as you were being oppressed in newspapers, would you be justified in declaring yourself disloyal to the United States? Do you see the point?

A. But would not a person not a Japanese have the same ideas? Would he not answer the same way if he were put into camp?

Q. I am not asking about anybody else. I am asking about you.

A. The thing is, what knowledge is acquired by an individual would affect his decision and if the attitude of the press of the nation was not known to you, then I think even you would answer the same way.

Q. Let me put it this way. If somebody assaulted you on the street without justification and broke your jaw and knocked some teeth out, and injured you, and if you had gone up to the policeman on the corner and asked him to arrest this person and you knew who it was who assaulted you, and the policeman refused to do it, would you feel justified, for instance in killing the policeman?

A. No, I would not.

Q. Why not?

A. Because the policeman is not responsible for my broken jaw.

Q. He is responsible for your immediate deprivation of your rights, isn't he?

A. Yes, I would report him to his superiors.

Q. What else would you do?

A. I would find another policeman.

Q. You would not take that action because you know you could get redress in other ways. Now then, suppose that you failed to do any of those things or nothing about it, would you feel justified in stating that law and order had completely broken down in that community and that you had no use for that type of government.?

A. If I were persecuted outside, at least I would have my liberty and it would make me fight.

Q. Suppose you went to Cleveland, got off the train and a policeman took you and locked you up in jail because you looked like a Japanese?

A. I would get a lawyer and see if I could get out.

Q. You would not have your liberty then, would you?

A. I would have liberty in my grasp.

Q. What difference is there?

A. The thing is, if I had the opportunity to go outside, I would be more free than I am here.

Q. Have you been deprived of permission to communicate with lawyers?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever, for instance, come to the office of the Project Attorney here and asked to obtain a lawyer?

A. No.

Q. Don't you think you have neglected to even attempt to protect your own rights?

A. I guess I have.

Q. Don't you think that your answer, in the fact of such neglect, is not logical? The situation is the same. It is not changed. Any change which appears to you is unreal, transitory. People throughout the United States have not changed their attitude as a whole towards your racial minority group. If anything, the change would have been for the worse because of the force which comes out of the Pacific because some people are unable to distinguish between an enemy alien and a citizen of this country and that situation will probably get worse.

A. I have many friends who have relocated. I have not heard of a single case where a person has failed because of the attitude outside.

Q. You were living here, outside of California, for many months before you answered that question. I think we have gone far enough, but I am trying to get you to understand the basic reasoning which led you to answer this question and your own failure to acquire knowledge of the situation and protect your own rights-- you say would not anybody in the same situation answer the question as you did. It is my own opinion that the majority would certainly have not answered it that way I would not. I would have exercised my legal rights.

A. You, as a lawyer, would be closer to those things.

Q. There has been a lawyer right here. You haven't even attempted to consult a lawyer inside or outside. You haven't raised a finger to protect your rights. How can you blame a situation when you have not done anything?

A. I have been a school-boy almost all of my life and led a sheltered life, but I know that there is no excuse for me not doing anything about it.

GOODMAN:

Q. You are asking to do everything now that democracy stands for?

A. Yes. I am.

Q. The thing that those other boys who are fighting for the United States would like to do?

A. Yes.

HEARING CONCLUDED

No risk, but cannot affirmatively recommend clearance. Does not possess a real sense of loyalty.

James A. Terry
Committee Chairman