

*Feldman*

James Sakoda on Segregation

June 26, 1943. Segregation.

Don Elberson believes that segregation will take place sooner or later. He has heard from Mr. Coverley that this matter was seriously discussed at the directors meeting in Washington. They also surmised that if segregation [were to take place Tule Lake would most likely be chosen as the "black" center -- the center in which the disloyal ones would be rounded up.]

July 10, 1943. Opler on Segregation.

Opler had received a letter from Province asking him what he thought would happen if segregation were to take place. He has been asking various colonists what they thought about segregation. In his discussion with JS the following points were brought out.

First Opler showed JS a newspaper clipping from the San Francisco Chronicle, giving Myers's testimony before the Dies' Committee. Myers is reputed to have said that there was going to be a great change inside of the centers and that 6300 Niseis were going to be put into a segregation camp. Both Opler and JS believe that this is a result of the pressure being put on the WRA from reactionary elements in Congress to hinder the resettlement program of the WRA and their attempt to put the camps under Army rule. Opler believes that the WRA is too concerned about these congressmen, and thinks that it would be better if they were ignored. JS recalled that ever since the Manzanar incident there has been a tendency on the part of the WRA and newspaper accounts to blame incidents inside a center upon a group of agitators or disloyal Japanese. Consequently, there has been a continuous clamor for segregation of these disloyal elements. Until now, there has been no basis for this segregation, and some people believe that the registration offers just such a basis. That the WRA is seriously considering segregation of some sort can be seen from the fact that inquiries are being sent out to social analysts to get their opinion on the matter of segregation.

JS questioned the basis for segregation. Opler offered three -- repatriation, non-registration, and a negative answer to question 28. He presumed that all three might be employed, in which case a large number would be involved and the resulting upheaval within the projects would be great. Both Opler and JS agreed that non-registration and a negative answer to question 28 did not show loyalty or disloyalty. There were so many other factors, such as mishandling by the administration, that it would be grossly unfair to determine loyalty-disloyalty on the basis of those answers alone. Both saw the feasibility of another registration or allowing those who wanted to change their answer if the registration were to be used as a basis for determining loyalty. JS felt that repatriation would offer the best basis for segregation. The number involved, in the first place, would not be very large. If they were to be exchanged with prisoners in Japan, they would have to be removed from the centers anyway. The issue in repatriation was clearer -- those applying for it knew that they would stand the chance of being sent back to Japan. The registration was compulsory but repatriation was not. But there were a large number who took out repatriation papers during the heat of registration. Many of them did so to avoid the necessity of registering. Consequently, even if repatriation is used as a basis for segregation JS believed that those who asked for repatriation should be given a chance to change their minds if they want to.

Opler, on the other hand, doubted the wisdom of even segregating those who repatriated. In the first place, he questioned whether those who took out repatriation papers really wanted to return to Japan. He also felt that segregation as a

2

James Sakoda on Segregation

means of appeasing the reactionaries would not succeed. No matter what the WRA did it would be criticized, and segregation might only give the reactionaries more ammunition, just as the registration did. Opler's sympathy seems to be very much with the evacuees. He hoped to use as an argument against segregation the fact that a large number of families would be broken up, and the fact that there would be trouble again within the projects. Also, he could see no good that would come of segregation, just as he saw no advantage in limiting those who could hold elective positions in the City Council to those who answered "yes" to question 28. Both Opler and JS pointed out that segregation was bound to slow up the resettlement program.

Here we find a fundamental difference in viewpoint on camp government. On the one hand, we find the WRA instructions specifying that the disloyal shall not be allowed to hold office. Opler's contention is, however, that there was trouble within the center because Isseis were not allowed to hold office previously. The same thing would happen if only the so-called loyal ones were allowed to run the camp. Segregation would be based on the assumption that there is a clear-cut difference between the two and that they can be identified in some way.

It seems that the WRA is again being confused by a change in policy. Opler says that the last time he talked to Myers he was talking about a "positive segregation." By this he probably meant that the loyal ones would receive help in resettling, and that the disloyal ones would remain within the center. This type of segregation, which is desirable, is bound to go on as long as evacuees leave the project. They cannot leave without first being cleared by the FBI. If this keeps up, however, there is bound to be a larger proportion of people left in the project who are considered disloyal. In many ways this is desirable because it encourages those who are considered to be loyal to leave the project, if only to avoid association with people with whom they have little in common. But it means that the reactionaries would have increasing reason for pointing out that the centers are filled with disloyal people. In other words, the program of "positive segregation" was essentially sound in every respect. Restriction of the rights of those who were considered "disloyal" served no purpose except to encourage those who were loyal to remain longer within the project, aside from causing general dissatisfaction. Segregation would be just another type of restriction on the disloyal, which would be a hindrance to the resettlement program. One good that segregation would do would be to appease reactionaries in Congress and give the WRA more security, although sufficient trouble could be generated by such a process to give more ammunition to the reactionaries. It might also eliminate a number of trouble makers and make it easier for the others to run the project more smoothly, and ease some pressure toward disloyalty.

It should also be pointed out that loyalty and disloyalty as one observes it in people is a matter of degree. On the one hand, we find persons who are willing to volunteer for combat duty or for Camp Savage, others who are willing to contribute their labor, while on the other hand, we find those who are apathetic, those who sympathize with Japan, and finally those who actively support pro-Axis sentiments. It is probably true that the segregation of those who are considered "dangerous" would eliminate one source of trouble in the projects. But at the same time such a procedure would revive resentment and a fear of "informers" and may start another major incident. The main problem here is one of attempting to identify a "dangerous" individual. Presumably, at the time of registration the more dangerous ones were sent to an isolation camp. If segregation

3

James Sakoda on Segregation

must take place, it seems best to limit it to a very small number of the extremists. For the rest, it would seem more profitable to offer better opportunities for resettlement.

July 12, 1943. Segregation.

Dr. Jacoby said that he himself was not in favor of segregation, but that if it should come, he would make use of it to get some undesirable people out of this center. He thought that Myers was really not in favor of segregation, either. He felt that the only reason that Myers would carry out such a step would be in order to appease the reactionaries in Congress. It was a step calculated to give some concession in order that the WRA would not lose everything. He seemed to imply that from this angle segregation would have significance. But he thought that it was a negative measure.

Dr. Jacoby felt that the group most likely to be segregated would be those who had taken out repatriation papers. There were more than 500 of those, and more than half of them Niseis. The segregation of these people had been talked about since last fall. Shirrell, for instance, was in favor of having them removed from the center along with "agitators." JS agreed with Dr. Jacoby that the issue in case of repatriation was relatively clear. However, those who took out repatriation papers during registration really didn't mean that they wanted to return to Japan, and some have cancelled their repatriation since. Both agreed that segregation of those who did not register and who answered no to Question 28 would involve a great deal of injustice. Dr. Jacoby hoped that if segregation did take place that it would not be mechanical, but the result of great care and investigation.

JS felt that segregation would have significance only as an appeasement policy, but Dr. Jacoby felt that some good would result if some of the more troublesome people who were obstructing the resettlement program, for instance, were taken out. JS pointed out the error of thinking in terms of loyal and disloyal, which to him were relative matter. While he agreed that the removal of the more extremists would help, he did not expect a great deal of improvement from such a recourse. It was difficult to draw the line between the desirable and the undesirable; too much antagonism toward the administration would be rekindled, and the more loyal ones would be accused of having informed. Both agreed that mechanical procedure of segregating on the basis of the registration [was not helpful. JS wanted to know how the more disloyal ones would be identified, without getting the more loyal ones into trouble.

Dr. Jacoby felt that with the cooperation of the more loyal ones, the trouble makers could be identified to his satisfaction and be sent to the segregation center. He said that it required a great many reports which had to be checked against each other in order to determine a troublemaker. He wanted to know why the more loyal ones couldn't help in identifying these persons since it would add to their own welfare. He gave the illustration of a fellow who said that there was a troublemaker in his block who would be picked up sooner or later. He was afraid that in case he should be picked up, he himself would be blamed for informing the administration. So he said he might as well tell everything now. He did so, requesting at the same time that the matter be handled in such a way as to free him of suspicion. This was done, Dr. Jacoby said, and he ~~hasn't been~~ hasn't been troubled ever since. What he couldn't understand was why the people were not more willing to cooperate in getting rid of the troublemakers. Even his wardens were likely to hush up an incident rather than to bring them up for trial. Lately he has taken those responsible for gambling joints to

4

James Sakoda on Segregation

jail outside. While he always didn't get the real leaders, he knew that he was making it uncomfortable for them to continue to operate. When some people were beaten up during registration, he was able to arrest a few in each case and send them to Leupp. He feels that for this reason we now have less fear of another beating. He does not see why those obstructing resettlement cannot be removed, with a little cooperation from the people.

JS pointed out his own point of view on the matter. As he was a research worker, he did not dare cooperate with the administration in identifying trouble-makers. Because of the nature of his work, he was likely to be suspected anyway of being an informer, and he could not run the risk of having any connection with the administration. For the same reason he could not advocate resettlement openly because it would antagonize some people and would make them inaccessible to him. While the pressure brought to bear upon him might be small at times, it could be strong enough at other times to make it impossible to do any further research work or to live in the community. Dr. Jacoby then asked him what his stand would be if he were not a research worker. JS said that even then he would not point to a person as being dangerous except in extreme cases. He might if a person were thinking of beating someone up or contemplating sabotage. But he was doubtful whether he would do anything about a man who went around telling people that it was wrong to resettle. While it was opposing administrative policies, JS could not see that it was sufficient grounds for having him removed. Such matters were best left up to the wardens, whose duty it was to look into such matters. If they were unwilling to do anything about it, he did not see why he should meddle with it either.

Part of this reluctance, JS pointed out, was based on the resentment from evacuation being centered upon the administration. Dr. Jacoby said that he understood this, but still didn't see why he couldn't get more cooperation, even from his wardens. JS concluded that it was a racial matter, perhaps. The people were loyal to their own race. Even when they were being mistreated, they would prefer to suffer in silence, rather than turn someone in. They would much rather get a band of strong<sup>arm</sup> men and protect themselves than ask help of the administration. Informing is about the worse thing a person can be accused of, and he would rather not run that risk. Dr. Jacoby wondered if it weren't better if these people cooperated with the administration and had the dangerous ones removed. JS pointed out that the pressure would still be forthcoming from other people if one were suspected of informing. After all, one had to eat in the same messhall and use the same showerroom. It would be a little different if you could live in your own home and do your shopping at a store.

Rumors.

Both Joe Hayes and Coverley are resigning soon. This rumor was heard in both Block 25 and Block 71.

Segregation is going to begin on August 1. This was heard on the farm. It was also stated that all those who repatriated, who did not register, and who answered "no" to Question 28 were to be segregated.

Those who registered are going to be asked to leave this Project.

July 13, 1943. Planning Board (P.B.)

JS went to the PB yesterday afternoon to see how things were coming along. Opler was discussing the possible repercussions of the announced segregation with Mr. Yoshida. Watanabe was just sitting at his desk, while Lily Nakamura was

## James Sakoda on Segregation

standing, doing or saying nothing. Dr. Kuki came in later, and so did Kent Morimune. The first announcement of the segregation had been released in the Dispatch, and everyone was concerned about the possible repercussion. All of the PB members seemed to agree that they didn't want to become involved in another trouble, which they speculated might be worse than the registration incident.

Dr. Opler's prime concern was to find out what might happen, so that he could point out in his report to Washington what to expect and how to avoid trouble. He was still against segregation, and was intent on fighting it, although he realized that a Senate resolution was not anything to be trifled with.

Mrs. Yoshida thought that there was going to be a great deal of trouble -- worse than the one Tule Lake had during registration. She couldn't see what good would come of it all. The others could not say definitely what would happen, but they seemed to fear the worse. Kent thought that there would be a great deal of trouble, too, and that the resettlement program would come to a standstill. Although the P.B. had received pressure from various hotheaded individuals, the PB members did not feel that the removal of the so-called disloyal would improve anything in the center here.

### Watanabe.

Watanabe's attitude probably showed best of all the reaction of those who would be involved in the segregation. He said, "What do I care. Let it come. I'm not afraid. I'm not going to change anything." This attitude of defiance will probably be the dominant mood of those who are to be segregated.

JS pointed out the possibility of a riot if the people thought of resisting the segregation process. They could refuse to attend the court trials, or they could refuse to leave the project. If soldiers had to be brought in to carry out the segregation, the chances for a riot were very good. The others did not seem to be impressed with this possibility.

### Issei Meeting with Coverley.

The other questions were not important. Toward the end one man asked how the segregation between the loyal and the disloyal would be effected. Mr. Coverley's reply was that he did not know more than was mentioned in the Dispatch this evening. He said that he was in favor of segregation from over a year ago, and thought that it should have been effected at the time people were moved from the assembly centers to the relocation centers. This statement will probably be one of the main sources of friction between the colonists and the administration. Practically no evacuee sees any good in the segregation. Coverley is heartily in favor of it.

### Reaction to Segregation in Block 25.

Yesterday evening the segregation made a little stir in the block, but not a great one. The Isseis did not seem to know the details of the announcement very well, while even some Niseis had not read the Dispatch. The only definite remarks heard by JS were made by several boys about 20 to 25 years of age. Their attitude was: "What do we care. Let it come. We'll go wherever they take us. We're not afraid." But behind their attitude, JS could feel a sense of fear lurking in the background. They seemed to be more afraid of showing any fear than anything else.

James Sakoda on Segregation

Mrs. Akahoshi on Segregation.

Mrs. Akahoshi has been in favor of registration, and consequently is not in sympathy with the rest of the people in her block; most of whom were at best reluctant to register. Her reaction to the announcement of the segregation process was one of wanting to feel that her family had done the right thing and consequently would not be troubled by the segregation process. She said: "Both Mr. Akahoshi and I answered 'yes' to question 28. Of course, Ziggy answered 'no' to that question, but he ought to be all right because he changed it right away." JS, however, pointed out the fact that Ziggy would probably have to go through the hearing before he was cleared of the charge of being disloyal.

Ziggy was recently married and moved to Block 41 to live. But since there are indications in that sector already of trouble because of the impending segregation process, she wants him to move to some other ward.

July 14, 1943. Mrs. Kaya on Segregation and Resettlement.

Mrs. Kaya is a Kibei girl who has been married to her husband for about ten years now. She has spent her days in America prior to evacuation working as [a maid in a home, where her husband worked also as the cook. Because of her contact with the Caucasian family, she does not feel so resentful toward Caucasians in general. Also, both she and her husband do not feel so resentful of the evacuation, for one thing, because they did not have very much to lose. In fact, for Mrs. Kaya, life in a relocation center is a vacation since she is not required to work at present. Her present ideas and feelings reveal some of the factors which contribute toward her attitude toward resettlement and segregation. The following is the gist of a conversation between JS and Mrs. Kaya:

JS: "I'm afraid that lot of families are going to be split by the segregation."

K: "I don't mind at all. I can go someplace else from my husband."

JS: "Did you answer 'no'?"

K: "Well, my husband he toru (told) me tsu (to) ansa (answer) 'no.' I do as he say." (This in English. Most of the time she spoke in Japanese. Note the change of tongue when wanting to admit something embarrassing.)

JS: "And did he answer 'yes'?"

K: "I donto (don't) know. Maybe Ishizuka-san and Kishiyama-san dat way, too."

JS: "Do you think they're the same? My gosh. It may mean that all of you may have to be separated."

K: "Oh, America won't do such a thing as to separate husbands and wives." (Note a degree of trust in the American way.) It doesn't matter in what sort of camp you are; you'll be housed and fed in the same way. I don't care where I'm sent, as long as they take care of me."

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

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

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

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

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

K: "I tell you it's not laziness. My husband tells me that I don't have to work unless I feel like it. He knows that I've worked hard until now,

and that if we go out I'll have to work hard again. (Note her intention to go out.) Maybe, you don't know, but it's a very great strain trying to get along with a Hakujin. I remember when I still didn't know much English and had only started to work for the Browns, they wanted me to go to their summer house in Lake Tahoe. I didn't want to go, but I had to go along. I had to do a lot of work, taking care of the children, lighting the wood stove, getting breakfast, taking care of parties till late at night. I didn't get to sleep till about 11:30 every night. Then once when I asked for more roast beef to make another sandwich, Mrs. Brown exclaimed, "Gosh." I didn't know English then, but I knew what she meant. I felt so bad that I wanted to go home. Her son cut the meat for me later, but after that I didn't feel well. And they gave me so much work to do. I finally insisted on going home when Mrs. Brown went back to Walnut Grove to keep an engagement. I told my husband all about it, and he complained to Mrs. Brown that I was being overworked. Mrs. Brown apologized, asked me to go back to Lake Tahoe again. I didn't want to, but I went because my husband thought that it would be better if I did. They treated me much nicer after than, but I still remember it all."

(Both Mr. and Mrs. Kaya are satisfied with life in a camp, and do not mind staying for the duration. But they are not without plans of someday resettling, since they want to work several more years before returning to Japan. But faced with the possibility of being forced into segregation camp, she recalls all of the arguments against resettling. This incident which occurred years ago, has seared its imprint on her delicate nature. But her subsequent good relationship with the Browns had effected a satisfactory adjustment, removing the feelings of inferiority, insecurity, shame attendant to a position of domestic servant. But with the possibility of segregation these feelings come back to her again.)

Mr. Kaya on Segregation.

Mr. Kaya is a levelheaded person, and was in favor of registration. He is dogmatic, however, and while he does not succumb to the fantastic notions held by some of the Isseis, he sticks to his interpretation of matters at times. This often is at fault because he does not know all of the factors which underly a problem. His attitude toward segregation reveals this. That he or his wife stand the possibility of being included in the segregated group probably puts him on the defensive on this matter. This is an after-dinner conversation that took place between JS and Mr. Kaya in front of his place.

JS: "The Dispatch hasn't printed the translation of the announcement of the segregation, yet, has it?"

K: "No. What did it say?"

JS: "It's something like this. They want to separate the loyal from the disloyal, and put the disloyal in a separate camp. Those who repatriated are sure of being put in the disloyal camp. Others will have to go through a court hearing. Then those in the disloyal camp will not be allowed to go out to work."

K: "Ah, you know what. They are getting ready to throw the loyal ones out of the centers. They're going to say that they have no right to keep the loyal ones inside a camp, and hence they're going to be told to leave. I know."

JS: "If you know for **sure**, I suppose there's no sense in my talking."

K: "Even if you're in a segregation camp, you're going to be housed and fed just as we are now. And you can be assured of staying for the duration."

8

James Sakoda on Segregation

If you're in the loyal camp, you're going to be asked to leave. How else can you interpret this segregation?"

JS: "Well, it's something like this. Up till now all of the incidents within a center were explained away as being caused by disloyal elements. Consequently, the outside public was given the impression that if the disloyal ones were segregated, law and order could be maintained within the centers. Now, the WRA received a great deal of pressure from the Dies Committee and members of Congress to separate the loyal from the disloyal. The Senate passed a resolution to that effect. Now, even if the WRA does not wish to carry on segregation, it has to. There are people on the outside who do not like the Japanese who want to keep them inside of the centers. That's because they don't like the Japanese. The WRA wants to get them out. What we have to think about is whether it will be more profitable to go out or to stay in. If we are to go out, it's going to be much harder after the war."

K: "Yes, that's right. After the last war I was working with 18 others in a big restaurant. The owner liked us very much and said that he couldn't get along without us. But he had to let us go because veterans demanded our positions. He asked us to come to see him again and to be good. That's the way it's going to be again." (Mr. Kaya was impressed with what JS said. Probably he saw light, where it was all darkness before. He was able to see things in better perspective.)

JS: "The Yasui and Hirabayashi case decisions upheld the legality of the evacuation, but it did not show that it was legal to hold citizens in a camp without good reason. They are going to hold hearings which will determine a person's loyalty or disloyalty in order to be able to hold the disloyal in a camp. Of course, you can't tell whether they'll throw out the loyal ones or not."

K: "Yes, I think they're going to do it right this time. I don't think that the people are going to make a lot of mistakes by listening to poor leaders again. They learned their lesson the last time."

JS: "I don't know about that. There's still a possibility of a riot if they bring in soldiers to try to get people out of here."

Talk about Segregation

Hattie Kurose asked JS whether they might not go through with the segregation process, and JS thought that they would go through with it. She and others were wondering where people from Tule Lake would go, if it is selected as the segregation center. There is talk that the people from Tule Lake will go to Arkansas. Movement between centers have been stopped, and the Funai family is without much to wear because they were going to another center and sent their baggage on ahead. It is being rumored that some families are preparing for movement already. Hattie asked her parents whether they shouldn't start buying some rope and getting some boxes together. Mrs. Kurose has heard a rumor that on July 19 they are going to announce the names of those who are to be moved. Perhaps, it is a confusion with the list of families requested by Japan for exchange.

July 15, 1943. Mr. Kubo on Segregation.

Mr. Kubo, the General Manager of the Co-op, had this to say about segregation yesterday: "There probably won't be so much trouble. There may be some but I don't think there will be much of it. We may have to liquidate the Co-op if the majority of the people have to leave the Project, but it's better not to because it's so hard to start a Co-op."

Nish Kumagai on Segregation.

Nish was talking to a man who wanted some young fellows to move in with some other fellows to vacate an apartment in his block. Nish thought that it could

9

James Sakoda on Segregation

be done, but ended up with the advice: "Maybe the best thing to do is to let the matter remain as it is at present. Until segregation is completed we don't know who may have to leave, and it's not worth the trouble to bother with changes just now."

July 16, 1943. Harry Mayeda on Segregation.

The registration issue came as a surprise to most people -- including the administration and the evacuees. Segregation, however, was vaguely expected by many people, and now that it has been announced, more attention is being given to it than was given to the handling of the registration. There is evidence of more cooperation between the administrative officials and evacuee leaders, both intent on avoiding the trouble they incurred on the earlier issue. The Social Analyst, for instance, has already been consulted on the possible effect of the segregation process. The Project Director has called together a group of leaders to discuss ways and means to avoid unnecessary complications caused by lack of information and misunderstanding. These points have been brought out in an interview with Harry Mayeda. The following is his account of the development of the segregation process.

When Myer last visited the Project, he assured Harry and other leaders who had an interview with him that he was against any sort of "negative segregation." He desired positive segregation, whereby the more loyal ones would be resettled on the outside, rather than attempt to segregate the disloyal element. Possibly due to pressure from the Dies Committee and other reactionary elements on the outside, Myer was required to put into effect the segregation of the loyal from the disloyal. The decision to carry out the segregation was reached in Washington. The Project Directors were consulted on this matter in June at a meeting of all of the project directors, but at that time no definite decision had been reached.

The segregation was first announced in the Dispatch on Monday, July 12. On Thursday, July 15, Coverley called a meeting of leaders from both the administrative staff and the colonists to discuss the impending segregation. Those present included Harkness, John D. Cook, Dr. Ichihashi, Kuramoto (President of the Board of Directors of the Cooperative Enterprises), Kihei Ikeda (from the Planning Board), Bob Shirai (Executive Secretary of the CC), Harry Mayeda, and Rev. Tanabe. Neither Zimmer nor Frank C. Smith were present. Perhaps they were invited, but could not attend. Joe Hayes was in his office across the corridor, but he was not asked in. Coverley probably found out his competence, although it took him a long time to do so. (Since the nature of the meeting was to discuss means of getting proper information to the people, Coverley perhaps felt that it was unnecessary to call in his inner circle of division chiefs. On the other hand, the liberal elements of the administration were not called in, either.)

Coverley announced that he expected the procedures of the segregation to arrive soon. At the present time he did not have any more information than which appeared in the Dispatch. He and the Project Attorney, Silverthorne, were leaving for a conference of project directors in Denver to receive instructions. Several points were brought up for discussion. First, it was felt that the full information should be allowed to reach the people with the least amount of distortion. For this purpose the Dispatch, both English and Japanese sections, would be utilized to the fullest. Since delegates of ten failed to convey the correct information back to the people, it was suggested that meetings should be held on a ward basis, perhaps in the high school gymnasium, where the problem could be discussed fully. (Note the need for a large assembly hall for better contact between leaders and the people.) Another consideration that was taken up was a

10

James Sakoda on Segregation

counseling service for individual families which would find difficulty arriving at a decision because of lack of understanding or split within the family. Such a service which arose from the people was thought to be a good idea. There was also a discussion of demands that the project director might take to the conference in Denver to avoid mistakes. One question that was brought up was that if the repatriates were not going to be tried at all, it would cause some injustice, since many people took out repatriation papers only to avoid registration. (Note this gesture to consult the evacuee leaders.) Some hypothetical cases, including those involving family splits, were discussed, but no definite conclusions were reached.

More meetings of this type are expected in the future, meaning closer cooperation between the administration and the evacuees.

July 17, 1943. Ward V on Segregation

Many people believe that the segregation process is not going to raise as much trouble as did the registration issue. There is reason to believe, however, that in Ward V, where there are a large number of people who will be called up for a hearing, there is more tension than in other sectors of the city. JS asked Matsuda how things were coming along there, and he replied that he really did not know. The day segregation was announced he went to the mess-hall in the evening and found boys that he sat with acting a little queerly toward him. He did not know the reason for this until he went back to his apartment and read the Dispatch for that day. He could see no reason for the boys reviving the attitude of suspicion and resentment toward which they maintained during registration. The funny part of it all is that many people in his block believe that he answered "yes" to Question 28, whereas in reality he answered "no." One man from his block that did mention segregation to him said, "We're going to have a lot of trouble again."

If tension in Ward V has not really mounted as yet, at least it is being rumored by people in other Wards. Mrs. Akahoshi from Block 25 said: "My son, Ziggy, was married recently and moved to Block 41. But I hear trouble is already starting in that Ward, and I think it's going to be safer to have him moved out of that ward now." This rumor cannot be entirely unfounded, because Mrs. Akahoshi has friends in Ward V from Oakland, but who moved out to the White Zone.

George Ike on Registration.

Right after dinner yesterday JS sat in the shade with George Ike. George has been one of the few people in the block who has consistently greeted JS in a friendly manner. The conversation ran somewhat as follows:

JS: "Well, when are the wedding bells going to ring?" (George is engaged to Clara Sakamoto.)

George: "I don't know, with this segregation coming up."

JS: "Why don't you get married before it takes place."

George: "But supposing Clara answered 'no' and I answered 'yes.'"

JS: "Do you think she answered 'no?'"

George: "No, but how about my family. I don't think that my parents answered 'no,' but I think my sisters did."

JS: "I suppose girls would be more likely to do what their parents tell them to do."

George: "I'm afraid so. John Itoda and I were the only ones in this block that were going to go register the first day at the Ad Building. Then I talked to some Kibeis who discouraged me. At that time kids in Block 26 and 27

//

James Sakoda on Segregation

and all of my friends were against registering and I thought it was best to avoid trouble. Consequently, I went and took our repatriation papers with the others, but of course I cancelled that right away."

JS: "What happened the morning we were supposed to register? Did you attend the meeting proposed by the representatives from Block 42?"

George: "No, I kept away because I had intended to register. I attended a meeting of Kibeis in Ward III, and I bet you that they themselves didn't know what they were saying. I could have made a better speech myself. They didn't know what they were doing. Maybe I should have come out stronger for registering, but I thought it was better not to stir up any trouble."

Analysis: Here we find community pressure at work to make a fellow change his mind on an important issue. George was too intimately tied up with the community to ignore the majority decision.

Segregation.

Among those who fear that they will be classified as disloyal there is talk that those who are loyal are going to be thrown out of the centers. According to Mr. Kurose, he finds people like that working on the Project farm. They talk about segregation from morning till night, worrying needlessly. The contentions of some are: "It's going to be too bad for some of you who registered, because you're going to be thrown out of the camp. We're going to be allowed to stay for the duration." Mr. Kurose, himself, does not feel that anybody is going to be thrown out, although he is not sure on this point.

Mr. Akahoshi on Segregation.

This morning Mr. Akahoshi, the block manager (#25) came to see JS for news about segregation. He wanted to know what the procedure was going to be. JS said that the procedure hadn't been announced as yet, but there was going to be a meeting of the project directors soon. He explained that care was being taken this time not to repeat the mistake made during registration, and that attempts would be made to get complete information down to the people. Mr. Akahoshi said: "If the matter is handled well by the administration, we won't have so very much trouble. If they mishandle it, we're going to have all sorts of trouble." JS explained what he knew of the history of the segregation movement. He also explained that those who were loyal were not going to be thrown out of the projects. He showed the BM a quotation of a letter from Acting Director Rowalt to Coverley, dated February 1, which ran: "Please make it clear we are not going to force people to relocate when they do not want to be relocated." Both agreed that it was a great misfortune that that statement had not been made public. They recalled that even the simple fact that those who answered "no, no" would not be drafted was not made clear until Block 25 inquired about it specifically.

Analysis: The interesting thing about this account is that Mr. Akahoshi took the time to consult JS. For one thing it meant that he had won his confidence as one who knew what was going on about here. It also meant that he was concerned enough about the segregation issue to take the trouble to find out as much as he could about the matter. This concern on the part of leaders not to repeat the mistakes made during registration seems to be general. What is needed now is a wholesale campaign to dispell whatever fear that may arise. One rumor that should be spiked is that those who are loyal are going to be thrown out of the centers. There should also be an article in the Dispatch giving the history of the segregation movement, the pressure groups at work to oppose the Japanese people and the WRA. On these points the Information Division has not done enough.

12

James Sakoda on Segregation

July 19, 1943. Yaye Takasugi on Segregation.

Yaye asked JS whether "they" would make girls join the WAC if they were proven to be loyal and answered "yes" to Questions 27 and 28. JS said that he didn't think so. She also wanted to know whether there would be a good chance of being thrown out of the place if they are proven loyal. JS again said that he didn't think so. About the prospect of moving, Yaye said: "I don't want to move any more. I want to be with my friends. What's the use of doing anything any more, when we don't know what's going to happen. This segregation business is really terrible, isn't it?" Yaye didn't even want to go to Gila, where she has many friends. JS pointed out that moving might offer more opportunities of meeting people, more adventure, and Yaye didn't see/in that light at all.

Tonomura and Matsumoto on Segregation.

Tonomura and Matsumoto have been two of the more troublesome co-op members active in co-op affairs. Both have the desire to bask in public glory, so typical of the A type of personality. They are not popular with their co-workers because they tend to be dogmatic. Matsumoto finds satisfaction in reflected glory from Japan's conquests. Their opinions on registration are those most likely to be held by the segment of the population leaning toward Japan. They told JS:

"The purpose of the segregation is to make an excuse to get people out of the camps. It's clear that they're getting ready to throw people out of the camps."

JS: "Do you think they'll do anything like that?"

M and T: "What are they going to do with all of the wounded soldiers that are coming back from the war area? In San Diego schools and churches are now filled with wounded soldiers, and they don't know what to do with them. If the war is carried on to the mainland here, it is going to become acute. They have to put them someplace, and if they do, they're going to have to move out some of the Japanese to make room for the soldiers."

JS: "What do you think that they are going to do with the Co-op? Don't you think that it's best to leave the Co-op for whomever is going to be here?"

M and T: "It doesn't have to be liquidated. The structure can be left for anyone who is left. But the emphasis should be placed on those who are going away. The assets should be divided up among them. After all, there's no assurance that anyone is going to be allowed to stay here." (Both seem to be under the impression that the disloyal are going to have to go out first.)

Mr. Kajita, another co-op worker, was present at the discussion, but he kept a significant silence. He is quieter and more level-headed. He is definitely not an A type of personality. He is more friendly to JS than are either Matsumoto or Tonomura.

Mrs. Tanabe's Dilemma.

The dilemma of the Tanabe family is probably being duplicated in many parts of the project as segregation is becoming imminent. While segregation has been announced as forthcoming, there has been no official explanation of the reasons why segregation is taking place at this time. This is increasing the already difficult problem of maintaining unity within a family on the matter of segregation. In the Tanabe family, Kazuye, who has graduated from the University of Utah, is working now in Salt Lake City and does not intend to live in a center. Kazuko, the elder sister, is still in the project, but is contemplating leaving as soon as she can find suitable employment. The father and mother have not registered yet because of fear on the part of the father that if they should register they may be forced to leave the project at some future date. The mother feels that this will not take place. Her main concern is to be with her children. She does not feel that she has a right to hold Kazuko back because it would leave Kazuye outside alone. She feels that it would work out better if they both registered

13

James Sakoda on Segregation

and waited for an opportunity to join their children.

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

July 20, 1943. Crystallization of Attitude Toward Segregation.

Segregation was announced in the TD on July 12, but no further information has been published since then. The Japanese translation did not appear until several days after the English version was published. At the meeting with Isseis Coverley was asked how loyalty and disloyalty would be determined, and his reply was that he had no more information on the matter than appeared in the TD. In other words, segregation had been announced without any explanation. Myer had given his assurance that he was against negative segregation, so that segregation at this point needed an explanation. Why had Myer changed his mind in the meantime? Lacking a suitable explanation, the more vocal members of the Colony began to give interpretations of their own.

The more vocal colonists are those who like to gather in latrines, sit in front of their doorsteps after lunch or dinner, who prefer to spend their time talking out on the farm rather than to work, who want to be heard rather than be quiet. They are most likely to be ones who hope for a quick Japanese victory, who take delight in discussing news broadcasts via Radio Tokyo. They are also the ones who are most likely to be against resettlement for themselves and sometimes even for others. On the registration issue they were most likely to have been against registering and did not register or even answered Question 28 in the negative. The explanation of the coming segregation coming from this vocal group has been uniform: "Segregation is going to be an excuse to get the Japanese out of the camps. Those of you who registered are going to be thrown out soon." Others have elaborated on this simple explanation. "Many wounded soldiers are returning from war areas, and they have no place to put them. They're planning to move the Japanese out of camps in order to make room for them."

Two factors can be pointed out to explain the popularity of this sort of explanation of the segregation. One is the fact that for various reasons this more vocal group as a whole does not intend to resettle, and that a great many of them have repatriated, have not registered, or have answered "no" to Question 28. This group is made up largely of Isseis and Kibeis, Niseis generally preferring to remain silent on political issues. For this group this explanation takes on an aspect of wishful thinking. Since they are already included among the possible disloyal, they want to believe that those who are loyal will stand to lose by the segregation. In a way, it bolsters their sense of security to feel that they have more to gain than those who will be classified as loyal.

14

James Sakoda on Segregation

The other factor is the deep-seated sense of insecurity felt by many evacuees, especially the older ones. Stripped of their home and property and former mode of making a living, they are now unwilling to leave the security of the camp to venture out into what they consider a hostile world to struggle for a living. Their greatest fear now is that even the security of living in a camp will be taken away from them. Many evacuees are willing to believe the worst of the intentions of the WRA. Being offered no other plausible explanation for the segregation, the explanation based on this underlying fear finds ready acceptance.

During the last week this explanation has spread from the more vocal elements to other segments of the population. Faced with arguments which seem convincing and not having any information to counteract them, even the more sensible segment of the population is beginning to wonder whether the explanation might not be true. Many of them still remain silent, preferring to keep their own opinions to themselves. Their attitude is very well expressed in the phrase, "I don't think that America would do such a thing as to force people to leave when they don't want to, but you can't really tell." Others on the borderline, however, have already accepted the explanation offered by the more vocal group. They have joined them in spreading the argument that the more loyal are going to be forced out of the camps.

In the meantime the administration seems to be relatively unconcerned, mainly because of their ignorance of what is going on in the minds of the evacuees. Even those sympathetic to the evacuees ask: "Do you think that segregation will increase resettlement, or is it possible that it will hinder it?" A week after the announcement of the segregation the Social Analyst said: "Don't you think that perhaps it's best not to play up the segregation too much and make it seem so important?" It is not surprising that the Project Director or the head of the Information Division have not come out with a stream of explanations to counteract false explanations that are being offered by latrine philosophers.

Those who have made up their minds definitely about which side of the fence they were on generally seem to take definite stands. Both sides claim that they don't mind the segregation process. While there was a general reluctance to move from their present home, they were willing to accept movement into a segregation center if they were on the disloyal side already, or join the loyal forces if they were committed on the other side. But there are a large number of persons, especially among Niseis, who are not committing themselves one way or the other. Many of them seem to be postponing thinking about the question, while others seem to be watching to see which way the wind blows. They are the fence-sitters who are unable to make up their own minds. Most Niseis, who dislike thinking about political questions, belong to this non-committal group.

JS and Opler on Explanation of Segregation.

JS dropped in to see Dr. Opler in his office, but he was not in. JS believed that he ought to maintain his neutrality in community affairs to protect his own position of a research worker, but he could not stand to see explanations of the segregation widely spread without any effort made from proper sources to counteract them. For one thing, his tie with the evacuees was strong enough to want to avoid their making decisions on the segregation issue which they would regret later on. He felt that segregation was being carried through because of pressure from reactionary elements in Congress on the WRA. He felt certain that the WRA would not dare push evacuees out of the centers when they did not want to go. He had a statement from Rowalt to Coverley to that effect written in February, but he felt that this would not be sufficient to counteract the explanation spreading among the colonists that the reason segregation

15

James Sakoda on Segregation

was to take place was to get ready to push out the more loyal ones from the relocation centers. He wanted to see Dr. Opler about the possibility of counter-acting this false explanation that was going around. Dr. Opler dropped in to see JS yesterday.

Evidently Dr. Opler did not realize the seriousness of the situation that was developing. He had heard that there were some who were willing to have themselves considered disloyal in order to stay here in Tule Lake. But he had heard nothing about the common explanation of the segregation. In fact, he said: "Don't you think that it might be wiser not to play up the segregation so much and make it seem so important?"

JS explained the developing situation and then asked for two things. One was a statement from Myers to the effect that no one who did not want to leave a relocation center would be forced to do so. He thought that even such a statement would not be sufficient to counteract the belief that the loyal would be forced out because the people distrusted the administration -- it had changed its policy too often in the past.

The other thing that he asked was an explanation of the segregation process from Coverley or from John D. Cook or from himself. JS thought it would be wise to include the fact that segregation was not a new idea, but one which was considered by persons sympathetic to the Japanese at the time of evacuation. Another fact that he thought should be included was that segregation was being made necessary by reactionary pressure groups and was not a desire of the WRA. He thought that it would be a good idea to play up such groups as the Dies Committee as the enemy of the Japanese people, since they were in the habit of lumping all Caucasians, especially the WRA, as enemies of the Japanese.

Dr. Opler agreed with JS that segregation was probably caused by the pressure brought to bear by reactionary pressure groups. But he wondered whether the real explanation could be given by WRA officials without doing damage to their own prestige. He himself had been trying to tell as many people as he met and talked to. He said: "Do you think the WRA ought to admit that segregation is taking place because they 'butched' the registration and were being high-pressured by reactionary and Fascist pressure groups? Dies has always been a racist, and he's not satisfied with the brand of war we're waging at the present time. He wants to turn it into a race war."

JS's opinion was that if the WRA were smart it would identify the Dies Committee and other reactionary elements as the enemies of the Japanese people and remove some of the resentment of the evacuees from itself. Dr. Opler felt that perhaps that would be a good idea, and went away promising to do what he could.

Segregation Center

Yesterday George S. brought home the news that it would be announced today that Tule Lake would be the segregation center. He got this from Kallam, who told him that we would have "bad news" today. He promised George to do all he could to help him go to the center he wanted to go to.

July 21, 1943. Trend in Segregation.

Yesterday there were reports that Tule Lake was selected as the segregation center. The news was released in the evening through the Tulean Dispatch (TD). While people were warned not to believe rumors until official news was published, no explanation of the reason for segregation was forthcoming. Consequently, the explanation that the loyal ones were going to be thrown out of the centers was

still being vehemently spread by the more vocal group. Fear was being expressed by some who had answered "no" as to whether they still had a chance to change their answers. Some wanted to have the chance to go out. Others wanted to avoid family splits. For many whether to be loyal or disloyal seems to be something they cannot make up their minds about. Many seem to be willing to leave the matter in the hands of the hearing board. Many seem satisfied to follow the course of least resistance. Those who have repatriated, especially Kibeis, seem content to accept repatriation if it should come. Many Isseis are willing to be classified as disloyal, if only to remain in Tule Lake or assure themselves against the possibility of <sup>being</sup> thrown out. In other words, there are many who are still wavering in their decision.

Ray Mizuno and the Chief Cook on Segregation.

Ray is a typical Nisei in Block 25 who had taken out repatriation papers during registration and then answered 'no' to Question 28. The chief cook is a Kibei, rather typical, except for the fact that he is married and is not likely to do or say anything too rash. Ray had heard that Tule Lake was to be selected as the segregation center, and the chief cook stopped JS to ask him if this were true. He seemed to feel that JS ought to know. JS said that he had heard that the news was going to be released this afternoon. The chief cook was definite in his stand:

"I'm not going to change my answer. I've taken out repatriation papers, and they didn't even bother to ask me whether I would be loyal or not. I suppose I could go to Camp Savage, but I can't be helping America now. Look what would happen to me if I went back to Japan. America always lies, anyway. They've made a combat unit, but I bet they're going to use it to lug supplies and do the dirty work. They'll let them practice with guns, but won't give them any when they go to battle. At Attu they say that Nisei soldiers weren't allowed to have a gun at all. Well, that's the way America does things. She mistreats anyone with a different skin color."

JS: "I think the war is going to last a long time, though."

Cook: "I don't think so. It should be over soon. Take Attu, for instance. America says that she got it, but she hasn't done anything with it. I bet there are still Japanese soldiers on Attu."

Ray: "But Japan can't win the war unless she invades America, and that's going to take some time."

The interesting part of this conversation is Ray's attitude. His silence is as significant as what he says. He took out repatriation papers, but has shown some concern because he did not have it cancelled till the middle of June. It was announced that cancellations before June 1 only would be effective. He agrees with the Kibei on many points, for instance, when he says: "America mistreats the Japanese, even the soldiers. I know that at Camp Riley the Japanese soldiers were locked up in a barrack and guarded by officers when President Roosevelt visited the camp. My brother who was there said so." But he does not agree with the Kibei wholeheartedly. He differs with him, for instance, on how quickly Japan is going to win the war. He probably has doubts as to whether Japan will really win the war. He did not reveal **his** own stand on segregation, although the subject was brought up and his opinion was in order. This silence is typical of many Niseis who cannot make up their minds one way or the other.

Matsuda on Family Split.

It was expected that segregation would cause family splits, but it was difficult to imagine just how it would take place. Now with actual cases coming

up for discussion the spectacle is beginning to take on aspects of reality. In words alone, family splits do not sound so very bad. But when one witnesses the anguish that the parties involved have to face, it looms as a tragedy of major proportion, especially when one feels that segregation is only a policy to appease reactionary elements and that very little good will come of it. Masayoshi Matsuda is faced with a family split and is determined that he cannot sacrifice his future in order to stay with his family. He related to JS:

"My old man (oyaji) told me not to register at the time of registration. I felt that I couldn't do that because I was afraid of what would happen to me if I didn't. Consequently, I decided to register. Then he threatened to disown me if I answered 'yes' to Question 28. The rest of the family took out repatriation papers, except me. I was determined not to do anything of the sort. Since we lived in Block 41, where sentiment against those registering was very heated, I was put in a very bad spot. My folks were worried about what the block people would say to them if they had a son who went to register. I told my folks that I would go elsewhere to live for a little while to make it easier for them. Consequently, I moved to Ward VI for a couple of weeks. People thought that I had left my family, and it was rumored that my friends in Ward IV and I had been disowned. I answered 'no' to Question 28, and then came home again. Later I had my answer changed from 'no' to 'yes.'

"I care for my folks but I couldn't go along with them because I felt that my future was at stake. And I knew they were ignorant and didn't know what they were doing. People in the block began to say that education didn't do anyone any good. One Kibei said, 'I'm glad that I quit going to school early. At least the people have some respect for me now.'

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

John Matsumoto on Segregation

John is a typical member of the block, an older Nisei who is already married. His family were farmers prior to evacuation, but tends to attempt some status. This is recognizable by the fact that George, his brother, has shifted from messhall work to office work and is thinking of going on to a trade school and the younger brother is being sent on to college. John is one of the <sup>few</sup> in the block who has consistently talked to JS rather freely. During registration he was sick, but his family took out repatriation papers, registered "no", and cancelled repatriation papers along with the others. Now he finds that many in the block have also changed their answers from "no" to "yes," and he feels a little uneasy about it. He said to JS:

"How do you change your answer? Go to Huycke's office? I might as well change my answer because everybody in the block seems to have changed his. I don't want to be the only one in the block that didn't change his answer and be left alone. Shit, you can't believe these guys in the block. Some of those who taked the loudest during registration changed their answer the quickest. That old man Nishida, for instance, talked loud, but he says he has his leave clearance for himself and his wife, and his children have changed their answers from "no" to "yes." It's going to be unfair if they don't give the guys that answered "no" another chance. Heck, they didn't know what they were doing. If they don't, there's going to be a lot of loyal guys who are going to remain dis-loyal."

Nishida's Attitude.

Mr. Nishida is one of the quieter men in the block but who has been called upon to take leadership roles within the block. In other words, he is not so quiet that he cannot take leadership roles. On the other hand, he doesn't have the qualities indicative of frustration possessed by those of Type A. He is confident, does not make rash statements, and tends to follow a judicious course. He is also confident in his ability to make money by farming, and even before registration was thinking of going out to farm. During registration his son, Jimmy, shouted with the other young people in the block that it was unnecessary to be loyal to the U.S. because we didn't have any rights and were discriminated against. His daughter, Betty, too, for some reason answered "no." In preparation to leave the project, however, both of them changed their answers after registering. Both Mr. and Mrs. Nishida go about smiling, as if there were nothing wrong with the stand they had taken. They give the impression that they pride themselves on having done the wise thing, and regret that Jimmy and Betty made the wrong move. There is, however, a hint of fear in their open attitude -- as if they were whistling in the dark. That this is not unfounded is indicated by John Matsumoto's outburst against Mr. Nishida, hint<sup>ing</sup> that he mislead the people in the block. Mr. Nishida was heard telling some people:

"Why we got our clearance a long time ago. Only Betty and Jimmy have been held up, although they changed their answers a long time ago. If it were only Jimmy that was held back, we would have gone out a long time ago, but we can't very well leave Betty here alone."

Mrs. Nishida was telling Mrs. Kishiyama:

"Are you in the disloyal group? We're in the loyal group, you know, and are going to have to move out of here."

Social Welfare Department on Segregation.

After it was announced that Tule Lake would be the segregation center, JS strolled into the Social Welfare Department office. The workers didn't have very much to do, and JS talked to a few of them casually. Those that he talked to he knew to be in the loyal group. The chances were that most persons working closely with Caucasians in offices were too. None of them seemed unduly excited about the announcement that they would have to leave. One question that was discussed was what center they would want to go to. More than anything else they disliked the idea of having to pack again and go through the whole procedure of leaving a familiar scene and adjusting themselves to another one. Mrs. Akamatsu's comments were typical. "I don't mind leaving so much, but someone is going to have to help us pack. Doctors will be expected to work till the last minute, and we'll probably have to work till the very end, too."

Mr. Obayashi on Segregation.

Mr. Obayashi seems to have come from a good home in Japan. In this country he went to several universities and was very well educated. For some reason or other, however, he stayed over here, not being able to find a suitable position for himself. For this reason he feels that Japan is the place for him and that he does not want to stay in America, any more. When JS asked him what his future plans were, he said:

"During registration I took out repatriation papers. I felt that I had<sup>been</sup> in America long enough, and I didn't want to stay here any longer. (He said this in a tired sort of way.) I've contacted the Spanish Embassy to get on the priority list to return to Japan, but they've told me that there's a long waiting list

and that I shall not be able to return for some time. I've always had friends in Japan who wanted me to return. I have friends in Mitsui, in Tokyo, and I also have my family over there to depend upon. I want to get a job working in a personnel department of a large company. The work is suitable to my nature. I'm most anxious to do something and keep busy as soon as I get over there."

Mr. Akahoshi on Segregation.

Mr. Akahoshi's comments on the announcement that Tule Lake was selected as the segregation center was simple: "I guess we'll have to go."

Kibeis.

The Kibeis in Block 25 seem to be satisfied with trends of things. They did flaunt the fact that the loyal were forced to go out, in JS's face, for one thing because they were now on fairly good terms. The chief cook, for instance, received some pork from the Sakodas, and in return gave them what material they desired from the messhall. The chief cook's comments are typical: "I'll have a lot of friends coming here from other centers. It's going to be fun. Segregation won't do any good because Japanese are all the same and they have the same feelings."

Art Morimitsu, Loyal.

From Art Morimitsu comes the first hint that the loyal ones may resent the fact that they are being penalized by having to leave. Art said: "The loyal ones are going to be angry if they have to leave and they're not well taken care of. One girl was saying: "Are we going to have to leave all of our furniture here and then get to the other center without any?" It's all right if they take all of the stuff for us, but if they don't, there's going to be a lot of kicks. Especially when the other side is laughing at them for being loyal and having to go out."

Mrs. Kishiyama.

JS sat in the shade with Mrs. Kishiyama and watched her feed her baby, Pearl, some oranges. Pearl was born on December 7. Mrs. Kishiyama had answered 'no' to Question 28 because she was a citizen, a Kibei. Her husband, an Issei, answered his question in the affirmative. Asked what she intended to do to avoid a family split, she said that she really wanted to go out if she had a chance. JS told her to change her answer now, or rather apply for a hearing now, in order to get it over with as soon as possible. She seemed to be considering it, but did not commit herself one way or the other.

July 22, 1943. Mr. Kurose on Loyalty.

Mr. Kurose is an Issei who does not gain particular delight from hearing war news from Japan. Mr. Sakahara, a family friend, often comes around to discuss "good news," but Mr. Kurose is good natured and merely tolerates his presence and his talk. Mr. Kurose has always avoided too intimate contact with Japanese, and had adjusted himself well prior to evacuation in a sawmill job, working among Caucasians. He says: "After all, I've been in this country for forty years. I don't know Japan very well, you know. I feel more obligated to this country. I tell people that I have a sense of loyalty."

Day before yesterday he was on his way to the farm, when he had occasion to speak to a couple of wardens. They were telling him that at a meeting of ward representatives it was announced that the loyal ones were going to be thrown out of camp. Mr. K. replied that America wouldn't do such a thing as to throw out people who were not able to make a living. That evening it was announced in the TD that Tule Lake would be the segregation center. Some farmers in the block (71)

who had sided with the wardens sat in front of Mr. Kurose and stated. "Look here, it says in the paper that the loyal ones are going to be thrown out. The wardens were right this morning." Mr. K. not having read the announcement kept still, wondering whether it could be true. He went home and read the TD, and found out that the loyal ones were going to be moved to other centers. "There's no use talking to those ignorant people because they can't even read a thing right. I'm going to keep still from now on," he said.

Gonzo Sakai.

According to George S.'s description, Mr. Sakai is a typical Issie latrine philosopher. He was formerly a big farmer. He talks on and on by himself, and delights particularly in talking about the war. He tells people that Japan has just about won her war already. To the Niseis he turns around and says: "You Niseis had better not go outside. Japan is sure to win this war, and if you go outside, you won't be able to get any indemnity."

Heard at Grammar School.

Hattie heard this one day before yesterday. "The loyal ones are going to be sent to Arizona so that they'll want to go outside."

Yesterday one of the teachers was saying: "Well, you loyal ones are going to be thrown out of here."

George S. on the Hog Farm.

"This segregation is going to be sad because it's going to disrupt everything. There's going to be no one to take over the hog farm. Many of the best workers are going to have to leave, and those who are staying behind are saying: 'After you kids go I'm not going to hang around the hog farm anymore.'"

George is afraid that all of his efforts to build up a good hog farm are going to go to waste. So far he can see no one to whom he can turn over the farm. Last night he was talking to a Kibei whom he didn't know, urging him to come to work in the hog farm and bring his own friends who were willing to take interest in the work.

The Disloyal on Work.

Prior to the announcement that Tule Lake would be selected as the segregation center, some people argued that Tule Lake would not be chosen because it had a large farm and disloyal ones were not going to work at all, once they were branded as disloyal. JS thought that work would proceed as it was at the present time, although probably at a slower pace. For one thing, the more capable workers will be going out, leaving behind many Isseis and Kibeis who are not as capable as the present Nisei leaders. On the hog farm, for instance, there seems to be no one who will remain who knows the hog business well enough or is interested enough in it to run the farm smoothly after the loyal ones leave. In Mr. Smith's office in the last week or so he has had to change his private secretary two times, and less capable girls have had to fill up the vacancies. The Chief Cook in Block 25, a Kibei, said: "When this segregation takes place, I'm going to quit work. I'm tired of working."

Isseis on Loyalty-Disloyalty.

Many Isseis want to have themselves considered as disloyal. One of the reasons for this is that they don't want to move from Tule Lake. Another is that they are afraid that if they are considered loyal, they will be expected or even forced to go out to work. But at the same time they are afraid of punishments that might be meted out for being disloyal. Consequently, the desire of some is to be

James Sakoda on Segregation

classified the same as disloyal Niseis by virtue of the fact that they are enemy aliens. This desire is reflected in such statements by Isseis as: "Of course, we Isseis are considered disloyal even if we answer 'yes' to Question 28, aren't we?" And some of them are somewhat dismayed when they are told that they will be considered loyal.

Matsuda on Ward V.

According to Matsuda, the disloyal elements in Ward V are feeling rather triumphant. To inus in the ward they are likely to flaunt the fact that the loyal are getting a dirty deal. One person was heard saying: "You see, those who registered are going to be thrown out. They were fooled by the administration into registering."

A young fellow whose brothers registered said to his friends: "I'll have to be parted from your people. I wish we didn't have to go away."

Friday, July 23, 1943. Talk in Block Manager's Office (#25).

The trend of conversation in different blocks will differ, primarily with the position of the block people in regard to registration and the subsequent adjustment of opposing forces to each other. In Ward V, for instance, those who registered have been branded as inus, and the gulf between the two factions can be expected to be great. Since the majority did not register, the trend of conversation and feeling can be expected to be one of open criticism of those who registered in the affirmative. In Ward VII open hostility can again be expected, with more people upholding the loyal side. The situation in Wards II and III is probably somewhere in between. In Block 25, where the split among the block people was not great, there is an air of tolerance on both sides. Those who are to stay are not openly laughing at those who have to pick up their belongings to leave. Those who have to leave are not making any particular effort to protest that fact. While there are some signs of friction, such as indignation at an about-face attitude toward Question 28 since registration, they are largely kept below the surface. This state of affairs is illustrated by conversation that goes on in the block. The girls' baseball team, which won the league championship, is receiving a great deal of support, having been donated uniforms. The old men's team, which won two victories out of three games played, is receiving enthusiastic support. Much of this unity is based on the fact that most of the people in the block registered. While many young people registered "no," most of the Isseis answered "yes." Those who took out repatriation papers and are sure to remain in the segregation center are not being arrogant about it.

The conversation between the block manager and Yamamoto, an educated Kibei, exemplifies the unity that exists in Block 25. Yamamoto is definitely pro-Japanese, and has probably taken out repatriation papers.

Yamamoto: "...I pity the Nisei soldiers who have to fight against Japanese soldiers. After all they are fighting their own flesh and blood. One soldier that came back from Attu is said to have remarked that there were enough dead bodies to make him sick, although he didn't mention whether the bodies were Japanese or American. Many girls (actually only about ten in number) that I know are learning to speak Japanese now. Alice Mukai, for instance, never associated with Japanese before, is learning it. When they are asked why they want to learn Japanese, they say that they are going to need it in order to take part in trade with Japan after the war.

"The Isseis in the Recreation Department are angry because people in Blocks 51, 52, and 53 passed a resolution asking Mr. Coverley to leave the loyal ones here and take out the disloyal ones. Those in the Recreation Department say

that the matter has already been decided upon, and there's no use for anyone to protest."

To all of this the block manager and his wife and JS listen quietly, without any sign of disagreement.

JS: "Japan wants its people to spread out to other countries."

Yamamoto: "In that regard the immigrants in America have done Japan a service. They also sent money back to Japan. That's why Japan thinks a lot of its immigrants in America."

The Akahoshis agree wholeheartedly to the idea that the immigrants have already done their duty to Japan by staying overseas, but Mrs. Akahoshi disagrees on one point:

Mrs. A: "But I don't know about Japan's concern for us. I'm starting to become a little doubtful about it."

Akahoshi: "Instead of going to another center, if there's a good chance on the outside, I think it's better to go straight out." (He is contemplating accepting a job in a cleaner in Rockford, Illinois.)

Yamamoto: "Sure, I think that's a good idea. Even if you don't have such a good job, you'll have the opportunity to look for one. You'll be ahead of others a couple of months. Then it'll also mean that you'll open the way for others to follow." (Note the lack of opposition to resettlement on the outside.)

Akahoshi: "This block is good because it holds together, once it understands the issue. Ward V must be impossible now."

There is general agreement on this and Mrs. Akahoshi says: "They say that they're starting trouble already. It's because there are a great many people here who came out from the hills."

Yamamoto brought up the story about Frank Sakamoto and his wife, and everyone laughed about it, thinking that it was a good joke. They thought that the husband was being too proud to change his answer.

#### Frank Sakamoto and His Wife.

According to Yamamoto, Frank Sakamoto's wife works in Mr. Smith's office. He had answered "no" to Question 28 while his wife answered "yes." When Mr. Smith asked the wife why her husband has answered "no," she explained that he was afraid of being drafted. He advised her to persuade her husband to change his answer now if they wanted to stay together. She said that it wouldn't do any good because he had also taken out repatriation papers. Mr. Smith replied that they may still consider his change, since it was the WRA policy not to split up families. The wife was convinced that her husband should change his answer immediately. She went home and told him this. The husband's reply, according to Yamamoto was: "Baka, (fool) you change your answer." The Isseis in the Recreation Department who were relating this anecdote were delighted over it.

#### Colonist Leaders Meeting with Coverley.

The second of the colonist leaders meeting with Coverley was held in his office at 2:30 p.m. yesterday. This meeting was requested by Harry Mayeda. He explained that the coming conference in Denver of WRA officials might be a meeting at which some of the policies in regard to segregation might be formed.

James Sakoda on Segregation

In this case he wanted Mr. Coverley and others attending the conference to be equipped with knowledge of the feeling of the people on the matter. Those present were: John D. Cook, Dr. Ichihashi, Kuramoto (Co-op), Ikeda (PB), JS, Yoshida (PB), Wallace Tsuda (BM), Rev. Tanabe, Harkness, Harry Mayeda, Silverthorne. Dr. Jacoby and Dr. Opler, who were scheduled to attend the conference, did not appear for this meeting. The meeting was notable for its exclusion, as well as its inclusion. Those present were largely those who were concerned about the welfare of the evacuees. Dr. Ichihashi seems to be in a class by himself, since he does not hold any official leadership position within the Colony. JS was invited for the first time for his knowledge of colonist problems. It is a significant fact that Joe Hayes, Frank Smith, or Huycke were not invited. Noboru Shirai, Executive Secretary of the CC, should have been invited, but was not. It was largely a gathering of appointed personnel members who were inclined to be sympathetic to the evacuees, and evacuee leaders who were desirous of cooperating with the administration for the best welfare of the colonists.

Concern of Loyal Leaders.

One of the first points brought up, first by Harry Mayeda and then by others, was the fact that the selection of Tule Lake as the segregation center was working hardship on the loyal leaders. The leaders were afraid that they would be blamed for the loyal ones being required to leave the center. They felt that they were entitled to some consideration -- to some protection -- for their cooperation. The point was brought out very clearly that taking out the loyal ones was penalizing them, and that the leaders would be called upon to bear the brunt of protests resulting from such disadvantages. Mr. Ikeda stated that one man had threatened his wife already. He also stated that people kept coming into the Planning Board Office to complain. Some demand that the loyal ones, too, be given a hearing to change their answers if they wish to. Harry gave the example of a man in Ward V who took part in registering people. Since people kept coming to him with complaints, he made it a rule not to stay at home in the evening. When questioned as to the possibility of violence, Ikeda answered that it was very possible that this state of affairs could lead to violence. Harry envisioned the loyal ones being taken out of the center at the point of bayonet. (Ikeda later related one person in his block who declared that he would not move unless he were taken out at the point of a gun.) The loyal leaders protested that there were very little advantages in remaining loyal. It had been announced already that the treatment of individuals in the segregation center would not be very much different from that in any other center, except for the fact that they would not be allowed to leave the center. Harkness wanted to know whether the leaders desired to make conditions in the segregation center worse than in other centers. Harry's reply was that it would [be unfair to the minors who would have to go along with their parents regardless of their own stands. Mr. Ikeda said that the loyal ones should be given some inducement, such as the choice of centers. Coverley's answer to this was that he couldn't promise anything right now.

Move to Prevent the Custing of the Loyal.

While stating their concern for their own position and that of the loyal ones, the leaders concentrated a large part of the discussion on the possibility of not having to move the loyal ones. This move was lead by Dr. Ichihashi and was supported by others, except JS. He felt that the others were not taking the nine other centers into consideration, but were thinking only of their own group in Tule Lake. Also, he feared that any consideration of the possibility of preventing the movement of the loyal out of Tule Lake would result in mass action and a riot and also a split in the ranks of the loyal. What he feared most of all was an incident which would make the situation of the Japanese worse than it was at present. The others, however, discussed the possibility of making other arrangements earnestly. Dr. Ichihashi suggested that another center might be set up to which the disloyal could be taken. Coverley answered that there was enough room in the other centers

James Sakoda on Segregation

for about 20,000 more people, since the total capacity of the centers was 120,000 and there were only about 95,000 or so people within the centers now. Silverthorne thought that there would be difficulty in getting priorities. Dr. Ichihashi then suggested the possibility of making a separate camp on one of the relocation areas. There was even a suggestion that somehow the people all be allowed to stay where they are and the loyal and the disloyal be separated on paper only. Coverley pointed out that the people on the outside would not be satisfied with this arrangement. This was especially true when they wanted only the loyal ones to come out to work. Coverley seemed rather cool to this idea of not having to take out the loyal ones. The leaders tried to impress him with the fact that there would be a lot more disloyal people if the loyal ones were going to go out.

Why the Loyal Ones Want to Stay.

Harkness asked whether the loyal ones who talked of staying here didn't consider the stigma that would be attached to them after the war. Wallace Tsude answered this adequately by saying that the people had lost everything already, and consequently they could not see how they could lose any more. To them it was just as good staying in Tule Lake for the duration as it was to move to another center and have the chance to resettle. Coverley thought that the issue to the people was not a matter of loyalty or disloyalty, but of having to part from friends, from established homes. Harry Mayeda reiterated this sentiment. Dr. Ichihashi stated that some of the people were afraid of moving to a freer camp because they would be going to a town to spend money which they could ill-afford to do. Another point that was brought out was that the disloyal were laughing at those who had to leave and that it hurt. For this reason it was thought desirable to have some inducement, besides freedom of movement out, to encourage the loyal ones to leave quietly. JS said that another reason why people did not leave was their fear of being thrown out of a center if they were considered loyal. Still another reason expressed was the fact that Tule Lake was considered the best center. Still another was that people did not know conditions in other centers and imagined the unknown to be worse than it actually was.

Family counseling system.

Aside from attempting to impress the Caucasians with the seriousness of the situation, the one constructive discussion was on having counselors to help families arrive at a decision. Although this matter was brought up at the last meeting, it was JSs who insisted on its importance. He thought that the major problem would be that of individual families trying to iron out differences within the family unit. Consequently, what was needed were counselors to whom these families could go for advice if they needed it. Dr. Ichihashi claimed that it was unnecessary to have official counselors because the chances were that they would not be consulted anyway. He suggested that counseling be left up to individual choice of the family. Coverley refuted him by pointing out that such counseling was apt to be faulty because there was no way of getting accurate information into the hands of all informal counselors. He favored the idea of having definite counselors to whom the people might go for advice. All the others were in favor of having counselors, and Dr. Ichihashi withdrew his stand by saying that if they had official counselors it would relieve him from a great deal of work. JS suggested that the counselors might be elected by the people on the basis of an exact description of the job they were to perform. Wallace Tsuda did not think this would work, since people did not trust block managers whom they recommended themselves. One block manager was quitting because he saw that he was getting into trouble with his block people. There were suggestions that this group could select the counselors, about a dozen in number, and have them keep office hours. Coverley did not see the necessity

25

James Sakoda on Segregation

of selecting the counselors immediately, but JS urged that they be selected immediately and be given the background material to fit them to do adequate counseling.

Explanation of the Segregation.

JS said that an explanation of the segregation should be made in order to keep down rumors. Coverley's answer was that he couldn't explain it because he didn't have any definite information as to what went on in Myer's mind when he decided upon segregation. He thought he would only add to the confusion by attempting an explanation. At best they could only make guesses. He suggested that the people wait till they received official word. Silverthorne said that certain incidents and pressure groups could be given as possible reasons for the segregation taking place. John D. Cook said nothing to clarify the matter. This insistence on official instructions for everything from A to Z is a bottleneck in fighting false rumors that constantly keep cropping up locally.

Parade of Personal Opinion.

Throughout the discussion personal factors, which would have been <sup>better</sup> left out of the discussion, kept cropping up. Dr. Ichihashi, for instance, kept building himself up. When he came into the room, he acted in a very friendly manner toward Coverley, and sat close to him. He brought up the fact that in Japan a person of his standing who had served an institution faithfully for a long time would not be interned as he was. He had received an assurance from Attorney General Biddle personally that he would not be disturbed, but the Army order made it necessary to evacuate. He said that during registration at least 800 persons came to get advice from him. Therefore, he thought that it was unnecessary to have official counselors. And only one boy came to thank him three or four times, and the rest were ungrateful for what he had done for them since they never came to see him again.

Later Ikeda, Yoshida and Dr. Kuki commented on Dr. Ichihashi. They thought that he acted so big, when actually he had no following in the colony at all. They had hoped that he would not be invited at this meeting, but he showed up again. It seemed to be more than just a jealousy between leaders -- they seemed to resent his superior attitude.

John D. Cook took notes all during the discussion, and said very little. Probably this meeting was one of the few sources of information about the colonists that he had.

Mr. Kuramoto, at one point, burst out into a magnificent speech. He didn't think that the loyal ones should be penalized. He himself had been as loyal as possible, and would continue to be. He had a daughter outside and a son in the Army.

Wallace Tsuda did it too. People didn't care whether they were loyal or disloyal because they had lost everything already. Look at himself. He had a thousand acres of vine, which would be worthless in two years. It would take seven years to grow a vine once more, and he didn't have that much fund. He had three tractors, but by the end of the war they would be of no use to him. Taxes still had to be paid and people aren't able to keep it up. These farm owners know that they've lost everything, and are now watching out for jobs in the Middle West.

Mr. Yoshida did not say a word. Rev. Tanabe only spoke to tell Dr. Ichihashi that Dr. Hannaford had received a wire informing him that all Americans in Japan were now interned.

James Sakoda on Segregation

After the meeting Ikeda expressed doubt as to whether very much had been accomplished. "It's much more serious than they (sensei-ra) think it is," he said.

Masayoshi Tanaka

Mas' father is 65 years old, and too old to work. His parents registered, but want to stay, even if they are considered disloyal. He says that he was planning to resettle, anyway, and he's going to separate from his family. He said it without much emotion. His sisters, however, cannot leave his folks, he says, and they plan to stay with them.

July 24, 1943.

Coverley's Meeting with Isseis.

On Thursday evening Coverley had his regular meeting with Isseis. Practically all of the questions asked concerned the segregation. At the last meeting only one short question concerning the segregation had been asked. It seems that it is dawning on the evacuees that the segregation is more serious than they thought it was. According to one report, the questions were all trivial. According to another, the following two questions were asked: "Can we have lumber to make boxes to pack our things in?" Coverley is said to have said that he thought that it was unlikely that he could get any more lumber and he could not take such a request to the Denver conference. According to another report he did not commit himself one way or the other. "Can an answer to Question 28 be changed from 'yes' to 'no.?" Coverley's answer to this was that it had never been done before, and he thought that it was unlikely to be done. These reports are obviously conflicting and unreliable.

Coverley announced that he was joining the Navy or the Army (according to the source). According to the TD (July 23), he is to attend a school for military governors. He is to be replaced by Ray Best, now at Luepp, Arizona.

Issei on Segregation.

The following conversation between Mr. Masui and Mr. Kaya reveals some of the thoughts of Isseis, especially of Block 25, of which they are residents. Mr. Masui is a rather quiet man, while Mr. Kaya, while not extreme, tends to be more dogmatic.

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

K: "It's going to be freer in other centers. If you stay here you aren't going to be allowed to go out. In other centers you will be allowed to go to work with any permit and come back again." (He seems to be repeating something that was passed on to him from Coverley's meeting.)

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

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

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

K: "Freedom is a matter of heart. There's no barrier if you don't think about them. After all, this is war."

M: "It would be swell if you could get a cold drink now and then."

K: "There's lots of cold water coming from the faucet."

M: "But that's not sufficient."

K: "Niseis are going to be called upon to serve pretty soon, especially those who have training. They are short of men with education, and Niseis like you (JS) are going to be drafted in the Army eventually."

JS: "I don't mind. You have to go to war wherever you are. If I were in Japan I would be drafted too."

K: "That's right. You can't help it because this is war."

Tanabe

Tanabe is a good example of a latrine philosopher and the model Type A for Block 25. He wormed into the position of steward for the messhall in time of crisis, but when things became normal again, he was forced out by the rest of the crew. He has restricted his activities of late to tending his vegetable and flower garden with care, and to talking to those who come by his way. JS never talks to him, but sometimes catches snatches of conversation that come floating through the back window.

Tanabe: "There's going to be a lot of trouble. You can't prevent it, no matter what you tell the people..." (Coverley had asked that the colonists not listen to rumors and wait for accurate information after his return from the conference.) "I'm going to take my avocado and gobo plants. The beans had better come in in a hurry..."

Evidently Mr. Tanabe is planning to leave along with the others in the block, since most of the Isseis registered, which also means that they answered "yes" to Question 28. It is for this reason that segregation will not accomplish very much. It is difficult to separate the loyal from the disloyal, because that concept cannot be applied to Isseis.

Tsuyuko Kobayashi.

Tsuyuko is Mabel Takashima's friend. She comes from Portland and is a quiet type of girl. She used to attend Buddhist services regularly with Mabel and Yoshio Ota. She said that Mabel wrote a month ago saying that she was getting along all right. Tsuyuko was engaged to Tommy Tamiyasu in February and married in May. Tommy had a severe complex, feeling inferior, trying to put up a big front, and finding difficulty getting along with girls. When asked how married life was, she said, "Just fine." When asked whether she would recommend that all girls get married, she hesitated a little and said, "Depends on whether you find the right person."

According to Tsuyuko, the children in her family registered and answered "yes". Her folks, however, did not register. Most of the Isseis in Block 6 did not register. Those who did register, including the Takashimas, were from the North. She and Tommy are planning to leave for work outside before segregation takes place, because they do not want to bother about packing and unpacking all the time. Her folks want to stay here rather than go to another center. She feels that this is all right because they don't intend to go out anyway. It did not occur to her that there might be difficulties such as not being able to visit her parents easily, their wanting to go out to join her at some future date, etc.

July 27, 1943. Kishiyama

Whether Mr. Kishiyama would go or stay in Tule Lake was brought up for discussion. His wife had answered "no" because she was a Kibei, while he registered as an alien (which means "yes" in practically every case). He said:

"I don't intend to go outside, so it doesn't matter whether I stay here in Tule Lake or go to another center. To tell you the truth, I have a feeling that it's going to be better to remain as disloyal as possible. (Note the light way in which the word is used. The meaning of the word is not the same as it is on the outside). I think there's some advantage in it."

James Sakoda on Segregation

He was probably thinking of the indemnity that he might receive after the war. JS pointed out to him that if he stayed in Tule Lake it might make it difficult to have visitors and the war would last a long time. Then he said:

"Maybe it is better to be loyal."

Mr. Kishiyama is still uncertain as to what stand he'll take. He can still be swayed one way or the other.

Mrs. Miyaji

The Miyajis are in their thirties and have a girl of two and a baby. The husband, an alien, is said to have come to this country when he was very young and is very Americanized while the wife is probably a Kibei. During registration they took different stands, but there seems to be no conflict over it. At present they are undecided as to what they should do when segregation comes. From what Mrs. Miyaji says, one would suspect that they had made up their minds to stay here. She said:

"We don't want to move again because it's so much trouble packing up your things and going through an awful train ride. We had a terrible time when we came down here, and we don't want to go through it again. I'd rather stay here than go through all that trouble."

When JS told her that when all of the "bad" people came in to this center it would not be good for her growing children, she paused a moment. She said, "Well, yes (so ne)," as if she meant, "You may be right at that. Perhaps we shall be moving after all." They are another family which is at a crossroad, probably watching to see which way the crowd is going to go.

Trend in Segregation.

game played by the old

Active discussion of the segregation question has died down over the weekend. Everyone is awaiting the results of the Denver conference to be announced, and in the meantime life in Tule Lake proceeds smoothly. In Block 25, for instance, the attention of the whole block was centered on the championship softball game played by the girls and the men in the block. Some people think that the argument that the loyal ones are going to be thrown out of the centers has died down. JS believes that it lies dormant in the back of the minds of a great number of people.

July 28, 1943. Block 25, Type A.

Today JS heard the following arguments, all slanted to discourage trust in the administration. The constant harping on the dark side of the picture alone seems to be almost psychopathic. People in general do not respect individuals of this type, but at the same time very few refute their arguments openly.

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

July 29, 1943. Trend in Segregation.

Things are very quiet now, a sort of a lull before the storm. There is some anticipation of results of the Denver conference, which will not be announced till early next week. Many people are just not concerned at all. Some are going to register, others to change their answers. Still others are storming the Social

Welfare Department to tell them that they want to sign for Minidoka or Colorado, etc. The department is taking down the requests just to keep them appeased. There is also talk of Myer's saying that only two centers would be kept -- the segregation camp in Tule Lake, and one other for the old and the sick. This brings up the fear again that the loyal are going to be thrown out of the centers. Except for some, it seems that most of those on the loyal side are willing to move out, especially if their friends are going out too.

July 30, 1943. Mr. Akahoshi

Mr. Akahoshi is now in the habit of asking JS for recent developments of events. He asked:

"Did anyone come home from the conference? I guess we have to wait till next week for the news. If they are going to take us in block units, I'll have to get my son to move over here. The block people want to stay as a unit when they get to the other center and don't want to be scattered all over the center."

Use of Form 130 for Hearing.

JS stopped at the Planning Board office. A man was complaining to Mr. Yoshida, the Executive Secretary, about the necessity of having to fill out Form 130, Application for Indefinite Leave, in order to change one's answer from "no" to "yes." He feared that a person was likely to be thrown out of the center if he signed such an application. For all those who desired to change their answers, this procedure seems to have been used in the past. In yesterday's TD, however, it was announced publicly that it was necessary to fill out this form in order to apply for a hearing to change one's answer. The fear of being forced out of a center is probably one of the greatest fears experienced by Isseis, and the use of Form 130 for application for a hearing immediately brings up the suspicion that those who apply for indefinite leave are going to be asked to or not. The use of this form can be interpreted as a scheme to get people to leave, and it is being interpreted in this way. And it is difficult to assure anyone that this is not the case, because there is no assurance from the WRA to the contrary. And even if there were, the people know that administrative instructions can be changed. Also, from past experience the people do not feel that they can trust the word of the WRA. Additional light is thrown upon this phase of the problem by JS's telephone conversation with Mr. Huycke.

Huycke on Use of Form 130.

JS called up Mr. Huycke from the Planning Board Office to find out why Form 130, Application for Indefinite Leave was being used as an application for hearing to change one's stand/<sup>taken</sup>during registration. The conversation ran somewhat as follows:

JS: "I would like to know why Form 130 is being used in order to apply for a hearing to change one's answer."

H: "I would imagine because it is necessary to apply for leave clearance in order to be cleared. I really don't know why Form 130 is being used. I believe it's only a technical procedure."

JS: "Then it's an instruction from Washington?"

H: "Yes."

JS: "A fellow has come in to ask whether it would mean that he would be thrown out of a center."

H: "No, it doesn't mean that. If a person wants to be cleared he wants to go out on indefinite leave, say to Chicago, or he wants to leave the segregation center for another project. If he wants to go to Chicago, he can't unless he has an assurance of a job which is approved by the WRA officer. If he wants to go to another center, he has to be cleared first."

JS: "But they are afraid of being forced to leave a center."

James Sakoda on Segregation

H: "There's no worry of that because you can't go out unless you have a job. And if the government wants to throw the people out of the centers, they will be thrown out whether he signs a piece of paper or not. You weren't asked to sign a paper then you were evacuated or moved from the assembly center, were you?"

JS: "No, but the people are going to want to stay in here if they don't have some assurance that they will not be thrown out in the future. They will advise members of the family not to change their answers in order to be able to stay here, even though they themselves may have answered, 'yes.'"

H: (He doesn't get the point for a while) **And then:** "Yes, I see what you mean. There's a possibility that the loyal ones will be allowed to stay here with their families. We won't know definitely till we get reports from the Denver conference. But I don't think anyone would be allowed to change their answer from 'yes' to 'no!'"

JS: "What I want is an assurance for the people that they will not be thrown out of a center if they don't want to leave. We might get such a statement from Washington."

H: "It's unnecessary to get a statement like that from Washington. If you read Administrative Instructions No. 22, you'll see that a person can't go out with being assured of a job."

JS: "But the Administrative Instruction can be changed, you know."

H: "The Government can throw the people out any time it wishes, for that matter."

JS: "Well, thanks a lot. We'll wait for further word of the Denver conference."

H: "Sure, I'd like to get down there sometime and talk things over with you. Don't hesitate to ask questions."

Analysis:

It is evident that Huycke does not understand the significance of the use of Form 130 for application for a hearing. There is nothing in what he said that would dispell the fear that the use of the form is only a scheme to get more people started on their way out, perhaps by force. In fact, he specifically said that the people could be thrown out by force. There was no sign of sympathy for the evacuees in what he said. He didn't seem to care whether many evacuees were held here in the segregation center as disloyal or not.

Watanabe's Family

Watanabe's family is split on the loyalty issue because the parents registered "yes" and the children registered "no". Watanabe said today:

"My parents are going to take out repatriation papers this afternoon because they want to make sure that they can stay here. They registered, and the rest of the family registered in the negative."

When told that they should wait till procedures are announced because parents will probably be allowed to stay with their children, he answered: "They can't sit still until they do something about it to make sure that they can stay here. It's all right if my parents return to Japan -- although I don't think that it's likely that they'll ever get back to Japan for the duration. The only thing they have to leave behind are their children. They can take the younger ones with them."

July 31, 1943. Miss Montgomery

Recently, Miss Montgomery, Harry and Carter had been working on a plan to present to the Project Director when he arrived on the Project, which would embody many of the suggestions made by evacuees themselves. This plan seemed to center around a system of family counselors, which Miss Montgomery hoped to set up in her own department. She was hoping to get persons who were respected by the community to serve as counselors. She had in mind Father Dai, Rev. Tanabe, Mr. and Mrs. Yoshida, Dr. Kuki, Mr. Ikeda, and others.

31

James Sakoda on Segregation

Concerning Huycke's attitude toward the use of Form 130 in order to apply for a hearing, Miss Montgomery expressed two opinions. One was that Huycke was on the "other side" the side not sympathetic to evacuees. The other was that she was not going to vouch for anything that **she was** not sure of. During registration teachers had told people that no one who had filled out applications for leave (Form 126) would be required to leave the center. Now the so-called loyal ones were **being** asked to leave, making liars out of the teachers. She said that she still had **repercussions** of promises made by the WCCA and never carried out. She **did not** think that she should tell the people that the WRA did not intend to use Form 130 to get people out of centers, because she did not know. She thought that the evacuees should be told the true state of affairs -- that she didn't know -- and that they should take their own chances one way or the other.

Applications for Transfer

Recently about twenty persons a day have been coming into the Social Welfare Department to apply for transfer. The Social Welfare Department is merely taking the names and addresses of these persons and the center to which they want to go, even though it feels that it is all useless. At least it helps to satisfy some of the people that want to do something right away in order to be able to go where they want to. From an analysis of the list of names, JS gathered the following. Those from Wards VI and VII in general wanted to go to Minidoka (some from Ward I, too). Those from other wards more often than not desired to go to Topaz, and to a lesser degree to **Granada**. Transfers to other centers were not requested except to join relatives. The most obvious reason for requesting transfer was to be able to be with relatives or friends. It is interesting to note that none of them requested Heart Mountain, where presumably the climate is not so very different from Minidoka, but where people in Tule Lake seem to have practically no friends at all. This is also interesting in light of the fact that news from Tuleans who have visited Minidoka all agree that living conditions there are much worse than in Tule Lake. Many applications specifically stated that they wanted to go to a certain center because they had a relative there. Other applications listed several family groups together, showing a desire to keep together. One application even said that the families did not care where they were sent as long as they were kept together.

Form 130

JS told the Block Manager about the use of Form 130 in order to apply for hearing. Apparently this fact was discussed by a few of the block residents. Mr. Ishizuka, who usually does not say much remarked:

"They were saying that you have to fill out an application for leaving before you can change your answer. Crazy. Who's going to do such a thing, anyway."

Mr. Ishizuka registered, but his Kibei wife answered "no." If **he** fears that the loyal ones are going to be thrown out if they sign Form 130, he probably intends to keep his wife from changing her answer.

August 2, 1943. Talk with Opler on Denver Conference Results.

JS wanted to hear the results of the Denver conference. He met Carter, and he only told him that it was definite that segregation was to take place and that Tule Lake was to be the segregation center. He also said that there were some concessions for the loyal ones going out, but beyond that he only cared to say that there would be a public statement made of the whole problem. JS felt that the only one he could talk to intimately was Opler, since he was a Social Analyst and not an administrator. He found Opler and his office, in conference with two members of his staff -- May Oye and Lily Nakamura (now married). JS and Opler sat in his car to talk over the results of the conference. The following is the summary of what Opler told JS.

James Sakoda on Segregation

Tule Lake as Segregation Camp.

The group from Tule Lake had gone down to the conference with the intention of getting Tule Lake changed as the segregation center. They had in mind having some other center considered or an assembly center / <sup>opened up as an segregation center.</sup> Dr. Opler talked to Embree and Province the evening before the conference, pointing out that there would be a lot of problems if the loyal ones in Tule Lake had to move out. He said that for one thing the people in Tule Lake had not been prepared for segregation by Coverley. Manzanar, for instance, had an educational program for two months, preparing the people for segregation. Coverley had not announced to the staff at all ~~that~~ segregation was discussed at the Washington conference, only disclosing the new administrative procedure at a staff meeting in Tule Lake. In fact, he had put a notice in the Dispatch, saying that nothing definite had been discussed about segregation. Embree felt that Tule Lake might not have been selected as the segregation center if he and others had known of local conditions in Tule Lake. Opler was angry because his reports on the possible effect of segregation on residents in Tule Lake had not reached the higher officials because they were too busy setting up procedures. Tule Lake had been chosen without consulting local conditions there. In the morning Myer announced that segregation would take place and that Tule Lake would be the segregation center. After the conference Myer was impressed with the fact that Tule Lake should not have been chosen the segregation center by the group from Tule Lake. This point was brought home very strongly, but it produced no change in the segregation program because so much of the procedure had already been set up. For instance, arrangements had been made with the Army for transportation, and even the route had been determined and charted.

Tule Lake was chosen as the segregation camp, it seemed, no so much because of the number of people involved, but more for other reasons. One was that it was situated in a military zone. Another was that it had an Army camp right next to the project. A third factor was that it was large and compact. Coverley was in favor of Tule Lake being chosen the segregation center at the directors' meeting in Washington, but when he left the project, he had undergone a change in heart. In his statement to the AP he had sympathized with the people who had to be segregated. Opler felt that his reports on the possible effect of segregation on the people had been effective in changing Coverley's attitude.

Concessions.

Failing to get the segregation center changed the delegates from Tule Lake worked for concessions for the "loyal" ones who were forced to leave Tule Lake. would be given the first choice of outside jobs. All jobs would be referred to Tule Lake before being filled by people from other centers. Another concession was that the people would have a choice of centers to go to. It would also be a matter of first come first serve, giving the loyal ones who had already made up their minds the choice of center to go to.

Procedures.

It was expected that a system of family counseling would be set up in the Social Welfare Department. Families were to be kept together as much as possible. The loyal ones would not be allowed to change their answers, which meant no more repatriation. The repatriates were to be given a hearing, perhaps after others had their hearings.

Resettlement Program

The segregation center was to be definitely closed to leave for the duration. One reason for this was to impress upon the people that they had a more important choice to make at this time than one of mere staying in one center or another. In

James Sakoda on Segregation

believed that segregation would serve to reduce objections to Japs leaving cause it was not the other centers the resettlement program was to continue as before. It was <sup>known</sup> whether [they were loyal or disloyal. Opler himself thought that it would be difficult to close any center within two years. There was no thought on the part of the WRA to force people to leave the centers. A relocation team was to be sent here to Tule Lake to aid in the resettlement on the outside. (Note the functioning of two programs simultaneously -- resettlement and segregation. The people have already tied up the two together, and they are going to continue to do so.)

Causes of Segregation.

At the Washington conference many of the project directors, including Coverley, favored segregation. Myer and Province were opposed to it. The Senate resolution had only served to hurry up a process that probably would have taken place anyway.

Attitude Toward Segregation Center.

The segregation center is to be a "Japanese" camp for those who want to be Japanese rather than to be assimilated. School would not be compulsory, although it was expected that most children would go to school. Japanese language schools would be permitted if the people wanted it, although it wouldn't be financed to any large extent by the WRA. There was to be no stigma attached to those who wanted to remain in a segregation center. There was no WRA program of deportation, although some of those who took out repatriation papers might be sent back in exchange for American prisoners. It was expected that a sizable number of those who stayed in a segregation center would still want to remain in U.S. after the war was over. WRA officials admitted that the issue was not loyalty or disloyalty alone which was being determined by the segregation process. There was even a consideration of "no" answers in protest to registration and segregation as still indicating loyalty, but Myer felt that the evacuees would have to decide one way or the other for themselves and they stick by the actual answers.

Best

Opler described Best as a "darn good man" and definitely "not another Coverley." Best is said to have told some project directors, "If these men whom you sent to Leupp are the bad ones, what sort of persons do you have in the centers -- saints?" He was so popular in Leupp, that the persons there didn't want to go back to their own centers. There were even indefinite leaves issued from Leupp.

Form 130

Opler didn't know that Form 130 was being used as an application for a hearing, and that the people had reacted to it unfavorably. He said that he would look into the matter and see if the form couldn't be changed.

Personal opinion

Opler felt that the war would not be such a long one -- not five or ten years anyway. Consequently, he seemed to feel that the segregation center would not be very much different from other centers. He thought that it was to the advantage of the people to resettle. He himself was thinking of the timing of returning to teach in a university, since the end of the war would make it more difficult for him, too.

Attitude of evacuees

Throughout the conversation JS watched out for hints of efforts on the part of the WRA to force people out of the centers. It was true that the WRA was making efforts to make it easier for them to resettle on the outside, assuming that this was the best for them and what they really wanted for themselves. For the same reason the WRA officials seemed to assume the fact that the segregation center would be <sup>closed for duration,</sup> a serious disadvantage for those who preferred to remain. Plans had been formulated <sup>to</sup> offer the best jobs to those in Tule Lake first -- this being an inducement to the more loyal elements

34

James Sakoda on Segregation

for having to move out of their homes. They saw segregation as making it easier for evacuees to resettle because they would be less prone to be accused of being disloyal. What the people were worried about was they would lose the economic basis of security if they were forced out of a center. They wanted to be assured that they could fall back on a center in case of need. Many of them did not want to leave for the duration. Consequently, being able to stay in Tule Lake loomed as a privilege to stay within a center for the duration to some. Any move to find them a job on the outside was interpreted as an effort to force them out of the security of a camp. This fundamental difference in outlook accounts for much of the misunderstanding between the WRA and the evacuees.

Mrs. Yamamoto (Block 25)

At the Planning Board JS met Mrs. Yamamoto, sitting there with the rest of the office staff. During registration Mr. Yamamoto opposed JS when he suggested that those who want to stay in the U.S. should answer 'yes' to Question 28. Consequently relations with JS were a bit strained until recently. Lately, Mr. Yamamoto even offered to introduce a girl to George S. On the segregation issue most of the people in Block 25 seem resigned to leave with the loyal group. Mrs. Yamamoto said that her husband had taken out repatriation papers. But since she wanted to go outside, he was reconsidering his application. JS said that those who had taken out repatriation papers might be given a hearing later. Also, those who made up their minds first were going to be given their choice first. Consequently, she wondered whether she shouldn't go on ahead to a center of her own choice, and await her husband there.

August 4, 1943. Rowalt-Best Meeting with People.

Yesterday a meeting was held on the outdoor stage at which Rowalt, the Deputy Director, and Raymond Best, the new Project Director, made important speeches. The meeting was announced at noon and at dinnertime in the messhalls by block managers, and the people were impressed with the fact that the meeting was an important one. Probably the largest crowd that has ever turned out for any occasion gathered at this meeting, and it covered the ground in front of the outdoor stage beyond the street in front of the flag pole. The crowd was made up of Isseis and older Niseis, generally above 20, with probably more Isseis than Niseis. The people seemed anxious to hear the results of the Denver conference, but there was no feeling of tension that would have existed at a strike meeting or where the crowd was indignant.

Mr. Carter opened the meeting in a sincere sort of way, expressing desire that misunderstandings be avoided as much as possible. His speech was not translated, however, and consequently probably did not have much effect on the people one way or the other. Rowalt next spoke on the fundamental policies of the WRA concerning segregation. He was not particularly frank, but attempted to present the official stand of the WRA in regard to segregation. He touched on both segregation and resettlement in the same speech, showing a lack of understanding of the feeling of evacuees who were listening to him. Mr. Tsuda, the translator, was given the difficult job of translating the whole speech all at once from notes, and introduced his own interpretations, consequently giving an entirely different impression to Isseis than Rowalt gave to those who understood English. Best spoke with the best welfare of Tule Lake in mind, and brought up points which made the future here rather rosy. The meeting had been planned with some care, it seemed, and the speakers showed a desire to explain things as fully as possible and to avoid any kind of misunderstanding. But some gross misunderstanding did result, through mistaken translation into the Japanese of Rowalt's speech, and the mention of segregation and resettlement at the same time.

Rowalt's speech

Rowalt rather mechanically gave the official interpretation of the segregation,

not bothering to make a direct appeal to the audience by showing signs of friendliness or sympathy. Explaining the cause of segregation, he said that it was not due to public clamor. It was due to the realization that there existed in the centers two groups of people. One was those who desired to be Japanese and return to Japan after the war, and those who preferred to lead the American way of life. Having these two groups within the center had caused some conflicts, not too much, and it was thought [unfair to both groups to continue this state of affairs. The registration served to bring the existence of these two groups to the eyes of the public and cause segregation.

He outlined the history of the segregation movement, and said that it was not a new thing. At the time of evacuation, as early as May, 1942, various proposals has been made to segregate the loyal from the disloyal. It was felt, however, at that time that segregation could not be accomplished fairly and consequently was not undertaken. The matter was again discussed at the Project Directors' meeting in Washington in May this year, where it was decided that segregation would take place. A committee was set up to make plans, and up to the time of the Denver conference practically the whole WRA Washington staff worked on details of plans for the coming segregation. Then at the conference at Denver further discussion was held on the matter.

Rowalt then explained why Tule Lake had been chosen as the segregation center. The reasons were: First, it was estimated that from 13,000 to 15,000 persons would be segregated, and Tule Lake was one of the few centers that would hold such a large number. Second, there were work opportunities here in Tule Lake. Third, there would be less transportation problem because of the number of persons involved were greater in Tule Lake than in other centers. Fourth, Tule Lake was in a military zone and far from work opportunities, which made resettlement difficult.

He said that there would be no stigma attached to those who preferred to stay in the segregation center. It deserved as much care as any of the other centers.

He thought that the people should think of some of the advantages that segregation would bring to the people. Those desiring to return to Japan would probably find it easier to do so. Also, those who desired to live in the U.S. would find it easier to resettle.

Rowalt explained fully the resettlement possibilities, but failed to make it clear that the two programs were separate. In fact, he had already said that segregation would aid resettlement. For those who do not want to go to another center and desire to resettle directly, he said, as much aid as possible would be given. Grants would be paid without question, transportation would be paid for, baggage would be transported free of charge. WRA offices were also able to guarantee jobs and housing in various sections of the country. The WRA encourages resettlement, but it didn't intend to force anyone out of a center who did not want to go. However, that did not mean that he, as a civil servant, could guarantee the people that they could stay in a center indefinitely. The current appropriation of the WRA expires in June, 1944, and no one knew what Congress would do the next year. This year WRA has gotten every cent that it asked for. The WRA approved the policy of relocation.

Best's speech.

Best made a short and friendly speech. He started out by saying that he wished

James Sakoda on Segregation

to address the audience as friends because he intended that they should become friends. Mr. Rowalt, he said, had given the reasons for segregation having taken place. This, he said, had to be accepted. Then he went on to outline the policies that would govern Tule Lake. No major changes in policy were contemplated. The WRA would continue to regulate the inside of the center. The Army would have no part in the internal government. The Army would guard the outside of the center, and he did not know how the Army would choose to do it. Except in extraordinary cases, and then only with Myer's permission, would visits to and leave from the Project be allowed. There would be a good school maintained and a standard hospital kept up, and he would do his best to make Tule Lake a livable place. In order to work out peaceful relationships with the people, he asked that a committee be chosen from the people to work with the administration, since such a committee would be a great help in promoting peaceful relationships.

Translation by Mr. Tsuda

While Rowalt and Best made their speeches, Mr. Tsuda, Investigator for the Internal Security Division, took notes, and gave the translation from the notes that he took. Evidently he did not know what Rowalt was going to say because he translated many parts of his speech incorrectly. Under the circumstances one could not expect Mr. Tsuda to make an accurate translation, but he was responsible for some gross mistakes in translation.

The greatest fear of the Issei public was probably that if they left Tule Lake they would have to stand the chance of being forced out of a center, and it was on this point that Mr. Tsuda made his greatest mistake. Mr. Tsuda stated that the cause of segregation was a desire on the part of the WRA as early as May, 1942 to get people out of the centers. He also stated that segregation was taking place because it was unfair to the loyal group to be kept with the disloyal, and made it more difficult for them to resettle. By the time he mentioned that Tule Lake would be offered jobs first, that as much expense as possible would be paid, that jobs and housing would be guaranteed, they sounded as though they were a part of a scheme of the WRA to get people out of the centers. He translated correctly that the WRA did not mean to force anyone to resettle who did not want to. However, Rowalt, as a public servant, could not guarantee that anyone could stay beyond June, 1944 because appropriations expired then and no one could tell what Congress would do.

Tsuda brought in parts of Carter's speech besides adding his own ideas. He also used the words "loyal" (chusei) and "disloyal" (fuchusei) throughout his translation, which Rowalt had avoided in his speech. Best's speech was translated without distortion for one thing, because it was short.

Reaction of the Public

Many Niseis noted the discrepancies between Rowalt's speech and the translation given by Mr. Tsuda. This was noted by JS, by Hattie Kurose, by George S., by Yuki Katayama. Many Isseis, without being aware of the discrepancies, thought that the translation was poor. One man, Mr. Sakahara, when asked what he thought the reason for segregation was, said that he had forgotten what he had just heard. Others thought that Mr. Tsuda had done a fairly good job of translation, not knowing that he had made mistakes.

To understand the reactions of the Isseis to the speeches it is necessary to know the underlying fear which motivates them. At the present time the greatest fear held by the greatest number of Isseis is that they will be forced out of a center and forced to make their way in a hostile world. This fear was widely spread among Isseis when the WRA embarked upon a program of resettlement last fall.

37

James Sakoda on Segregation

This was accentuated at that time by the threat that those who went out on indefinite leave would not be allowed to return to a center, and this fear of not having recourse to the security of a camp once Isseis went out ~~has~~ <sup>been</sup> kept alive ever since. At the time of registration many Isseis did not want to register because the leave clearance form was used to register them. They were afraid that if they signed any paper of that sort they would be forced someday to leave the center. No assurance on the part of the WRA would have served to allay this fear entirely, and not even a statement from the National Director was forthcoming to assure the people that those who did not want to relocate would not be forced out of a camp. The people had come to attach the motive of wanting to get the Japanese people out of centers with any program instituted by the WRA. The more recent program of cutting down the amount of money to be spent on food and the cutting down the number of evacuee employees to about two-thirds their original number was interpreted, and rightly so, as a move in this direction. When segregation was announced, it was announced without an explanation as to why it was taking place. The vocal group, especially those who were likely to be most pro-Japan, began to broadcast that segregation was just another step in the process of getting the evacuees out of camps -- or in their own words: "Omaera Chusei-gumi wa hoori-dasareru no dakara (You loyal ones are going to be thrown out.)" Many people were doubtful on this point, and those who suspected that it was untrue generally kept still. People here in Tule Lake did not want to move to another center, especially because they thought that Tule Lake was the best center of all. They were afraid of venturing outside on indefinite leave because they were not sure of being able to make a living. While the pros and cons of staying or leaving made it difficult for many Isseis to make up their minds, their greatest concern was whether they would be allowed to stay in another center for the duration if they wanted to.

With this underlying fear in mind, the effect of the translation on Isseis who heard it should be analyzed. It was stated, in the first place, that segregation was taking place in order to facilitate getting people out of centers. The re-settlement program, which was to be speeded up in Tule Lake, was only another link, in that chain of design. It was mentioned that the WRA did not intend to relocate anyone who did not want to relocate, but this was nullified by the statement that this could only be assured till June, 1944. The people were given the impression that after that date anything could happen -- the assumption by many Isseis was that most likely the evacuees would be asked to leave. This interpretation became easy when the statement was made soon after the above one that Congress was in favor of the relocation program. In other words, if Congress were in favor of relocation and it had the power of doing as it liked with the centers, then the likelihood was that the centers would be closed. This interpretation was backed up by a false statement in one of the papers (Denver, I believe) that nine centers would be closed, and only two kept open, and one of them would be Tule Lake.

The ironical thing about last night's meeting was that Best made a good impression on the people, whereas Rowalt did not seem especially friendly. Best made a short speech, and it was translated in full and at length. He painted a rosy picture of the Tule Lake camp after segregation, and this impression was gotten over to the Issei audience via the translation. Consequently, it made many Isseis feel that there would be no disadvantage in staying here in Tule Lake -- not too much, anyway. For one thing, it did not sound as though it would be bad for their children since it was mentioned that good schools would be maintained here. For the invalids, it was stated that a good standard hospital would be maintained, which was a better assurance than they had been able to get with Dr. Pedicord heading the hospital. It could have been stated that even those in Tule Lake might not be able to stay for the duration -- only their stay till June, 1944 could be assured. But it was announced by Best that there would be no visits and leaves from Tule Lake, giving the

James Sakoda on Segregation

impression that stay in Tule Lake was permanently assured for the duration, while Tsuda gave the impression that stay in any other center could not be expected after June, 1944.

Another point of confusion was the basis of segregation. The point was put over that one camp was to be for those who wanted to return to Japan and who wanted to remain Japanese and that the other camps would be for those who wanted to lead the American way of life. This was confusing to many Isseis because even if they moved to some other camp, or even if they resettled on the outside, they still wanted to return to Japan at some future date. Except for a few exceptions Isseis in general have always dreamed about some day returning to their home country a success. And if their leaving Tule Lake meant ceasing to be a Japanese, many would rather stay. After all, they were Japanese and they were not allowed to have American citizenship. There was no way in which they could cease to be Japanese and become American. The other interpretation was that of political loyalty or disloyalty. Tsuda used the words "loyal" and "disloyal" over and over again, impressing the people with this idea. Many Isseis, however, could not see how the word could apply to them, because they were Japanese citizens, and their loyalty was determined already. They might be willing to aid the American war effort, they might consent to obey the laws of the U.S., they might go out to work, but many Isseis could not see how this would make them "loyal" to the U.S. and "disloyal" to Japan. The basis for segregation was unclear to Isseis. Rowalt had said that it was not being done because of public clamor. Out of this confusion there emerged the interpretation on the part of some Isseis that segregation into the "loyal" and "disloyal" or "American" and "Japanese" only applied to Niseis. For the Isseis it was only a matter of how they wanted to bring up their children. For the Niseis the choice was a real one --- for the Issei parents it was merely a matter of taking the category of their children.

These reactions have already been observed, and more documentation will be made on these points in the next few days. How different persons interpret segregation will be observed along with other points, such as the "push" and "pull" which operate to encourage staying or leaving, the extent to which official announcements are misinterpreted, etc.

Mr. Akahoshi on Rowalt-Best

This morning JS talked to the block manager about the meeting last night. He had heard the speech, but was not greatly aware of the fact that there had been discrepancies between <sup>what</sup> Rowalt said and Tsuda's translation. He said that most of the people had gotten the impression that the WRA was getting ready to throw people out of centers, and the people in this block (#25) were saying that it was going to be better to stay. He said:

"The people in this block were saying this morning that it was going to be better to stay here, after what they heard last night. The thing that they were worried about most was whether they would be allowed to stay in another center or not. They got the impression that after a year they would be thrown out of a 'loyal' camp. And if segregation is going to mean that they are going to separate the people who want to be 'Japanese' and those who want to be 'Americans' a lot of people are going to think twice before they leave this place."

Mr. Akahoshi thought that it was unfortunate that there had been mistakes in the translation. While he could see that no one could insure that a person could stay in a center indefinitely, he could also see that a person wouldn't be thrown out of a center, either. JS pointed out that for one thing there were too many American

James Sakoda on Segregation

captives in Japanese hands, and he agreed to this.

Kibei

A Kibei in the block said, "We're staying. We've made up our minds, and so there isn't any trouble. We shouldn't go around advising people what they should do." Mrs. Akahoshi thought that the Kibei's place was in Japan, anyway.

Mrs. Akahoshi

Mrs. Akahoshi agreed with JS that Niseis would have a difficult time in Japan unless they took back enough money to get an education over there. But when JS said that for Niseis who could not get more than a middle school education it was better to stay in America, she said, "That's right. But the only trouble with this country is that you'll always be called a 'Jap.'"

Mrs. Kaya

The effect of the Rowalt-Best Speeches on Isseis was evident from what Mrs. Kaya said to JS. She wanted to write a letter to her former Caucasian employer in Walnut Grove for whom she had worked for a long time, and who was sympathetic to her and her husband. They had said that perhaps for their own good they should stay in a relocation center for the duration, and they could come back to work after the war was over. Now with segregation imminent, Mr. and Mrs. Kaya were faced with the choice of either staying in Tule Lake or leaving. Mr. Kaya had registered because there was nothing wrong in that. He had made his wife answer 'no' to Question 28 because he wanted her to be on the same side as himself, who was an alien, and therefore owed loyalty to Japan. Now they could either stay, or Mrs. Kaya could change her answer and both leave. Mrs. Kaya wanted to write to Mrs. Brown that they were at a loss what to do because Mr. Kaya was an alien, and his acceptance outside of a center by people would be doubtful. If all Americans were good people like the Browns, it would be all right, but there were other sorts of people, too. On the other hand, they "understood" America and wanted to do the right thing. They were at a loss what to do, and wanted their opinion on the matter.

Mr. and Mrs. Kaya had been contemplating going out to work as domestics. Since they had no children, they could go wherever they wanted to, and were assured of being able to save some money if they worked. Mr. Kaya is said to have claimed that the value of the American dollar wouldn't become lower than half of the Japanese yen, and that money was still necessary. Mrs. Kaya said that they wanted to work a few years until things settled down even if the war ended. But not knowing the outside condition very well, they were afraid that they would not be able to make a living. Mrs. Kaya pointed out that the feeling against the Japanese in Denver and Chicago was already becoming bad. Well, where could they go? On the other hand, they did not want to be classified as disloyal. The Browns, for instance, may not treat them as before if they were classified as disloyal. They were at a loss to know what to do.

JS pointed out to Mrs. Kaya that going to another center did not mean that they would be forced to leave it. Mrs. Kaya's answer was: "But I hear that after June, 1944 we aren't going to be allowed to stay." JS then pointed out the mistakes that had been made in the translation, and the possibilities that the centers would be closed. He also pointed out the advantages of their going out to work, and the chances of their finding a suitable employer. Mrs. Kaya then agreed that those who didn't like Japanese wouldn't hire them; it was better to find employment among Americans than among Japanese, that it was doubtful which way the war would turn out.

Don Elberson on Denver conference.

Yesterday JS talked to Don Elberson briefly. Don was indignant because he

40

James Sakoda on Segregation

had heard that Coverley had "sold Tule Lake down the river" in having it made the segregation center. Segregation had been decided upon at the time of the Washington conference, but he had told his staff nothing about it.

In the morning there had been a staff meeting in which Best was introduced to the staff. In the afternoon those who were handling segregation had another meeting. He commented that those who were handling segregation were different from those who handled registration. The whole attitude was different this time, he thought. He thought that the WRA had learned a few things. He had been included in this meeting.

Opler

JS saw Opler again yesterday. He seemed reluctant to reveal what went on in the staff meeting and what was in the Administrative Instructions. JS hinted that he wanted to see the instructions, but Opler put him off by saying it was too technical to understand and that a pamphlet would be issued for the benefit of the people. He said that the good points of the segregation should be stressed to the colonists, and seemed to be holding back something.

JS prodded him on the meaning of the segregation, and wanted to know if an official explanation had been issued at Denver. He also wanted to know whether the pressure groups had been a major factor in segregation taking place. Opler vaguely admitted that the pressure groups had had their effects, but said that the WRA couldn't admit publicly that they were the cause of segregation. He thought that the WRA would have difficulty explaining to the congressmen the sociological significance of the whole affair. From Opler JS gathered that the explanation of the segregation vacillated between two bases -- one the cultural preference idea and the other political loyalty. Opler himself felt that it was best to get away from the idea of political loyalty being involved in the segregation process and that the cultural angle be stressed. In other words, one camp would be a "Japanese" camp, while the others would be "American" camps, with no stigma attached to the former. He saw the incongruence of more Isseis being considered loyal than Niseis because of the way they registered. He said that the WRA was trying to get away from the political interpretation of the registration as much as possible. But JS pointed out that the "yes" answers on Question 28 were not going to be given a hearing. If the basis for segregation were going to be cultural, then everyone should be given a hearing.

After his conversation with Opler JS could not help feeling that segregation was taking place because of political pressure, and a theoretical basis to explain it adequately to the satisfaction of everyone had not been worked out. Opler himself had found difficulty trying to explain it to JS.

Mrs. Ishizuka

Yesterday Mrs. Ishizuka said, "If they aren't going to close the other centers, it's better to leave than to stay here." It is doubtful that she feels the same after the Rowalt-Best meeting last night.

August 5, 1943 John Matsumoto

Yesterday JS spoke to John Matsumoto in the latrine. He said "Yeah, the translation was awful. About 60 per cent of the people in this block are now saying that they are going to stay here. We'll have to wait for the pamphlet to get more accurate information."

Nishidas

The Nishidas were discussing their leaving with the others. Mr. Nishida said,

41

James Sakoda on Segregation

"People are saying that Rowalt said that we could stay here if we want to. They aren't going to let the loyal ones stay when they are trying so hard to get people out of here." Mrs. Nishida said: "We might as well go see another center. We'd like to go to Colorado because we have friends there. It's not makeoshimi (alibi) that I'm saying, as Mrs. Matsubara thinks."

August 6, 1943 Gunderson vs. Harkness

Gunderson and Harkness seem to represent two different points of view on the segregation question. At a meeting with teachers day before yesterday, both gave their views in explaining the coming segregation. Gunderson kept using the words "loyal" and "disloyal" while Harkness avoided their use. The latter stressed the fact that there are going to be a lot of loyal children. When the possibility of a Japanese school here was brought up, Harkness said that it should not be mentioned at the present time because it would give the outside public the wrong impression.

Appropriations

According to FO, Dr. Jacoby is said to have explained at a meeting that the fact that the WRA appropriations would give out in June, 1944, did not mean that the evacuees were going to be forced out of the centers.

Yamamoto Family

From now on special attention will be paid to patterns of family split on the segregation issue. Naturally splits at the time of registration will also become evident, since segregation is being based on the registration results.

The Yamamotos are a married couple, falling in the age group between the majority of the Niseis, who are below 25, and the Isseis, who are above 40. Mr. Yamamoto is a Kibei in his thirties. He has had a normal school education in Japan, and was teaching Japanese school in Sacramento prior to evacuation. His ideas are typically Isseish, and he maintains urban cultural standards of a Japanese variety.

Mrs. Yamamoto is in her late twenties, and was brought up in a typical Japanese home in Sacramento. While she speaks Japanese fluently, she still prefers to speak in English. Mrs. Yamamoto believes that she is the boss of the family. She relates that when Mr. Yamamoto proposed to her, she knew that it was coming, and she had to sit and wait for half an hour before he came through with what he wanted to say. When asked which one was the boss in the family, she replied, "Well, you know, G., when you get married, the wife is the boss in the family."

At the time of registration Mr. Yamamoto spoke in favor of Niseis, as well as Kibeis, returning to Japan, and went to take out repatriation papers for himself. Mrs. Yamamoto evidently was not influenced by him and registered "yes." Now that segregation is imminent, the split has become evident. Mrs. Yamamoto recently said that she wanted to go out, and she didn't mean to stay here. She thought that her husband would have to change his mind and join her, if he wished. She thought of going ahead to another center with her family, and have her husband change his status and join her later.

Analysis.

It should be noted that the status of a Kibei fellow in America is generally inferior to that of a Nisei fellow. This is especially true in their relationship with Nisei women. Kibei fellows are generally disliked by Nisei women, while the latter are desired by the former. Also, Niseis in general have the backing of their families on their side, which again puts the Kibei at a disadvantage. In many families the Isseis were in favor of staying in Tule Lake, but this does not seem to be true of

Mrs. Yamamoto's family.

Matsuda family

Matsuda is a Kibei, but who has received a college education and technical training in the field of aeronautics in America. He had intended to return to Japan prior to the outbreak of the war, but with that possibility out of the question at the present, he wants to go out to work to make a place for himself. At the time of registration he favored it, along with a great many others who had foresight and education. Until then he was respected in his block as a leader of the young people, but after that he was considered a inu, and lost most of his friends. His father threatened to disown him if he dared answer "yes" to Question 28, and consequently when he did register, he registered, "no." Because he had an offer of a job to design machine tools, he tried to change his answer immediately, but was not successful. Having been alienated from the block people, the majority of whom were on the other side of the fence from him (Block 41 in Ward V), he no longer feels a strong tie with the people that surround him.

Matsuda's family is a very conservative one. His sister is a Kibei just like himself. His parents were very strict about the way he was brought up, and even now Matsuda cannot reveal to his parents that he goes to dances on rare occasions. His father seems to be especially hardheaded, perhaps typical of farmers from the hills of Placer County. His mother sees his point of view, but his father only holds his his own. Matsuda once mentioned that he wanted to go out to work, and his father wanted to know what sort of work he was going to do. When he heard that it was a job as a "machinist," he exploded and declared that people even objected to those going out to do farm work. A machinist would be helping the American war effort, which would be treachery toward Japan. Matsuda's father believes that Japan is going to win the war soon and there is no hope for Japanese in America. He's already sent some money back to Japan, and took out repatriation papers for everyone in the family except Matsuda. The latter thought that there would not be much of a chance for him <sup>self</sup> in Japan at the present time. The split during registration was settled quietly, and when he received his clearance he would have slipped quietly off to work. Segregation, however, has brought the split out into the open again.

Being repatriates, the rest of Matsuda's family has to remain in Tule Lake. They have no intentions of ever changing their status. The father insists strongly that Matsuda stay with them. His argument is that he's the eldest in the family, and it is his duty to go back with them to Japan. Matsuda does not want to be tied up in a "disloyal" center, where his future will be ruined. He knows that the war may last a long time and that Japan may lose the war. He feels that if he goes out to work now, he can gain valuable experience, make some money, and make a place for himself someplace. If he is in a war industry, he feels that he can get draft deferment. His parents are afraid that if he goes out he may be drafted, but evidently they don't trust the possibility of being deferred. His mother sees his point of view, and does not object so strongly to his leaving for another center. Matsuda feels the inevitability of a split between himself and his father. The only thing now is for him to leave without causing too much hard feeling between himself and his father. He felt that it was useless to try to argue with him logically, because their points of view and facts were entirely different. He thought that perhaps the best thing for him to do was to keep as quiet about the matter as possible, and quietly leave when the time came.

A block meeting was held to discuss segregation, but Matsuda did not attend it and does not know what went on in it. Next door the Nisei son was heard arguing with his parents that he wanted to leave Tule Lake, and Matsuda's father went over to help

the other parents argue with his son. Such seems to be the tenor of life in Ward V.

Issei confusion.

The following is a conversation of three Isseis in Block 25 in the shower room.

"I understand that in those families where there is a split, the loyal ones aren't going to be allowed to stay here."

"Yes, they say that they are going to send them out first, and perhaps return them later on."

"Why do they go to all that trouble. Why don't they let them stay here in the first place?"

"They're trying to get as many people out of here as possible. How can you expect them to send anyone back here?"

"This is a big problem. If we leave this place, it's going to mean that we are loyal to America and not loyal to Japan. We are still Japanese citizens. The only reason we were able to come to America was because Japan allowed us to. That stamp on our passport is something we have to be thankful for and which we can't forget."

This morning Mr. Kaya said to JS: "They mean to tie up the disloyal ones here, don't they, so they can't get out? Isn't that being done to make people want to leave this place and get out of the centers? They know very well that Japanese don't like being stamped as being 'disloyal'." JS explained the history of the segregation movement, beginning with the idea that a small group of pro-Axis sympathizers caused trouble in the centers, and how the pressure groups hounded the WRA and finally demanded segregation of the loyal and the disloyal. Mr. Kaya then saw some light, but only partially, for he explained it to himself in this way: "I see, they want to segregate the troublesome ones so that they won't interfere with the others leaving the camps."

Mrs. Kaya said: "Isn't the Army going to take over Tule Lake?"

Analysis of Issei Confusion.

During registration the issues were fairly clear. The Army wanted Niseis to make up their mind whether they were going to remain loyal to the United States or not, as an initial step to getting the loyal ones back into the Army and into war industry and normal life. For the Niseis it was only a matter of getting leave clearance applications from everyone at one time in order to facilitate resettlement. The Isseis were only asked whether they would be law-abiding or not. The only trouble during registration was that care was not taken to explain it fully. Many Isseis felt that it was a scheme to force people out of the centers, while others felt that the issue at stake was loyalty or disloyalty.

An attempt is being made to explain segregation carefully so that there will be no misunderstanding, but it is an issue that is very difficult for an Issei to understand clearly. Conflicting stands have been taken by different segments of the WRA personnel and added to that is the difficulty of translation and of getting over even a simple idea to the people -- especially the Isseis. Then there are rumors who play upon the fears of the people, making it difficult for them to see the issues clearly, even if it were presented in a straightforward manner.

To go back a little ways, segregation has always been discussed in terms of separating the dangerous and potentially dangerous from those who were not dangerous, those who would turn against the U.S. in order to help Japan from those who would remain

law-abiding. The final allegiance of an alien Japanese to his country could not be questioned, because he was not allowed to become an American citizen. Therefore, the terms "loyal" and "disloyal" could not be applied appropriately to Isseis when speaking of segregation. They could be and were applied with reason to Niseis because they were American citizens, and their loyalty to America could be questioned. Consequently, the terms "loyal" and "disloyal" were used quite generally, and were applied with reason to Niseis, since many persons did not make a sharp distinction between the first and second generation Japanese. When trouble occurred with a center and cooperation "loyal" schemes interfered with by a certain segment of the evacuee population, this opposition was referred to generally as being "agitators" and "troublemakers." They were also often thought of as being "pro-Axis" or loyal to Japan. Here again the use of the words "loyal" and "disloyal" became popular, and came to be used widely by the outside public which read newspaper accounts of the more serious incidents -- especially the Poston and Manzanar incidents.

The registration added a complication to the segregation process. For the Niseis it was a matter of determining loyalty or disloyalty, but so many other factors were involved that it was recognized by many WRA officials, especially those sympathetic to evacuees, that registration did not fairly divide the loyal from the disloyal. The Isseis were asked the same question at first, but this question was later changed to ask whether they would be law-abiding or not. Consequently, for the Niseis registration could be looked upon as the first step before segregation of the "loyal" and "disloyal" took place. But this was not applicable to Isseis, who were only applying for leave clearance -- which presumably was a process which determined whether they were dangerous or not. Nevertheless, the words Chusei (loyal) and Fuchusei (disloyal) were used toward Isseis.

Now that segregation is taking place, Isseis are confused by the fact that the words "loyal" and "disloyal" are being applied to themselves. On August 3, in the Rowalt-Best meeting the translator, Mr. Tsuda, had employed the words Chusei and Fuchusei throughout, even though both speakers meticulously avoided their use. On August 5 in the Tulean Dispatch parts of Administrative Instruction No. 100 were printed and translated into Japanese, and the following terms used to designate Tule Lake: "Which is set apart for the residence of persons of Japanese ancestry residing in relocation centers who have indicated that their loyalties lie with Japan during the present hostilities." The Japanese translation could be retranslated into: "Those who indicated that they were loyal to Japan." (Jibun wa Nippon ni taishite chusei de aru koto o shiji seshi ...)

The reaction of the Isseis toward the use of these two words is generally a protest of its appropriateness. This is well-expressed by Mrs. Murayama who stated that they couldn't be applied to Isseis. She thought that they should be reserved for Niseis only. Mr. Kurose, who is willing to help the American war effort says that he is not being "loyal" to America or "disloyal" to Japan. He is merely doing the right thing. He is a Japanese too, and can't be disloyal to Japan. Consequently, he feels that the WRA does not intend that the words loyal and disloyal should apply to Isseis. He feels that the parents are given the classification of their children for expediency. Those who have made up their minds to declare their loyalty to Japan do not seem to mind being classified as "disloyal" since it carries the connotation that they are loyal Japanese. Those who are wavering at the present time and cannot quite make up their minds one way or the other seem to be having the hardest time interpreting the situation. Mr. Akahoshi, the Block Manager of Block 25, indicated this when he said that the people in the block were beginning to hesitate in making their choice to leave because they were being asked definitely whether they were going to be "loyal"

James Sakoda on Segregation

or "disloyal." or "disloyal." The fear was that by leaving Tule Lake they would be accused later of being disloyal to Japan. On the other hand, they did not want to be stamped as being "disloyal" and their future for themselves and their children here in America jeopardized. Practically all Isseis who registered answered "yes" to Question 28, which asked whether they would be law-abiding. Now the segregation process was separating those who were "loyal to Japan", which could mean that those who left were "disloyal to Japan."

Attempts were made on the part of WRA officials to avoid the use of the words "loyal" and "disloyal." Rowalt in his speech on August 3 indicated the two groups to be separated as: "1. Those who look to the United States as their future home, and 2. those who look to Japan as their future home." (TD, August 4, 1943) WRA officials sympathetic to the evacuees, such as Opler, the Social Analyst, desired to interpret "loyalty" and "disloyalty" in terms of cultural, rather than political allegiance. There seemed to be a feeling on the part of these people that it was unfair to hold evacuees responsible for the choice they were asked to make. At the Denver conference the possibility of considering someone who insisted on not changing his "no" answer to Question 28 as still being "loyal" on the basis of other evidence was considered.

Other factors might contribute to the interpretation that there should be no stigma attached to those remaining in Tule Lake. One is the fact that registration did not determine loyalty or disloyalty. Another is a realization that segregation was being undertaken as a means of appeasing the reactionary public to protect the WRA, in spite of Rowalt's statement to the contrary. Opler, Jacoby, Silverthorne all stated before they went to the Denver conference that the pressure groups were a major factor in segregation taking place. Another is the realization that as long as families were kept together there could be no adequate separation of the loyal from the disloyal. There is a feeling among many people that the population in Tule Lake after segregation is not going to be so very different from that in other centers.

August 7, 1943 Talk with Dr. Jacoby.

Dr. Jacoby went to the Denver conference and was able to talk to other directors and people from Washington. He has a good background in sociology and also has a good understanding of the Japanese people. He is sympathetic toward them without being irrational and emotional about it. Consequently, he probably represents the most impartial view one could possibly get of the segregation movement. JS was able to ask him a few questions, and Dr. Jacoby's answers seem to bear out this point.

Segregation, Dr. Jacoby thought, was definitely influenced by the pressure groups. He feels that it is only a "second best" step, which the WRA took against outside pressure. He acknowledged the fact that Rowalt was right in saying that discussion of segregation took place in San Francisco at the time of evacuation, but he still did not agree with Rowalt on the segregation not being caused by public clamor.

JS asked whether it wasn't recognized that it wasn't quite fair to many people to ask them to make a choice between loyalty and disloyalty under their present circumstances. Dr. Jacoby said that it would have been better if it had been done a year ago. He said that many of those who stayed in Tule Lake would be just as law-abiding as those in other centers. Consequently, he preferred to consider those in Tule Lake as having decided to make Japan their future home rather than America. However, in spite of Rowalt's statement to the contrary, he thought that the outside public was sure to put a stigma of disloyalty on those remaining in Tule Lake.

Dr. Jacoby pointed out, however, that some good came of the segregation, even though it was unfair for some. It would make it easier for those in other centers to relocate, for instance.

When asked what would happen to those who were "loyal" and wanted to stay he said, "I don't think that they'll be forced out at the point of a bayonet." He did not mean that people could either stay or go. They were expected to go if they were "loyal." He only meant that he did not think that force would be used to get anyone out.

JS explained that it was not quite appropriate to use the word "loyal" to Isseis. Dr. Jacoby agreed to this, although he himself used the word to apply equally to both Isseis and Niseis, when he did use it. He thought that the word had more than just a narrow meaning in terms of political loyalty. He agreed with JS that it meant more whether a person was dangerous or potentially dangerous to the U.S. or not. He was interested to know, however, that Isseis were concerned about this point.

Frank Nishida

Frank Nishida is a Kibei who has taken up Nisei ways. He is alone here. During registration he registered "no, no" but changed his answer. He is trying to get out to do some sort of work. He thought that Kibeis ought to get out and get some education or training. When asked about the draft he said that he was willing to take a chance with it. He said that most of his Kibei friends were going to stay here.

August 9, 1943 Frank Nishida

Frank Nishida is a Kibei, but one who has gone to school here in America, and who has taken up Nisei ways, such as jitterbugging and going to church. He said,

"I want to go out directly from here if I can. It's best to get an education or some training, rather than to stay in here. Most of my Kibei friends, however, are staying here. They don't see things as I do." Frank, however, changed his answer from no to yes and cannot go out until he goes through a leave clearance hearing. He says that he'll take his chance with the draft.

Masami Hayashi

Masami is a quiet type of Nisei. He has gone to college, but has never mixed in with the opposite sex very much, preferring to stick to his studies and to his judo. Recently, he had lost interest in judo, and has taken to going to church and to other places with girls. His fundamental nature, however, is one of lack of independence in thought. His parents were against his registering "yes" and an uncle was most vociferous on this point. Consequently, he registered "no," and later changed his answer, although he didn't do it in time to get it accepted. He was thinking of going out to work or perhaps to teach judo. His uncle wants him to stay in here or stay clear of the draft because he wants Masami to return to Japan with him to start a cleaning business, which Masami is studying now. His uncle believes that he can make a success of the business in Japan, and seems to have given up the idea of doing anything more here in America. If Masami is to go out, his uncle asks that he be guaranteed a job which will defer him from the draft. JS asked Masami whether he was afraid of being drafted. He said he wasn't, but he didn't want to be sent to the front. He thought that perhaps if he taught judo he might be able to be deferred. Or even if he isn't deferred, he couldn't quite make up his mind as to whether he should stick with his uncle or go out on his own. His family all registered and will stay with him, whichever he does. Masami is definitely a fence-sitter.

thought that he could still teach it in the Army. But

Block Meeting.

For some time now it has been the consensus of block opinion that block meetings should not be held to avoid the sort of coercion that occurred during registration. Everyone seemed to realize that the problem this time was primarily a family problem. The Planning Board, however, requested that an Issei and a Nisei be selected as block representatives to handle problems which might arise in connection with segregation. For this purpose a meeting was held yesterday afternoon. The meeting was not large, only about forty or so having attended it. The majority of the people felt that representatives were unnecessary. This was upheld by such persons as Yamamoto, Tanabe, Kaya. Their argument was that representatives would cause more trouble than help to solve them by making block decisions. The block manager, too, was doubtful as to the value of such representatives. His comments were: "Planning Board sticks its nose into things too much (deshabari sugiru)." A few persons, including Nishida, the Planning Board representative at present, and Makamura, favored the plan. Because of the arguments pro and con, those who were not in favor of the plan began to leave the meeting. The block manager suggested that representatives be selected only to relay decisions to the block go along with other blocks in selecting representatives only as a matter of form. The few remaining decided that the block manager should select the Issei and Nisei representatives.

August 10, 1943. Questions: Consultant Meeting, August 6.

At the first meeting of consultants on the evening of August 6, 1943, the purpose of the family counseling to be given to families/leaving the project was explained by Miss Dorothy Montgomery and Miss Gifford, the latter from the Washington office. Some of the questions asked at that time were:

Frank Nakamura: "This question was asked by someone close to the people. 'Can it be guaranteed that the other centers will not be closed?'"

D.M.: "Let's stop and think about how much anyone can guarantee anything. We can't guarantee that Congress will appropriate the money to keep the Army going. We can't guarantee that they will keep the United States Treasury going, because it's up to Congress to vote the money. We are just the same as any other agency. As far as we know, we have no reason to believe that any relocation center will be closed up." (Except where a population in a center becomes too small and two centers are combined. D.M. knows the possibility of this.)

Gifford: "A WRA is not going to force out of a center a person who has no means of support. Mr. Myer said that. We are in favor of relocation, however. It is not in the minds of the WRA that segregation is the first step to force the people out. You'll have to take my word for it. There's no force behind this."

(Note the inadequate way in which this is answered. The people could not be assured of being able to stay in a center unless the arguments are stronger.)

Mrs. Tift: "One evidence of that is that jobs are being cut down. Is that the real reason?"

Gifford: "The reason wasn't to force people out. In many centers there were more people than the amount of work to be done. The move was to make a better adjustment between the two." (Miss Gifford probably knows that cutting down the number of jobs was a part of the relocation program. See Barber's statement on this point later, although the allusion to this program is indirect.)

Nish Kumagai: "Are we going to be frozen in this job until segregation is over?"

40

James Sakoda on Segregation

D.M.: "There is going to be work until the very end in some departments, but I think it's going to be on a voluntary basis."

Nish Kumagai: "When you are interviewing the people and they insist on choosing only one center and say that they won't go to any other, what do we do?"

D.M.: "Then you have to explain the advisability of making a second choice, because otherwise we might have to make that choice for them."

Nish: "But it was explained (by Dr. Jacoby) that we aren't going to be forced out at the point of a bayonet."

D.M.: "Do you like to answer that question?" (To Miss Gifford.)

Gifford: "We don't want to threaten anybody. And we don't want to make selections for people. But I suppose one of the alternatives is that we'd have to designate a center for such individuals. We might choose a place which has the most space. If there are a great many people of that sort, then I don't know how the administration is going to handle it. There is going to have to be enough space made here to accommodate those coming in." (Miss Gifford evidently does not see the desirability of speaking very softly about an evacuee having to do anything. And she doesn't seem to realize the danger in threatening an evacuee with a big stick. While she does speak of the 'mistakes made during registration,' she is not intimately acquainted with where the mistakes lie.)

D.M. "We are not going to insist on a second choice. Explain why it's important. Don't lose your temper. If they don't make a second choice, then your responsibility ends with a thorough explanation."

JS: "If a family which should move out insists on staying?"

Dr. Jacoby: "We have been told which groups are to move and which groups are to stay. There are no techniques outlined that I know of which will allow those who should leave to stay. It is felt that if enough reasons are gotten out about what segregation is about, such cases will not appear." (Dr. Jacoby still thought that force would not be used to get anyone out of here. He probably saw the danger of making people heroic if that were done. On the other hand, he didn't want to say that openly. He didn't want to open up the possibility for anyone insisting on staying because he felt that many of them would stay just for convenience's sake. When asked specifically how he could handle such a case, he said that he would have to take orders from Best on that. He also pointed out the possibility of going to the other center, taking repatriation papers, and coming back to Tule Lake.)

JS: "Does going to another center mean disloyalty to Japan?"

Dr. Jacoby: "No, I don't think so. I don't think the choice has international implications. They can be loyal Japanese subjects and show a desire to live in the United States with their children."

Gifford: "We have to watch out for people who aid Japan as far as the war is concerned. But still they can have concern for relatives in Japan. The fact that they have that concern is not enough to show disloyalty to America."

JS: "Can we take disloyalty to mean whether a person is dangerous or not dangerous?"

Gifford: "I think it's a very good way to put it, don't you think, Dr. Jacoby?"  
Dr. Jacoby: "Yes."

(The explanation dangerous or not dangerous, of course, is not entirely adequate because people in Tule Lake are being assured in official pronouncements that the dangerous and troublesome ones are being put in Leupp, and not Tule Lake. There is confusion of policy here, and WRA officials themselves find it difficult answering questions such as these clearly.)

Obayashi: "Suppose some Nisei who are loyal to this country and on account of the family made up their mind to stay here. If they did so, would they lose their citizenship?"

D.M.: "No. We recognize that young people who did not register might have done so for any number of reasons. For the young persons who stay we are going to have a great deal of work to do on them!" (She has hopes of keeping some of the young people left in Tule Lake loyal.)

Gifford: "Under the laws of the United States it is not possible to remove the citizenship of a person because he elected to stay here with his parents."

Teranishi: "Is it possible for a minor to stay here until 17 and make his own decision at that time and be transferred to another relocation center?"

D.M.: "Yes, there will be an appeal board set up. This appeal board is being set up to work that out."

Nish K.: "Couldn't I have my other question answered? Possibly from Myers."

D.M.: "Do you think that's necessary? Segregation has been decided upon, and I think that the people know that."

There is talk of what the various centers are like, and it is mentioned that pictures and descriptions of the centers will arrive soon. And Corky Kawasaki comes out with the comment: "Join WRA and see the world."

Murayama: "Do you say that no one can change from 'yes' to 'no'?"

Dr. Jacoby: "Not during this period."

Nish: "Will expenses be paid after going to another center when they relocate?"

D.M.: "Yes."

JS: "How about counseling before the hearing?"

It is explained that the hearing is going to be individual and not a family matter. JS felt that the counseling was going to come too late for many individuals.

J.S.: "Will there be stigma attached to the people here?"

D.M.: "As far as the public is concerned, they may attach a stigma to staying here. We have to be realistic about it. We may not want to, but the public may."

#### Consultant Meeting, August 7

Miss Montgomery answers the questions as they are asked by those sitting around a table.

Some answers: Parolees belong in no particular group.

Whether leave clearance hearing is compulsory for those in group 3 or not is not definitely known. Washington probably has not decided on that yet, according to Miss Gifford.

The segregation hearing board will hear cases of those answering "no" and those not registering. Many answers were not meant, and a chance is to be given correct errors. If the answer is changed, such individuals will fall in group 3.

Those families who are to stay in Tule Lake and are not divided will not be interviewed.

James Sakoda on Segregation

The segregation board is headed by Mrs. Silverthorne. Mr. Carter and three others are on the board. There will be five persons from other centers. One from each group will probably team up to carry on a hearing. "We've got a good board. They wanted to get people who knew the people." The board was chosen by the project director, who consulted those who went to the Denver conference.

Those denied leave clearance now probably won't count.

"Remember, if you don't know an answer, don't give an answer."

Obayashi: "When a person transfers and repatriates, how about the transportation back to Tule Lake?"

D.M.: "It'll be paid."

Obayashi: "Relocated person, can he go back to a center?"

D.M.: "It's on the same basis as before. If he can show a good reason, he can come back." (Note the way in which it is answered--with a big if.)

Obayashi: "Many brought in can goods. How can he escape confiscation?"

D.M.: "I think that it has to be identifiable."

Obayashi: "Can a person take lumber if he paid for it?"

D.M.: "Straight lumber may involve difficulty."

Crating: D.M.: "We are trying to get an expert crater. We also hope to get inspecting done in the apartments."

Obayashi: "A wife and grown-up children wishes to remain loyal to the United States for the duration, but will return to Japan after the war. What category will they be in?"

D.M.: "By the way they answer the question."

Q.: "Animals?"

D.M.: "Not definite. On some projects pets are not allowed."

Q.: "Can you come back here if someone is ill?"

D.M.: "I think so."

Q.: "Manual?"

D.M.: "It was written up in Washington as a plan for segregation. Only 9 or 10 copies of this manual are on the project. Shows a great deal more planning than we have ever had before--more thinking than on registration, certainly. Still, it doesn't cover everything. Miss Gifford, who helped write this is asking Washington for answers."

Q.: "Student grants?"

D.M.: "None so far."

JS: "Shouldn't segregation and relocation be kept separate?"

D.M.: "Yes. Send those interested in relocation to the relocation team."

Murayama: "Is it possible to return to the center?"

D.M.: "Relocation offices have guaranteed jobs and housing. If they do not come through, then they have no recourse except to allow them to return."

Murayama: "It depends on what kind of housing and job."

Graves: "The guarantee involves only temporary jobs and only ordinary jobs."

Murayama: "Is it really hard to come back? How difficult is it?"

D.M.: "I think that if a person really couldn't get along, he could get back."

Graves: "In Kansas City there was only one person who requested to come back. He found it difficult to adjust himself. Social Security Board is taking care of welfare cases, giving cash help."

D.M.: "I think we have to think of it in terms of what people really want. I think we need not hesitate in assuring people that they can return to a center if they cannot make a go of it."

Murayama: "Do you have to be penniless to come back?"

Graves: "No, I don't think so. This soldier got a medical discharge from the Army. He wanted admission to Tule Lake. His wife was expecting a baby. I questioned the real need for his coming here. The doctor said that the boy could work if he watched his diet. I found a chore job on a dairy, a house for two, and only part time job for him. He didn't want that. He wanted to go back. Homesickness, unwillingness to face the situation, hospitalization for the wife. Mr. Holland thought that

51

James Sakoda on Segregation

the boy shouldn't be admitted. The boy wasn't cooperating -- might have put something over on us. He said he wanted to be a welder, but he didn't want the job. He wasn't willing to face his problems. We decided it was best to send him back. He was able to pay his own way."

Murayama: "It sounds to me as though it's pretty hard to get back."

August 11, 1943. Issei Stand on Loyalty.

On Tuesday evening the people in Ward II met with Carter and Jacoby to discuss segregation. One of the centers of interest of the Isseis, according to discussion of the meeting later on, was the question on loyalty. One man thought that it was improper to use the word loyalty and disloyalty to Isseis because they had no citizenship in this country. It was a word that to him could only be used when there was monarch (kunshu) one could be loyal to. The man wanted to know whether some other word could not be substituted for loyalty and disloyalty. Dr. Jacoby is said to have replied that he was not at the meeting to argue with the people on matters of that sort. The point here is that the Isseis are concerned about the choice of words, which the Washington office does not seem to have given very much concern to, since they used the word loyalty in the administrative instructions.

Nisei attitude

During an informal conversation the fellow working in the floral arts department said: "The thing they're after is to get people out of the center." This was his explanation for the segregation process. While this view has been prevalent among Isseis, it seems to be believed by some Niseis, too.

So far, no understandable explanation of the segregation has been made. Rowalt did not clarify matters when he insisted that segregation was not taking place because of public clamor. A pamphlet explaining segregation has been promised, but none has been forthcoming so far. In the meantime, no additional information has been published except for a small column titled "Rumor Clinic." The hearings are starting possibly this afternoon, while family interview may begin tomorrow. In other words, the people are being called upon to make decisions without having all of the facts in their possession. Very few people so far have made use of the information bureau.

Assurance of not being thrown out of a center.

Mrs. Freed was asked by one of the consultants what assurance could be given the people that they would not be thrown out of a center. She thought that the word from one of the consultants to that effect was the best that could be done. She thought that it would be much more effective than rumors. Evidently she doesn't know the powerful hold rumors have in a center. She said that the Government will not force people out without a plan for taking care of them although the WRA could not guarantee such a thing because its existence was precarious. JS suggested that one effective argument was that the Government would not force people who could not take care of themselves out of a center because of fear of retaliation on American prisoners held by Japan. Evidently Mrs. Freed did not think that this explanation was acceptable because she ignored it and talked about social security agencies.

When asked about the possibility of being able to come back to a center, Mrs. Freed said that that was answered by an administrative instruction.

August 12, 1943. Information Station Questions.

Gathered at 2508, August 10, 1943

1. Are any boys of Japanese ancestry to be drafted?

Frank Nakamura: "I don't think so."

James Sakoda on Segregation

JS would have said, "It's possible."

2. If a boy stays in Tule Lake, can he volunteer into the Army, provided his record is clear?

3. Are people notified if their application to change answers have been accepted?

Interview

JS interviewed one boy from Block 52. He answered "no, yes," but his brother answered, "no, no." He is going out to work on indefinite leave in Oregon, and wanted to know whether his family could go to Minidoka. At the time of registration his family was going to repatriate, but the application was not being taken at the time. Now they are making plans to leave Tule Lake. He wants to call them outside if there is a good opportunity. He was indignant because some people in the block who were mostly for not registering, went and registered "yes" on the last day and have gone outside. He said that the others in the block were indignant, too.

Trend in Segregation: Confusion.

The state of affairs in Tule Lake can be described most aptly by the one word, confusion. So far very little information has been released to the people. An information office has been set up in four different places, but publicity concerning them has been poor. Consequently, only a handful of people have gone to these offices for information. The announcement of the existence of the information offices appeared in Japanese only last night. A pamphlet was promised to the people, but this pamphlet is on its way from Denver, but has not arrived as yet. In the meantime very little information is being published in the Dispatch concerning the segregation procedure. People do not know from news items when the hearings are going to begin, the nature of the family counseling, when they are to start registering for choice of centers, why the relocation team is here, what it is like. There are meetings held in every three blocks to discuss relocation, but these meetings have never been explained in the Dispatch. There have been meetings on ward bases to discuss segregation, but they too have never been written up. Both the movie and poster programs are still in their planning stage, and a great deal of uncertainty as to how the programs should be undertaken is being exhibited.

In the Social Welfare Department, things are being rushed in order to start the interview by this afternoon. The procedures for interviewing have not been set up. Fifty notices were addressed yesterday at 5 p.m. to schedule interviews for this afternoon, but no provision had been made to deliver these notices that evening or in the morning. There was no messenger boy appointed. The interviewers were to receive their instructions in the morning, and most of them had not gone through the thick manual explaining in detail the segregation procedure. Families were to be called in to make their choice of centers to go to, but they were to be given neither the time in which to make up their minds, or the information of the various centers on which to base their choice.

The Planning Board in the meantime was trying to get a Board together composed of an Issei and Nisei representative from each ward, whom in turn would be selected from block delegates consisting of an Issei and a Nisei. The Planning Board had received word that a representative of the Spanish Consul would come to Tule Lake, but it was attempting to verify whether this was true.

The Leave Office was swamped with work concerning both segregation and relocation. On top of that it was swamped with people trying to find out where they stood on the segregation question. According to \_\_\_\_\_ people were being referred to other offices, and people were wandering around among the maze of offices in the Ad. Bldg. Many of them

James Sakoda on Segregation

ended up at Dr. Jacoby's office or even at Mr. Best's office. In the meantime, no information had been gotten out as to where people should go for certain types of information.

The whole confusion is probably due to lack of planning and lack of time and also to lack of coordination. Each division is trying to handle its own affair as best it can, and find even that too much at times. Dr. Jacoby's secretary and a member of the Caucasian staff worked the night before to check up on addresses, probably of repatriates. Last night Dr. Jacoby was checking up on addresses by himself. Miss Montgomery, Mrs. Freed, and Mrs. Tift sat up till late last night trying to formulate answers to some of the questions that were asked by consultants and by other evacuees. What is most urgently needed at this time is information about what is going on, and in this regard the Information Division has failed miserably in its task. The fact that Mr. Best is new to the project probably makes coordination difficult. Dr. Opler was working, supposedly, on a description of each center, and it is difficult to say how much he can clarify the picture for the project director and others.

In the meantime questions go unanswered, wrong impressions gotten at the Rowalt-Best meeting go undisputed, procedures are not clarified. And people are already making up their minds about staying or leaving without adequate information. They tend to assume that the existence of other centers is precarious, that if a person left a center he would not be allowed to return to it, that loyalty to U.S. implies disloyalty to Japan -- in other words, that it's better to stay if possible.

August 13, 1943.

The Block Manager of Block 25 seems to have stated the attitude of many people in his block aptly when he told JS:

"Most of the people in the block want to stay in Tule Lake if it is only a matter of stricter control on the outside of the camp here. They are afraid that if they go to another center, after June, 1944, they will not be allowed to stay in a center. They don't know who will take care of them in case they are not able to support a large family on the outside. They are also afraid that if they go to another center they will not be able to get jobs. Here in Tule Lake it was mentioned that there were work opportunities for those remaining behind. In other centers there may not be enough jobs for everyone, in which case it would be very difficult to raise a large family. They could go out to seasonal work, of course, but many of them are afraid of that. They are more afraid of this than they are of the weather condition. They also believe that once they go out they will not be allowed to come back to camp again. This idea is generally accepted without reservation. Most of the people seem to want to stay if they are allowed to."

Analysis Note the strong economic motive in staying in Tule Lake. Add to this the fact that many of those remaining believe that they will be entitled to indemnities from the U.S. Government by virtue of remaining in camp, and one can start to imagine the strong hold this place has on many.

A Slip in Translation.

A most serious slip in translation was made in the recent issue of the Japanese section of the Dispatch, which included Dr. Jacoby's chart of the segregation process. This issue appeared on Tuesday, August 10, 1943. This slip almost seems like a part of a diabolical scheme to confuse the people. Mr. Tsuda's translation of Rowalt's speech was very misleading, and the wrong impression given at that time was never adequately dispelled. The slip in translation only confirmed in an effective way that segregation was only a part of a scheme to force people out of centers. In explaining the leave clearance hearing which would follow movement to other centers, "Persons denied clearance"

was translated as "those who refused to relocate (Gaibu iju o kyohi seru mono)."

While the difference in meaning is great in the English translation, the difference in the Japanese translation is a matter of one word only. It should have been translated: Gaibu iju o kyohi serareshi mono (Those who were refused relocation). Just offhand the mistake in translation is not so serious. The full effect of the mistranslation can not be understood unless the fear of the people is known.

At the present time it can be said that the greatest fear of the greatest number of Isseis is economic insecurity. Having lost most of their possession and their former means of making a livelihood and being refused the right to return to their former homes where they might live under familiar conditions, Isseis feel a great deal of insecurity. This is especially true of those who are too old to work very hard and have to support, even a wife who cannot work. This is more true of Isseis who have several small children to bring up yet for a number of years before they can become independent. Even those who are able to work and who have no children to support, still fear the outside because of possible harm that might come to them or of the discrimination they might meet. For these and possibly many other reasons many Isseis and some Niseis desire to cling to the security of the camp, at least for the duration. They view the WRA as an agency which has been doing its best to try to take this security away from them by various means. They suspect that the segregation is only another scheme to get the people out. They fear that at some future date they are going to be forced out of the camps. As one Issei said: "But aren't they going to determine whether you are going to obey the laws of the U.S. or not? Then doesn't that mean that if the WRA wants you to go out, you can't refuse after you sign a paper saying that you are going to obey the law?"

Viewed with this fear of being forced out of a center in mind, the mistranslation clearly implies: If those who refuse to relocate are going to be sent back to Tule Lake, then it means that everyone is going to be asked whether they are going to relocate or not. They are going to be forced out. If they refuse to relocate, they are going to be considered disloyal and returned to Tule Lake.

According to Mr. Nakamura, who brought this slip in Translation to JS's attention, the people are concluding that if they are going to be asked to relocate or to come back to Tule Lake, then it's just as well that they stay here in the first place, because they don't want to be put in a position where they are going to be forced out.

The seriousness of this slip and the fears held by some Isseis is evidently not realized in some sector of the population for Mr. Kurose remarked recently, "I suppose the majority of the people will be leaving Tule Lake." The WRA has estimated that 80 per cent of those who are to have hearings will remain in Tule Lake. What the actual percentage will be is worth watching. Many are going to change, but it's difficult to say how many.

#### Niseis Being Drafted

One fear which weighs on the minds of both Isseis and Niseis is the possibility of draft for Niseis. Some say that if they relocate then they stand the chance of being drafted. The more recent version is that if they leave Tule Lake, Niseis will be drafted. According to Mrs. Kurose a lady who intended to stay here said: "Those of you who leave are going to have your sons drafted. They're going to draft Niseis sometime between September and December this year." This fear was very great at the time of the registration but after that many Niseis expressed their willingness to take their chance with the draft to go out to school or to work. How great a factor this fear of the draft is in deterring people from leaving Tule Lake is difficult to say but it is a

55

James Sakoda on Segregation

factor that is being considered by many people. Mr. Kurose probably exemplified one faction when she says: "Of course, we don't want to lose our sons in the Army. But when the time comes to give them an education, we don't want them to stay in a place like this." Mrs. Sato, on the same subject told an "agitator" in her block who came to advise her at the time of registration not to register because her son will be drafted; "You don't have any son of age to go to school or to work. How can you understand our position."

A recent rumor has brought out the attitude of the other side. Yesterday evening the elder Sofyes were saying: "Niseis who were discharged from the Army are being recalled if they answered 'yes.' Some of them are scheduled to leave next Monday." Mr. Sofye was saying: "Everybody's got to answer 'no.' We can't afford to go to other centers and on top of that have Niseis drafted." Whether this rumor is true or not has not been ascertained, but Mrs. Ishizuka was asking last night; "Is it true that Niseis who answer yes are going to be drafted?"

August 14, 1943 Kibei Worry

Nagata, the chief cook, came to JS with a worried look. Mrs. Yamamoto had said that his name was on the list of Group two's. He wanted to know what he should do. JS told him to go to the Leave Office to find out where he was placed, and if he were in Group II, to go to Dr. Jacoby's office to see if his application for repatriation had been accepted. Later he came back and told JS in a satisfied sort of way that he was in Group I.

Trend in Family Interviewing

Anywhere from 15 to 25 per cent of those who are supposed to show up for interviews are not coming in for them. It may be that they are not receiving their notices in time. But what is more likely is that some families who do not intend to leave Tule Lake have made up their minds not to come in for interviews. Of those who come in the majority come in with choices of centers and reasons for wanting to go to a center all decided upon beforehand. There is a definite trend toward wanting to enlarge the basic family unit to include more than the immediate family as defined as parents and unmarried children. Those who give their choices of centers seem to have very few questions to ask on other aspects of the segregation program. A few who have come in have either refused to give choices of centers, refused to talk, or have given lengthy testimonials to the effect that they wish to return to Japan and consequently do not wish to leave Tule Lake. The overwhelming majority of the cases of insistence on staying are bachelor Isseis. Some say that they have all of their friends here and see no reason for going to another center. Others say that they wish to return to Japan and are willing to take out repatriation papers.

Yesterday afternoon Mrs. Freed met with Dr. Opler, the Social Analyst, to discuss some of the resistance cases. JS was invited to sit <sup>in</sup> on this discussion. The eight or nine cases of resistance were reviewed. Tabulations for ward differences were made, but there did not seem to be any. There were none from Ward V, probably for the simple reason that most families in Ward V had at least one person who did not register or answer 'no' to Question 28. The most interesting point was that most of the cases of resistance were bachelor Isseis who did not have any or only very few family ties. Mrs. Freed did not express any opinion at all. Dr. Opler felt that some of the bachelors would be willing to go if they were attached to some family group, since some of them said that they did not have any friends in other centers. He also felt that those who wanted to stay definitely might be treated as medical cases and be allowed to stay, although he foresaw a difficulty there because the medical social workers would not let just anyone stay without good reasons. There seemed to be a fear on Dr. Opler's part that the

whole segregation program would get out of hand if it became known that bachelor Isseis, or anyone for that matter, were being allowed to stay. JS expressed the opinion that so far as he could see these Isseis who wanted to stay probably belonged in Tule Lake anyway. He did not see why a great deal of fuss should be made to try to get them to leave. They were the type of persons who were most likely to be irresponsible, with very little concern for the future of the Japanese in America, who were bitter about evacuation, and who relied heavily on obtaining aid and consolation from Japan. It was decided that a tabulation of those who did not come in and of further cases of resistance be made before the data was analyzed to find trends in resistance. Dr. Opler was desirous of writing up a report on the trend in segregation.

#### Segregation Hearings

According to Dr. Opler, there was resistance at the hearings to the question: "Do you want Japan to win the war?" He said that even the interpreters objected to the question being asked and mentioned that the party should not be required to answer such a question. When JS mentioned that practically every Issei wanted Japan to win, Dr. Opler said that he could not mention such a fact in his report. He was curious to know the reason why there was so much objection to answering the question. JS could not give him a good explanation. One consideration was that it was considered an unfair question by Niseis because of the treatment they had received. The attitude of many Negroes of desiring Japan to win was brought up as an analogy. Mrs. Freed thought that the individuals were not willing to commit themselves fully one way or the other.

From Dr. Opler JS received the impression that it was being made difficult for a person to change his answer from 'no' to 'yes.' He asked the Social Analyst on what basis the hearing was being held. The latter said that at the Denver conference they had received instructions to test the loyalty of the individuals before passing on their change of answer. Which side a person desired to win the war was presumably calculated to determine in part a person's loyalty.

From another person comes a report that Dorothy Montgomery said that at this center changing of answer from 'no' to 'yes' would not be as difficult as it would be in other centers, where there was less confusion than here. Only a few simple questions were asked, such as where one's future lay, and the whole proceeding was over in about five minutes.

#### August 16, 1943 Kishiyama

On Saturday Kishiyama said that he was undecided as to what he was going to do. This may be an indication that he wants to stay. According to Mrs. Ishizuka, Mary, his wife, wants to go to another center, but Kishiyama doesn't. He tore up the notice for Mary to appear for a hearing when it came.

Kishiyama said that Tanabe was too dogmatic to have his way with people. He was not surprised that the mess crew threatened to quit if he didn't.

#### Tatsuo Egi's Hearing

Tatsuo is a Kibei married to a Nisei. He is a reasonable fellow, and gets along well with his wife. If the two were alone, one would suppose that they would leave Tule Lake. His wife's family -- the Sofyes -- however, have decided to stay in Tule Lake. One of the reasons is that the parents do not want to have their sons drafted. Consequently, when Tatsuo went for his hearing, he did not change his answer from 'no' to 'yes'. When asked what went on at the hearing he said:

"They asked me whether I wanted Japan to win or not, and I said, 'Yes.' Then they asked me whether I wanted to stay in Tule Lake, and I said 'yes.' When they asked me why I wanted to stay, I said that I didn't want to be drafted. They told me that many

people who wanted to stay in Tule Lake were not disloyal.

Block 71 Type A

Block 71 is a mixture of people from other blocks, some of whom moved in because they were no longer allowed to stay in their own blocks. There is a small group of vocal old Isseis, who like to talk about the war. This type of man is found in every block, but the ones in this block seem to be as active as the most active in other blocks. They are more active than the few in Block 25, who are relatively quiet. They are often seen congregating in front of the boiler house of the latrine, discussing the current topic. The Block Manager of the block is a former lawyer from Seattle. According to one source, he 'milked' the Japanese people at the time of evacuation by rendering legal aid. He was smart enough, however, to stay in the background most of the time and avoid becoming an object of suspicion and hatred. He was compared with Dr. Iki, who also made money but was not smart enough to conceal the fact. During registration the Block Manager earned the reputation as having caused unnecessary trouble by calling meetings and by the things that he said. Although he is disliked by the quieter people in the block, others respect his opinion and knowledge. Recently he has been suspected of being the center of agitation, although there are no signs of definite organization. It is difficult to say whether any one or two persons are responsible, but the people in Block 71 have been disturbed by rumors sufficiently to be the center of resistance to the segregation program.

Several weeks ago the assertion of this vocal group was that those who were loyal were going to be thrown out of the centers. A few days ago some of them went around telling people that the war between Japan and America was just about over. The claim was that Russia had made a separate peace with Germany, and therefore the war could not last much longer. This rumor was also heard in Ward II and was attributed to Radio Tokyo. Over the weekend, however, this rumor was admitted by a member of the vocal group to be false.

Another rumor, which seemed innocent enough, but which had some earmarks of a desire to cause disturbances, was started late last week. On Friday the steward of the messhall in Block 71 announced in the messhall that he received a notice to appear at a hearing ( or an interview). He was asked to sign a paper, which he refused to do. He was not sure what was written on it because he could not read English. Even if an expert read it, he thought it could not be easily understood. It was written in such a fashion that it could mean that those signing such a paper and leaving the project would have to give up all claims to \$50,000 or \$60,000 of indemnity which was due them. He asked that the people be careful of what they signed when they were called. A group stayed behind after eating to discuss the matter seriously. The steward is also supposed to have mentioned: "It also says that you can stay here if you like." This can be interpreted as a means of trying to get people to keep from going, even when they should, although this interpretation may not be correct. Members of the vocal group came to Mr. Kurose to ask to see the notice that came to his place, but he wanted to avoid trouble, and got away by saying that his daughter had taken the paper with her. The notice that he had received was for the family interview.

Since then there has been no confirmation of this rumor, but it has continued to spread. Kinji Ito, the Block Manager, is said to have been consulted on the matter, and he promised to look into the matter. According to reports via the Planning Board, he is supposed to have spread the rumor at a ward meeting. He was also heard telling the same story to someone in the block. Evidently, he was not very eager to look into the truth of the matter. The most recent news on the issue was the statement made by members of the vocal group that from the second day (of the interview or the hearing -- no signature was required at either) the paper to be signed was not produced any more. But it

was hidden away and was sure to appear again at some point, for persons leaving the project to have to sign. They might be required to sign it when they received their baggage, hoping that no one would bother to read what it was all about. Many block people, in the meantime, were afraid of receiving notices of interviews, or if they did receive it were afraid of appearing for it.

Said one source close to the administration: "I have respect for that fellow's (Kenji Ito, the Block Manager) intelligence -- he's smart as a whip. But I don't like him. I don't think that the movement is organized, but I wouldn't be surprised if he planted that story just to stir up trouble." Others also have branded him as an "agitator."

Want Japan to win?

There has been a question as to why people at the hearing resented having to be asked whether they wanted Japan to win or not. It seems that many Niseis and probably most Isseis are desirous of having Japan win -- at least not seeing her lose. Henry Kaihara's casual remark is probably typical of a California Nisei. He is thinking of going to another center, but he said:

"Of course, we don't want Japan to lose because we have our own future to think of." In other words, he feels that his own future would be worse off if Japan lost the war.

Suyetake family

There are several older boys in the family. During registration the whole family (living in Ward V) was against registering and did not do so. Later the boys regretted it because they wanted to go out. They had made application for leave clearance before and were subsequently cleared. Now they are not being called up for a hearing, and the boys are glad because they can go out. The parents, however, are worried because they may be sent out of the center. The boys are a bit worried now about being drafted if they go to another center. The possibility of being drafted is an important factor which tends to keep people here.

Mrs. Ishizuka.

Mrs. Ishizuka is a Kibei married to an Issei. She had answered 'no, no', probably on instructions from her husband. She had her hearing Saturday. They asked her whether she had changed her mind about the answer to Question 28. She said that she hadn't. She was asked why she wanted to stay, and she said that she couldn't go out and make a living very easily. The Board told her that she might have to leave just the same. Evidently they were not convinced that she was disloyal, although she had intended to have herself classified as such. When she came home, she was told by JS and George S. that she might have made a mistake. If she stayed in Tule Lake she wouldn't be able to have her husband go out to earn a little money. With one baby and another on its way, the family could not live on what the husband alone earned here. She seemed to feel as if she had made a mistake in her choice. But she retorted that if she went to another center, she would have to leave it sooner or later, and living on the outside would be much harder than here in Tule Lake. She then said that she was told that she might have to leave, anyway.

Mr. Oda

Mr. Oda probably represents the quieter type of Issei, not highly educated or intelligent, not too difficult to get along with. He is not one of those who is always talking about the war, and who is trying to attract attention. He is very much concerned for his children, and his children are on the quiet and conforming side. He dropped to see George S. and JS to ask their opinion of the segregation. He has one son in the Army and several other boys. He said:

59

James Sakoda on Segregation

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

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

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

August 17, 1943 Mrs. Kaya's Hearing.

Mrs. Kaya recently had her hearing. At the time of registration her husband had advised her to answer 'no' to question 28 because he was an enemy alien and he didn't want a split in the family. Her husband decided, however, that it was best to leave Tule Lake and take their chance in another center. Even if the war is over, they want to stay a few more years before returning to Japan. Even if they are forced out, they know that they can find employment opportunities in homes. One of Mr. Kaya's rationalizations of his position is: "You've got to repay an obligation (on o kaesu). Many of these Japanese are ungrateful (on shirazu)."

At the hearing Mrs. Kaya answered the questions in the following manner:

Q: "How is your feeling now toward Question 28?"

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

Q: "How is your husband's answer?"

A: "No, yes."

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

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

That was all that happened at the hearing. But she asked:

"Will people be forced out of a center?"

The answer was:

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

John Matsumoto

John talks of returning to Japan because he finds no hope for himself in this country. He thinks that he might go to Java.

Best's Speech.

Sunday evening Best made a speech on the outdoor stage to clarify some of the rumors that have been floating around the Colony recently. The translation was prepared beforehand and delivered by Father Dai, who did an excellent job of it. One source of mistake, then, had largely been avoided by taking the precaution to have the speech translated beforehand. According to Opler he had worked on the speech, although it did include some ideas that Best had himself. The speech was started in the right tone. The people were praised for their understanding, and their cooperation was asked for. Then some of the major rumors were clarified, not mechanically, as it was Coverley's custom to do, but with a view to convincing the public that they were false.

The first rumor that was explained was that if a person left Tule Lake he would be drafted. The answer to this was that selective service was handled by a different agency, and there was no reason to believe that Tule Lake would be exempted. Those who were loyal and those who became of age while in Tule Lake would be drafted even if they were in Tule Lake. No mention, however, was made of those who answered 'no, no.' Major Marshall had issued a signed statement saying that those who answered 'no, no' would not be drafted. In other words, the answer was not entirely satisfactory, because the people still felt that if they remained in Tule Lake the chance of their being drafted was much less than if they went to another center.

Another rumor which was touched upon was that those who left Tule Lake would be considered disloyal by the Japanese government. This question was answered in an unfortunate way, according to the doubt it raised in the minds of some Isseis later on. The answer was that the documents of the WRA would be kept confidential (himitsu) and that foreign governments would not have access to them, and the people should make their choice without fear. In other words, the explanation recognized the possibility of being considered disloyal by the Japanese government if they pledged loyalty to the American government and went to another center. In a way, the people were being told that staying or leaving would mean that they had made a choice one way or other on the loyalty question. They would be either loyal to the U.S. or to Japan. This was the very thing that the people -- especially the Isseis -- wanted to avoid.

Mr. Akahoshi's reaction to this answer indicates the reaction found in one block:

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

Mr. Nakamura's reaction is similar, and indicates a desire to stay on the fence.

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

Mr. Shibutani sees the issue more clearly, and speaks with confidence:

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

The reluctance to be considered loyal or disloyal on the part of Isseis who are contemplating leaving Tule Lake is evident. They want to avoid being stamped or considering themselves either one or the other. In other words, they want to sit on the fence, where it is convenient. The fear that those leaving the center would be considered disloyal to Japan should have been handled in some other way, or left untouched.

Another answer which raised questions later was the indication that the people would have free and individual choice in determining whether they wanted to stay or not. This was in answer to a question as to whether people were being asked to relocate before being allowed to change their answers from 'no' to 'yes' at the hearings. This emphasis on the individual choice was good in one way because it sounded very democratic. On the other hand, it had its danger because actually the only ones who were being granted hearings were those in Group II. Three other groups were not being given a hearing. Those in Group IV, in fact, were there by virtue of the fact that they had answered 'yes' to a question (if they were Isseis) which asked if they would be law-abiding, and were to be considered 'loyal' to the United States by virtue of that fact. They were having no choice in the matter.

Misunderstanding on this score was evidenced by the following remark by a man in Block 71 right after the speech. He had answered 'yes' to Question 28, but wanted to stay in Tule Lake. Undoubtedly he was influenced in his perception of what Best had actually said, by his own desires.

"Well, everything is all right. Best said that everyone would have an individual choice to decide one way or the other. Regardless of whether you answered 'yes' or 'no' you can go if you like, and you can stay if you like." Gross misconception of this extent does not seem to be general -- not in Block 25, at least. But in the minds of many people the factor of individual choice has been registered.

One of the most common questions that is asked interviewers is: "Do we have to go if we answered 'yes'?" On the one hand, there are people who believe that the WRA should be firm and not give in to the stubborn type of individuals who believe that they can't get their own way by not complying with the wishes of the administration. This attitude was expressed by one of the interviewers:

"The Army's behind this. People are going to be moved whether they like it or not -- they might as well understand that."

Mr. Kurose, who is for cooperation with the WRA and doing his duty to America, said: "I don't think that the government should let people who agitate stay even though they want to stay here. It wouldn't be right to those who are going quietly."

The attitude of many people seems to be that of watchful waiting. On the one hand, they fear the power of the administration to enforce anything they want to. On the other, they have a feeling that the administration is helpless if the people decide to sit down and not move unless they are moved at the point of a bayonet. Some feel that the WRA is bluffing and that its bluff can be called. Others fear that it is not entirely bluffing when it says that people who are scheduled to go must go. Yukichi Washizu, interviewed on August 16 by JS is a good example of an individual who is wavering

in his attitude toward the WRA. He came in and poured out a number of reasons why he didn't want to leave Tule Lake. He had many things stored in a Japanese school which was going to be shipped up here and had to be taken care of. He had property in California. He had an only 20 years of age son who might be drafted if he went to another center. If he went to another center, he may be forced out. He tried to be <sup>as</sup>convincing as he could, as the interviewer listened quietly.

"But," he said, "if we have to go I'd like to go to Granada where my wife's family is farming nearby and where we have friends from Walnut Grove. Some people have told me that if we were insistent (gambaru) we wouldn't have to leave Tule Lake." It would only take an organized move to resist segregation and movement out of Tule Lake to make Mr. Washizu a supporter of such a movement. Evidently, such a move has not crystallized in his block.

A few especially bachelor Isseis come in and state that they will not move out under any circumstances, unless they are forcibly moved. Still others do not show up for interviews, probably hoping that if they don't they will not have to move.

There is still a doubt in the minds of the people as to whether an organized resistance is possible or not. Unless there is a clarification of the alternative measures -- perhaps punitive -- that may be put into effect for those who do not leave voluntarily, there is a chance for an organized resistance being started by a small segment of the population. Such a situation, if mishandled, could develop into something serious.

Two other important questions which were clarified by Mr. Best were that people would not be forced out of centers, and that jobs would be available to those going to other centers and for those who stay behind till segregation is over. The latter were practically guaranteed jobs in the new center as "key men."

Mr. Best received some applause for the remarks that he made. The applause was not loud or extended, but it was a favorable sign. He is winning the confidence of the people.

August 18, 1943 Handling of Resistance to Segregation.

In Tule Lake the resistance to the segregation program is taking the form of the so-called 'loyal' ones being unwilling to move to another center. This resistance is not by a large group of people. About 20 per cent of the families do not come in for interviews, and perhaps this is an indication of the extent of the resistance. Some in this group have made up their minds definitely that they are not going to leave unless they are forced out. Others are less adamant and can still be persuaded or scared into leaving. At the other extreme are those who are holding out merely because they have heard that those who wanted to stay were going to be allowed to stay.

Roughly three different ways of handling the situation could be postulated. One is to make it clear that those who are on the removal list are going to be forced to leave if necessary. The second is to allow those who want to stay <sup>to</sup>do so at their own risk. The third possibility is to leave the situation unclarified -- neither to say that people will be forced to leave or to say that they will be allowed to stay. In the Administrative Instructions forced evacuation from Tule Lake has been counseled against:

"The project director of the proposed segregation center should be prepared for some opposition to the idea of moving on the part of these people. To physically force them to move would be to turn them into potential segregees and so defeat the whole purpose of the

James Sakoda on Segregation

segregation program. If a crisis arises the project director should do all in his power to gain the assistance of evacuee leadership ..."

The second possibility of allowing anyone to stay if they so wish is frowned upon by the administration because it would upset the segregation program. Even as it is, Tule Lake is expected to be filled. If others scheduled to leave were allowed to stay in large numbers, additional facilities would have to be built or another center selected as a segregation center. Also, as Dr. Jacoby claimed, it would be unfair to some to allow them to stay merely because of immediate reasons, when for their ultimate good they should move to another center now.

Up to this point the third alternative has been selected. When people came in to ask whether they would have to move even when they did not want to, they were told that they would not be forcibly evicted. On the other hand they had to leave if they were on the removal list whether they wanted to or not, unless they were medical cases or were a member of a split family.

The time was approaching when the administration should make its policy on this matter definite. JS discussed the matter with Dr. Opler on Monday. Opler had discussed it with Best, and he felt that the project director was "very clear" on the matter. Opler felt that it would be best if there were stern words from Washington, saying that all those on the removal list would have to leave, thus relieving Best of the responsibility of threatening the people with forced eviction. Opler realized that there were some people who insisted on staying at all cost and who really belonged in Tule Lake, and saw the possibility of allowing them to stay, after all. But he insisted that the people could not be told that they would be allowed to stay if they belonged here, since that would start a movement to stay. Anyway, he did not think the people in Washington would be in favor of such a liberal policy. They were very much concerned about putting the segregation program through successfully. He thought that the best policy was to follow the middle course of keeping the people guessing as to what would happen to those who wavered. Opler felt that if large groups started to leave, it would serve as a pull to make others in the wavering group leave. What he was afraid of was organized resistance, and he thought that if they could be spotted soon enough, they could be broken up before they got too big.

JS agreed that the people should not be threatened with forced eviction and neither should they be told that they could stay if they wished. But he pointed out the danger of not clarifying the administrative policy. If the people did not know the alternative punitive measure, they might get it into their heads that if anyone did not leave no one would have to leave. In other words, it would invite organized resistance, which could be easily whipped up by agitators who did not want people to leave. JS suggested that the wavering group who refused to come in for interviews or to state their choice of centers be penalized by not being given their choice if they did not come in for their interviews on time. This would serve to cut down the number in the wavering group, making them less susceptible to agitation not to come in for interviews. The residue of the wavering group could be dealt with toward the end of the segregation program, when most of those on the removal list had left. Then those who were considered disloyal could be told to stay in Tule Lake, and the small number remaining in the wavering group <sup>were</sup> bluntly told to leave because they did not belong in Tule Lake. The policy then would be to say that those who were on the removal list and who did not have a very good reason would not be allowed to stay in Tule Lake. There would be no individual choice in the matter except in cases of split families. In medical and other cases permission to stay would only be granted as a result of investigation. It could also be stated that it is to the advantage of the colonists to come in for interviews and state their choice of centers, in case they are not allowed to stay in Tule Lake.

James Sakoda on Segregation

Opler thought that the ideas JS expressed were fairly good. He thought that those who wavered in their decision should be penalized for not coming in for interviews or not stating their choices.

John D. Cook

Cook had been called on the carpet by Best for the mistakes that he had allowed to appear in the Japanese translation of the Dispatch. He in turn blamed his translators and was ready to fire them. The whole TD staff was ready to resign because of Cook's attitude. Best was prepared to close up the TD, if necessary, if Cook could not handle it properly. Opler was sent down to the TD office to straighten matters out. He found that Cook had not taken care to see that the translations were done correctly and in good style. The translators were retained and the staff did not resign. Opler set up a translation board (presumably in the PB office) to review all official translations. All this according to Opler.

Mizunos

The Mizunos of Block 25 are typical of the more Japanese type of family. There is a son in the Army, but still the rest of the family are planning to stay in Tule Lake. Ray, one of the sons who answered "no, no" insists on not changing his answer. For one thing, he is afraid of being drafted if he should leave Tule Lake. Mr. Mizuno came to the information office to find out whether his family could stay or not, and he was told that if his family contained a "no" person, the whole family would be allowed to stay. Eddy Sasaki, a son-in-law to Mr. Mizuno, came to JS to find out whether his family could stay or not. He had taken out repatriation papers, but had cancelled it because he thought that it might make it harder for his interned father to be released. He was a Kibei, but he spoke fairly good English, and was rather quiet. JS told him that he would have to leave Tule Lake, and that there was nothing that he could do about it. Eddy said that he himself was not afraid of the draft, but that Ray was. Also his brother, Yukio, was hesitating about changing his answer from "no" to "yes" because he did not want to be drafted. JS explained that even if he went to another center he could come back if he took out repatriation papers. Also, he might find out that he liked the other center better than Tule Lake. He could go out to work for a while if he wished because he would certainly need money in order to bring up his children. Eddy wanted to know whether he would be forced to relocate, since he did not want to leave camp just yet. JS assured him that the WRA had no intention of making anyone leave who did not want to leave. He said that the WRA would not dare force people out for fear of retaliation on American prisoners. This seems to have calmed most of Eddy's fears. He seemed to realize that going to another center was not entirely disadvantageous. But he said:

"But you know what people will say about a person leaving his parents."

He seemed to be more worried about what people would say about him. JS's answer to this was that Ray could take care of the family, and he was now leaving because he had to, not through his own choice. Another question that he asked was:

"If I should be drafted, do you think that I can send my wife back here to Tule Lake?"

James Sakoda on Segregation

This desire for married sons to want to stay with their parents and for relatives to stay together may be difficult for Caucasians to understand, but it is a definite trend among Japanese. Even Niseis will sincerely say that they wish to stay with their parents if at all possible to look after them.

Ray's comment on Eddy's situation was interesting. He said: "It's certainly sad if Eddy can't stay, because he doesn't want to go at all."

JS pointed out that he could come back again. Ray's answer was: "Yeah, if I were him I'd go to Arkansas, the farthest center. I'd stay about three or four months, and about the time I got tired of the place, I'd come back again."

Ray is young yet and craves fun and adventure. He probably realizes that he'll miss out on something by staying here.

Mary Kishiyama

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

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

JS said that she may have to go, and she said,

"I don't care."

JS pointed out that her husband might not like it, and she retorted:

"I can't help it!"

JS believes that she is glad if it is true that she has to leave.

Resistance to giving second choice

In general there are two types of resistance that can be noticed among those who come for family interviews. The first is the resistance against giving a second choice of centers. The second is the resistance against leaving Tule Lake. In the first case the second choice is often mentioned as Tule Lake. If they cannot go to a center of their choice, they do not want to go anywhere else. They say that they will stay if they can't go where they like, but they really don't want to insist on staying if they have to go. Some come with the intention of giving only one or two choices, but can be prevailed upon to list the rest when they are asked which centers they wish to avoid. With the more stubborn cases, however, more persuasive arguments are necessary.

One good argument is that it is unfair to others if a second and third choice is not made by everyone. Although this is usually sufficient to arouse a sense of guilty conscience in an individual, it is usually not sufficient to get a second choice from the more stubborn ones. The argument that works the best with the stubborn ones is to say that they will have to go whether they make a choice or not. If they don't make a choice, they'll be sent wherever is

James Sakoda on Segregation

felt most convenient. If their reasons for going to the center of first choice are good, they'll be allowed to go. Otherwise, they won't be allowed to go there. When this is explained politely even the most stubborn ones are willing to name at least a second choice.

Resistance to leaving Tule Lake

The second type of resistance is more serious. It is presumed that many of those who do not show up for interviews don't come in for this reason. One girl this morning was sent by just such a family to find out what would happen if the family did not come in for an interview. She said:

"The family has made up its mind that it won't leave no matter what happens. They're afraid that if they leave Tule Lake they won't be able to get money from the government. They took out repatriation papers prior to evacuation, but they have never been found. They know that they <sup>will</sup> come back here even if they go to another center, but they feel that if they leave here once, they'll lose their right to indemnity from the government. I know they won't come in, because they've got their minds all made up."

Nobushige Oye, interviewed by JS on August 17, is a good example of a person showing resistance to moving. He lives at 1501-D.

JS: "I see that you are all alone. Is there any family that you would like to go with to another center?"

NO: (Somewhat taken aback) "I want to stay here if possible. I don't have any friends in any other center. I answered that I would obey the laws of the United States, but anyone would have answered in that way. I didn't mean to say that I would help America, or anything like that. I'm alone, and there is no sense in my going to any other center. I intend to stay here. I helped make the Japanese room in 3008, and they have asked me to stay if at all possible."

To break down such resistance takes patience and persuasion. JS's line of argument ran somewhat as follows:

"I'm sorry but you'll have to go. If you do go, it's better to go with some friends and go to a place of your own choice. When you answered question 28 they only asked you to obey the laws, and I don't think that they would expect more <sup>than</sup> that from you. I don't think that you need to consider yourself disloyal to Japan just because you went to another center. Then even if you went to another center, you can come back if you take out repatriation papers. I know it's troublesome, but I don't think we can help that. And there is a chance that you might like the other center better than you do Tule Lake. You said that you didn't have any friends in other centers, but you certainly have friends here who will be leaving. You might talk it over with them and also see what center you would like to go and see. Until now the government hasn't given us any choice about where we wanted to go. This is the first time that it is giving us any choice in the matter. If you had taken out repatriation papers, you would have been able to stay. But since you haven't you'll have to wait till you get to the other center."

After half an hour of talk of this sort, Mr. Oye finally decided to go

James Sakoda on Segregation

home and discuss the matter with some friends. He admitted that when he came in he had intended to stay, but he would consider leaving now. These cases of resistance on an individual basis are relatively easy to handle. What must be avoided is organized resistance.

August 20. Mr. Akahoshi

Mr. Akahoshi said in front of Mr. Mizuno, whose family is staying:

"We've been tricked into going. That's what all of the people believe. If I didn't have to, I wouldn't go out. I'd rather just settle down here."

He says this in spite of the fact that he has made plans to relocate. He is probably putting up a front in order to keep good relationship with those who are staying.

Ward II Segregation committee

Wednesday evening a meeting of the Ward II segregation committee was held in 2820. Six Isseis appeared--including Nishida from Block 25 and Sakai, the block manager of Block 28. There were no representatives from Block 26. The only two Niseis present were Tsuda, the warden, and JS. Sakai and Tsuda had been sent as temporary representatives because not enough persons got together to hold a formal election. This time only half of the representatives showed up, but the Isseis decided that Sakai and Tsuda should be approved as the official representatives. It was pointed out that as a result of experience at the time of registration a great many people were opposed to block meetings. Consequently, this was given as one reason why some blocks did not send delegates. Nobody bothered to clarify the purpose of the committee, but Dr. Ichihashi was quoted as saying that a committee of this sort was necessary to make demands on the administration. The few present sat around and talked informally, and this matter of demands was brought up. The Isseis agreed that demands should be made for guarantee of jobs in the other centers, or for pay and clothing allowance. One person suggested that 60 per cent of the pay and clothing allowance should be guaranteed those not able to find a job, this payment to be made over a period of from three to six months.

Oda family

Mr. Oda informed JS that two of his boys had answered "no" at the hearing. It seems that this was based primarily on the fear that they might be drafted if they left Tule Lake. Mr. Oda wanted to know whether he could stay with the boys, and he was assured that he could. He showed signs of having wanted to go out. His son in the Army had advised the family to go out to Colorado to farm, and Mr. Oda wanted to do this. But he could not get his sons to change their answer. Even Kan, who is only 17 years old and an obedient son, insisted on retaining his "no" answer. Mr. Oda was optimistic about being able to leave Tule Lake. "They'll probably let us out about the beginning of next year. They want us to get out, anyway." JS told him that he couldn't be sure. Mr. Oda was afraid that the family would be sent back to Japan. He wanted to believe that an exchange ship would not come. If it did, he wanted to remain behind to look after his son in the Army.

Takahashi case

This case was brought to JS's attention by Mr. Oda. Mr. Takahashi was a

James Sakoda on Segregation

cultured person from San Francisco. He was the best go player in the Project and also taught yokyoku. He lived alone with his wife, who spoke a little English. She went to 1308 for her interview. According to her own account, she had explained that her husband was diabetic. Tule Lake was good for him, and he had improved a little since coming here. He was having Mr. Sofye massage him, and wanted to stay for that reason, too. (He thought that Mr. Sofye would be staying here.) Also, he had a bloody nose several weeks ago which did not stop bleeding for several days. He was in no condition to move from here, although he was able to walk around and play go. She was told by Miss Gottfried, the medical social worker, that he would have to leave. "You must leave," she is said to have reiterated time and again. She asked Miss Gottfried (she reported the name as Garfield) whether they would be forced to leave. Here she seems to have made the signs of putting a rope around her neck and being pulled along. Miss Gottfried is said to have nodded her head. She was asked why Mr. Best and Dr. Jacoby had made the statement that no one would be forced to leave, and the medical social worker replied that she didn't know. She was polite, but stern. She showed no sympathy, and as Mrs. Takahashi put it: "Toritsuku shima ga nakatta." (There was no room left for appeal.)

Mrs. Takahashi went back a second time, this time employing a interpreter, rather than to rely on her own poor English. The interpreter informed her that the social medical worker insisted that she and her husband had to go. Miss Gottfried asked that the husband come in himself for an interview, and offered to send an ambulance if he couldn't come. He came in, but the answer was the same. He could not stay.

According to Mr. Oda's account, Mr. Takahashi was an influential man in the community. He was a quiet gentleman, who would not do anything rash. If it were anyone else, it might be all right, but he was a man who should be treated with respect. Besides it was outrageous to threaten to evict a man who was ill. He taught go in about five different places and also taught utai. He had already told some people about being threatened with eviction, and the response was that they'll sit down and see what the administration could do. Mr. Sofye in Block 25 had gotten wind of the matter, and had mentioned that it would be a good thing if the Takahashi's went on a sit-down strike and made a test case out of it. That evening a block meeting was held in Mr. Takahashi's block (Block 10), and he brought up the fact that he had been threatened with forced eviction. He declared that he would be willing to leave if Best were to make it clear through a signed statement that everyone on the removal list was going to be sent to other camps regardless of their condition. If Best did that he wanted the matter taken up with the Japanese Government via the Spanish Consul--the block meeting was being held to discuss questions to be asked the Consul. The reaction at the block meeting was a wave of indignation, and an increase in the determination not to leave the project.

Mr. Oda wanted to know whether JS couldn't get special consideration for Mr. Takahashi, and in return he might be asked to keep quiet about being told that he would be sent out by force. JS told Mr. Oda that no one was supposed to say that a person would be forced to leave, and offered to go see Mr. Takahashi.

The following morning (August 19) JS went with Mr. Oda to see the Takahashis. From them he heard their side of the story. He also got this information.

James Sakoda on Segregation

Mr. Takahashi had no more intentions of living in America. He had bought most of the things that he wanted to take back to Japan, except for furniture. He was ready to return to Japan. The only thing was that he wanted to wait till the end of the war because he wanted to wind up his property before he left, although there wasn't much of it. They had also understood Mr. Best to have said that no one would be forced to leave Tule Lake.

JS apologized for what the interviewer had said. He didn't know who she was, but he was sure that she had made a mistake in saying that they would be forced out. At the same time he suspected that the interviewer had not said more than that they had to leave. He also said that those who had medical reasons could be allowed to stay. Mr. Oda broke in and said that JS wanted Mr. Takahashi to keep quiet about the fact that he had been threatened with eviction. JS really didn't want this said, but he glossed over the point as smoothly as he could. He did not want to give the impression that he was bribing Mr. Takahashi into keeping quiet in order to get him special consideration. He didn't know that he could get special consideration for anyone.

JS saw Dorothy Montgomery, head of the Social Welfare Department, about the matter, and she relayed the case to Carter. Montgomery mentioned that Miss Gottfried had the wrong attitude, and was angry because she seemed to be antagonizing people. She said that she did not get "kickbacks." JS asked Grace Hashiguchi about Gottfried, and was informed that Deki Nakazawa, the Japanese medical social worker, had a difficult time working with her. Also, the Social Welfare Department and the medical social worker had never gotten along amicably. JS took the matter to Dr. Opler, the Social Analyst. He said that he would look into the case. He said that he wanted to go easy on Gottfried because she was a "pet" of the medical social workers from Washington. She was considered a sensitive girl who was misunderstood. He thought that she was a repressed type of individual, giving mechanical answers to questions. Dr. Opler didn't want to be accused of "picking" on her, as he had on Dr. Pedicord. That evening JS saw Miss Gottfried at a meeting, and was impressed with the mechanical smile that she possessed.

That night JS informed Mr. Oda that he had told several Caucasians about the matter, and that they would look into the matter. (Also, see JS Diary for August 19.)

Mr. Obayashi

Mr. Obayashi told JS that the hearing had recently become harder. It was more difficult now to retain the "no" answer. He was selected as the temporary representative to the segregation committee, but he wanted to keep out of it because he would have to remain behind the project and take the blame for mistakes from those who might come in from other projects or those who remained behind. He thought that Mr. Yoshida was a slight reactionary, even though he kept very still. He thought that he might have started this idea of the segregation committee. Mr. Obayashi advised against handling the segregation problem because he felt that trouble would be stirred up if the committee did.

Fear of those leaving

There is fear expressed on the part of those who have made up their minds to go that those who attempt to sit down and not go may not have to go, after all.

James Sakoda on Segregation

In other words, they are afraid of being considered fools for going without any sort of protest. This fear was expressed by the block manager, Tanabe and Nishida of Block 25 when they urged JS to get matters clarified. They said that if it were made clear that people on the removal list had to leave, they would leave quietly. If they were kept doubtful on this point, more of them would be likely to sit down and not leave. They pointed out that there hadn't been sufficient clarification of important points on the part of the administration. They hoped that JS could get the administration to make their stand clear and swing the whole affair in favor of leaving, rather than of putting up a protest to stay.

Advice to Opler

JS advised Dr. Opler to publish more information on segregation. He asked why there wasn't more coordination between him and John D. Cook, and why Cook printed so much relocation material. Opler's explanation that Cross, from the Washington office of the Reports Division, was handling relocation, and Cook thought that the Reports Division was the most important in the whole WRA. One point that JS stressed was that the stand of the administration should be made clear. That those on the removal list had to leave. He also asked that the draft deferment possibilities for farm workers should be published, perhaps as news items taken from an outside paper. Opler felt that it was dangerous to play this point up for fear of outside criticism. Another point that JS thought should be mentioned was that people will not be forced out of another center. Another was that they can come back to a center if they so desired. Opler was cagey here, too, pointing out that the WRA was being criticized for being too paternal with evacuees. JS also suggested that the fact that Tule Lake would be crowded should be played up. He also pointed out to Opler that many of the evacuees wanted to go reluctantly if they went at all. They did not want to go because of their own choice, but were willing to go if it were inevitable. He pointed out the Sofyes, the Kishiyamas, and Ishizukas as good examples.

Sofye family

The Sofye family has had a little friction. The boy in the family, Bob, changed his "no" answer some time back. He wants to relocate directly, if possible. He's spoken to Dr. Jacoby and was told that he might be able to get his leave clearance hearing before going to another center. The father seems to be quite worried about the fact that leaving Tule Lake might mean disloyalty to Japan. If at all possible, he wants to stay. Even at the messhall he kept saying that everyone in the family has got to answer "no." Bob's sullen retort was: "I don't want to stay in a place like this." Yoshiko just came, and was prevailed upon by her parents to register "no." But when she went to check up on why she wasn't getting a hearing, she was told that there was no record of her registration. It might be that she registered too late to be effective. Now her folks are dismayed because they are on the removal list. Aiko, still in grammar school, is glad because she won't have to return to Japan. Mrs. Sofye doesn't seem to mind going to another center at all, although she was vociferous about staying for a while. Her attitude was one of, "Shikata ga nai ja nai no." (What can you do about it?) Mr. Sofye seems to feel pretty badly because he does not want to be considered disloyal to Japan.

Kato family

The eldest boy repatriated, but was called for a hearing. He's determined not to change his answer. His two other sisters answered "no." This is a good example of a quiet Japanese family. Their adjustment is to Japan.

James Sakoda on Segregation

Rumor

The rumor about having to sign some sort of paper is still floating around. The Planning Board was trying to get hold of the paper that those leaving were supposed to be forced to sign. One man stated that two or three persons were taken off the stage because they refused to sign the paper. JS called up Mr. Huycke in the Leave Office and learned that no one was expected to sign anything when they left. The only things they were given was a leave card, and some change of address cards. Their military permits were carried by the escort. They did sign Form 130 when they applied for Indefinite Leave, but the Planning Board had a copy of this. When they received their grant, they had to sign a receipt. Carter was still trying to trace down the rumor, while Huycke was angry at Carter for not refuting the rumor as he had requested several days ago. The Planning Board was at a loss to know what to do. Carter didn't want to announce that no one would have to sign for anything when they left, because an occasion might arise when a signature might become necessary.

Hanako Yasuda

Hanako is Tatsuo Egi's sister and is living with her foster father. Dorothy, Tatsuo's wife, asked JS whether it was possible for Hanako to be considered a part of the Tatsuo's family. Mr. Yasuda wanted to stay here in Tule Lake, and he could not unless he could find a good reason for doing so. Tatsuo had a hearing and did not change his answer, and consequently was on the resident list. If the two families could be considered one, they could all stay. Hanako herself did not want to stay in Tule Lake. She's probably influenced by the fact that her boy friend, one of the Yagi twins, is scheduled to leave. JS made it clear to Dorothy that the two families probably could not be considered one.

Education vs. counseling

In a talk to interviewers on August 19, Carter pointed out two different types of programs within the segregation program--one was educating the general public. The other was counseling individuals and families. He stated that differences in opinion should not exist between the two. In JS's opinion the educational program has been very weak. The people had been called upon to attend hearings and make decisions without having all of the facts on hand and before rumors were sufficiently clarified. The success of the counseling service would depend on the skill of the interviewer. A person like Miss Gottfried could upset whole blocks and groups of people just by saying the wrong thing to one individual. Because the interviewers weren't sufficiently trained and trained uniformly, there are undoubtedly discrepancies in what they tell those coming in for interviews.

Carter on use of force

At the meeting of interviewers, Carter elaborated at great length on how the question, "Will we be forced to leave?" should be answered. He said:

"We are not giving a direct answer to this question. The reason is simple. It corresponds to the situation where a teacher tells a boy to see the principal and the boy says how is she going to do it. The minute the teacher says that she is going to force him to go the boy knows what to do. The minute we say that there is going to be force, there is going to be community resistance. So we are not going to commit ourselves. The attitude is this: we have a segregation program ordered by Washington, and we are going through with the program. We are

James Sakoda on Segregation

explaining the reasons for the program, that if the program isn't successful it's going to have tremendous effects on the future of the evacuees. We are going to show what the action of the individual will do to the rest of the Japanese-Americans. We are also trying to show the advantages of segregation. The WRA has made a great many preparations so that resentments and fears are not really justified because all of the problems have been taken care of.

"Actually we don't know what we are going to do when people don't move. Washington is going to do that. We should keep away from the problem. We should stay with the positive side rather than the negative side. If anyone uses the word, 'force,' he is going to undo weeks and weeks of work. There are individuals in this project who will utilize the use of the word 'force' to disrupt the community.

"Avoid the question. Right there hinges our biggest problem. A while back there was a possibility that the whole community would not go. We have the majority of the people with us now. We have passed the hump.

"If this segregation program is not successful the Dies Committee is watching carefully. If this fails, the evacuees are done for. Avoid the question.

"We have to make a train list to send to Washington by the 24th, or mighty close to that. If the people don't come in, we are going to shuffle the train list without their preference.

"Mrs. Freedman is making a report so that we will know how the resistance is forming. If the resistance is in group then it is our problem. If it is individual, then it is your problem. The same thing holds for those who don't come in."

Group movement

"The emphasis at first was on keeping families and relatives together. Then we got the report that friends and families wanted to keep together. We had to consider this desire. We asked whether the feeling of unity was more important than the desire to go to a certain destination. The answer came back 'yes.' We've had applications from 14 groups so far. The block managers will help, but are not organizing the groups themselves."

Miss Gottfried's attitude

One gets a glimpse of Miss Gottfried, medical social worker's attitude toward those who claim illness as an excuse for wanting to stay in Tule Lake. From what she said to interviewers: "It is very easy to use illness for doing or not doing something. It's something that everyone approves of as a reason. People are piling up medical reasons for staying. I think that most people are sincere about it. However, that is something that they will not be able to do. We are trying to make everything as comfortable as possible for them. The final decision rests with the doctor. In most cases any person who is up and around and able to travel will probably <sup>not</sup> be allowed to stay. Don't try to make any explanation. Send them to us and we shall try to work it out."

August 21, Resistance to segregation

Resistance to segregation is largely a matter of those who are scheduled

James Sakoda on Segregation

to leave Tule Lake not wanting to do so. Others refuse to give more than one choice of centers to go to. Still others refuse to attend hearings. Quite a number do not come in for their social welfare interviews, but it is presumed that they do not do so because they do not want to move to another center. From the very beginning about 20 percent have not come in for their interviews. There are reasons to believe that the resistance to segregation increased during the week. For one thing, recently there has been cancellation of former interviews. At the meeting of interviewers on August 19, it was mentioned by several interviewers that persons had come in to cancel their choice of centers. Kay Tift also mentioned that in the three days there were more people who refused to give choices. Another indication of increase in resistance on the part of the people is the increased discussion among block people on the disadvantages of leaving. One such discussion took place in Block 10 around the Takahashi case. Another was brought up in Block 23 centered upon the loyalty question, and the discussion reached Block 25. Today a man came in to cancel his interview because there was talk in his block that those who left were going to lose all of their properties and rights when they had to sign something at the other end. Within the block the talk to stay has become louder and louder. According to Corky Kawasaki, "There are no definite signs, but it's brewing. People come in to tell us that they are not leaving the project, and then go tell their friends that it's all decided that they don't have to leave."

An analysis made by Mrs. Freedman of those who were interviewed and who indicated that they were not going to leave the project even when they were scheduled to do so indicates some interesting points. Eighty one of these have been tabulated according to blocks and wards. It is possible that there are more than 81 cases of resistance to movement which were not brought to the attention of the social welfare department head.

The tabulation by wards was:

- Ward I.....22
- Ward II.....14
- Ward III.....13
- Ward IV..... 7
- Ward V..... 3
- Ward VI.....14
- Ward VII.....11

The most obvious fact to be gotten from this tabulation is that the least amount of resistance on the part of those coming in for interviews come from Ward V and Ward IV. One reason for this is that there aren't very many families in those two wards who are forced to leave the project because they had the greatest amount of trouble during registration. For that reason, also, they probably furnished the smallest number of families wholly in group II and III, which were interviewed up till August 20. The interviewing of the split families did not begin till August 21. Only a tabulation of the families who failed to come in for an interview and the reasons why they do not will reveal the whole picture of resistance to segregation. These cases of resistance also tend to be clustered around a certain block within a ward. Only further investigation will reveal the reason for these clusters. The prevalence of rumors in certain sectors of a ward may very well account for these clusters. Another possibility is the existence of a rumor-monger in that sector. The attitude of the leaders in the block, such as the block manager, probably makes a great deal of difference in the attitude of the people in the block.



James Sakoda on Segregation

many ways they are similar to bachelors, in that they have little ties with Niseis and no economic motives for going to another center.

Among the cases of resistance among family groups, there seems to be no age difference. What characterizes this group is the number of children those listed possess. Here presumably there is some pull to other centers for the sake of the children, but the economic security that Tule Lake offers a family with many children might be the deciding factor in many of these cases.

In all, 971 interviews were scheduled and 167 failed to report for an interview. If the 81 that reported and indicated their unwillingness to move are added to the above, the total number of possible resisters number 249, or over 25 percent. However, since Groups I and II, which constitute at least one third of the population in Tule Lake, would have little reason for resisting movement to another center, the actual number involved in the resistant group would represent a smaller percentage when compared with the whole population. In other words, the resistance is not wholesale, and as far as it is known, it is not organized either.

August 22, The loyalty question for Isseis

One factor which is holding up the segregation program is the fact that in the minds of the Isseis the program is inconsistent. This inconsistency is most felt by those whose families are in Groups III and IV, and consequently who have no choice of either staying in Tule Lake or leaving. Isseis who answered "yes" to Question 28 are on the removal list and are considered "loyal" to the United States. However, the only commitment they have made is to state that they would obey the laws of the United States and not interfere with the war effort. Nevertheless, those staying are spoken of as being loyal to Japan, and those leaving are loyal to the United States. The impression is also given by the administration that the people had a choice in the matter--whether they wanted to return to Japan or whether they wanted to live in America, whether they wanted to be Japanese or whether they wanted to be American. Actually, however, those in Groups III and IV had very little choice. Many Isseis demand that they be given a choice of staying or leaving if segregation is going to be conducted on the basis of loyalty or disloyalty. It is more than the reluctance to burn bridges behind them. If bridges have to be burned, they want to be considered loyal Japanese subjects, and not disloyal ones. They feel that their loyalty to their country cannot be questioned, because they have only one citizenship and one country to call their own. Many of them would be willing to live the rest of their lives in America or contribute what they can to the war effort, but practically no Issei is willing to have himself considered loyal to America and disloyal to Japan. The ties of Isseis to America are largely made up of economic ties and ties with the second generation. They are also willing to help America in the war effort to return a debt (on) they owe to the country they have resided in for the greater part of their lives. If they were American citizens, they would not hesitate to consider themselves 'loyal' to the United States. Still others are willing to be 'loyal' to the United States and help her beat Japan because this is the wish of leaders in Japan, because this is the right way for a Japanese immigrant. However, as long as they have one country and one citizenship, most Isseis cannot think of hesitating to say where his loyalty belongs.

An Issei's concept of loyalty is based on a relationship. Since they are citizens of a country, they must be loyal to that country. America, to some, could be considered a country of adoption, but this sort of thinking is prevented in the minds of the majority of the Isseis by racial discrimination, persecution, segregation,

ineligibility to citizenship. An Issei's concept of Japan is not that of a militarist-fascist nation. Those words are practically never used by Isseis in referring to the war at all. Their attachment is not to a certain political way of life or philosophy of living, but to a country, whose political composition is not of too much concern to Isseis. In other words, Isseis are very naive politically. Among those who are aware of the political implications of loyalty to Japan, one is likely to find Isseis who would prefer to be loyal to America and disloyal to Japan. <sup>political refugees from Japan would belong in this category--</sup> Communists and other/ an extremely small one. For the vast majority of immigrant Isseis Japan has very little political significance -- their attachment to her is apart from any political consideration.

Opler, the Social Analyst, could not understand the attitude of Isseis toward the loyalty question. Consequently, he made the mistake of making Best say that they should not be afraid of burning bridges behind them because WRA documents would be kept confidential. This matter of loyalty bothered the Isseis from the very beginning and was aggravated by Best's statement as to the secrecy of the documents.

The Issei's concern over this matter of loyalty is clearly brought out in the discussion on this question held between Mr. Akahoshi, Block Manager of Block 25, and JS, whom he came to consult on the morning of August 19.

Mr. Akahoshi came to see JS with a copy of the family interview notice. He pointed to lines in the first paragraph, and wanted to know exactly what they meant. They read:

"... This action has been taken in order to provide a place of protection and promote the general welfare of all evacuees who prefer to live in Japan or are known to favor the cause of Japan in the present hostilities or whose loyalties do not lie with the United States."

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

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

It is clear that many Isseis are afraid of being stamped as disloyal to Japan and more afraid of being thought of having made that choice themselves. Those in group II have a choice, but having made the choice, they can no longer be on the

fence. Those who leave Tule Lake of their own choice must rationalize it in some way. Those who are forced to leave Tule Lake have the advantage of still being on the fence and being in another center. They are right back from where they started, and the segregation program has failed to get them committed on one side or the other.

Tanabe on Loyalty

One man was heard telling Tanabe heatedly why he was not leaving Tule Lake.

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

Tanabe was the typical Type A in Block 25. Since the rest of the block registered over his protest, he went and registered too. He has signified intentions of going to another center, but not without showing some resistance. He told the interviewer that his first choice of center was Granada, where he had close friends. His second choice was Japan, and his third choice Tule Lake. However, if he is to leave he must rationalize his stand in some way. He was heard to reply:

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

Hearing.

According to Mas Tanaka, an interpreter for the segregation hearing, it is running smoothly. On Friday they were calling the Y's. He said that the hearing was very easy, and for some it didn't take more than a few minutes. They were allowed to say what they pleased. Those who were hazy about their stand, however, were questioned in detail more to determine definitely where they stood. Isseis who insisted on telling the board all of their grievances also took some time, although their stand was clear from the very beginning. Mas thought that most people did not change their stand -- perhaps only about 20 per cent did.

Kaya's Rationalization on leaving Tule Lake.

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

Bachelor vs. family man.

This story, told by Mr. Kaya, illustrates the relationship of a bachelor to a

James Sakoda on Segregation

family man in the segregation question. A bachelor came to a friend's place and asked him: "Don't you think that you'll be disloyal to Japan by leaving Tule Lake?" He was a man with three children and was going out for the sake of the children. He answered:

"You owe me \$250 from the outside, but why don't you pay it back. I know the kind of life you led. You drank and you gambled. Did you send any money back to Japan? Why should you be talking about loyalty now."

The man shut up and went home.

Fall of Kiska

This was heard in the shower room last night.

"Did you know that when the Americans landed on Kiska they didn't find a single Japanese soldier. Weren't they clever, though? (Umai koto yatta ne.)" (Meaning the Japanese.)

Mrs. Ishizuka

Mrs. Ishizuka received a form letter saying that it was not necessary for her to stay in Tule Lake. She seemed to be happy about it. She said:

"It doesn't matter how you answer, they'll let you go. I couldn't do anything because my husband was a "no-yes, and they didn't ask me many questions." She is one example of a person who wants to be forced out.

August 24, 1943 - James Sakoda on Segregation

Segregation committee report:

Mr. Nishida made a report of the segregation committee, which met Sunday evening in 2820, at lunch time yesterday in Block 25. The segregation committee was to be made up of an Issei and a Nisei from each ward, who in turn were elected by block representatives--an Issei and a Nisei. At the committee meeting, according to Nishida, it was decided that seven members, one from each ward, would constitute a working committee, the others being called in whenever necessary. It was also decided that the committee would not be called a segregation committee, but would be considered a committee to represent the whole project. It was not limited to those going out or to those staying in Tule Lake, but was composed of members from both groups.

Mr. Nishida also announced that the segregation committee discussed the possibility of making the following demands on the administration:

1. To demand 300 pounds of baggage to carry on the train when leaving for another center because winter would be setting in and 150 pounds of baggage was not sufficient.

2. To demand payment of grants for those who are unable to find jobs in the center they move to. The assumption underlying this is that jobs for newcomers from Tule Lake will not be available in other centers.

3. To investigate the papers that the WRA will require persons to sign when they move to another center. Mr. Nishida stated that Mr. Tsuda made the report in Ward II. He is reported as saying that it was useless to make excessive demands of the WRA, but he thought that these demands were reasonable.

Mr. Nishida made the announcement during lunchtime because it was difficult to get block people together to hear any sort of report.

Mr. Kaya attended the meeting, too, and he did not believe that the demands were unreasonable. But he said; "There's only the two of us, and I don't have any dissatisfaction. After all, this is wartime, and you can't expect very much."

He would probably not be an ardent supporter of the demands made by the segregation committee.

Bottleneck in segregation process:

A bottleneck has been created in the segregation process. This can be seen for one thing by the number of interviews conducted at 2508, where the largest number of interviews were being carried on.

8/12	42	8/18	17
8/13	102	8/19	5
8/14	99	8/20	12
8/15	144	8/21	42
8/17	176	8/22	none (Sunday)
		8/23	none

James Sakoda on Segregation

The split family interviews were begun on Saturday, August 21. On August 24, which is today, 50 interviews were scheduled, while 75 were scheduled for the following day. From Thursday the previous day the interviewers had just hung around with very little to do. On top of that the number of Caucasian interviewers were increased by three or four, creating a discouraging condition for those who were capable and wanted more work to do. This lack of work discouraged the evacuee workers, especially, because they had a feeling that the Caucasian workers, who were new to the situation, did not know their work thoroughly. Hannah, the receptionist, felt this, and avoided giving them the interviews on Saturday because, as she said, "I knew they couldn't do it." Corky Kawasaki and Mrs. Marayama expressed discontent with the work because of the lag and also of the use of more Caucasians.

The family interviews were supposed to be over by August 21, according to the original schedule. On Saturday the segregation hearings were in the Y's, and Mas Tanaka, the interpreter, reported that the hearings would probably be completed on Monday. Then why weren't more split families being interviewed when interviewers were remaining idle and the whole process was behind schedule? JS went to Carter and asked him point blank why the procedure had been held up. Carter said that the papers from the hearing were still being processed and families were being scheduled for interviews as fast as possible. He had looked into the matter and had made arrangements to break the bottleneck. It seems that in some cases the hearings were not conducted properly, but this may be only a rumor. JS asked whether the trains would leave on schedule, and Carter said that he hoped to get everything rolling according to schedule.

Segregation committee:

The segregation committee requires watching, for it occupies an interesting position politically. The City Council was never revived because of the restrictions imposed by the administration on those who were not in Group IV. The Planning Board, consequently, was the only recognized political organization on the project. The block managers had no political power on the project. The Segregation Committee was launched by the Planning Board. In his first speech, Mr. Best had suggested that the people elect a working committee to deal with the administration. According to Harry, he had suggested when Coverley was still here and the colonist leaders were meeting with him, that the Planning Board should be allowed to handle the community matters. Dr. Ichihashi and Noboru Shirai, Executive Secretary of the City Council, were opposed to the Planning Board having such power. According to Harry, they had always "bucked the Planning Board." Consequently, another committee was formed to deal with the administration on matters concerning segregation. Whose idea this was is difficult to say. It may be that Harry Mayeda himself had suggested it. He said: "The Planning Board was allowed to launch the committee so that it wouldn't feel hurt about being left out." It seems definite that members on the Planning Board were in favor of such a committee, even though there were some oppositions to such a committee on the part of the people because it might become the focal point for trouble, as occurred during registration. This opposition was demonstrated in Block 25, when representatives had to be appointed because enough block people did not approve of sending representatives. In Ward II the Nisei representatives by and large did not show up for election, and temporary representatives had to be selected by popular assent, which were later considered permanent representatives.

James Sakoda on Segregation

The attitude of the Block Manager of Block 25 is probably typical of the attitude of some of the people. He said:

"The Planning Board wants to show off too much."

The Segregation Committee was launched by the Planning Board. There were indications of difficulty in some wards in electing representatives, as indicated by what occurred in Ward II. Mr. Obayashi was elected temporary representative from Block 4, but stated that he wanted to stay clear of such a position because he might be blamed for the acts of the committee by those remaining in Tule Lake or by those coming in later. The fact that Mr. Shibutani of Block 4 did not know of the existence of the committee indicates that it did not receive popular support.

The Planning Board invited the Segregation Committee to take part in the discussion with the representative of the Spanish Consul. Captain Martin was expected on August 21, but he appeared on August 20. A meeting was called for 2 p.m. on short notice, and the agenda was not yet completed by the Planning Board members. Block people were notified that they should hand in questions to the block manager, which would be relayed to the Planning Board. In some blocks, meetings were held to discuss what questions should be asked of the Spanish Consul. Mr. Takahashi, who was given the impression that he would be forced out of the center in spite of his poor health, had mentioned that if Best would issue such a statement in writing he would have the matter taken up with the Spanish Consul. Others who were refused a chance to apply for repatriation looked forward to asking the Spanish Consul to make it possible for them to do so. The questions submitted by the people are not on hand for analysis, but many Isseis seem to have hoped that the Spanish Consul could do a great deal for them as a representative of the Japanese government. The work of compiling the questions to ask the Spanish Consul was done by Planning Board members-- the Yoshidas, Dr. Kuki, Mr. Ikeda. On the success of their work probably depended the prestige of those involved. But because Captain Martin arrived a day ahead of schedule, the questions were not ready when he arrived. Consequently, very little was accomplished at the meeting with him. As Mr. Yamamoto of Block 25 put it:

"The Planning Board always bungles matters. The Spanish Consul came a day too early, came at 2 and left at 5, and the Planning Board couldn't accomplish a thing. Mr. Ikeda was going home with a pale face (aoi kao o shite)."  
JS met Mr. Ikeda and greeted him with: "How was the Spanish Consul." Mr. Ikeda went off saying, "Dameda, dameda." (no good, no good.)  
The Planning Board had definitely lost prestige on the visit of the representative of the Spanish. The Isseis were not given any hope of definite support via the Consul, except to use it as a channel for protest. A message from the Japanese government only offered the Japanese citizens in America hope and sympathy.

The Segregation Committee, in the meantime, held discussions on the possibility of making demands on the administration. They decided on three:

James Sakoda on Segregation

1. To increase the baggage allowance to 300 pounds.
2. To receive grants in case jobs are not available at other centers.
3. To investigate all papers that must be signed by those leaving for another center.

A rivalry has sprung up between the Planning Board and the Segregation Committee, it seems. The Committee decided that it would not limit its function to segregation issues alone, but would consider itself the representative of the whole project. This would be regardless of Isseis or Niseis, segregees or non-segregees. At the same time desires were expressed by some members on the committee to keep it entirely independent of the Planning Board. This idea was put forth most strongly by Dr. Ichihashi, the most vocal member on the committee. In other words, the committee aspires to carry on the function of both the City Council and Planning Board. It is a definite bid for power.

The outstanding figure in the Segregation Committee is Dr. Ichihashi, heralded by one newspaper as the "Emperor of Tule Lake." He has given lectures on Japanese culture, and has been suspected by the administration as being a "Fascist." His attitude of superiority over the colonists has antagonized many of them, and the more intimately he is known the less people seem to respect him. He does not seem to have wielded much political power on the Project. During registration he claimed that he advised at least 800 persons who came to him personally for advice, for which most people didn't even bother to thank him decently. What characterizes Dr. Ichihashi more than anything else is his high degree of conceit. In the first place, he shows by his action that he considers himself on a much higher plane than the immigrant population. He likes to talk about himself, and seldom gives another person a chance to say anything once he gets started on a monologue. He also picks faults with colonists and tries to show his superiority at their expense. Consequently, there is a possibility of his using a committee to enhance his own prestige rather than to serve the people.

Harry Mayeda reveals this trait clearly when he says: "It's so hard to work with some of these Isseis because they always want to be in the limelight. You go to a meeting, and they talk on and on without getting anywhere. It just bores me. The trouble with them is that they're not working for the people but for themselves only."

About Dr. Ichihashi, Harry said: "He needs to be watched; I don't trust him. The only reason I'm on the committee is that he agreed to have me on it. I can't watch him unless I'm there."

At the meeting with the Spanish Consul, Dr. Ichihashi had cornered Captain Martin with a technical question: "Isn't it inappropriate to use 'repatriation' and 'expatriation' to evacuees?" Captain Martin had difficulty in answering the question satisfactorily, and members of the Planning Board construed the question as a means of showing off Dr. Ichihashi's own brilliance. The insistence on the part of the committee to keep itself separate

James Sakoda on Segregation

from the Planning Board and to represent the whole project undoubtedly receives strong support from Dr. Ichihashi. It is difficult to imagine how he would not use his position on the committee to enhance his own position.

Other members on the Segregation Committee that might be mentioned are Harry Mayeda, Tsuda and Takasue. Harry has succeeded in maintaining his position within the colony and also retain the goodwill of the administration. At the time of registration members of the Combat Team accused him of not doing anything to encourage registration. Throughout the issue Harry was noncommittal, and so was the City Council at whose head he stood. He can be expected to continue to be noncommittal where his own position with either the people or the administration becomes endangered. However, he seems to be willing to tackle a few troublemakers who are doing the cause of the people no good.

Tsuda is a warden investigator, who speaks about as good Japanese as he does English. In many ways he's more like an Issei than a Nisei, but he probably is a citizen. He mistranslated Rowalt's speech and created many misconceptions which were later hardly dispelled at all. He is the representative from Ward II, and has expressed himself in favor of certain demands for those going to other projects, in spite of the fact that he himself is remaining in Tule Lake. Harry believes that his stand, while disturbing to the administration, is unintentional. However, he can serve as a good tool to others -- Ichihashi, for instance. Takasue is a former Planning Board member from Ward V, whom Harry believes is not dangerous.

While it was Best who first suggested the formation of a representative committee of the colonists to work with the Administration, there are possibilities that it might serve as a focal point for organized resistance against the segregation movement. There are signs of resistance on the part of about one fourth of the population who are supposed to leave. The resistance is not organized, however, and is only expressed by individuals and sometimes at block meetings. The demands being made by the Segregation Committee can become the center of organized resistance, although the Administration understands the people enough to avoid open conflicts. The Committee is especially worth watching because it can become the tool for a few leaders to achieve prestige and power for themselves. An agitation becomes enticing because it is one means by which unpopular persons can achieve leadership temporarily.

Barber shop talk, August 25

Yesterday JS went to the barber shop, and from the conversation of the barbers, he gathered two sorts of resistance. One was the resistance to taking a chance to relocate.

The second resistance noted was toward segregation. The attitude of one or two of the barbers was:

"I'm not going to go even if they want me to. I'm just going to stay here."

James Sakoda on Segregation

This feeling of wanting to stay does not seem to be so vigorous. But indications are that this feeling is fairly prevalent.

Tad Ikemoto

Tad Ikemoto's folks are scheduled to stay in Tule Lake, while Tad is scheduled to leave because he changed his answer from no to yes. He was at a loss to know what to do -- whether to leave his parents or not. Being a quiet and obedient type of person, his decision recently to stay with his parents is not surprising. Tad's comments were: "I don't think that I'm going to miss much by staying, anyway."

One reason for this is that he has always been thinking of returning to Japan.

Ken Yasuda

Ken's view of the WRA seems to be slightly slanted. Yesterday he told JS: "I don't think that the WRA is sympathetic to the Japanese people at all. All they are trying to do is to get the most out of them. They have no set policy or moral code. The people in my block are saying that they won't move unless they get enough lumber to pack their belongings away. They don't want to go and leave the packing of their things up to others. Art Morimitsu was mad because he was volunteering, and they refused to give him the \$50 grant, which those relocating were getting and other volunteers got until now. They say it's orders from Washington. He also went up to the Ad Building to ask for boxes to pack away his things in, and they told him to go to the canteen and get carton boxes. I'm afraid that we're going to have trouble around here."

Ken answered "yes, yes" and is on the removal list. But he wants to stay on the grounds that his brother-in-law is staying. Ken is a person who has consulted Dr. Ichihashi on various matters, and seems to agree with him on various issues.

Tanabe, August 26

Tanabe, the outstanding latrine philosopher in Block 25, has taken a rather quiet stand on the segregation issue. One reason for this probably is that he no longer has much of a following in Block 25. He has made up his mind to leave along with some of the others, although he has stated that he won't go unless they send him to Colorado. Day before yesterday he said: "I can see through the strategy of the Keto. I felt that if I didn't make my choice now, I would lose out on my choice entirely if I decided to wait and see what would happen."

He even talks to JS now, where formerly there has been a decided gap between the two. This morning for the first time they ran into each other and Mr. Tanabe said "Good morning."

Conversation of non-segregates

Right after lunch, Mr. Akahoshi, Mr. Nishida, and Mr. Tanabe and JS got together and started to talk. All of them had one thing in common; they were on the removal list and were planning to leave. There was some

James Sakoda on Segregation

talk of war, and how it was a strategic move on Japan's part to have withdrawn from Kiska.

JS then asked what the message from the Japanese House of Representatives meant by sending a "message of hope." He wondered whether it meant that the government wanted the Japanese to return to Japan. Mr. Nishida was sure that it didn't mean that. He thought that it just meant that they didn't want the Japanese to lose hope and wanted them to keep on living. He said that they had advised that they should make the best of their situation (zensho seyo). He thought that if they returned to Japan, they would have to become wards of the government (yakkaimono). Someone brought up the fact that in a broadcast by a political figure in Japan over Radio Tokyo, he had announced the beginning of a campaign to raise relief funds (Kyusaikin) for the Japanese in America (Dobo). JS remarked: "Then you can't go back to Japan feeling big, can you?" (Okina kao o shite kaerenai ne?)

Nishida's answer was: "Imin, imin' te baka ni sarete iru no ni, ichimon nashi de kaettara gokutsubushi' te iwareru yo." (They look down on us by calling us immigrants. If we go back without a cent they'll be sure to call us parasites.)

Nishida's feeling was that it wasn't loyalty at all to return to Japan at the present time and have to be taken care of by the Japanese government. He felt that he was being more loyal by going out and taking care of his own needs.

Segregation is not voluntary

Monday, August 23, the English version of the rumor clinic item stating that segregation was not voluntary appeared in the Dispatch. A translation of the same item appeared the following day in the Japanese section. The translation was skillfully done not to hurt the feelings of the Isseis. This was the item that JS had advised Opler and Carter to publish, and which Mr. Akahoshi and others in the block had assured JS was the best for the Japanese people themselves. JS asked Mr. Akahoshi what he thought of the item, and he said:

"Why wasn't the article printed earlier? If they had done that, we wouldn't have had any trouble at all. That article was really very good, it's a masterpiece on the part of the administration. You've got to make things clear to the Japanese people. If they say that it's the order of the Senate and that it must be carried out, they'll go. But if you start to talk about personal choice and give them the idea that they can stay if they resisted, then you can't get them to move at all. It's bad for us because those of us who went ahead and made our choices seem as though we were for the segregation and pro-administration. And if those who resist are allowed to stay, we're going to be called fools for not holding back as long as we could. The Japanese have to be told clearly what they can and cannot do. When I was in Oakland I used to talk to city officials, and I know just what works and what doesn't work. If I understood enough English to express myself and were not a block manager, I would go and tell the administration exactly what they should do."

James Sakoda on Segregation

Mr. Akahoshi feels that it is only through JS that he can get his opinions through to the administration, which is probably true.

JS asked whether an article shouldn't be put in saying that those who did not come in and make their choice would lose the opportunity to have their choices considered. Mr. Akahoshi thought that anything like that would be too harsh (kakoku). All that was necessary was to insist that segregation was not voluntary and that it would have to take place.

Mr. Kaya had a similar opinion of the article. He thought that it was good for two reasons that he mentioned. One was that it has made it clear that segregation was ordered by the Senate, that it was not a matter of personal choice. Another was that it had stated that everything possible would be done to relieve the trouble of having to move. He said that if a straight order had been issued, the Japanese would have been antagonized and would not have moved. But when they were asked to move, they were willing to do so.

From the standpoint of those who are willing to move to another center the article in question was extremely appropriate. The Block Manager felt that it had come a little too late. Perhaps it was timely. What effect it has on the resistant group is the interesting question now.

Kazuko Tanabe

Kazuko feels almost certain that she is going to Washington to work. She's been offered almost \$200 a month since she insisted on it. She's afraid of her health, however, and is afraid that she won't be able to stand the strain of working eight hours a day.

Her family situation has decidedly improved. Both of her parents did not register, and only her father appeared for the hearing because they thought it was useless for her mother to go and make a different decision from her father. Evidently it was a desire on the part of the father to control the situation in a manner suitable to himself, which is to stay here in Tule Lake. He was asked whether he would be loyal to the U.S., and he answered that he wouldn't do anything against it. He was then asked whether he was thinking of returning to Japan, and he answered that he didn't intend to right away. JS' conclusion was that he was considered loyal and would have to leave, if her mother would only go to the hearing. The father had associated with Caucasians too long, it seems, to be able to seem disloyal just to stay here in Tule Lake. There seems to be a dilemma on his part -- he wants to stay and he does not want to be branded as disloyal to the U.S. While this sort of conflict would be common among Niseis, Mr. Tanabe's past adjustment leads to just such a conflict. JS advised Kazuko to urge her mother to go to the hearing.

Elberson, Opler and Carter

JS went to Elberson's place to get a package he had asked Elberson to purchase in Tule Lake, and found the three -- Elberson, Opler, and Carter -- doing the dishes, while some ladies were chatting in the living

James Sakoda on Segregation

room. JS asked what the bottleneck in the segregation process was. Carter informed him that the hearing results were being checked. Some of them had been conducted or recorded and written up inadequately. For this purpose only one person doing the job, and Carter got two others to work on it. He hoped that the bottleneck would be cleared soon.

JS asked him if the train schedules were going to be made up on schedule. Carter thought that they were. The first train schedule was already being made up. He said that room would be left for those who have not come in for their interviews yet, so that their choices would still be considered.

JS suggested that an article be published outlining how the mechanics of the making up of the train schedules worked, and how those who did not make their choices would not be able to get their choices considered. Opler thought this was a good idea, and Carter didn't seem to think it was such a bad idea either.

Talk with neighbors

Mr. Kaya: "Returning to Japan is not necessarily being loyal (chusei). Those returning to Japan are going to be parasites (yakaimono). If we go out, we can save over \$1000 a year if we earn about \$175 a month. After the war conditions are going to be so bad that those remaining in the centers will not be able to get jobs. I know because I knew what happened after the last war."

Mrs. Kaya: (to JS) "Every Japanese is the same. Even you probably feel some loyalty to Japan because your parents are over there, you expect to return to Japan, and you have had education over there."

Mr. Akahoshi: "That recent article was very good. There won't be any trouble now."

Mrs. Akahoshi: "Yes, girls are like that. They say that they're going out because they want to be stopped."

Mr. Ishizuka: "It's the way you handle them (wives). You should bop them on the head once."

Mrs. Ishizuka makes a funny face.

Mrs. Kaya: "You do anything like that to Nisei girls and they won't stay with you for ten days. I wouldn't, anyway." (She wants husbands to treat their wives tenderly, probably because she misses it herself.)

Mr. Ishizuka: "Oh, that's all right, those who were in Japan are used to it."

Ishizukas

The Ishizukas are now on the removal list. The other day Mr. Ishizuka went to the social welfare interview. When asked where he wanted to go, he

James Sakoda on Segregation

told them that he did not want to go anywhere because he had a small baby and had another one coming. He was told that he should send his wife over. Mrs. Ishizuka was rather upset because she couldn't see why she should go. If they weren't going to let them stay, why should they call her out? She went to 1308 and was told that she could stay and have her baby and stay a month after that. Beyond that they could not guarantee her that she could stay.

Caucasian Japanese relationship in 2508

When interviews were first started in 2508 most of the interviewers were evacuees. Mrs. Tift was the only Caucasian and the supervisor, but she had such a pleasant personality that she was well-received by the other interviewers. The fact that they had started out together helped to make the Caucasian-Japanese relationship pleasant. Also, at that time there were only about 7 interviewers working at any one time, and they were kept busy with work. Mrs. Tift handled the Niseis, of which there were sufficient numbers coming in. She was quite sympathetic to evacuees, and did not put on any air of any sort.

Recently several workers arrived from Washington, and were sent to 2508 to work as interviewers. Mr. Heath was made the supervisor of the building. He was a gloomy sort of person who did not make an effort to put himself on a friendly basis with the rest of the workers. On top of that several Caucasian teachers 'volunteered' for work, but were being paid for it. They didn't know what the work was all about, and some of them tried to learn by listening to other people's interviews. It was difficult to see how they could do the job of interviewing split family cases when the whole family came in for interviews, because they would have to have interpreters to help them. The fact that they did not have the information on hand to give to those wanting advice, the fact that they didn't for the most part seem to have sufficient insight into the Japanese family to be able to advise them well, the fact that they were likely to take a business-like or superior attitude in regards to those who came in -- all made it a curious situation. From August 19 very few interviews were being conducted. By August 23 the number of interviewers had increased from 7 or 8 to 11 Caucasians and 7 evacuees. For the most part the Caucasian teachers kept to themselves and read magazines or knitted. The evacuees kept together, too. Mr. Heath, the supervisor kept aloof from both groups.

Hannah Morimitsu, the receptionist, throws some light on the situation. She said at various times:

"Some of the Caucasian teachers were eager to do some interviews, and they jumped up whenever I passed by with an interview. But I couldn't let them have it because I knew that they couldn't do it.

"Mr. Heath doesn't know a thing. He asks me every time how a thing should be done, and so I have to suggest to him how I thought it should be done.

asked

"Mr. Heath / Jimmy Fukuhara whether he was an interviewer. Jimmy

James Sakoda on Segregation

said he was. Mr. Heath then said he could go home now since there wasn't much to do and take it out on his compensatory overtime. Jimmy blew and told me that he wouldn't do anything of the kind. Look at those Caucasian teachers. All they do is sit and read magazines or knit. And they're getting paid so much. Why don't they send some of them home. I ask some of them to take an interview and they tell me that they'd rather listen to more interviews before they take one. So Jimmy and the others have to work harder at times."

Corky Kawasaki, Father Dai and JS and some of the others who volunteered for the interview work, because it was considered difficult, are discouraged with the slack situation. They do not want to continue the work if they have to waste their time sitting around in the office. They resent the fact that Caucasians who are not able to handle the job have been increased.

Kibei indignant of hearing results.

At the hearing some people have indicated that they wished to stay in Tule Lake, and have thought that they would be allowed to do so on that score. But they find that they have been placed in Group III and on the Removal List. This misunderstanding is due to the fact that the hearing board is supposed to determine loyalty or disloyalty, a person's desire to return to Japan or to stay in America, his desire to become a Japanese or an American. It does not determine whether a person wants to remain in Tule Lake or not. While some who have signified their desire to stay in Tule Lake are actually glad that they now have to go, others are indignant over the outcome of the hearing. How such a misunderstanding came about is illustrated by a Kibei fellow who came in for information on his situation.

He was still in his early twenties. He lacked the superpatriotism, the strongheadedness, the stubbornness so often found in a Kibei. He spoke in Japanese, and evidently could speak English only imperfectly. He was indignant because his answer was changed from "no" to "yes" as a result of the hearing, and wanted to know what could be done about it to change the results to suit his real wish. He thought that people were going to have a free choice as to whether they wanted to stay or to go. At the hearing the panel members did not ask him many questions, and he gave only simple answers. He feels that if he had an interpreter he would have answered more fully. When he was asked why he did not register, he answered that he did not intend to go outside and did not see any need for registering. Then he was asked when he returned from Japan. He was also asked what he intended to do after the war. His answer was that he didn't know what he would be doing 5 or 10 years from now. He feels that he has been duped because he was under the impression that people were going to be allowed to state their choice freely. They hadn't asked him directly whether he was going to be loyal to Japan or to America. He was referred to Dr. Jacoby.

Kadowaki Case

One of the most difficult aspects of the segregation program is the determination of loyalty or disloyalty of Isseis. Having only one citizen-

James Sakoda on Segregation

ship, and being brought up to consider that loyalty to one's country is unquestionable, most Isseis would be forced to say that they would prefer to be loyal to Japan rather than to the U.S., if the question were posed in just that way. The real problem, it would seem, is to determine the degree of attachment that an Issei had to Japan as a political power vs. the degree of attachment that he had to America which would make him a good law-abiding and not-dangerous alien. Unless the problem is looked upon in this way, most Isseis would have to be automatically as "disloyal." Even the question, "do you want Japan or America to win the war," if used as a test of loyalty or disloyalty would make most Isseis -- and many Niseis -- "disloyal" because their tie to Japan as a Japanese, racially and through their citizenship, is strong. More sensible would be such questions as: "Will you abide by the laws of the U.S.?" "Are you willing to work in the U.S.?" "Will you fight for the U.S. armed forces if you are drafted?" (For Niseis.) "Do you wish to live in the U.S." "Will you live in the U.S. if your children remain here?" Asking such questions as, "Do you wish to be an American or a Japanese?" of Isseis just because it is in the administrative instructions is foolish, because most Isseis are so much more Japanese than they are American.

In questioning Isseis of doubtful status, his attachment to Japan should be considered, for one thing. He should be asked how often he has returned to Japan, whether he has close relatives there, whether he intends to return to Japan right away, whether he has sent his children to Japan. On the other hand, his attachment to America should also be weighed carefully. There are two important attachments that most Isseis can have to America, both of which are definitely not political in nature. Isseis are so naive politically that it does not help the situation to ask the common run-of-the-mill immigrant Issei where his heart stands on the matter politically. One attachment is to his children who are American citizens and who may desire to live in America. This attachment to children is very strong, and if they are strongly American, the parents can be expected to be swayed in that direction a very great deal -- especially if the future and welfare of the children depended upon it. The other strong attachment is economic. Those whose livelihood depend upon staying here in America have a good reason for being law-abiding and doing his share of the nation's work. However, those whose economic roots in America are shallow or are non-existent have that much less reason for turning away from America and to Japan for his future. This is true of those who are not immigrants, but who work for the Japanese consulate or for Japanese firms such as Mitsui or Mitsubishi.

The following case is reviewed to show the flimsy grounds upon which the father was considered "disloyal," while the rest of the family were considered "loyal."

Tamotsu Kadowaki. Family number 27155  
4413-e

Recommendation for  
Segregation

Kadowaki, Tamotsu	head M-24	No
" Fumiko	sister F-17	
" Charles	brother M-19	No
" Tsuru	mother F-45	No

James Sakoda on Segregation

Recommendation for Segregation

Kadowaki, Kenjiro brother M-22  
" Kenzo father M-61

Yes

Segregation hearing results

8/14/43

Charles Kadowaki Age 18 4413-E  
Born in Biggs, Butte County, Calif.  
Never been in Japan.

Didn't register--due to block pressure; also, father opposed it.  
Answer to Question #28 is "yes" and no doubt of it.

He is very well Americanized--speaks excellent English--doesn't know much Japanese. Wants to be an American and help with anything he can. Regretted not registering.

Recommendation: Removal list. If this case comes up before the Board of Appeals, it is recommended that permission to relocate be granted. He has asked to remain in Tule Lake because of father's loyalty to Japan, and he chooses to remain with the family at present.

Martin P. Gunderson (signed)

M. Kathryn Koski (signed)

8/14/43

Kenzo Kadowaki  
Came 1901. Never been back.

Japan better than U.S. -- very bitter -- tried to force family to say "no."  
Recommendation: Segregation list. "Japan, better than United States."

Martin P. Gunderson (signed)

M. Kathryn Koski (signed)

8/14/43

Tamotsu Kodawaki 24 4413-E  
Born Stockton, California. Finished at Biggs High. 1938.  
Grandfather and grandmother in Japan. Never in Japan.  
Didn't register -- block pressure, family responsibility.

Answer to Question #28 is "yes." He is head of family unit and does not wish to be separated nor have the family broken. Very well Americanized and an excellent type of boy. His English is perfect.

Recommendation: Removal list. If this case comes up before the Board of Appeals, it is recommended that permission to relocate be granted. He has asked to remain in Tule Lake because of father's loyalty to Japan, and he chooses to remain with the family at present.

Martin P. Gunderson (signed)

M. Kathryn Koski (signed)

James Sakoda on Segregation

8/14/43

Tsuro Kadowaki, Age 45, 4413-E

Came here 1918. Back 3 months 1938.  
No parents in Japan to her knowledge.  
Did not register -- due to block pressure.  
Would obey the laws of U.S. and not hinder the war effort. Would want to stay in U.S. if it is the best interest of the family.  
Recommendation: Removal list. She is more loyal to the United States. She feels that it is to the best interests of her children that they remain here. She believes that a better future for them lies in the United States.

Martin P. Gunderson

M. Kathryn Koski

8/25/43

Family Interview (Interviewer, JS)

Tamotsu and Kenjiro came in for the interview. The parents had said that anyone that wanted to go to another center could do so as long as someone stayed with the parents to look after them. Only Kenjiro had made up his mind definitely to leave. The rest of the children were pondering whether to stay or to leave. Tamotsu had thoughts of relocation, but has decided to stay with the family for the present. Mr. Gunderson had promised him that he could relocate later if he so wished. The interviewer pointed out that there was a chance that their stay in Tule Lake might become permanent. All of the family except the father were willing to relocate. The two boys felt that if the father had been put on the removal list he would have been willing to go along with them. They felt that a mistake had been made in his case in putting him on the resident list in view of the family situation.

This seems to be a good example where the hearing was conducted too superficially. It would have been better had the father been considered loyal and sent to another center with his children. The basis on which the father was considered <sup>dis</sup>loyal and sent to another center with his children. The basis on which the father was considered disloyal was too flimsy -- without basis at all. The lack of insight into the Japanese on the part of the members of the hearing panel probably accounts for the result.

Comments.-- The point to be contested here is that at best the father was a doubtful case as to whether the pull toward Japan was greater than the pull toward America. To decide the matter one way or other should have required full documentation of evidence -- which is lacking in this case.

Protest against hearing results, August 27

Block 30. George \_\_\_\_\_ . Age 19. Mother 49, sister 17.

George came in with a very sullen attitude and wanted to know whether he could have the hearing results changed. He had gone to the Internal

James Sakoda on Segregation

Security Office, and the secretary there had sent him to the social welfare counselor. At the hearing Cole had told him, he claimed, that he could stay. He had been asked whether he would change his answer from "yes" to "no" and his answer was "no." When asked whether he would return to Japan, he replied that he didn't know. He said that he wanted to stay in Tule Lake. He thought he had made it plain that he wanted to stay. He was given to understand that everybody was going to be allowed their own choice in the matter.

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

Another thing that bothered him was the fact that he was afraid that if he went out to work he would be drafted. When asked whether he was afraid of being drafted, his defense was: "Everybody's afraid of the draft."

JS pointed out the possibility of being sent back to Japan if he stayed in Tule Lake. He was willing to take the chance of being deported. He was willing, also, to take out repatriation papers if that was the only way he could stay here. However, he really did not want to return to Japan. He thought that common people like himself would not be sent back on the exchange ship, and it was all right with him if he was sent back after the war. If he couldn't stay here where he wanted to, he would as soon return to Japan where he could live where he wanted to.

When told of the chances he would be taking if he stayed here in Tule Lake, his reply was that he thought he would have a good chance of getting out of here because they wanted to get him out so badly, anyway. He stated that Mr. Cole had told him that a board would be set up next July.

He wanted to know what he had to do before his interview notice came. He was afraid that if he received the order to leave he would have to do so. In other words, in spite of his strong feeling on the matter, he was afraid that he would have to go if he were really forced to. He kept repeating that he was told that no force would be used. "I've been shoved around long enough; I'm not going to stand for it anymore," was the way he put it. His toying with the idea of going to another center was indicated by the fact that when the choice of center was brought up, he indicated that he did have a choice. He asked whether he would be allowed to go to the center of his choice, and became indignant when told that it couldn't be promised to him. Then he immediately went back to the idea that he was not going to leave Tule Lake. He was sullen and evidently determined in his intention to stay here, but he was nonetheless fearful that he might have to go after all.

Saving his face with his neighbors and friends was also involved, it seemed. He said that most of his friends were staying here, and those

James Sakoda on Segregation

who were going he was not sure he could go along with them. People from Sacramento do not have the incentive to go to other centers as people from other sections do because they have no friends in large numbers in any other center, since most of them came here to Tule Lake. When he met a friend to whom he explained his predicament, he said: "I'm not going to leave the place. I'll take out repatriation papers if it is necessary."

He was sent to Mr. Silverthorne's office to register his protest on the results of the hearings.

Analysis: The primary motivating force in this young fellow seems to be a sense of insecurity and unwillingness to take any chance. Mixed in with this is a feeling of resentment and a desire to oppose any move to "shove him around." He doesn't want to go to another center and he doesn't want to return to Japan. He's also afraid of being drafted. He wants to be left just as he is at present. He is unwilling to exchange his present lot for that of any other.

August 28, Oda family (2507-B)

Mr. Oda (Tetsu, 51, I.) greeted me in the morning and asked me to see the notice that his son, Kahn (17), had received. It said that he would have to remain in Tule Lake. He felt a little sorry that Kahn had done that because Mr. Oda did not want to return to Japan right now. He had planned to go to Colorado to farm, for one thing because he could not leave his son in the army over here alone. He laughed and said:

"We'll go out nextspring if I can get the boys to change their answers. They're bound to ask us to leave about then." His wife (I.) laughed and said that this was possible because this was America.

Mr. Akahoshi (Block 25, I.)

Mr. Akahoshi asked JS to do some typing for him. Then he showed him a request for a letter of recommendation to Mr. Best that he himself had tried to write in his broken English. The letter stated the fact that he had been block manager for a year and three months and that he knew how to "rule" the people through his experience. Also he had "cooperated with the Caucasian staff" during his term of office. On these grounds he requested a letter of recommendation to the project director in Topaz to recommend him as a block manager. In the evening he was heard speaking broken English to George Ike. Evidently the fact that he is leaving on the first train for Topaz is freeing him from the necessity of having to seem pro-Japan and anti-Caucasian. The block people have collected five cents per person and have presented him with a wooden cup.

Mr. Akahoshi shows a fairly strong desire to be in a leadership position. He is also cooperative with Caucasians, a fact which he has had to suppress in his block, which was highly reactionary in that regard. He and his wife also consider themselves superior to the people in the block who are from the country.

James Sakoda on Segregation

Eddie Sasaki (Block 25, 28, K.)

Eddie and his Nisei wife have put themselves in Group III prior to the starting of the segregation program in order to facilitate the release of Eddie's father from internment camp. Eddie has discussed the matter of leaving Tule Lake with JS and seems to have been convinced that it was to his advantage to do so. He recognizes, for instance, that if he stays here till the war is over, he would have difficulty in adjusting himself on the outside. It is his wife (22, N. from Mizuno family) who is the bottleneck in this case.

Mildred's primary reason for wanting to stay in Tule Lake seems to be her desire to stay with her family. Her parents and brothers and sisters, with whom she has always been living, and with whom she is still very close, living in the next apartment to them, are scheduled to stay in Tule Lake. She said that she didn't have friends elsewhere, and wondered what would happen to her if Eddie was drafted and she was left alone to take care of her two little children. When she was close to her family, she could be assured of receiving help from them. When told that she would have to have extra money to bring up her children properly, she did not say anything. This seems to be one argument which those who are staying find hard to refute. Then she was asked what she would do when the war was over. Her answer was that she didn't think that far ahead. She didn't say that she would return to Japan -- something so many said in defense of their desire to stay here in Tule Lake. Being thoroughly Nisei and young yet, she probably does not relish the idea of returning to Japan. She said that the only thing Eddie thought about was what would happen after the war. Eddie reiterated this point, although he didn't say very much. He's a quiet sort of fellow, and seems to respect the words of his Nisei wife a great deal. He seemed to be hoping that his wife would change her mind about wanting to stay here, but didn't argue with her in front of JS. The future and what would happen to them after the war did not seem to bother Mildred. "It's so much trouble packing and moving," she said. JS argued that it would be unfair for her children to leave them here, where they could not be brought up properly, where control by parents was very difficult. She did not say anything to this. Children are another vulnerable spot of those desiring to stay here. Then she asked, "Will we be forced out?" She seemed to want to stay if she could, but would consider leaving if she just had to leave. The only thing that JS could say was that he didn't know, but that her leaving or staying should not be decided on that ground. Mildred thought that both George and JS had chosen pretty girls.

Segregation planning meeting, August 29

Friday morning Opler was discussing resistance to segregation with Father Dai. Carter and JS came along, and the four of them discussed a tabulation of resistance that Opler had made. It was decided that a meeting would be called at Carter's place right after lunch and a few others be invited to discuss the problem. Carter agreed to this arrangement. Opler was for inviting as many evacuees as Caucasians, and Harry Mayeda and Dr. Jacoby were suggested.

The above six and also Don Elberson met in the afternoon. Carter

James Sakoda on Segregation

was primarily interested in finding out first what the cause of resistance was, and then what could be done to break down the resistance. He was thinking of a series of meetings of about twenty families or so to explain to them thoroughly why they should leave Tule Lake.

Dr. Opler had charted 390 odd cases (family, including bachelors) of resistances according to blocks and wards. By resistance he meant those who did not come in for social welfare interviews and those who did come for interviews but who refused to give choice of centers. The latter group included those who insisted that they wanted to stay in Tule Lake and a few who would give only one choice of center, saying that otherwise they would stay here. Opler found that there were about twice as many cases who came in and protested as those who did not come in at all for interviews. The wards were found to fall in the following order when arranged according to the number of resistance cases:

Ward I	86
Ward VII	72
Ward II	68
Ward III	57
Ward V	38
Ward IV	36
Ward VI	33

One of the first hypotheses raised by JS and others to explain the difference in reactions in various wards was that wards and blocks which were "bad" during registration were "Good" during segregation. The main reason for this was probably that those who were "bad" during registration now had their choice as to whether they wanted to stay or go. Those who were "good," however, had no choice but to leave, and most people, it seemed, did not want to leave Tule Lake. So that in terms of number of people in the block or ward who had to leave without a choice one could account for the amount of resistance there. This was checked up by blocks by comparing notes with registration reactions, and it seemed that this hypothesis accounted for a great deal of the difference in block reactions. A tabulation of the non-resistant blocks revealed that most of them could be identified as having been "bad" during registration.

- No cases--Block 48
- One case--Blocks 10, 11, 51, 44, 41, 43
- Two cases --Blocks 31, 45, 40

Those with ten cases or more could not be identified as having been particularly "bad" during registration: blocks 17, 71, 16, 28, 34, 18, 37, 25, 23, 67.

Resistance to segregation, however, could not be explained on the basis of the number being asked to leave without a choice alone. The number of bachelors in each block was tabulated, but there seemed to be no correlation between the number of bachelors and the number resisting in a block. The

James Sakoda on Segregation

possibility of agitators was considered. It was considered plausible that the existence of a few agitators in a block could influence the people in that block sufficiently to increase the number of resistance cases somewhat. Block 71, for instance, had been the center of several disturbing rumors, which might have been planted or spread by a few individuals. But the existence of an organized resistance was ruled out entirely. Harry Mayeda said that in his block (23) there was a family which talked loudly against leaving, but that there was definitely no organized resistance on a block basis. It is interesting to note that in Block 10, where the Takahashi Case came up, and where they were supposed to have had a meeting in which the case was discussed, there is only one recorded case of resistance. Another indication of lack of organized resistance is the fact that from a previous sampling tabulation taken earlier the present tabulation differs but little -- the development in most blocks has been even. There has been no sudden increase in any particular block.

Other causes for resistance were discussed. One was the fact that Isseis were afraid of being considered disloyal by leaving Tule Lake. Father Dai agreed with JS that this was an important point. Dr. Jacoby felt that the basic reason for resistance was that people were just tired of moving and being shoved around. Father Dai thought that this was the basic reason for resistance. JS disagreed, and stated that there were more fundamental reasons. He pointed out the two main ones as being economic insecurity in other centers and on the outside and fear of the draft. Dr. Jacoby thought that people wanted to give plausible reasons because they didn't want to bother about moving. He does not seem to have considered that people do not usually announce these two reasons openly. JS could not help feeling that others were thinking of the situation in terms of such categories as bachelors, aged couples, those desiring to return to Japan, without actually being acquainted with the actual individuals involved. They seemed to lack insight and intimate acquaintance with these people who were planning to resist segregation. When a counseling program for individual families was suggested, Carter wanted to know whether it would be advisable to use evacuee interviewers. JS remarked that only evacuees would be able to convince those resisting that it was best that they go. Carter does not seem to realize the importance of using as much evacuee help as possible in a program of this sort.

The important part of the discussion centered around a program to cope with the resistant group. First an educational program to counteract some of the basic fears preventing persons from leaving Tule Lake freely was suggested. Next it was discussed that a group of skillful counselors, preferably evacuees, be gotten together to try to coax the resistant group to leave. It was recognized that only part of the resistant group could be reached for this, since they planned merely to send a personal letter from Best. There was also a feeling on the part of the group that persuasion would have very little effect with the resistant group. JS pointed out that this group of "loyal" individuals should not be hounded to the bitter end, but should be persuaded to leave for their own good only, in view of the fact that the "disloyal" ones had their choice of either staying or going. Harry Mayeda pointed out that it was going to make a lot of differ-

James Sakoda on Segregation

ences if the other centers treated the arrivals from Tule Lake well in terms of giving them jobs, etc. The plan that drew the greatest enthusiasm was to make it known that those who would not come in for interviews would be scheduled for Jerome. The last three or four trains left for Minidoka, unfortunately, and not for Jerome, but it was felt that this idea could be put into effect. It was felt that such a threat could not be used while the majority of the people were here, but Carter felt that it might be started as a rumor, and when the majority had left it could be announced as a definite policy. It was recognized that counseling of the resistant group should be done while they still had choice of centers or else they would have all the more reason for not leaving.

At the end of the meeting, which lasted almost two hours, Opler suggested that this group be kept as a planning committee to meet again in one or two weeks.

John Matsumoto (2519-C, N., 30)

John's attitude is probably typical of many who have testified to being disloyal to the United States. When John had his segregation hearing because he was sick and did not get a chance to register, he was considered loyal and put on the removal list. He had told Cole, who was on the panel which interviewed him, that he wanted to stay here with his family and also wanted to return to Japan with them. When he received his notice to leave he became frightened. He came to the social welfare interviewing center at 2508 and met Mr. Heath, the supervisor. He told John that he could not discuss the case unless his interview sheet came through. JS talked to him and calmed him down a little by assuring him that there was a good chance of his staying, because he could be considered a part of a family unit with his parents, who were going to stay.

John's main argument for becoming excited was the fact that he was closely tied up with his parents and could not leave them. His father was aged (67) and had a weak heart, and had to be looked after. He had the money, however, and John himself had to cling to him for support because he was not entirely healthy. He was recovering from pleurisy, and he was under doctor's orders not to work full time. Consequently, if he left with his wife and two children, he felt that he would not be able to make a living on the outside. If his parents returned to Japan, as they said they were, he had to return with them.

Some statements that he made to Heath and JS showed that he did not want to be considered disloyal at the time. He had said:

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

The next day he had his interview in another center. He told them that he did not want to leave, and Mrs. Freed told him that it wouldn't do any good to say that because he was scheduled to leave. Nothing was said about the possibility of being able to stay because he could be con-

James Sakoda on Segregation

sidered a part of his parent's family. JS had discussed the matter with Mr. Heath, and the latter agreed with JS that it was better to keep the family together here than to have John making himself disloyal just to stay here. But unfortunately the interview was handled in another center. John became frightened and immediately went up to see Cole.

He asked to see the interview sheet and pointed out that everything was put down wrong. It stated that he had a property to which he intended to return to after the war. John said that he had testified that he had no property, and that he didn't intend to return to anything at all. He intended to return to Japan because it would take his family too long to build anything up again. Cole apologized. They went to see Best, who advised a rehearing. Cole took down the second testimony which stated that John intended to return to Japan after the war, that he was, in effect, no longer loyal to the U.S. Cole's comments were, according to John: "You can be sure of staying here for the duration if you have it down like this, but I sure hate to see you do it." John's only concern seems to have been to make sure that he could stay here in Tule Lake with his family.

The same evening JS told John that he didn't have to make out a testimony of that sort because he could have stayed by making arrangements with the social welfare department to be considered one family unit with his parents. JS made an appointment with John for the following date to have this fact recorded, and perhaps to have the second testimony scrapped. JS wrote up a memo stating that John Matsumoto and his family should be allowed to stay with his parents because they were really one family unit. Then he was going to add a memo to the Legal Aid Department stating that John had probably made the second testimony in order to stay in Tule Lake, and not because he was disloyal. As he explained to John:

"You can't tell what's going to happen. You may some day want to go out, and then you'll have some basis on which to appeal."

John, however, saw it in another way. He was afraid that if such a memo was sent, his second testimony might be scrapped. He reiterated what Cole had said -- he'd be sure of staying here if he sent in a testimony of that sort. JS assured him that he could stay if the Social Welfare Department considered his family one unit with his parents family. He did not seem to trust JS completely on this score, and thought that it would be best if a memo were not sent to the Legal Aid Department. In other words, he now wanted to be put down plainly that he was disloyal to make sure that he could stay. He also added that he didn't intend to go out because he couldn't make a living by himself. His folks didn't intend to go back to the farm because they had lost everything and did not feel that they could rebuild what they had lost. John wanted to return to Japan with his parents and make a fresh start over there. For these reasons he did not see how he would ever want to appeal to leave Tule Lake and thought it was just as well that he was considered disloyal.

What is loyalty or disloyalty? To Isseis it means a definite relationship to a country, to a citizenship. To Niseis, at least many who

100

James Sakoda on Segregation

have lived over a year in a relocation center, it means very little.

Disorganization in 2508

Mrs. Kay Tift was first put in charge at 2508 as supervisor, and at first things were in fairly good order. After the split interviews started several workers from Washington arrived, and one of them, Mr. Heath, was made a supervisor in 2508. He never seemed to know what was going on, and never got to a point where he could talk to the workers in a friendly manner. He lasted several days, and a couple of days ago another supervisor, a Mrs. Thompson (?) was appointed. JS never even got a glimpse of her, and even the receptionist did not know what her name was. In the meantime the work was being carried on by Hannah Morimitsu, the receptionist, and Kay Tift, both of whom tried to see to it that the work flowed smoothly. The interviewing was largely done by Tom Sakiyama, Jimmy Hamaguchi, Corky Kawasaki, and Charles \_\_\_\_\_ (Caucasian).

Whenever a change in procedure was made, the supervisor was the only one who was notified properly. The workers were not told properly, or were not told at all. When protests of the hearing results began to come in, no one seemed to know what to do. The Internal Security sent one person to the Social Welfare Department. JS interviewed him, not having received any instructions on how to handle such a case. He did not know, for instance, that Tom Sakiyama was handling such odd cases, and that he would have been better able to cope with it. JS called up Legal Aid and learned from Silverthorne that testimonies were being taken in such cases and being kept on file in his office. When JS asked whether he should send the fellow up to his office, he replied that it was all right to do so. One or two days later word came back from the Legal Aid Department that the office was being stormed with too many protest cases, and that no one should be sent up there. They should be handled by the social welfare interviewers, their protests recorded, and sent back to 1804, where they would be directed into the right channel. If there were no interview sheets, then four copies were to be made. It was not till Saturday morning that general office procedures were clarified in writing. Kay Tift had taken the trouble to get the information and put them down clearly in itemized form.

Saturday afternoon all offices were to be closed. Hannah Morimitsu, the receptionist, had scheduled some interviews for Saturday afternoon herself, and had to keep the office open part of the day to take care of these few that came straggling in.

Types of interviews at 2508

At 2508 split families are being handled. By split families is meant families where one or more members is required to stay in Tule Lake. There are some cases, however, of those who have gone through segregation hearing, and every member of the family is on the removal list. In other words, cases with members of the family in Group II are being handled at 2508.

The interviews completed on August 28 were tabulated by JS and the following results obtained:

James Sakoda on Segregation

Split families desiring to stay as a group.....24

Protest aginast segregation hearing and desiring to stay  
even though on removal list.....6

One or more members of a split family desiring to leave  
the family.....3  
(M-21, M-20, stepson and one girl)

Protest against segregation hearing and desiring to leave....1  
(This is probably rare)

One point brought out by this tabulation is that those who went through the segregation hearing want to stay, by and large, regardless of their status. Very few people are willing to leave their family, and when they do they are Niseis. Practically no one protests segregation hearing results because they have been considered disloyal.