

03.01

67/14
C

Copy of T. T. T. T. T.
Project Report no 79

Mon 2000
Oct 26
'42

HEARD AROUND THE CENTER***-----(* Prolific source of backyard gos-
(sip and current talk may be heard
(in the laundry rooms where women
(gather to scrub and talk, intersp-
(ersing their husband's opinions
(with that ear-pricking "Did you
(hear about-----?"

"We're surely lucky to be able to get all this attention for babies. There's Well-Baby Clinic at the hospital, formula feeding, and special diet for the junior babies from four and five months up. It's only because this is America that we can get all this.

"You know what this kind of feeding means, don't you? You can look around camp and see how all the youngsters are huskier and taller than their parents. Why, I can't use my husband's clothes as hand-me-downs for my sixteen year old boy."

"I still can't stand this camp. When I first came here and stood in line at the mess hall and had a mixture of all kinds of food shoved to me on a single plate my stomach revolted and I couldn't eat more than a few mouthfuls at each meal. That thick crockery dish, and the forks and spoons that looked so banged around just turned my appetite so that for two weeks I just had to force myself to eat.

"My family liked American cooking and now when half the plate is heaped with rice for lunch and dinner they always come home for another snack of cheese, or canned soup or fruit juices, or avocados or fruit we've bought from the canteen.

"We're going into a hole every day we stay here. The \$16 my husband makes every month just can't cover our family necessities."

"My husband brought home his allowance of winter underclothing this morning. You know, it's our block's turn to receive theirs today.

RESTRICTED

"There's a pair of woolen mittens, two pairs of heavy woolen socks and two of light cotton, two union suits, two drawers and an under shirt. My husband was grumbling about the size 40 for his 30 waist but I told him we ought to be thankful for these favors. After all, the government wasn't under any compulsion to give us this clothing. Some do say, though, that it isn't the government but the Red Cross that's doing it.

"I see by the Free Press that they're not going to issue any more soap, or brooms, or mops. That's sure a let-down. They shouldn't have given us any in the first place because now we more or less expect it. I've got a lot of washing to do and the soap item was quite a saving. I only wish I had my washing machine here."

"Have you noticed the bad manners all around the camp? Many of the administration girls just ask, "What do you want?" when you have some business with their department. They don't seem to want to be disturbed.

"Some of the sales clerks at the canteen almost ignore you. After you do get attention and they get your purchases they flip your packages on the counter without any courtesy at all.

"Of course, there are some exceptions like Roy Matsuda who treat you with consideration regardless of whether you make a nickel or dollar purchase.

"And have you noticed the table manners of everyone in the kitchens. People slouching on their elbows while they talk with their forks. I can't teach Junior a thing about decent table etiquette.

"And have you noticed people's posture in the camp. They sort of drag their feet along. We'll have a lot of hunchbacks, too, the way people walk along in a stoop. The young girls, especially, don't have the erect bearing and carriage that they used to have when they walked in the city.

"There's so little courtesy among neighbors I hate to think how my Junior is going to grow up to be like. Living together in the same room with another brat I can't teach him a thing.

"The Army brass hats used too much military mentality in constructing and running this camp. They didn't have partitions between the toilets nor curtains for the showers. Our girls may not have a sense of decency, or shame, or of modesty.

"They didn't have any regard for preserving family groups. We've got common mess halls, community toilets, joint single room for two and three families, not even a living room. No other racial group could live as we do without causing a lot of social mischief and disorder.

"You know what I heard from the pharmacist W_____ T_____ who works at the hospital dispensary? He said the Army didn't have any brains in supplying a civilian group like ours. He said they had plenty of sulfathiazole for reducing fever temperatures and simply thousands of "606".

"You know what "606" is for, don't you? No? That's for treating syphilis. W_____ says since the hospital was opened over six months ago they've only issued about 15 of them. He said he went to the warehouse and saw thousands and thousands of "606" capsules in cases stored there. They've got plenty of those Army medicines but they're short of drugs and medicines for treating chronic illnesses.

"I want to get out this place. Those sort of social diseases might spread around although I think Japanese are the cleanest people. I'm trying to get relocated down Texas way. My husband's folks are farming there. I just heard over the radio that the FBI rounded up about 60 Japanese around Houston. Maybe it'll be hard to get released to go down there."

"My husband and I want to go to Hawaii where he originally came from. He heard over the radio that they wanted construction laborers over there so he wrote but I don't think he has a chance to get lined up. Our neighbor lent his cousin in Hawaii who had just returned from Japan last summer four thousand dollars to start in business.

"They opened a sandwich stand between Diamond Head and Pearl Harbor. It's right on the highway and most of their business comes from the soldiers. They've already made the four thousand dollars they borrowed and clear about three hundred dollars a month. His wife makes the sandwiches and he waits on trade. He sells about 300 cases of Coca-Cola a month -- he can get Cokes because he's selling to the Army.

"His boy about 16 years old made over two hundred dollars during the summer vacation and doesn't want to help at the stand because he can make more on defense work -- they're awful short of workers. No discrimination there at all; they get along swell with the soldiers."

"My neighbor is a nurse. I asked her whether she was going to stay in this country after the war. She told me that depended on the treatment she got. She told me that the Office of War Information is going to put out a film on the evacuation and it's titled "How We're Treating the Japanese." The nurse was mad and told me the government can't seem to realize that 70 percent of us are American citizens. That picture should be titled "How We're Treating Americans".

"My husband tells me that Japan is the up-and-coming future. She is now the second largest empire in the world. She drove away three European empires and the United States from Asia. If she takes India she will rule more than half the population of the world.

"He says that Japan is establishing each of her conquered areas in a "porcupine defense" like the medieval cities of Europe so that if even one is captured it won't affect the standing of the rest of the Empire. You know, if Japan were destroyed by a tidal wave and sank beneath the ocean Manchuria could stand on its own feet.

"America may brag of her production but unless she's careful Japan may come up to her level and maybe even surpass her.

"America has always underestimated the Japanese. Maybe she's doing that now. The official communiques are misleading. Remember Doolittle's raid in April? There wasn't supposed to be any casualties. I notice they captured eight of our airmen. Then there's the battle of the Coral Sea and even the Soloman Islands. American losses are announced a little at a time so they sound like they're small but the total looks bad; and the public is losing confidence in the communiques.

"I heard that a nisei who's a First Lieutenant in the Army, a Roy Hirano who graduated in chemistry from UCLA, and a major from the Army are going to come here to induct volunteers for the Army Intelligence. If they don't get enough they're going to draft those kibe and nisei who qualified in the Japanese language early this summer when Col. Rasmussen was here. I don't think they'll get many. Who would join anyway after being put in here like we are guilty of something without any charges against us? If America underestimates

Japanese maybe after the war she may still feel the same way after the war. I hear in Japan they'll need English-speaking Japanese to work in the South Seas after the war."

The women carried their washing outside and the Documentarian's eavesdropping came to an end.

R. B. Cozzen
RBC

0 11.10

Cozzen
Attitude

Report submitted by

non-citizen

Block Leader #11

Member, Executive Council

11-6-3 Manzanar, Calif.

many. Reg. File

I am presenting this personal and confidential report because my observations during the past four months in Manzanar and the events which are taking place in this relocation center convince me that we are beginning to witness a start of a serious problem that must be faced by the administration.

To begin with, it has been a tragic mistake that urgency of evacuation and military expediency, together with consideration for family ties, had grouped two distinct sections of the Japanese population together. The government of the United States, or more particularly the Western Command, has, in the process of evacuating the Japanese, made little, if any, distinction between aliens of enemy nationality (issei) and American citizens of Japanese parentage (nisei). While these groups are racially alike, and are closely bound in family ties, their background and conditioning are as far apart as those found in any other immigrant group. Perhaps this gulf is wider among the Japanese, since the first generation have tenaciously clung to their old world ideals and have been subjected to a more intense nationalistic propaganda from their homeland than say the Chinese, Italians, Irish or other immigrant stock.

The nisei, and here I am speaking of those citizens who have resided here since their birth and have received the major part of their education in this country, are conscious of their American citizenship, their training in American school in American way of thinking, and are imbued with ideals of American institutions. Before the outbreak of the present war they had come a long way toward assimilation, politically and economically, if not socially, into the American scene. They were just arriving at a stage where they can assert independence

from the family control by the issei. We have many nisei in this relocation center whose loyalty is unquestioned, who consider themselves thoroughly Americans in everything except their physical appearance.

The average age of nisei in Manzanar is about eighteen years. The great majority of nisei are still seriously influenced by the issei. The greater majority of nisei, have not, before the outbreak of present hostilities, given this question of loyalty much thought, and being still in a formative age, are easily influenced today one way or the other depending upon the aggressiveness and vociferousness of the partisans. It is with the attitude of this great bulk of nisei population, who are fundamentally Americans, but who are confused, disillusioned, bitter and desperate, toward the evacuation, the life in a relocation center, and toward the war that this report is most concerned. As I make this report it is quite likely that my personal opinions and convictions are mixed together with observations, but please bear in mind that my opinions are based upon things I have seen and heard in Manzanar.

I am, and no doubt you are, seriously concerned with the entire program of relocation and its relationship to the pursuit of the present war effort of the United States. The two things must be considered together; that is, in the establishment of a relocation program, I for one believe that such a program should fit into the general war program. This, of course, means that not only the immediate problem of evacuating the Japanese nationals and nisei as a military measure must be completed in the shortest time, but that in the establishment of relocation centers, every effort be made to make use of earnest, loyal American citizens in these centers to contribute toward the war

effort, to educate the nisei toward better Americanism, to explain the issues of the war carefully and thoroughly to confused nisei, so that they will not, in moments of bitterness turn for consolation in a Japanese victory. Also in consideration of postwar America, if America really desires the contribution of American citizens of Japanese ancestry toward the rebuilding of this nation into a great and democratic country, then the training of these young Americans in Manzanar and other centers toward that end must be considered. And over and above all this, country has a difficult war to win to administer a decisive defeat to the Axis aggressors. This nation cannot afford to have any of its citizens indifferent or opposed to the supreme war aim; this nation cannot afford to have its citizens secretly or openly applauding every Axis victory.

I have been in Manzanar for over four months, three of which I have spent as a block leader. Circulating among the people, talking to them, discussing various problems with them and listening to their opinions which they will never impart to any Caucasian official, I have become aware of the seriousness of the problem facing this relocation center. I might add that this problem must be faced by other centers sooner or later. In Manzanar, although the conflict between the loyalty of the two generations has existed from the start, the question did not come to a head until very recently, almost four months since its establishment, because at first the evacuees were all absorbed in the construction of the camp, the newness of their residence and environment.

To state frankly and generally from the start, Manzanar is rife with anti-American sentiment. It is seeping into every strata of

Manzanar life. At first the people talked in whispers, criticising the American government, ridiculing the American conduct of the war. They still remembered the early days of the war when an expression of anti-American sentiment was the fastest route to an internment camp. They still remembered the FBI raids on the coast Japanese communities. But today, in the relative freedom of this center, under a liberal policy of the administration, open condemnation of American war policy is being carried on without fear of reprisal. Abuses are heaped upon individuals who defend this country's policies, bodily harm and mob action is threatened those who denounce the anti-American elements. The bulk of nisei, fundamentally loyal Americans, are vascillating and bewildered. This is the picture of Manzanar today.

The issei, although many of them have resided in this country for more than thirty years, have never relinquished their attachment to the homeland. This was largely due to the fact that they have been denied the right to become naturalized citizens of this country, and to many personal experiences of discrimination they received here. During the course of their life here, they have built a defense mechanism and an escape from frustration by identifying themselves with Japanese aspirations on the Asiatic mainland. There is also the fact that the Japanese government has never relaxed their policy during the past ten years to instill pro-Japan propaganda in their colonists abroad.

The issei's stand in this war, with few exceptions, has been that of passive non-resistence. They have faithfully conformed to all government regulations concerning aliens of enemy nationality during wartime. They have shown, as in Manzanar, willingness to work and to cooperate

with the administration. Whatever grievance they may have, they have never expressed it openly to the administration. Therefore, it is very difficult for the administrators of this camp to determine the attitude and reactions of its issei population. But deep down in the heart of every issei is the desire that Japan be victorious in this war. They follow avidly and agree with all the militarist propaganda about such matters as "Asia for the Asiatics", "Japan's manifest destiny in the Orient." They have cheered the Japanese victories over the British, American, and Dutch in Malaya, Burma, the Phillipines and the East Indies. Some of them are still keeping this sentiment to themselves, while more vocal members of the issei group are openly predicting and hoping for a Japanese victory.

You can see what a tremendous influence this type of thinking has upon their children the nisei, particularly when the majority of nisei are still in their teens and when the entire population live congested and compact as they do in Manzanar. Nisei are openly taunted when they express pro-America sympathies. The general line of argument used by issei and many kibel toward nisei is that as a group nisei's citizenship is worthless, otherwise they would not be in a camp today. The following are some examples:

"Look at your citizenship. Is it helping you any in this camp? The American government has put you in concentration camp and is treating you just like they are treating enemy aliens. There is no difference in the food, the shelter and the treatment that we enemy aliens receive and what you get. In the eyes of the government and the American public we are all plain 'Japs'. Whenever it's convenient for the government they say you are citizens and make you go to work on the

camouflage nets at sixteen dollars a month while American citizens outside get more than a dollar an hour for the same kind of defense work." or

"Don't think of yourself as an American. When you do you are just kidding yourself. We all are Japanese and should stick together as Japanese. When this war is over there'll be plenty of opportunity in Malaya, East Indies and Australia where you'll be able to live like kings." or

"You nisei have no guts. If they treat me like they are treating you citizens, I'll throw the citizenship paper right back in their face." or

"If you think you are citizens, just try to walk out of the camp past the sentry line. If the sentries don't shoot you, I'll believe you are citizens." (This remark made in a kibe meeting held on the night on August 8 before four hundred people.)

The above are not exaggerations; they are typical of the kind of talk we hear daily throughout the center. Since the American citizens have not received any particular recognition of their status in Manzanar, this line of argument is getting a tremendous following from many confused nisei, who are, to begin with, bitter about the evacuation and the conditions they find here.

The nisei who openly expresses his hopes for an American victory and even one who preaches loyalty to this country, is denounced and called a "spy" and "traitor." Any pro-American nisei is ridiculed here, so much so that even though a great many nisei are for this country, they keep this opinion to themselves. It is a sad mockery that here in America pro-America expressions are boo'd and cowed. At the

last kibe meeting, a police escort was needed to protect two pro-American kibe, Karl Yoneda and James Oda, from mob violence. A police protection is being given Tokie Slocum, veteran of the last war and outspoken patriot, because his very life is endangered. We are approaching a stage when it means bodily harm for anyone to speak in favor of this nation. A Japanese-American who was one of the first to go to work on the camouflage net project and father of six children is now ostracised by his neighbors since he began work. Net workers are ridiculed and sometimes threatened.

So far the administration has not given any recognition to those whose loyalty is with this country. We have in Manzanar today among the ten thousand people the gradation of attachment to this country ranging from an absolute zero to one hundred per cent. They are looked upon and treated without any distinction. Those who are loyal are wondering today whether their loyalty means anything to the administration or to the government. Of course, I realize that the question of loyalty is a hard one to determine. You cannot simply pidgeonhole one person as loyal and another as disloyal. But you certainly can see that any American citizen who gets up in a public meeting and declares that his citizenship isn't worth a damn and hopes that the government will take it away from him is not exactly loyal to this nation.

The nisei as a group are dissatisfied with the treatment they have received from the government. They are disillusioned--bitter. Many of them are frustrated and desperate. The American army is classifying the nisei as 4C in the same catagory as aliens, while on the other hand, thousands of nisei already drafted previous to the war are serving in the United States army. The nisei are bitter because they feel that the stigma

of disloyalty is already attached to them as a whole, that individually they won't have a chance, after the war, in this country. Some of them are bitter because their fathers and mothers have been sent to internment camps, such being the case of young Terminal Island boys in Manzanar whose fishermen fathers have been taken away wholesale from them.

It is a known fact that we have in the camp today certain elements who are working upon the bitterness of the nisei. These individuals are making agitational talks privately and publicly to whip the nisei sentiment into an anti-America mob hysteria. They are finding a ready response from many dissatisfied nisei. Then too, the issei are contributing their share, as I have already said, by painting rosy pictures of nisei's future in "greater Japan" at the end of the war. As long as the military situation in the Pacific favors the Japanese, as long as America is on the defensive, this type of propaganda, about the ultimate victory of Japan, and talks of nisei future will circulate and receive response from the nisei.

My own little girl, seven years old, was stopped the other day on her way from school by an issei. The issei asked her pointblank, "Little girl, who's going to win this war?" "Of course, the United States," she replied. "Who told you?" "My mother said so." Then the issei became angry and told her to go back and tell her mother that "Japan is going to win this war." This Manzanar may be part of America, but I certainly would not like to bring up my own children, who are American citizens, in this kind of atmosphere.

The sum total of all I have explained above is that the government is doing a good job of making good Japanese out of nisei; but Uncle Sam is doing a poor job of making good Americans out of them. At the rate

we are going, at the end of the war, we shall all go out of the gates of Manzanar, conscious that we are Japanese and not Americans. The nisei are accepting this war as a racial war, rather than that of the democratic forces of the world against fascist aggression, simply because their own treatment has been on a racial line so far. You cannot convince them otherwise. Those of us who understand the issues, the danger of a fascist victory to our American way of life, are becoming more and more in the minority.

Are the present block leaders aware of this acute problem? The composition of the block leaders' council is about three-fifths issei. The issei do not express themselves on political or war issues, although they do so privately. Two of the leading members of the council are known to have aired their views privately, to wit, that Japan will win this war and that the nisei's future lies in Japan. One respected member of the council, outwardly an Americanized issei, stated that when the peace terms are signed, we'll stay in this country and tell the Americans how to run this government. The nisei members of the council are for the most part pro-Japan. Karl Yoneda and myself are only ones who hold pro-democratic convictions and are working in the council to support the government war efforts.

For the sake of internal unity, it may be convenient to treat both citizens and aliens alike in Manzanar. The block leaders as an institution have done well enough in assisting the administration in the management of the center. This report does not mean to deny the merit of the present council. It does state, however, that the spirit of "Little Tokyo" is being perpetuated, i.e. Japanism, issei-nisei conflict and compromise, the tendency to belittle the ability of nisei in administration of camp welfare, etc.

A typical example of how the block leaders react to question of Americanism can be seen in the following: In the course of discussion upon the merit of changing the Manzanar Free Press from a mimeograph to printed newspaper, when the question hung on whether it will be worthwhile for the community enterprise to subsidize the paper out of its profit, I stood up and recommended that the paper be printed and devote more space to international and domestic news to inform the nisei of what is taking place outside and to impress upon them the sacrifices being made by the American people outside to win this war. I further suggested that the paper be used to serve as an educational medium for the nisei. Immediately one member, a kibeï, stood up and replied that the people do not trust the American report on the war because the news is biased in favor of the allies. Another member stood up and replied that it was not necessary to educate the nisei through the Free Press, the nisei can get all the education they want by buying the Los Angeles Times and Examiner at the canteen.

Recently when a group of loyal citizens here circulated petitions for the opening of a second front in Europe and to offer their services to this country for front line duties, the petition was opposed, in private, by practically all the block leaders, although none expressed their opposition in public.

If it is the policy of the War Relocation Authority to maintain harmony within the camp at all cost, to avoid any conflict between the attitudes of citizens and aliens, to regard all as simply inmates of the relocation center and nothing more, the present setup is satisfactory. The pro-Japan elements are predominant in camp and nisei are slowly but surely turning into race-conscious Japanese. A compromise can be worked

out between the issei and nisei on the basis that they are all Japanese.

But if it is the avowed policy of the W.R.A. to instill faith in the American way of life, institutions, and war aims on the part of the nisei, and if the authority wishes to see good Americans come out of the relocation center, some drastic steps must be taken to correct the present situation. Certainly in war time no compromise can be made on loyalty.

I am convinced, based upon my observation, that there are certain irreconcilable differences between the issei and nisei--namely, the question of attachment to their respective countries. Of course, every immigrant stock faces a conflict between the first generation with its old world ideals, philosophy and customs and the second generation to become extremely Americanized. The Chinese, the Irish, the Italians and the rest have gone through this experience. The only marked, but extremely important difference with the Japanese, is that at the present time this generation-conflict is closely tied up with the question of loyalty, since Japan and the United States are at war. I believe it is time that this difference be clearly recognized and some program be adopted to solve the present dilemma. To slurr over conflicts of this nature for sake of outward harmony is dangerous to the present war efforts of the United States to defeat the Axis. Soon, we may see the time again when nisei will be drafted into the U.S. army. In such an event, their training in Manzanar is important in determining their attitude during their service.

I will say that the issei are doing good work in maintaining harmony within the camp. For example, when the carpenters went on strike about a month ago over wage grievances, it took an issei block leader to go over and "talk" to the boys and send them back to work. They are cooperative

to the point of being obsequious, and therefore, are very useful to the administrators of this camp. This, however, does not alter the fact that the issei are fundamentally accepting their lot with good grace and praying for the day when their country is victorious.

I need not dwell too much upon the question of kibeï in the relocation center. You are well aware that a large segment of the kibeï population is more avidly and intensely nationalistic than the issei. Having been accused as "potentially the most dangerous element among the Japanese population" the kibeï as a group is resenting this discrimination. But even the kibeï themselves cannot deny that many of them who have been educated in Japan after the Manchurian incident, when the Japanese government adopted an intense, fascistic training for its youths, have returned to this country, carrying with them the rabid pro-Japan training, and are American citizens in name only. Their influence upon the nisei is also strong, and in many cases they act as spokesman for the group of dissatisfied nisei. At the kibeï mass meeting held last Saturday, August 8, words were expressed which can only be regarded as treasonable in the time of war. I suggest you ask for the minutes of that meeting, conducted entirely in Japanese, and read some of the views expressed, before the assembly was disbanded by Mr. Temple. It will be a revelation on the kind of thinking done by many kibeï and nisei in this camp.

On the other hand, I would like to point out that there are some kibeï who are sincerely and intensely loyal to the United States. They know the plight of the Japanese people under the iron yoke of the Japanese military clique and hope to see the defeat of the present government in Japan so that the people can again be liberated to enjoy freedom of speech and thought. The United States government will do well to recognize

these kibeï, to encourage them, rather than to classify them with the rest.

Finally, there are some issei, who are technically enemy aliens, but are just as loyal and more so than many nisei or kibeï. These individuals, for the most part, have arrived in this country when very young and have been educated and raised as Americans. Were it not for the act of Congress forbidding their naturalization, they would have become citizens long ago. There are few others, who, because of political convictions, were anti-fascist even before the outbreak of the present war, and can contribute substantially toward the American war effort and are anxious that they be called upon to perform some service to this country. They are, in a sense, in a same category as German refugees in this country. The government should recognize the desire and position of such individuals so that some recognition of their loyalty can be made, rather than to pursue the present policy of regarding them as enemy aliens.

What, then, would be my suggestions for the solution to this problem?

First of all, I would like to see a thorough investigation, by properly constituted authority, of the pro-Axis propaganda and influence being spread in Manzanar. Certainly the government should look into the role of agitators and ringleaders of the pro-Axis elements, be they aliens or American citizens. But I would oppose at this time any stringent restriction upon the freedom of speech, gag rules and others for the camp as a whole, as any too severe suppressionary measure only helps to infuriate and dissatisfy the residents and give more ammunition to the pro-Axis elements.

Secondly, for those nisei and kibeï who do not think much of their American citizenship and are willing to renounce it, the American govern-

ment should provide the opportunity for them to do so. A federal court may hear their case and repatriate them. A great many kibeï have applied to repatriate and be sent to Japan on an exchange basis. This should be done with all kibeï and nisei. Then, the government will know definitely how the nisei stand.

Thirdly, and as the most important and urgent step, I would like to see the loyal Americans separated from and away from the influence of pro-Axis elements, lest they remain too long and come under the latter's influence. A separate citizens' camp or settlement is needed immediately where they can establish an American community, where they can express their loyalty without fear of bodily reprisals or ostracism. They should be given job opportunities for defense work or other work at such a settlement where they will be paid the prevailing wages. If they wish to take their parents with them, the parents should be thoroughly investigated and the nisei be responsible for the conduct of the parents. If the nisei prefers to stay with the parents in an alien camp, he should also be permitted to do so. Of course, those citizens who have renounced their citizenship in a federal court will remain with the issei with no stigma attached. Every comfort and consideration be given to the aliens under the program now followed by the WRA except that they have no self-government. On the other hand, the citizens' camp shall have a city government with minimum of interference.

Also a special hearing board should be instituted to allow loyal issei to join such a citizens' camp. (personally being an alien, I would like to obtain such a consideration, as I would feel entirely out of place with pro-Axis issei.)

I believe every intelligent American realizes that the entire evacuation

of the Japanese from the Pacific Coast should have been done on an individual basis. However, they also agree that time did not permit the establishment of such a machinery to determine individual cases. Here in a relocation center, where we're all tucked away, there is plenty of time and an urgent need that each individual case should be studied.

As to the question of separation of families, I would say again, that in time of war, you cannot compromise with loyalty. If the separation of family means you are separating the loyal American citizens from contamination of pro-Axis poison, if it means you will be giving American citizens a chance to express their loyalty without fear of mob action, I would say that it would be a good thing for this country. Today, hundreds of thousands of American soldiers are being separated from their families to serve this nation. The nisei should be, and are willing to make the same sacrifice. Of course, the very small children under sixteen should remain with their parents, or have an older nisei member of the family as their guardian. Detail adjustments can be made if thorough study is made on this subject. The main question is to give the nisei a chance to reaffirm his faith in America, make him feel that he is part of America, and give him brighter hopes for the future so that he will not have illusions about another future in Japan.

As a temporary and immediate measure, which by no means solves the problem, all representatives of the people in the self-government should be American citizens. This does not solve the problem because the issei influence will still predominate in the camp. The representatives may not win the confidence of the people, and every effort will be made by the pro-Axis elements to elect citizens (particularly kibe) who hold pro-Axis convictions.

The entire world, including our enemies and particularly Tokyo, is watching how a democratic America handles the treatment of its citizens. It will be a powerful weapon in the hands of Japanese militarists if they can point out that this country is treating its citizen Japanese in the same manner as alien Japanese. They would like to see this war accepted as a race war, and the United States should not give them the opportunity to do so.

The question of one bad apple spoiling others is out of place here. The situation in Manzanar calls for saving a few good ones left and to salvage hundreds of others before they are spoiled beyond saving. The Manzanar relocation center, should not, in my opinion, be left an island of a Japanese race in the sea of America. If we do not solve this problem, the nisei who leave this camp after the war, intensely nationalistic, anti-American, race conscious and unassimable will be a cancer on the side of America. The government should not leave its citizens to such a fate.

The situation at Manzanar is acute. Basis for mob violence and agitation is already laid by the dissatisfied elements, fanned and encouraged by pro-Axis elements. It may get out of hand if the situation is not handled right. I do not wish to sound like an alarmist. I am only reporting the actual facts as they present themselves. The solution to this problem must be a basic one. No more surface adjustment can correct the situation that has come up in Manzanar and will undoubtedly come up in other relocation centers.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1942

- March 16 Start clearing land and constructing the buildings of Manzanar
- March 21 Arrival of the first contingent of volunteer evacuees at the Assembly Center
- March 23 Manzanar officially opens, under WCCA; the second contingent of volunteer evacuees arrives
- March 24 Information Center planned, on evacuee initiative
- March and April Ascendency of Information Center in community organization
- April 4 First large group of evacuees arrives, from Bainbridge Island
- April 11 First issue of the Manzanar Free Press published
- May The Information Center declines in importance, and the Block Leaders organization ascends
- June 1 The Administration of Manzanar passes from WCCA to WRA
- July The Manzanar Citizens Federation is organized
- July 4 250 bed hospital ready for occupancy
- August Issei-Nisei, Manzanar Citizens Federation and opposition, conflicts sharpen; Kibei meeting held; Issei banned from elective office
- September Block Leaders Council disbanded
- October Block Managers Assembly convenes; conflict between Kitchen Workers Union and Administration's Work Corps; struggle over Charter
- November Blood Brothers emerge; sugar investigation; self-government loses ground; tension rises against JACL
- December 1 Self-government defeated
- December 4 JACL delegates return from conference in Salt Lake City; prominent Issei taken into custody by FBI
- December 5 Fred Tayama assaulted
- December 6 Demonstration against Mr. Uyeno's arrest; Army called in; bloodshed; short period of military occupancy starts; activities suspended
- December 19 Center activities resumed

1943

- January 11 Isolation center at Moab, Utah; starts operations with the arrival of 16 Manzanites charged with fomenting the Manzanar disturbance

*man
reports*

MANZANAR

Report by Philip J. Webster on his investigation of
Manzanar Relocation Area - AUGUST 31 - SEPTEMBER 2, 1942.

one copy only - in Dr. Webster's desk.

THE SETTLING DOWN PERIOD AT MANZANAR RELOCATION CENTER

1. Manzanar and the Manzanites.

Manzanar is located on Los Angeles City land in Inyo County, California. The nearest towns are Independence, 6 miles away, and Lone Pine, 9 miles away. Los Angeles is 220 miles to the southwest. When Manzanar was established, it lay within the restricted area and surrounding community sentiment was definitely hostile to the evacuee residents. The countryside is desert area with little growth except sagebrush. The project area is bounded on the east by the White-Panamint ranges, and on the west by the Sierra Nevada.

The center proper occupies 400 acres, with 6000 additional acres for project use. The altitude is 3700 feet above sea level; rainfall averages 4 inches per year.

The center consists of 36 blocks, each with 14 barracks, 100 feet long, 25 feet wide. The plan was to have a population of 300 per block. Four apartment units were constructed to each barrack. Each block has two buildings 20 x 30 feet used as latrines and showers. One building 20 x 50 in each block serves as laundry. Plumbing facilities are only within those barracks which house the administrative personnel apartments and the Administration offices.

The first contingent of volunteer evacuees, about 80 people from Los Angeles, arrived at Manzanar, the Assembly Center, March 21, 1942. They set about helping prepare the center for later arrivals. The second volunteer contingent of 900 men from Los Angeles arrived two days later, on the official date for the opening of Manzanar. Living conditions were bad, with only the barest necessities provided. Soon after a group of evacuees from Bainbridge Island, Washington, arrived, and then a steady stream of new arrivals from southern California came in all through the Assembly Center period. By July, 1942, the population of Manzanar was completed at 9878. 37 percent of these were Issei, and 63 percent Nisei.

Most of the Manzanites came from Los Angeles County, Terminal Island, Florin, Venice, Glendale, San Fernando, North Hollywood and Santa Monica.

The first to arrive, after the volunteers, were the Bainbridge Islanders, who were mostly strawberry growers. They were followed by Terminal Islanders, who were fishermen, cannery workers, and boat and net repairers. A few had retail stores and other service trades. The Terminal Islanders were predominantly Buddhist. Not many were wealthy and as a result of evacuation all of them had suffered substantial losses. Most of the families were large and close-knit.

Next came the suburbanites from the Santa Monica Bay District: Santa Monica, Ocean Park, Venice, Culver City, Palms, and West Los Angeles. These people were store owners, market clerks, gardeners, nurserymen, landscapers, gardenia and cut flower growers, and large scale celery growers. The Venice celery growers were an urbanized group although engaged as farmers. Many were prosperous, and they had large families. They lost heavily during evacuation, but a number still had property in Venice.

At the same time evacuees from San Fernando Valley and vicinity arrived: Roscoe, Pacoima, North Hollywood, Burbank and Glendale. Those from San Fernando were farmers and flower growers. They were a prosperous and well-organized group

of flower growers, with large and expensive farms. Their relations with their Caucasian neighbors had been excellent and they leased their market to them for the duration, with the hope of returning after the war. The North Hollywood population was mainly urban. They were engaged as gardeners, domestics, owners of nurseries, and in the service trades. People from San Gabriel had been, principally, strawberry growers and nursery owners.

Sacramento-Stockton people were the next arrivals. They raised tomatoes, onions, vegetables, berries, and large families. Florin people raised strawberries and grapes. Most were landowners of ~~small, well-~~equipped farms. Families had lived in Florin for many years; ~~most of them were~~ Buddhists. Farmers had suffered heavy losses during evacuation and a large number sold their farms.

People from Santa Maria had worked small farms, on difficult terrain.

With each arrival of evacuees came a sprinkling of metropolitan Los Angeles residents, tired of waiting for evacuation orders, anxious to get it over with. These were entirely urban, engaged in the usual urban occupations: service, retail, professional work, etc. They were both Christian and Buddhist families. There were many wealthy produce market owners among them. Some of Manzanar's zoot-suiters came from Los Angeles.

People from Boyle Heights and Wholesale City Market areas of Los Angeles were the last to arrive. The majority were engaged in the wholesale distribution of fruits and vegetables, retail trades, and the small hotel and restaurant businesses.

A more specific occupational listing would show a fairly diverse distribution of occupations much like those found in other American communities.

2. Summary.

After Manzanar was peopled two social processes, involving social organization and disorganization, were at work. Tensions started after Pearl Harbor and during evacuation became heightened in the center, but at the same time the population was adjusting to the new situation -- center life.

Pre-evacuation tensions were heightened by the lack of privacy and hardships of center living conditions, the diverging and often conflicting orientations of the residents, and issues brought to the front by governmental and administrative action. Adjusting to the center situation involved the improvement of physical conditions, the organization of resident social and political relations, and their relations with the Administration.

Tensions resulting from living conditions were among the most important at first, but rapidly lessened as adjustments were made. Food anxieties, however, continued to play an important role.

Diverging orientations and resentment against the Government in general and WRA in particular heightened tension throughout the initial period at Manzanar as issue after issue appeared and sharpened group conflicts. The tension finally exploded in the Manzanar Incident of December 6, 1942. Afterwards the problems of diverging orientations and community government, administrative action and relations between evacuees and appointed personnel, were reduced by the desire of the community as expressed through representative committees for peace and

order, the efforts of the Project Director toward smooth relations with the community, and the removal of persons most identified with group conflicts.

3. Social Disorganization.

Center Living Conditions

Pre-evacuation rumors about Manzanar painted both worse and better pictures of what living conditions there would be like. Some people were infinitely relieved to discover that the dust storms had been overrated, or that men and women did not have to use the same showers, for which exigency some had bought bathing suits. (Opler, Feb. 14, 1944)

On the other hand, there were many disappointments. An extreme case was later recalled by an evacuee:

"After getting partly settled in our new home, I walked around looking for the lake that some Caucasian friends had told me about. They had mentioned that I was going on a nice vacation, as Manzanar was situated beside a lake, and that I could go fishing, swimming, and boating. In the winter, they told me, there was skiing to enjoy in the mountains. This sure turned out to be a sour joke to me for none of those things were available to me." (Opler, 223)

Food and mess halls: Anxieties about food were sharp during the first months of center living, although in the earliest days of evacuation "...food was pretty good, as rationing hadn't begun yet." (Opler, 223) Residents worried that food would be withheld from them, either through negligence or deliberately in retaliation for the deeds of the Japanese military. People wondered if the Administration would starve them "when food becomes more scarce," or if "when they get good and ready" they couldn't just poison the water supply and "wipe us all out." Block Leaders were constantly urged by their people to determine whether sufficient supplies of food were on hand. Residents were especially alert to discover food shortages in rationed meat or sugar, and much of their anxiety was expressed in the famous "sugar investigation" which was to become so important later on. Mess hall workers were particularly infected by these anxieties and some of them became greatly concerned about the amount of food delivered to their particular kitchens. There was also considerable talk, especially among anti-administration circles, of appointed personnel "eating better food," and diverting food meant for the evacuees for their own purposes. (Project Report 70, Oct. 26, 1942; Project Report 35, Aug. 11, 1942; Opler, 241).

Communal eating in large mess halls contributed to social disorganization. An evacuee mother described the mess hall system at Manzanar, in comparison to the one in use at Tule Lake:

"To compare it briefly, Tule's system is 'family style,' whereas Manzanar is strictly 'cafeteria.' The family style from the point of view of a mother is much better, for it enables the family to be together at meal times, perhaps the only time of day they really are united. It also allows the mother to have some supervision over her children in respect to etiquette, etc. I think one of the biggest differences I have noticed is the atmosphere of the mess halls. At Tule we all entered at once, went to our assigned 'family table,' where the food and dishes were already placed, and started eating. We all

finished at about the same time. There isn't that awful racket of dish washing while eating that we have here at Manzanar. At the end of the meals at Tule the waitresses gather up the dishes and take them back to be washed. By this time all the diners are out. On the other hand here at Manzanar, we line up, receive our food all dumped on one plate, scramble for seats, and dash to the back with the dirty dishes when we are through eating. All the while the dishwashers are keeping up a constant clatter of dishes, and making so much noise, one can hardly think, let alone eat, decently.

"The biggest problem is the harm this system is doing to our children. I am not a child psychologist, but I do know that this constant change of faces at meal-times is not good for children, especially the tiny tots who are just beginning to learn to eat and speak properly. They are by nature mimics, and their great curiosity in new things and new faces doesn't allow them much time to eat. For example, if a person who is deformed comes and sits at the same table, the child is so fascinated that he won't eat, but just stares, whereas if he were used to that person, as a result of eating three times a day together, he would take it as a matter of course.

"Another thing that is very distracting is the noise and the sight of people walking back and forth. As we are served in lines, naturally the ones at the head of the line will be served first and finish first. If we are unfortunate enough to sit at a table where the early diners are, they gobble down their food, jump up, dash to the back to dispose of dirty dishes, leaving space at the table for other diners, thus making two different sets of people the child will be interested in.

"And the table etiquette of the children here at Manzanar is atrocious. Young children 6 and 7 years of age, with no supervision from older folks, gang together at one table, laughing and talking loudly, eating sloppily, with no thought of manners. If they could only eat with their families, they could be made to eat properly, out of shame, by their older brothers and sisters, if not by their parents.

"I think they will behave anyway without coercion because they are essentially good children, but when they gang together at a table they have a tendency to show off. For instance, if some of the boys don't feel like eating that particular meal, they'll say, 'What a lousy meal, let's get out of here and play ball.' The other boys, even if they are hungry and want to eat, will invariably agree and run out with them, hungry. They won't say that the meal is all right, and they'd like to finish, because that would be a sign of weakness. They have to be 'tough guys!

....

My small daughter and I used to eat at a table where two little boys... ate with their mothers. They had become so uncontrollable that the mothers had given up, and let them eat as they pleased. They behaved so badly, that I stopped eating there, for their behaviour actually turned my stomach and I couldn't eat. But my daughter was fascinated. They would come running into the mess hall, and the first thing both of them did was to take off their shoes and stockings and jump up and down on the seat. Then they would start yelling for their food. After they were given the food they wouldn't eat it, but would just play with it, getting the contents of both of their plates on the table, making their section look like a pig-pen. They would often bring toy automobiles and trains,

etc. with them, making noises as they pushed the toys in and out of food that was spilled on the table. All the time I ate at that table I don't think I ever saw them eat a full meal or drink a glass of milk. Now these little boys had older brothers and sisters, and if they all had eaten at one table with both parents, things like that couldn't have happened, for the older children would have protested out of pride, and the father probably would have forbidden it.

"...Even if we are in camps, and that fact is constantly before us, some effort should be made to maintain a normal atmosphere. Lining up for meals, getting food slopped at us all on one plate is making many feel like hobos and tramps waiting in a breadline for a handout." (Op., 2)

An evacuee man described his first reaction to the mess halls at
Manzanar:

"About the mess halls. I had one helluva time trying to make my son eat. He just wouldn't touch anything or do anything except look around at the people. You see, we've never taken him to a cafeteria or restaurant regularly back home. The noise and confusion distracted his mind from the food. No amount of punishment seemed to do any good or to make him eat. To this date it seems a miracle that he has grown as much as he has, considering the little he has consumed. Our family is not the only which had trouble making children eat. It has happened in the majority of the families with small children. They can't seem to make the children eat in the mess hall. Now back home, if the children didn't eat during regular meal hours, we fed them between meals. This is the American way of raising children.

"Sometimes we eat at home and my sons eat much better there than at the mess hall. On the other hand, we (my wife and I) can eat in peace and need not hurry through our meals as we do when we eat at the mess hall. Yes, for the simple truth is that the mess hall workers don't like late and slow eaters as they want to hurry and get out of the kitchen as quickly as possible." (Opler, 233)

Housing: At first Manzanar housing conditions offered a minimum of privacy because out of 2016 rooms (504 rooms in each of 36 blocks) approximately 1930 were available for 10,000 persons. Administrative offices in Block 1 and Hospital quarters in Block 7 subtracted from the total intended for family housing. There were no additional partitions to make new, smaller rooms; the barracks were all uniformly divided into four compartments. Later the congestion was partially relieved when Administration and Hospital quarters were built, but the opening of school without new buildings necessitated the taking over of Block 7 again. Material came in August and September for partitions, however. In October Manzanar had approximately 2135 rooms for a population of 9029. (Project Report 75, October 15, 1942)

An evacuee described his first reactions to the housing provided:

"I was rather disappointed at the barracks which we evacuees were to live in. I thought at least each individual family would be assigned to a separate apartment. Instead, two or three families were crowded into a six beam apartment, offering no privacy. It didn't matter so much with the bachelors or the single girls if they slept in quarters together. But when two or three families were placed in one apartment to make the quota for the barrack, it was terrible.

"All the barracks in those early days were bare, and when the wind blew, the dust would seep right up through the cracks in the floor and through the walls, the ceiling and all over. The construction of these barracks was of the cheapest and simplest type. Even though there was a partition between apartments, you could distinctly hear the neighbors voices and their snoring too.

"Talk about sand!...We had to sweep the room every so often and mop once or twice a day because of the sand which was tracked or blown into the house.

"The Administration told us to mop at least once daily and to keep everything off the floor -- at least six inches off the floor. Now, how were we to keep our belongings six inches off the floor if we had no lumber with which to build stands? Every time we mopped we had to put our belongings on top of the beds. We were told not to take lumber scraps or otherwise we would get into trouble. The administration promised us furniture at that time. I couldn't believe this promise so I gathered scraps of lumber from here and there and tried my best to build some crude furniture for the home." (Opler, 233)

Sanitary facilities: The same man wrote:

"As for the facilities, at first we had to endure the telephone booth type of latrine, which had a chemical task receptacle. When the wind blew, which was often, it blew right through the latrine. Sometimes it blew so fiercely that it seemed as if the latrine would be toppled over. I'm not exaggerating when I say this. At this time the present flush toilets were not ready from Block 3 on up to Block 12. The other blocks were not even built yet.

"As for showers, hot water was only available in Blocks 1 and 2, as the volunteer groups lived there. We lived in Block 4, so we could not bathe every day as it was pretty far to walk in those days. By the time we bathed and returned home, we would catch cold. In due time, the boiler was installed in our block so ~~we~~ were able to bathe regularly. It was about two weeks after we came here, though.

"We felt pretty leery walking in the night to the latrine, and there were snakes all over. The thought of stepping on one was enough to send a chill up one's spine. I suppose the evacuees from rural districts didn't think anything of it, but we who were raised in cities ~~didn't think anything of it, but we who were raised in cities~~ didn't feel just right walking to the latrine at night." (Opler, 233)

Hospital: One of the earliest fears in the center was about health and hospitalization. The hospital particularly became a controversial subject matter when a woman died in childbirth there and the distracted husband spoke bitterly of the hospital care she had received. Actually she had been warned that childbearing would be dangerous for her, and the fact that she bore twins made it impossible to save her. Nevertheless, all pregnant women were in a panic and it was urged that the Block Leaders do something about the situation. (Opler, 241).

Other stories of this type evidently circulated, because the Chief Medical Officer in September, 1942, remarked in a public speech in the center:

Rumors charge that we don't take care of our patients properly. But the record for the six months shows there has been no death from 300 contagious disease cases, and no death from over 200 surgical disease cases. For a population of 10,000, that is good. (Project Report 51, Sept. 16, 1942)

Clothing allowance: WCCA did not pay clothing allowance for the period between March 21 to May 24, and WRA clothing allowance had not been paid at the time of the riot.

Diverging Orientations

Peoples of varying and frequently conflicting orientations were forced together in Manzanar. Points of view and personalities clashed and pre-evacuation rivalries became sharpened under the strain of center life.

Orientations of the Manzanites varied in many respects. Of large importance was the so-called Issei-Nisei conflict, involving actually a relatively small number of Nisei. In Los Angeles before evacuation the Issei had realized that the Nisei were better educated than they, had wider contacts and were able to employ more modern business methods. They were glad to use them as their clerks, accountants, and as mediators between them and the American business world. Issei were not yet ready, however, to relinquish the reins of economic control in the Japanese community. They were wary of those Nisei who were determined to become owners and competitors rather than to work steadily and faithfully for their elders. It was a situation of the young straining for possession and status, and the old jealous of their standing.

Politically, however, the Nisei were in a much better position than their parents, being citizens. Thus, at the outbreak of the war the crushing impact was first felt by the Issei. Nisei felt protected by their citizenship. When evacuation of all was threatened, Nisei leaders, especially those with JACL associations, used as their basic argument the importance of respecting the rights attached to American citizenship. Issei, who were not and could not become citizens, felt exposed and defenseless. Many inferred that the Nisei were interested only in saving themselves and that the Issei elders who had toiled and suffered privation for them were being abandoned. Then, when the JACL after trying to prevent evacuation, cooperated to carry it out, the elders felt that the youngsters had not only bungled, but were sacrificing them.

In the center, with its bare rooms and wind swept desert landscape, evacuees counted their losses, and their resentments increased. It was declared that the Nisei leaders who had spoken of their banishment in terms of a "new adventure," of "pioneering," and of "our contribution to the war effort," had "led the people to these centers." It was whispered that some of them had done this for gain, that they were agents in the service of the Government, leading their people to harsh exile for a price. Even those who didn't believe that these Nisei were traitors and spies were persuaded that they were dupes and bunglers. Moreover, the elders had assumed that the young people would be humbled by failure, would be content to allow age and wisdom to dictate policy once more instead of presuming upon a citizenship status which had been totally disregarded at the test. (Opler, 241)

Other diverging orientations at Manzanar were toward American and toward Japan. These orientations were phrased culturally, sentimentally, and politically, and were sometimes expressed in beliefs as to which side would win the war. However war talk was comparatively scarce and restrained at Manzanar. Concerning pro-Japan feelings, the talk varied from the following kind of statement:

"That's the Combined Imperial Fleet; graceful, ain't they?" Group of old men watching 11 carps in newly-built pond in Block 1. (Project Report 52, Aug. 18, 1942)

to the extreme statement that:

"A Japanese fleet is just 500 miles from Los Angeles. Japanese soldiers and marines will capture the west coast by the end of the year." Talk overheard, in Japanese, shower room, Block 27. (Project Report 52, Aug. 18, 1942)

Some Manzanites had an outlook world-wide in scope, while others were, intentionally and unintentionally, center-bound. Some throughout the experience of evacuation and center living recognized the role they were playing on the larger American scene and in a world war of ideologies. Others felt as did the man who said:

"This is no country for anybody of the Japanese race. This is white man's country. There'll be more opportunities in Japan, Philippines, Java, South Seas, China, Manchoukuo." (Project Report 45, Aug. 6, 1942)

Perhaps the majority tended to be center-bound in their outlook. For example, although center conversational topics varied, the war itself took a back-seat to such "local and primary" interests as food, weather, insulation for barracks, education, hospital, personal gossip, sports, etc. (Project Report 52, Aug. 18, 1942) As one man expressed it:

"That's the only way we can live in harmony in this camp; let's quit waving the flag and talking about citizenship and all..."

The residents generally and the majority of the block leaders frankly admitted their confusion and uncertainty about larger issues. One block leader asked:

"Who can predict the future? So why fight about it now?"

Another, at greater length:

"Of course, I don't agree with all this talk about returning to Australia, Java, South Seas and such. But I don't like to argue about it because I have no answer when one of those ardent arguers asks me: 'How do you know America won't take away your citizenship? How much are you going to have to say about whether they'll pack you on a boat and send you off? How much did you have to say about coming here -- and you're a citizen too?' So I just shrug it off and go to work trying to get us our insulation for winter so it won't be too cold." (Project Report 45, Aug 6, 1942)

A more positive expression of the same sort of attitude is described by a friend of anleading Kibei:

"He and his bunch took the position that the citizens had had their only protection, their citizenship, ignored and that they had no future in America and should only fight for better conditions within the camp." (Opler, 203??)

Some Manzanites lived constantly with their bitterness over evacuation, while others strove not only to forget but to forgive. These attitudes are illustrated in the following statements:

"This is no different from a jail. We're all in the same boat. So long as it's a jail, let's behave ourselves and cooperate, but the Government will have to look after us."

"Whether Manzanar becomes a jail and concentration camp, or the jumping off place for our permanent relocation into American life depends largely on us. If we take the constructive attitude and refuse to say we're beaten and ready to be shipped back to Japan, we can make this an opportunity of our lifetime." (Project Report 45, Aug. 6, 1942)

Strong resentment and bitterness sometimes but not always coincided with a strong anti-administration slant. Bitterness is evident in the following statement by what the documentarians called a "Nisei fault-finder in the late 30's":

"Manzanar has a curfew. The mountains on the east and west of the valley cut out at least two hours of daylight from us. The Government must have had that thought in mind when they stuck us here." (Project Report 58, Octo. 2, 1942)

Another kind of criticism of the Administration is evidenced in this statement:

"What do I mean when I say some of the administrators have a carry-over of Indian psychology when they deal with us? Well, they give us some piece of broken down or outdated farm equipment to work with. Or, like when we were clearing the sagebrush, they give us a Fordson when we should have got a heavier tractor or Caterpillar. Or the way they waste manpower when machinery we could get, to save labor costs. If we ran our farms like they do here we'd be broke in one season." 25-year old celery grower. (Project Report 58)

On the other hand, those flying the "constructive" banner often found themselves in the position of seeming to be "pro-administration", sometimes to a ridiculous degree. To take the most extreme example available, the following article appeared on the front page of the first issue of the center paper:

OUR SINCERE APPRECIATION

The citizens of Manzanar wish to express in public their sincere appreciation to General John L. DeWitt and his Chiefs of Staff, Tom C. Clark and Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen, for the expedient way in which they have handled the Manzanar situation.

The evacuees now located at Manzanar are greatly satisfied with the excellent comforts the general and his staff have provided for them.

"Can't be better," is the general feeling of the Manzanar citizen.

"Thank you, General!"

A great deal of social disorganization resulted from these diverging orientations and the confusion that many residents felt in taking stands on center issues in line with these orientations. A bitter, center-bound, anti-administration evacuee might find himself identified by others as a politically pro-Japan representative. To complicate matters, he might even begin to accept the identification himself whereas it played no important part in his earlier points of view. Some pro-American Nisei working constructively in cooperation with the Administration to help the allies in a war of ideologies might tend to identify their opponents as Issei, pro-Japan, anti-administration, "embittered fault-finders." Likewise, an anti-administration man might tend to identify a JACL Nisei with what he considered the worst governmental restrictive actions.

Groups and individuals combined all sorts of variations of these orientations. Expressions of their points of view and the confusion concerning them made resident conflicts the order of the day in early Manzanar.

Playing a role of prime importance in the early days at Manzanar were a group of pro-Americans sometimes identified as the "115 % Americans." Although identified as "Nisei" outstanding members of this group were Kibei and Issei (Karl Yoneda, Koji Ariyoshi, Tom Yamazaki) -- just as one of the leaders of the vaguely defined "Kibeis" was a Nisei (Joe Kurihara).

Two small groups came to the center prepared to be aggressively pro-American, in spite of rejection and restraints, and facing the future with the main purpose of helping America win the war and reassimilating themselves into American life. Insofar as the center could be instrumental in furthering this dual purpose, the JACL and left-wing Nisei leaders were interested in the center; otherwise their eyes were on the larger scene. Not only were they determined to achieve their goals individually, but to lead their fellow residents along the same path.

In spite of a definite dislike for each other, the orientation of these two Nisei groups was very similar, with the left-wingers if anything more outspoken and uncompromising in their point of view than the JACL Nisei (although the JACL group got blamed for most of it by the rest of the center). The left-wingers were among the first volunteers to come to Manzanar, and the JACL leaders felt that they had unfairly solidly entrenched themselves in the most favorable project positions. The capture of the Manzanar Free Press was a special plum.

Both groups frequently criticized evacuation and the local administration quietly (although Yoneda is on record as follows: "We recognize the military necessity of evacuation of ALL Japanese from the Pacific Coast.") but their public statements and activities played up forgetting the injustices, cooperating with the administration and so on. Some of the more extreme members of the groups put themselves unqualifiedly on the side of the "authorities" and earned for many the label of inu. (The FBI had at least seven "sources of information" in the center) They were inclined to regard any opposition to their point of view as inspired by pro-Axis sympathies. When later these Nisei were forced to flee the center because resident sentiment was so solidly against them, they thought that opinion had been molded by people whose dominant emotion was loyalty to Japan.

The two Nisei groups were unpopular with the majority of the residents to begin with. Left wingers because the aka were thought queer in pre-evacuation days, the JACL because they were felt to have failed, if not betrayed the Japanese Americans during evacuation. Their activities in the center only heightened the feelings against both groups. Petitions to Washington for the second front and

the formation of a Nisei combat unit led to mutterings about "giving away other people's sons." Wholehearted backing of the Camouflage Net Factory is another example. (One "leader" on marrying in the center patriotically announced to the Free Press that he and his bride would spend their honeymoon working on the camouflage net project.) Members of the two groups were urgent in recommending segregation. The Free Press during the whole settling down period was unequivocally pro-Administration, pro-American, Nisei-slanted, and of the rah-rah variety.

Important personalities were:

JACL

Tokie Slocum (also with l-w's?)
Togo Tanaka
Fred Tayama
Joe Masaoka

Left-wingers

Karl Yoneda
Koji Ariyoshi
Tom Yamazaki
Chiye Mori
Joe Blaney
James Oda

Documentation for the points of view represented by these persons follows:

1. Karl Yoneda letter
2. Koji Ariyoshi letter
3. The Yamazaki Document
4. Tom Imai squib
5. Embree report
6. James Oda squib
7. Fred Tayama, Opler report
8. Togo Tanaka analysis
9. Opler report on MCF
10. Togo Tanaka letter
11. JACL, Brown report on Manz. Incident

TOGO TANAKA AND JOE MASAOKA on the Kibei Meeting and conflict of ideologies:

At the first Manzanar Citizens Federation meeting the following exchange took place:

Joe Kurihara: I'm an American citizen. I've served under fire with the Army in the first World's War. I haven't done any wrong. Why should I be put in here? Why should you be put in here? (Vociferous applause)

Tokie Slocum: I've fought as a Sergeant Major in the last World's War. I've been in some of the toughest fighting there. I'm here because my Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, ordered me in here. (Scattered handclapping)

At the second meeting again:

Joe Kurihara: We're not treated as citizens. We're prisoners. (Loud hoorays)

Tokie Slocum: If you're not a citizen what country are you a citizen of? (Cries of shut up)

And at the Kibei Meeting, held in the same mess hall as the above two meetings:

Joe Kurihara: If anyone, any Nisei, thinks he's an American I dare him to try to walk out of this prison. This is no place for us. It's a white man's country. (Cries of that's right)

From audience: I've been in Manchuria, in China, in the South Seas, and now I'm in America. This is the stinkiest, rottenest place I've ever been in. (Loud applause)

Sam Tateishi: We don't have to move out of Blocks 1 and 7 and let them use those for schools and teacher quarters. The government has lots of money. Let it spend some for lumber to build schools and houses...They can take my citizenship because it doesn't mean a thing, anyway. (Loud stamping of approval)

Anonymous: Some Nisei are trying to separate us from our parents. We're all one race; we've got to stick together. (Boisterous acclamation)

Tanaka and Masaoka believed that these expressions were an outgrowth of "fundamental differences between Nisei and Issei and Kibei." (Although Kurihara is a Nisei and Yoneda a Kibei).

One group, principally though by no means all Nisei, thinks and acts in terms of eventual assimilation into American life. The second group, mostly Kibei and Issei, is convinced that this is a race war; that their place is in Japan and her conquered territories.

Characteristics of the first group: A preservation of the American family living (?), such as talking in English to their children, of encouraging women to participate in community affairs, a faith that their citizenship is being and will be respected by the courts and the vast majority of the American people. Keeping in touch with their Caucasian friends by correspondence, taking part in typical Pro-American

drives -- second front petitions and blood banks, cooperation in community projects, a hope that Caucasian school teachers and administrators will have friendly social gatherings, and listening to the Aldrich Family radio programs.

Characteristics of the second group: Thinks, believes and now is beginning to act pro-Japan. A Nisei speaking in English at a block meeting was interrupted with, in Japanese, "Are you white trash? Talk in Japanese!" Frequent assertions that as long as you have slant eyes and black hair you'll always be stigmatized as a Jap here... that this is a white man's country... that the utterances of Congressman Ford and Asst District Att. Shoemaker of L.A. are proof that our citizenship is going to be taken away and so it doesn't mean a thing and never will... Disparagement of all community projects... an easy complaisance to administration rulings but a suspicion, distrust and resentment of administration personnel and policies expressed thusly at one meeting: "We can't talk of these things before the white man." Children talking mostly in Japanese. Popularity of Japanese cultural activities, such as recordings, ondo dancing, singing of nationalistic airs... "We are getting this fair treatment only because American prisoners of war will be mistreated by Japan if they clamp down on us." An encouragement to hoodlum elements that the Pro-America faction are seeking advantages for themselves and have reported to the FBI so many of the fathers now interned at the various detention camps.

T. and M. believed that because the WRA had not backed the first group that the "vast preponderant majority" who have been torn between the two pulls, who have been confused, who are fence-sitters and opportunists, have veered to the influence of the Pro-Japan group.

Conclusion: Separate camps should be maintained for those having the differing loyalties and ideologies of the second group. This can be accomplished by open and formal judicial proceedings and investigative hearings. Citizenship and confirmatory testimonials and oaths of allegiance publicly administered are means of determining the first group.

"From 1931 on, the Japanese government launched a very active and pronounced campaign to indoctrinate colonists abroad. The military was again on the march. The immigrant Japanese were fertile ground, for as immigrants they soon fell into the practise of identifying their interests with Japan. This was due in some measure to their non-acceptance and non-assimilation generally.

"Certain decided changes in strategically important facilities for indoctrination took place. This was the period when, for instance, the two major Japanese news syndicates (Rengo and Dentsu) were merged by the government into a single semi-official Domei Japanese News Agency. The differences in Japanese national attitudes soon expressed themselves in magazines and publications which reached overseas.

"Immigrant Japanese in America, ruled by law as ineligible to American citizenship, began to feel, 'Well, perhaps there is something to Japanese nationalism. Maybe Japanese destiny is written as the Tokyo government spokesmen, the extreme rightist military men say.'

"There was also a setting in of reaction against the leaning toward westernism and Americanization. 'Perhaps we've gone too far in our Americanization' some began to say.

"At this time, lectures by politicians, propagandists and Army men who could pick up their fare (always a few thousand dollars) drew large audiences among Japanese communities up and down the Pacific Coast.

"There was also a revival of the emphasis upon ritual in connection with ancient Japanese sports - jiu jitsu, kendo, sumo, yumi. The Japanese virtues were endowed with halos.

"In discussion, there was a repetition of the same theme 'Asia for Asiatics.' There was a definite tendency to turn back upon the United States, face Tokyo.

"This influence during the last ten years made for extensive and intensive indoctrination. This situation will make the work of Manzanar teachers all the more difficult. Yours will be the task of undoing much of these influences..."

Notes on Meeting of Trip to Manzanar (April 30)

The people at Manzanar were faced with a tremendous problem when they received their first Japanese. They had two buildings without a roof; they got in one day and received Japanese the next. They had problems immediately which have been solved for us. Even though we do not have water and sewerage, we are still way ahead of them. They have 7,000 people up there at the present time and are handling them in a grand manner. Everything is well organized and the situation seems to be very well under control; the attitude of the people is very cooperative. The manager of the camp says they have no reason to believe there is anything under the surface other than the cooperative attitude the Japanese are now showing. They have their organization set up to receive people and the day before we arrived, they had received over 1,900 and handled them as to registering and getting them placed in the barracks in a little over six hours. Our organization is such that we have a lot to do; we have the personnel but of course, not having gone into this thing by having actually received people, we have tried to lay as much ground work as possible. A lot of problems will come up that we have not anticipated. We got enough information on some of them so that we can relieve the situation before people get in here.

One specific problem we discussed which they seem to be getting along very well with, is the dishwashing. They have moved their sink into the dining room, just across the partition from the pantry, having a door on each side. They will come in on one side and pass the counter in a semi-cafeteria style. They come by this serving line, get the food on the plate and go to their table. They come around the other side and leave their dishes at the dishwashing sink. They are having no difficulty in heating their rinse water to sufficient temperature. They take their hot water from the heater and keep heating it on the stove with a crew continually changing it. They have perforated ladles which they use to dip their dishes and silverware in the boiling rinse water, so they seem to clear up that problem.

The first dining room we entered was feeding 700 in shifts. They seemed to be rushed due to the fact they liked the cook in this particular dining room and all tried to eat there. Another problem was preparing enough food. However, they think that as soon as the cook knows just how many will be assigned to a certain dining room this problem will be solved.

They are furnishing dishes up there. They seem to think the way they are handling this, the speed with which the people eat and get

out, they could handle one-third as many dishes as there are people to eat. They thought, with this process, they could get by with less dishes if they washed them and put them right back on the table. They are not using any personally owned dishes at all; they are all Government owned. We could not help but notice the difference in the two dining rooms. One dining room had a sink in the corner by the heater, the other was out in front. The food at the first kitchen looked better; they were having much more confusion as they had a table out in front in the dining room where they received soiled dishes, and they had to run back and forth in front of the other people. They were handling the whole thing inside with no attempt to set up fires outside.

When the 1,900 Japanese were received at Manzanar, they prepared a regular festival. The people already in the camp got right up and helped these newcomers get out of the buses and get to the proper registration place. They had messenger boys to help them to their quarters and arrange for their blankets. All the detail work was handled by Japanese. I can see where it would work out very well as the whole general setup seemed to be going along quite smoothly; on the other hand, they have had a whole month with those people, whereas we have not started. It will be difficult to get much organization until we get organized here.

We expected to meet a bunch of politicians up there but everyone we saw and talked with had an abundant amount of energy for his job and under extremely more difficult circumstances than we will have.

We met a young Japanese girl who was very clever. She had a complete grasp of what was going on; she was making snap decisions for her people and was very much help. She was practically "running" the Personnel Department. I am bragging on this girl for one reason; some of these people are going to be unusually smart and we had better stop doing too much thinking for them. We can very easily plan that some of our lesser jobs can be handled by Japanese who will do a good job. They have uncovered things we never thought of.

They had very few bottle fed babies which seemed to be one of Miss Ellis' chief problems. They had a system worked out for it. A Japanese dietitian was assigned by a registration card system. At present, the hospital, with a list of how many bottle fed babies there are, is making up the formulas at night. They know just how much of a supply to have and have it all made up by feeding time. Their plan is to feed babies from the kitchen under the direction of the dietitian.

The ironing problem up there has not been solved; we shall probably have to provide ironing boards. Another problem is the outlet plugs for the irons.

They were a little upset over the quarters situation; they did not have adequate quarters built for the number of people they received. They had three childless couples to an apartment without partitions and no privacy whatever. They plan to put up partitions for these, and for a family of eight they will move the partitions down. They are working it out on a square foot basis. We will have one advantage, we will have enough quarters at first.

The most important thing about registration is to get the families together. They had no warning as to the number in a family until they arrived. A father and four sons is considered a family. Getting the families together then "promating" them will be our biggest problem. I think, however, our system will be better than theirs. We will find that a large proportion of these will have aliens in the family, with American born children who are citizens. In some instances the father or the mother will be interned elsewhere. In this case, we will have to leave the card blank as he or she may be returned later. This will be quite a difficulty if provisions are not made for it.

Registration should not be pushed. They are very docile when they first enter the camp and will answer questions willingly, but after 24 hours, they aren't quite so cooperative.

One thing they like very much is the information center set up in a central spot, where they can "let off steam". Anyone can come and ask any question they wish. They have things organized so there is very little occasion for anyone to go directly to the administrative personnel. We could have a meeting in the mornings with anyone who wanted to call, and answer all their questions.

The Japanese will handle the cleaning of latrines and laundries similar to our plan here.

As far as they know, there is no F.B.I. man in their camp.

They have no way of knowing how many blankets have been assigned to any one person; one man signed for ten million blankets.

There are no partitions in the women's toilets and showers and they demand privacy.

They have as many as three couples in a single apartment but they do not seem to mind "roughing" it this way so much.

Kawait Bake

RESTRICTED

about Mangnai

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT ON HUMAN RELATIONS INSIDE THE PROJECT.

by Bob Brown
repts office

6.7.4
Rec 142

Deep seated source of many rumors, which evolve into action on the part of the Japanese, is the everyday intercourse and association of the Japanese and Caucasians inside the center. Because the Caucasians are the "bosses" and represent the United States Government, and because of the position of the evacuees as internees, the Japanese watch the conduct of the Caucasians with super-critical eyes. "Smear" campaigns started maliciously, or rumors aimed at Caucasian conduct make the position of W.R.A. people all the more difficult. Recent examples at one Project illustrate the point.

1. A delegation recently called on a Project Director and Assistant Project Director to inquire about supposed irregularities in rationing sugar to the mess halls. The delegation claimed that rumor had it the Caucasian staff head was playing favorite with certain kitchens, or one kitchen in particular, that he had a Japanese "pal" in the warehouse and another "pal" in the kitchen in question and that this kitchen was getting more sugar than others. About the same time an anonymous poster came out stating that four members of the Caucasian staff should resign. The Mess head was one of these. The delegation was satisfied when exact figures about sugar were produced and the rumor died down. But a story still persisted throughout camp that the Mess division head had a favorite kitchen crew and was supposed to have had them together one night in a private party where he brought a bottle of whiskey for their enjoyment. It was believed that this party was probably the basis for the whole sugar inquiry, that in the eyes of the Japanese, especially the Issei, the Mess head "lost face", and considerably lowered himself in prestige by fraternizing with his crew. As far as can be ascertained, there was no factual basis for this accusation, but the story is illustrative of Japanese thinking.

Pets
check
Mrs
D-SM

2. Many members of the Caucasian staff have developed sincere friendship with a number of Japanese. Especially is this true with some of the younger intellectual Nisei. The Nisei are invited to the homes of the Caucasian staff, for dinner, for parties after dinner, for luncheon and for various other functions. Charges that liquor is served at these occasions follow. Resentment grows from these rumors, as the Japanese are, of course, denied liquor themselves. Who goes to who's house is constantly the topic of the latrine and wash room. When single Japanese girls are seen going to single Caucasian gentlemen's quarters, even if they go in number the speculation on the reason for the visit goes from bad to worse. Same is true with young Nisei boys and single Caucasian women. Sum total of this is a loss of respect by the Japanese for the Caucasian in particular, and a total lowering of respect for the entire staff.

3. Familiarity between Caucasian and Japanese is another contributing factor to rumors. With close association, many of the younger Japanese have come to know their superior well enough to call him or her by a first name. When an Issei, for example, hears a Nisei girl call her boss "Bill" he is shocked. If he is still steeped in the

traditions of Japan he may immediately take that to mean the girl is "Bill's" mistress. Caucasians who are too "chummy" with their help -- who, for example, put their arms around the shoulders of their male help, give the help their personal cars to go on errands, buy them little niceties from outside stores, are held in contempt by the Issei and many of the Nisei. This to them, is an indication of sentimental weakness and is not the proper attitude of employer to employee, much less a Federal Government representative to an internee.

4. Kindness is mistaken by many Issei for weakness on the part of the Caucasian staff. Many of the Japanese have discovered sympathetic ears in a number of the Caucasian personnel. This sympathy runs to the extent of telling the Japanese that they have received a "dirty deal" -- that the Federal Government was wrong in evacuating them, that they should wink at the rules, that the Army shouldn't be on the outside guarding them, that the local people outside in nearby communities are a group of ignorant provincials in not allowing the Japanese freedom of the towns. While with one hand the Japanese encourages this talk from the Caucasian, with the other he tells his friends that the Caucasian is a weakling in character, as he (the Caucasian) has been hired by the Government to uphold a decision of the Government-- but instead he laughs at it.

5. Outward dignity and sincerity are characteristics admired by the Issei and older Nisei. When these are lacking in a Caucasian official he is not respected. Patience seems to be another characteristic admired by all Japanese. When an official lacks patience, is flippant in his remarks, will not listen to the Japanese, talks too much himself, utter lack of confidence results.

6. Differences of opinion between Caucasian department heads, aired in public, causes a great lack of respect. This is one of the greatest sources of rumors and lack of smooth operation of the center. Several intelligent Japanese charge confidentially that many of their fellow internees are conscientiously feeding the fires of distrust and dislike between Caucasians. Tale bearing, they claim, is becoming a fine art inside the center. Certainly much "face" is lost in any situation where department heads complain about other department heads to their employees. When it goes to the extent as is charged, of a department head planning with key members of his staff who are Japanese, on how to circumvent official procedure, the position of that individual reaches an all-time low.

*Whose attitude is he describing
his own or the Chinese?*

DO OUR ISSEI PARENTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ARRANGE OR APPROVE OUR MARRIAGE?

The following representative answers were selected from reports of Manzanar High School Senior boys and girls.

In marriages, the matter of choice should be the privilege of the person who is going to get married. For instance, take the Issei parents choosing or arranging a marriage of their Nisei son. No doubt they'd pick on a girl who always stays home and knits or sews; a girl who can speak the Japanese language well (the boy probably doesn't know it too well); anyway, the Japanese type. It seems that a lot of the Issei folks do not fully understand the American customs to which their children belong. If this is the case, naturally, the choice they make would not be suitable.

Parents should have the right to at least approve of the marriage of their children. Whether the children take heed of their approval is another matter.

The decision must be your own. Of course, much depends on what kind of parents they are. If the mother is the weak, helpless woman who always thinks about what would happen to her, I wouldn't think too much of her advice if she is opposing the idea for her own sake.

On the other hand, sincere parents who think for the good of their own children really mean to do well. They have had experience, and they can sometimes see beyond the present; whereas, the girl who is blind in love cannot see anything at the present moment except that she wants to marry the man. There may be many wise suggestions and advice from the parents which may benefit both the man and the woman. I would at least carefully heed the advice of parents and do considerable weighing of the question at hand before coming to a definite conclusion.

Yes-In my opinion parents have the right to arrange the marriage and approve of it because its their own flesh and blood that is getting married, but I think they shouldn't put in too much of their two cents. If the persons are old and matured enough to think of getting married and taking care of his wife, he is old enough to make his own decision but to show his appreciation to the ones who brought him up, he should ask for opinions and approval from his parents. In the Japanese custom the parents go out and hunt a man for their daughter or a girl for their son which isn't a very good thing because many times it ends in tragedy. I think the good old American custom is the best where each sex goes out to look for his own bride or groom, and then work to get the approval of the parents.

In my opinion parents have little right to arrange the marriages of their children, but they do have the right to approve marriages because the couple would be much happier if their parents are satisfied and have approved their marriage.

Parents should not go into the trouble of arranging the marriages of their children, since they might ruin the life of the girl or boy. For example, a boy and a girl may be in love, but the parents are arranging a marriage for the girl with another man. If the girl yields to her parents desires, she would be unhappy the rest of her life. Her marriage would be a failure and probably will not last long.

Sometimes parents think about themselves more than they think about their children. They would arrange a marriage where the man is wealthy being much older than the girl for their own old age security rather than for the happiness of the daughter.

In my opinion I think they should have the right to say yes or no because what fun will your marriage be when after you have gotten married you can't share your children with your parents as well as visit each other on good terms. Usually when the parents do not approve of your marriage, mother might sympathize with you but the father will make up his mind saying that "your relations or name connected with our family will be broken due to your marriage to so and so." This will be a heavy burden when you want the help of your parents when some difficult problem arises. Also if they help you arrange your plans, letting them have a part in it, they will think how the parents have suffered to bring them up and their knowledge will come in handy because they have gone through more experiences than you have.

I definitely am not in favor of parents arranging their children's marriage. The cause of my attitude may be that in Japan the general routine is to have the parents of both sides arrange everything. I asked my mother one day if she was going to arrange my marriage and she broad-mindedly said, "no". She said that Niseis are different in background. She knew that I would vigorously object to an arrangement.

I think, by all means, that a marriage would be more successful if the couple had their parent's approval. Many a marriage has gone on the rocks because of conflict between the parents and the married couple. I don't think that a marriage would be complete without the approval of the parents on both sides. On the other hand, there are marriages that, without their parents approval are successful.

Yes

Because I feel they deserve that consideration. I've listen to their side of the problem up until now and found their judgment to be wise. May be I'm able to say this because all along my life their suggestions were to help me. I can remember when I didn't like some of the things they wanted me to do, or I didn't like the people they wanted me to associate with, but time showed me they were right 90%. So, why shouldn't things continue as they have been doing the past 17 years of my life? I'm willing, but I hope to train my children, if I have any, to have a mind of their own because it will help them in the life they are going to lead. You probably think I'm willing to

let my parents decide things for me because I don't have a mind of my own. Definitely it isn't that. I respect and cherish my parents wishes and I try to do as they want me to. Its only as a reward for them, for raising me and teaching me to live. I'm grateful for what they do and that they are interested for my future and I hope things will work out for all concerned.

Yes-In my opinion I believe that since they are your parents you should listen to what they believe is right. They probably sent through experiences they wouldn't like their sons or daughters to also suffer. Without the approval of your parents later on, you will feel the insecure feeling and this might lead to failure.

Arrangements of a marriage is the right mostly of the bride and groom for its their wedding, but in considering the parents, they should at least participate in the arrangements of the ceremony of giving away their daughter or son.

I would say no, because the life you are going to lead for the coming years are for your own sake. The girl you choose as your wife is the one whom you have chosen from many candidates. The candidates you have dated to dances, movies, sports, and other recreational activities. By the time you are ready to get married, you have taken her to countless activities and know her reactions, her disposition and other important things. But the question is "Do your parents know more about that girl?" In my mind I think they have just seen her ~~sometimes~~ when he brings her home. But how could anyone decide whether she is a good or bad by just talking with her sometime. But I should say your parents should just O. K. it if they know she will be a good wife for you. If any mishaps occur in the coming years, you have nobody to blame except you yourself, because you have made up your own mind.

I think the parents have the rights to say something about their children's marriage, because sometime the person is just infatuated with the other person and doesn't think of the future or the problems they are going to face. Lots of times the young people don't bother to look up each other's family background. This is one of the most important things because you might marry into a family where they have some disease or insanity and that sort of thing. So if parents step in and help you to arrange these problems for you, you have a better chance for a successful marriage.

Yes-Parents have the right to arrange or to approve the marriage of their children, because from the childhood, they have cared for them, made decisions and have taken a great part in developing their children to be adults. They might have even selected college, the kind of course to take as well as jobs. Since they have gone this far in caring for their children, I think, they have the right to arrange and take some part in approving the marriage of their children. From their long experiences of marriage, parents have the

right to tell their children some of the good points, in order to make a success of their children's marriage.

I think that the parents have the right to approve or disapprove of their children's marriages, but if their children think it over thoroughly and are sure that the parents are wrong, they do not have to, necessarily follow the approval or disapproval of their parents.

Some of our parents may still think that it is their duty to arrange a marriage for their children, but the customs of marriage today are completely different from the marriages of their time in Japan.

The custom of marriage today is that a couple grow fond of each other and after a certain length of time of courting, find that they love each other and decide that they can get along together, so they get married.

I would say yes in the first place since our parents have more experience in the matter. Our parents would want us to be married into good families where we can enjoy happiness and security. They usually find out the family background and know whether or not the family standing is good. If we pick a mate who we love dearly but the family background is not very good, our parents should have the right to oppose our marriage since they know the marriage will not turn out favorably.

On the other hand, some parents are not broad-minded and I think they should not have the right to oppose our marriage. If we are in love and nothing means so much as to be together, and the parents do not like the selection, we should have the right to oppose. Our parents should be more broad-minded and take in our views too.

They have the right to give advice and things like that, but I don't think they should pick the one for you. They aren't marrying the person they pick, it's you, who is going to be married. You should ask their opinions and advice, not only because they have been living longer than you and are supposed to know better, but because they are your parents.

After you have asked their advice, weigh on it, ponder and at the end stand on your own two feet.

If you let your parents do all the arranging and approving, you are likely to have an unsuccessful marriage.

Yes-Because if your parent doesn't approve your marriage you will not have a successful marriage. Each of the parents should arrange the marriage and how their children are going to get along. If your parents don't approve of your marriage and if your husband comes to your parents they will not get along well. Parents always worry about their children, whether or not the daughter marry a sociable and hard worker, or marry to a gambler or drunkard.

When you go to a mother-in-law who doesn't approve your marriage, you will have a hard time with her.

The parents should ask the son before they try to arrange a marriage for them, because regardless of whom they may like, the son or daughter may not like the plan. The parents will not be able to find out as much about the girl as their son, because they are not the ones who go out with the girl. The son should be able to go around with whomever he thinks he would like and see how she would act when they go around with each other. This will give them more information about each other before a marriage is planned.

Yes-Parents have a right to arrange or to approve the marriages of their children especially now when immature teen-aged boys and girls are hastily being married. Sons and daughters who intends to marry should ask for their parents' approval so that they may look into the prospective wife's or husband's background. Who knows, the daughter might be marrying a polygamist? The parents have a more mature mind, so they are more able to determine whether the couple are suited for each other or not.

During the present war, many High School girls are hastily marrying men of the armed forces and elsewhere. They are taking a chance, and without the knowledge of statistics, you can imagine the great rate of marriage failures. If parents were notified and given approval after carefully examining the husband's background many of these marriages would be more successful.

I think parents have the right to arrange the marriage because after all it is their children whom they brought up to their present age. Sometimes most of us think of them as meddling, but I think it is because they want us to have a happy or successful marriage. They want to approve or arrange the marriage because they feel that they have had much more experience, and lived longer than us, so their judgment is better.

I think this is true particularly of the Japanese people. We also must have the parents' consent to everything we do. Even if we wanted to make up our own mind, they usually do it for us anyway. So, on this important subject of marriage if they are not in on things it will cause much conflicts. Even if they do approve, inside them, they will feel left out or think their decisions are not good enough for us.

And, I think they have the right because they brought us up through many hardships, and after we are married we will no longer depend on them. As their last wish, I hear most of the parents say "I want to arrange her wedding because although she will not be living with us, she will not be going away from us."

Parents with years of experience back of them have the right to arrange a marriage of their child because they will always be thinking of your future happiness and security, they will not approve of your marriage to a person if he is not approved by the neighborhood outright. If all are against the marriage listen to reasons and think it over twice before you go ahead with it. Listen to your parents why they do not approve may be you don't know the other half about him. Parents will not usually force upon you a marriage that you do not want, but they will try to put together a boy and a girl of the same race, background, and religion so there will never be any differences showing up in

No-I don't think the parents should interfere at all. Some of the parents don't understand how you feel and have not had the same experiences as the young people particularly Niseis. Some parents may feel it is their duty, but I think their duty lies before the marriage. Parents should prepare their children by letting her children handle their own problems and by developing in her children good judgment and good values. Then if they come to the time to get married, they would know whom they want for a companion for life. But one shouldn't get married until he or she is prepared and knows what she is getting into. But on the other hand if the girl is too young and doesn't know anything, I think it is the responsibility of the parents to stop her because she'll be unhappy if she finds out that he is just not her type. Then if the girl is old enough and knows how she feels and can take care of herself, I think the parents shouldn't do a thing to prevent their marriage. Even if they opposed I think it would be wise to keep it to themselves. If the parents arrange the marriage, the girl and boy would no doubt be unhappy because the parents wouldn't know what kind of a boy she'd want to get married to.

Yes, Because most of the time, parents know more about marriages than their children. They have come through this very important event of being married happily, or unhappily. So, by the man's characteristics and reputation, the average parent can just about judge what kind of husband or father he will make. The parents don't necessarily have to arrange the marriage, but I think they should certainly approve of their children's marriage. But there too is another point. It isn't the mother or father who is going to get married so if the children have some "good sense", they should be able to find the right partner. If there is a sincere love between the two, I think you can sacrifice certain things.

From my point of view I believe that parents have the right to arrange or to approve the marriages of their children. After all, they are supposed to be our guardians and they know more about marriage than we do. I firmly believe that since we are their children, we should look up to them as an example.

Often we say that we are matured enough to handle certain matters, but really, a step into unsuccessful marriage will wreck the rest of your life.

Therefore, I think that by following the advice and guidance of our respective parents, we will never regret it. Sometimes it's very difficult for the children to follow the parents' advice, but is really worth great consideration.

I think they have the right to approve the marriages because I don't think any girl should marry a boy that her parents won't get along well with. I don't think they have the right to pick out a mate for you though because their children wouldn't have a happily married life if they didn't like each other, which may happen if the parents chose the mate.

The parents may arrange the wedding because most parents will try to get the best of everything and know more about it from their own experience than their children would.

Another reason the parents should approve the marriage is because a girl may marry a person who will be good for nothing and she will have to do all the work to support him or even have to get the help of her parents.

To your answer to your question I will say Yes. If I was going to get married I will first like to have the consent of both parents. You know the old saying "Parents are more experienced and they know more things." If I didn't get the approval of my parents, I think it will haunt me the rest of my life. After you get married you have to go to your parents for advice and suggestions. There are times when you cannot turn to your husband. I think most happily married couples have the consent of their parents. If not, you frequently see those couples that do elope get a divorce soon after they get married. Those persons don't think about the future. When the excitement is over they regret what they did. The first thing is to love the person and second important thing is to have the consent of your parents to get married.

I believe that the parents have no right to interfere into a marriage of their children because the parents aren't going to live with her, but their son is. Usually, the son will know what he's doing and will choose a wife of his own choice who would be more apt to get along with him than a wife selected for him by his parents. It is said that persons of similarities are attracted to each other more often than persons with opposite qualities, so first the children run their own boat and usually, everything will turn out all right - you hope.

The parents have, to some degree, the right to arrange or disprove of the children's marriage. Through their own experience in marriage they know far more than most of us the qualities that make matrimony a happy and lasting bond. We must weigh their opinions with our own. Of course, they are not

the ones "committing" the marriage, so we have the last word about it, but their words must receive consideration. Most parents want their children to be happy in marriage and they base their opinions on many qualities, which will help us make a choice where we will not suffer as perhaps they did. We must remember though, that opinions differ and serious thought to all the facts must be given. We must keep a cool head.

Article taken from
Utah Nippo English Section
April 28, 1943

JUDO IN MANZANAR CENTER OVERSHADOWS OTHER SPORTS IN POPULARITY AND ENTHUSIASM

Strong Nucleus of Judo Experts Direct Program

(Ed. Note: The following article was reported through Mr. Misao Ishikawa of Manzanar Relocation Center):

Daily Judo practice in Manzanar has been resumed again since the completion of the new gigantic Judo Dojo gracing the sands of a desert valley in the middle of this relocation center.

Judo today in Manzanar is an inspiration and a psychological necessity, under the leadership of Supervisor Seigoro Murakami and Head Instructor Shigeo Tashima, renowned Judoists of Southern California, and ten odd Yudan-Sha instructors, the sport has created such an enthusiasm among the residents which is an asset to any community.

After the excitements of abnormal resettlement had died down in Manzanar, the above mentioned Judo leaders took the initiative to buck material inconveniences and administrative red tape to set this inspirational sport on its path. The effort tended to stagnate on several occasions, but with the backing of the original North Hollywood Judo Ko-en-Kai, an open-air Dojo was constructed in August, 1942. They tendered a gracious loan, which was later refunded through the collection of a nominal registration fee, to aid the material requirements in getting this sport started.

Judo immediately took a decided significance, overshadowing all other organized sports within the center with 550 odd enthusiastic students participating in daily practices. It created such an enthusiasm among the residents that when fall faded into the cold Manzanar winter, they whole-heartedly donated for a building to house this Dojo. Consequently, Judo practice was halted in mid-November to make way for the construction of the new Dojo on the original site.

In the meantime a Judo Yudan-Sha-Kai had been organized to augment the instructors and enforce the policy of this ancient art. There also was the unpleasant December incident which hindered the progress of the building. The incident fostered the organization of the peace committee with the Yudan-Sha-Kai as the nucleus, and numerous false incriminating rumors flourished in regard to this organization immediately. Among them, the committee was attacked for the uses of Judo for such an organization, but all oppositions and rumors have been suppressed by the policy of righteousness in maintaining peace and order. Time has told the true effort and work of this organization to merit the full recognition and cooperation of the center.

Today, with the completion of this splendid new Dojo adorned with a 40 ft. x 60 ft. mat, sliding panels, lighting fixtures and an annex that houses the office, locker room and a shower room, the sport has taken on added significance as a necessity to maintain the normal psychological condition of this center.

Thus, in less than a year, a tall, splendid Judo Dojo is marking the efforts of the residents, as white as clean competitive spirit and as big as the hearts of the men who built it.

Any night in Manzanar will find 600 odd Judoists bent on physical training and mental culture, a just tribute to the men who overcame the limitations of a war time relocation center.

Manzanar Relocation Center
Japanese-American Male Citizens 17 Years and Over Excluding 94 Volunteers
By Answer to Question No. 28 (DSS Form 304A)

Distributed by Present Age, Age at Time in Japan,
Extent and Recency of School Attendance in Japan,
Number and Recency of Visits to Japan,
Length of Attendance at Japanese Language School,
Religion and Foreign Investments

Number and Percentage Distribution

Characteristic	Number			Percent		
	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No
(PRESENT AGE)						
Total	1801	803	998	100	45	55
17-20 yrs.	439	185	254	100	42	58
21-25 yrs.	643	262	381	100	41	59
26 yrs. and over	719	356	363	100	50	50
(AGE AT TIME OF RESIDENCE IN JAPAN)						
Total	1801	803	998	100	45	55
None	864	513	351	100	59	41
Under 6 yrs. age only	74	32	42	100	43	57
Under 12 yrs. age only	186	85	101	100	46	54
1	165	84	81	100	51	49
2	74	24	50	100	32	68
3	29	8	21	100	28	72
4 and over	483	89	394	100	18	82
(EXTENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN JAPAN)						
Total	1801	803	998	100	45	55
None	1226	697	529	100	57	43
Elementary only	257	54	203	100	21	79
Above Elementary	318	52	266	100	16	84

Characteristic	Number			Percent		
	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No
(EXTENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN JAPAN BY REGENCY)						
Attended School in Japan						
Total	575	106	469	100	18	82
Before 1/35	335	84	251	100	25	75
After 1/35	240	22	218	100	9	91
Before 1/40	542	102	440	100	19	81
After 1/40	33	4	29	100	12	88
Elementary only						
Total	257	54	203	100	21	79
Before 1/35	177	45	132	100	25	75
After 1/35	80	9	71	100	11	89
Before 1/40	254	54	200	100	21	79
After 1/40	3	0	3	100	*	*
Above Elementary only						
Total	318	52	266	100	16	84
Before 1/35	158	39	119	100	25	75
After 1/35	160	13	147	100	8	92
Before 1/40	288	48	240	100	17	83
After 1/40	30	4	26	100	13	87
(REPORTED VISITS TO JAPAN)						
Total	1801	803	998	100	45	55
None	863	513	350	100	59	41
1	775	250	525	100	32	68
2	139	32	107	100	23	77
3 or more	24	8	16	100	33	67

Characteristic	Number			Percent		
	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No
(REPORTED VISITS TO JAPAN BY RECENCY OF LAST VISIT)						
Total Visiting Japan						
Total	938	290	648	100	31	69
Before 1/35	477	199	278	100	42	58
After 1/35	461	91	370	100	20	80
Before 1/40	824	270	554	100	33	67
After 1/40	114	20	94	100	18	82
One Visit only						
Total	775	250	525	100	32	68
Before 1/35	442	187	255	100	42	58
After 1/35	333	63	270	100	19	81
Before 1/40	708	238	470	100	34	66
After 1/40	67	12	55	100	18	82
Two Visits only						
Total	139	32	107	100	23	77
Before 1/35	32	11	21	100	34	66
After 1/35	107	21	86	100	20	80
Before 1/40	103	27	76	100	26	74
After 1/40	36	5	31	100	14	86
Three or more Visits						
Total	24	8	16	100	*	*
Before 1/35	3	1	2	100	*	*
After 1/35	21	7	14	100	*	*
Before 1/40	13	5	8	100	*	*
After 1/40	11	3	8	100	*	*

Characteristic	Number			Percent		
	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No
(REPORTED LENGTH OF ATTENDANCE AT JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL)						
Total	1801	803	998	100	45	55
None	923	365	558	100	40	60
Under 7 yrs.	594	311	283	100	52	48
7 yrs. or more	262	111	151	100	42	58
Length Unknown	22	16	6	100	*	*

(REPORTED RELIGION)						
Total	1801	803	998	100	45	55
None listed	329	146	183	100	44	56
Christian	619	418	201	100	68	32
Buddhist	847	236	611	100	28	72
Shinto (Relig. Sects)	3	3	0	100	*	*
" (Unspecified)	3	0	3	100	*	*

(INVESTMENTS IN JAPAN)						
Total	1801	803	998	100	45	55
None	1772	799	973	100	45	55
In Banks	25	4	21	100	*	*
In Companies	3	0	3	100	*	*
In Safe-deposit Box	1	0	1	100	*	*

* Numbers too small to compute reliable percents

7 Feb 1943

CONFIDENTIAL

100-7

NOTES ON MANZANAR REGISTRATION WAR DEPARTMENT SECURITY
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

The text of the substitute question 28 for aliens as used at Manzanar was:

"Are you sympathetic to the United States and do you agree faithfully to defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces?"

On 24 March, Mr. Merritt sent a personal and confidential letter to Mr. Myer suggesting that a re-canvass of the aliens, using the substitute form of 28 devised in Washington, be permitted.

He also commented as follows:

"We therefore find ourselves in a position of being out of line in the degree of our answers, both by aliens and citizens, since a "No" answer by a father, who in Japanese fashion demanded family unity, resulted in a "No" answer by the son who was a citizen. I cannot conscientiously refrain from bringing out this point which will now adversely affect the lives and position of so many of our people, nor can I refrain from urging upon you that we have an opportunity to recanvass the alien group who have answered "No" or who have answered "Yes" with qualifications, putting before them another opportunity to cancel their previous reply and answer the revised question sent out by Washington, so that they may not be penalized and that their future possibilities as residents of the United States may not be destroyed. If this recanvass is permitted by you, I feel certain that we should also then allow our citizens to revise their answer, if the removal of pressure by their parents clarifies the whole situation."

In reply, Mr. Myer said:

"After talking with Lucy Adams yesterday I sent you the following wire: 'Agree that aliens should be given opportunity to answer Washington question 28.' I do not like to see you have to go to all the trouble again of canvassing your alien group, but it seems to be the only thing to do."

Feb 26, 1943

MANZANAR

ARMY REGISTRATION

January 30.

Editorial, Free Press: Plan for combat team a vindication against suspicions and villifications and resolves the nisei's purpose for existence.

February 1.

Memo to Robert L. Brown from Roy Takeno: Initial reactions generally unfavorable. Many of those eligible preparing to resettle in midwest and have given announcement little thought. Some feel bitter because of evacuation and ignoring of their citizenship status. Few anxious to join.

February 5.

Teletype: Reaction generally passive, with no mention in block managers' daily reports. Majority looking forward to relocation for jobs and will not volunteer. Estimate 200 volunteers top number.

February 6.

Weekly report: Announcement received with varying comment, but enthusiasm apparently growing as evacuees learn that this is start of larger relocation program.

February 9.

Special meeting of block managers. Instructions given, questions answered.

February 12.

Registration began. Expected to take 4 to 5 days. Col. Scovie and Lieut. Hughes, representing War Dept., indicated they were quite pleased with what they saw of the induction.

February 8.

Report on Block Managers' Assembly: Managers were asked to speak freely, but this was impossible for them. Motion that managers support the registration program was passed by vote of voice. No one opposed. (See above)

February 19.

Weekly report: 10 kibel arrested. All picked up within 15 minutes with no trouble. Registration of alien and female evacuees completed on 16th, and on 20th, army registration reached 1300.

February 18.

Report No. 80: Opinion of Block 12 that enemy aliens should not be forced to answer Question 28. Many residents feel that government should express its apparent "change of heart" toward nisei before inviting them to join the Army. Others say it would be better to be out fighting than cooped up in center.

February 23.

Report No. 79: Factors which influenced the nisei either to affirm or deny their allegiance to this country are more likely to be the small things in their lives rather than ~~rather~~ acceptance of one set of political principles against another. Since evacuation the preponderant weight of reasons for remaining American has been whittled down appreciably.

February 26.

Weekly report: Registration in all categories completed. Army team to remain until March 10.

Institutions. Japanese-Caucasian relations.

Fresno is divided into two sections by a Southern Pacific railroad station and tracks. The old phrase, "I live on this side of the tracks" sure prevailed then. I suppose it does still but not to as great an extent. On one side of the tracks the whites~~x~~ lived, on the other side of the tracks lived the Italians, Russians, Japanese, Chinese, Germans and Mexicans.

...As a child I grew up among the German kids, and were they tough! Every once in a while they would fight with the Russians (kid gang fights) to show them that the Germans were the stronger race. These gangs were composed of kids still in high school and grammar school. But one thing is true, these gangs did not fight with knives as did the Mexicans or Chinese. When we moved out of the German section, I next started to associate with Chinese kids. We moved into the heart of Chinatown, for my father opened a laundry there. Our customers were mostly Chinese and they were pretty good to us until the Manchurian crisis.

One thing I should mention here is that most of the nisei did not care to go to a Japanese language school and only did so because of parental pressure...Some jingoists claim that we nisei learn to worship the Emperor by studying the Japanese language. This is false. We did learn that in Japan they respect the Emperor.

As a child I used to go to Sunday school every Sunday...A boy scout club was organized and sponsored by this church. I was mascot for two years while I was still too young to join. I could not join until I was twelve, but I joined promptly when I reached that age. ...Everyone liked our scout master as a regular fellow and not just

because he was white. ... During the time I was a boy scout I came into contact with many white American kids in competition for merits and sports. Our troop was pretty talented. We had quite a few musicians and we organized a harmonica band. There were about twenty-five of us and we were invited to various clubs such as the Elks, Rotary, Commercial, and other leading organizations of Fresno. We looked forward to these invitations... In Fresno the high school went from the 10th through the 12th grade. I entered Fresno High School at the age of 16. This school was located in the elite district of town and I had to do a great deal of coaxing to get into the school. This high school, unlike the one across the tracks, had the standard requirements which permitted its graduates to enter most any higher institution. Another thing, the students here dressed better than those who went to the school across the tracks. At first I was rather timid about mingling with the upper-crust white American kids, but in time I was accepted heartily as I was pretty good in sports. High school athletic sports are very important in tearing down the so called better-than-you barrier, and this proved to be true in my case. Most of the white American kids called me "half pint", but all in good nature. Some of my teammates used to invite me to their homes regularly for dinner and for games. The nisei are not very sociable, for most of the nisei used to congregate in a large group and sometimes speak Japanese. I didn't want to act as though I were better than these nisei but I used to mix with the hakujin kids more than I did with the Nisei....

Ten-cho-setsu means the Emperors birthday. On this day the Buddhist Church in Fresno used to sponsor athletic contests for various clubs in the San Joaquin Valley. ...I belonged to the Christian Church and

since our church happened to adjoin the Buddhists, my curiosity was aroused by the large gathering at the Buddhist Church grounds. I was about ten years old when I first took notice of the contest.

...so he ran in them and won. I don't remember whether my folks scolded me or not when I participated in the Buddhist program, since I was a Christian. To me there was no difference in religion at that time except that the Buddhist people conducted their service more in Japanese and the Christians in English. I remember that there used to be many arguments and quite a bit of ill-feeling between the members of the two churches. I even took part in a rock fight with the Christians against the Buddhist kids. The outcome was a draw, for darkness prevailed. Any athletic contest between the Christian group and the Buddhist group was well worth watching, as both teams tried their best. Picnic season for the Japanese in Fresno was open season from the first day of spring to mid-summer. The people from each ken would hold their own picnic and us kids would more or less go along with some family even though we weren't from the same prefecture. So we got in on a lot of these picnics. ...

There were two Japanese language schools in Fresno. One was for the Christian kids and the other was for the Buddhist kids. I went to the Christian Japanese language school...The fee was three dollars per month per person. I went about eight years to this school and learned almost nothing during that time because I fooled around and repeatedly made the teacher mad at me... About the difference in text books between the two schools: our books were published in California and were passed by the Board of Review, whereas the Buddhist text book was a direct transcript from Japan. Therefore the Buddhist kids speak Japanese

better than the Christian kids. ...

Another thing I became conscious of in my senior year high school was that some of the white kids acted superior and snooty. These white kids didn't participate in sports but went out for such things as dramatics. But on the whole I found that school sport contests have a lot to do in breaking down the social and racial barrier. High school sports have a lot to do in forming a person's character, for they teach good sportsmanship and cooperation.

(Went to Los Angeles, worked in a fruit stand) I used to enjoy waiting on customers except for one or two ornery old women. A couple of times I was called a "Jap" and told to go back where I came from. When someone said something like this it sure used to get my blood boiling as I didn't know how to speak Japanese enough to be called a "Jap." I resented it very much as I thought I was as good as any other American citizen. In time I got used to being called a "Jap" by some "ignorant whites". I realized that if I argued every time with ornery customers when I was called names, there wouldn't be much business left, so I learned to control my temper. ...

I wanted to go to college and take up law but my obligation to help the family was stronger so I remained working. My father wanted us to start some kind of a business of our own, but somehow we could never get enough capital to start a business. I learned through my associations with fellow fruit-stand workers that speaking English only was a handicap in getting better wages and good jobs. I tried to get jobs with American concerns but found that only janitorial jobs were open and some concerns said right out that they "had nothing for Japs".. This kind of treatment jolted my ideals and so I took to learning to speak Japanese in earnest. Now I speak Japanese pretty well for I have really applied myself. (Manzanar232, April 24, 1944)