

MR. HIKIDA

# I. MY FUTURE AND REPATRIATION

While I was detained at Fort Missoula, Montana, on June, 1942, I have applied for repatriation to Japan, for two reasons. First reason was that assuming I will be ordered to be interned for duration, I thought I will be better off to return to Japan rather than spend duration of the war behind the barbed wire of internment camp. The second reason was my future life, that is should a place of my future activity be America or Japan? On August of last year I have been paroled and came to this relocation center as a result of which first reason of my application for repatriation to Japan had been nullified.

On or about October last year, a notice had been sent to me from Colonel Bendetson asking for my desire to be repatriated to Japan or decline it. At that time there was no sign of immediate possibility for exchange ship to be negotiated between Japan and this country. And furthermore, being paroled and able to live with family in the relocation center under normal living condition I had no particular desire to go to Japan. Therefore, in reply to Mr. Bendetson's inquiry I notified of my declination. It should be understood that my past as well as present had been based on a principle of good, desirable, law abiding resident of the United States. I have lived in America with this principle always and I have preached this to my people through my associations with them. I have always devoted myself to be a worthy alien Japanese resident of this country. I am proud to say that I have continued love and devotion to the United States. Even if I am one of those unfortunates to be confined to this camp life at present time I have no complaint to make whatsoever. On the other hand I am grateful of fair and human treatment which we are receiving at this time of crisis.



No matter what will be my future, America shall always remain in mind as a fatherly nation of my life.

Today, I am in receipt of a notice from Washington office of W.R.A. handed to me by Mr. Landward, which original is attached herewith. Since receipt of this notice, I began to be concerned so much about my future career, just as I was once concerned so much when I applied it first at Fort Missoula, Montana. It is one of most difficult and puzzling problem of my life. It is not because of my love to the country of which I am subject or national but it is only because of the circumstance under which I will be in post-war period, the future of my career. I am now on the crossroad to choose between two ways; one is to live in democratic America with no citizenship right and with a certain social discrimination. Being born and lived my younger years in Japan, I consider myself far from being average Nisei.

MR. HIKIDA - July 14, 1943 - Taken in shorthand -

Segregation has been the talk for sometime within the camp and outside the camp. That is the most talked about subject today. I think some of the newspapers always carry some kind of articles in regard to this line. Recently, it has become much more popular subject, particularly after the visit of Senator Chandler of Kentucky, Chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee. He came to this project one January or February afternoon and held a hearing in Phoenix. Mr. Bennett was called in for this hearing and few Japanese evacuees were also called in for this same hearing.

Recently, Mr. Bennett returned from his Project Director's conference in Washington and upon his return, unofficially announced that segregation is coming very soon, and said it was just a matter of time.

The Dies Committee have been here also and during the hearing in Los Angeles, segregation was much talked about. People became very much



concerned over this matter.

There has been about seventy or eighty Nisei who have answered "NO" to questions #27 and #28 who have now applied for rehearing in order to have it changed to "YES". I don't know whether this is the direct result of the coming segregation program.

One of the things that concern these people who will be segregated is the family separation. The son or brother will be segregated from the parents and sisters and it will hit them most heavily. As far as segregation is concerned, people are expecting it to take place any day.

Mr. Myers stated to the Dies Committee that it will take place sometime from June to October. Last few days, I met some of the friends of mine and they are not worried about segregation but are worried about their families.

In connection with military registration, I have been closely observing the opinion of those who answered "NO" at the registration and they all say that the reason for them answering "NO" was because of a very undemocratic treatment they had received at the time of the evacuation. This feeling ran high particularly among the farmers. Around April and May, some of the crops like strawberries and lettuce were ready for market and it was at this time that evacuation took place. This was a great blow to the farmers who were evacuated from their home, property sold at loss, and no income for the coming crops. This resentment, this emotional feeling is still and was still in the minds of the evacuees. While this feeling was still high, registration took place and were controlled by this feeling rather than rational thinking. I would not say that registration itself should be the measuring stick of the loyalty of the Nisei.

The citizenship of the Nisei after the war is something else which worries the Nisei - what good would citizenship do to Nisei if they are



to stay in camp. Rather than being a citizen of America under constant pressure of discrimination, some of them thought that their future might be in land of their own race. I am quite sure some people had that feeling.

Another point they say is that their future in post-war is doubtful. With the feeling of American people getting higher each day against Japanese, they do not know whether they will be happy to live in this country. Another word, they are more doubtful as to their security as there are so much anti-Japanese agitation written up in papers, and most of these evacuees read home town papers coming from San Francisco or Los Angeles which contains most prejudiced and discriminatory feelings. In other words, these things, I think, have been the motive of those who answered "NO" at the military registration. These are just my observation.

Another thing, many of the intelligent people here in this center think that military registration which was conducted around February and March was not proper method to survey or measure the loyalty of any individual.

I think in conjunction with this military registration, they carried on a military volunteer recruitment. The Army put on a campaign to recruit volunteers and many people were mislead that this military registration had something to do with volunteering. Many people were saying, once the services of Nisei were refused by the Army and several Nisei were discharged after the outbreak of the war, but now they again ask us to volunteer. This is not very consistent nor logical. The military registration was held when the feeling of the people were at its worst.

Loyalty and military registration was confused. The first thing that came to people's mind was that after all the hardship and difficulty of evacuation, they now ask the people to volunteer for the Army. People began to say we are now being treated like Jewish people being treated in Germany by Hitler. The Japanese in America also lost their property,



homes, and the families were separated. They are going through as many hardship as Jews.

This Dies Committee hearing is a bad influence upon our people. This puts even the loyal people in the bad spot. There are few disloyal Japanese and they say that although how loyal you are, they will never recognize your loyalty. Look at JACL - a loyal organization as such is being suspected as subversive organization and are under criticism by the Committee. What chance do the plain people think they have. I think papers are playing too big a part on this issue.

I happen to read in Japanese paper this morning and there was an article about a Japanese-American soldier visiting Los Angeles upon his furlough. He was requested by his evacuated friends to go to the Japanese Buddhist Temple in Los Angeles, where some of the people had stored their properties, and find out the condition. When he went to the temple, he found one American family living there. He said that he was the second tenant who came to reside here since evacuation and that first tenant had moved away. The soldier examined the stored goods and found the properties as trunks and boxes opened and everything was in terrible condition. Many of the articles were lost.

Then this tenant became suspicious of the Japanese-American soldier and immediately telephoned the police department. He was questioned by the police how he got there. When he answered that he came on a furlough, he was forced to return by the police.

There are some who answered "NO" no matter whether they were being segregated. They think they would like to take the consequence rather than be the victim of indiscriminate victim. In other words, some of the young men who answered "NO" say that no matter where they will be taken, or what kind of treatment they shall receive, they are willing to stake with "NO" rather than be the victim of racial prejudice. It was surprising to me that feeling was so high against this treatment.



Of course there are some people who are more or less lost in their decisions. They say just let time take care of itself.



July 23 - HIKIDA - taken in shorthand.

Not in outward way, not in public way, or not in groups but in individual concern is getting to be serious. My experience the last ten days since I saw you here about five or six people came to see me asking my opinion of what I think about segregation. I think I had about three people from Canal. Everyone of these people were fathers of sons and daughters who answered no to questions 27 and 28. They are so much worried about it that they told me that they haven't slept for three or four nights. Before I go into that subject Miss Hankey, the worry these people have seems to be worries over the separation of families of the segregation. That seems to be the main worry of the family separation of father and children. In other words, most of them who applied for repatriation in other words remainder of those said no but want to stay here but if segregation becomes effected they will be separated from their families. That is what worries them.

I wouldn't say that perhaps larger percentage of Kibei is going. What I mean of larger percentage of the repatriates are in the Kibei compared among the Issei and Nisei. But if number of repatriates are concerned I believe there will be more Issei and maybe just about same number as Kibei and Nisei.

I said in our last conference that farmers were more resentful against evacuation because of loss of crops, farm houses, implements, and etc. That is one reason you find more "NO's" than others. As you said, more farmers were interned. Perhaps maybe another reason maybe I can explain that specifically. In this Gila Relocation Center, especially in Butte, we have a large percentage of people from Santa Maria, near Guadalupe. Most of those people from that district relocated to this center, to this Gila Relocation Center. Japanese farmers in that district, Santa Maria, Lompoc, Guadalupe,



they were most affected by this past apprehension after the war.<sup>1</sup> In case of Guadalupe, every farmer man who is the head of the family almost everyone was taken away. That is in this case.

It is hard to find reason for it, if FBI takes such drastic action in that particular district. I think that particular district considered to be very much Japanese type of community. Well not exactly but it is more or less typical colony. Another reason is that they were financially well off compared with other farmers and compared with other town people.

Another point farmers as a whole are good natured people, particularly these Japanese farmers. They were financially well-to-do, you had people asking for donations. Why, they willingly contributed to it,<sup>2</sup> and particularly these people of this district they contributed more than they should. They thought that you are correct if they contributed more than somebody else. So people from Los Angeles came. Different organizations, more or less Japanese type of organizations were the constant visitors to this district and I think they were simply the victims.

Of course there are some Kibei who are rather resentful against this country, but according to my view a majority of them answered "NO", when applied to repatriation because they were brought up in Japan. Even though Kibei and Issei are loyal to the United States and be very desirable resident of this country, yet, they have been applied for repatriation. So application of the repatriation do not mean that they are disloyal. They desire to live in country in which they were brought up.

---

<sup>1</sup>F.B.I. apprehension.

<sup>2</sup>Japanese organizations and publications.



Kawamoto's background has been described in a separate report devoted to him.

MR. GEORGE KAWAMOTO - July 28, 1943 - partly verbatim statement -

Kawamoto predicted that the number of people asking for repatriation from Gila would rise up to 1,800. This proved to be correct.

"Reason why there are so many segregants:

1. Only one member of a family may have answered "NO", but the rest <sup>to</sup> are asking for repatriation be with him.

2. In some families the children are too young and the father too old to be able to support the family on the outside. They are afraid to relocate and prefer to go back to Japan.

3. Myer's speech over the wire that eventually all the evacuation centers are going to be closed. Believes that there was a great increase in requests for repatriation after this speech."

"The Issei have lived in this country longer than they have lived in Japan. They've suffered and toiled long enough here that they want to stay. They don't really know Japan under militaristic rule.

Now the Kibei, who are mostly about 20 or 21, have been indoctrinated since the Manchurian incident. They were going to school in Japan just when that thing occurred."



MR. TEIZO YAHANDA - July 29, 1943 - notes on visit -

Teizo Yahanda is central block manager of Canal. At present he is highly respected, even though he was threatened during the unrest in November, 1942 which culminated in the Tada beating, for standing for the Administration against the trouble makers. Apparently he has done his best to bring about good relations between the evacuees and the administrative staff.

Although Yahanda is a "law-and-order" man, he has no illusions about the Administration. His criticism is realistic and penetrating. He sees no future in the present policy of community government. "It is still a white man driving a wagon on which two Japanese are fighting," says he.

Yahanda was born in Japan February 1, 1888 and came to this country when he was four years old. He had all his schooling in this country and returned to Japan only for a visit of a year in 1919 and 1920 - to study the cultivation of citrus fruits in Japan. He is a graduate of the University of California, and had told the writer twice how he was advised by the organization of Japanese students in California not to enlist in the U.S. Army at the time of the world war. He was a sophomore at that time. He continued in school and received his degree.

Yahanda now has five children who range in age from 11 to 18. He is however, head of the family and considers himself responsible for twelve people.

Before evacuation Yahanda lived at Monterey. As a life insurance agent (1932 and 1936) Yahanda had an income of 250 dollars a month. Later he worked as a horticulturist and at the time of evacuation owned a dry cleaning establishment. He has lived in Monterey since 1925.

He has four sisters and one brother in Japan, all of whom are farmers. He is a very active member of the Christian Church in Canal and before



evacuation was Commercial Chairman of the Boy Scouts.

In spite of his being a Christian, Yahanda has and deserved the respect of many inhabitants in Canal Camp. He is an able and fairly honest informant. He diverges most from the truth when discussing the misdeeds of anyone in Canal Camp. Canal Camp has no labor troubles, says he. They are good people, far better than those of Butte. There are no strikes in Canal. Because they are rural people they are better; Butte on the other hand, is full of "long haired boys."

SEGREGATION - Yahanda - July 29, 1943.

The overpowering desire of these people is to escape somehow from this troubled and insecure life. Outside they will be separated from their families, they will be separated from their own kind. They know that they will not be well received; they have heard frightening reports of violence, at the beginning of the war they were told that they had to evacuate "for the duration for their own security", they were told they would be in relocation centers for the duration.

Now rather than face hardship, persecution and the separation from their own people they prefer to be segregated. In Tule Lake they feel they will be safely taken care of; they will be with their families and with other Japanese.

Farming families were offered \$100.00 by Tuttle. This amount of money is ridiculous; it wouldn't even buy a stove. Even \$1500.00 isn't enough to go out and start over with a big family. But it's better than \$100.00. One of the men said to Tuttle, "What do you think we are, Mexicans?"

People have been worried and concerned over registration for a long time. When this sudden order came out it created panic. Some of the block managers lost their dinners running around between 5:30 and 7:00 o'clock telling people to come and verify their signatures that evening. Everybody



There was no reason the administration shouldn't have consulted us block managers about this. If it was to be kept confidential we would have done it. If we had been allowed to break this thing to the people gradually, they would not have become so terrified. Why it even said at the bottom of the paper, "No farewell parties are to be held."<sup>1</sup> The suddenness of it alarmed people.

You can still see the sharp steel sword which is not quite muffled in cloth in the statement that "if any disturbances arise when segregation takes place, the F.B.I. will handle it." They don't have to do that!

---

<sup>1</sup>I misunderstood Yahanda here or he was misinformed. The statement was to the effect that sufficient time should be allowed for parties.



MRS. S. AND MRS. T. - July 29, 1943 - Verbatim statement

Mrs. S. and Mrs. T. are both Nisei, about thirty-five years old. Mrs. T. is married to an Issei. They have several children and say they intend to relocate "when they can find some decent place."

"When this thing came out Monday night we all got panicky. I didn't know what to do and was awfully worried. You see my husband is an alien. We don't trust anything they (the administration) say anymore."

"It seems like this issue has broken apart the camp into two groups. My friends and acquaintances who want to be repatriated hardly speak to me anymore because I'm known for my American ways. People we thought were our friends won't talk to us now. They've got something on their minds. It was a big mistake to put us all in here in the beginning."

(a few days later)

Mrs. T:

"And it's really not open for Issei. (relocation) That's the main problem. The Issei found out that after they've been working hard - then this happened. So what else can they do except repatriate?

"The minute a person that does not repatriate comes in they won't talk about it. They stop. I have a class there in the woman's club and we make jokes about repatriation; but we never come down to it deeply."

Mrs. S:

As I told you the other night, it's their own individual problem. As I have said many times, I pity the Kibei. They don't know which country they belong. But I think they'd be happier in Japan. They don't play with the Nisei at all. They associate with Issei all the time! They're really nice kids, only we don't understand them."

Mrs. T:

"This evacuation made the Issei fall back to their own ways. When this happened some of them had nice homes; but even then they're ~~not~~ repatriating. They feel there's no future for them here."



HIKIDA - July 31, 1943 - Verbatim

Repatriation and Segregation

The first period of application for repatriation came around May, 1943, because this was the announcement of the first exchange ship from Japan. At that time people didn't realize that wholesale exchange would become a reality. The first exchange ship took 1,500 people. I think that at that time the largest group of applications came from families of internees or detainees who had been picked up by the F.B.I.

At that time I think about 1,500 Japanese were detained at Fort Missoula and at Bismark. At least one-third or one-fourth of them made application for repatriation.

They applied for repatriation not only because they were loyal to Japan but because of the treatment they received in this country. I also applied, but was detained. People were being treated so badly in this country that we really felt safer in Japan. Naturally, those who were going to be interned here for the duration thought that it was much wiser to go to Japan and escape ill treatment. We did not want to be prisoners. Even though many of the people were loyal to the U.S., circumstances and ill treatment created unreasonable apprehension and an antagonistic feeling toward U.S.

The second big group of requests for repatriation came at the time of military registration. Those who answered "NO" asked to be repatriated. There is always a tendency to increase whenever there is a sign of drastic change in WRA policies. This segregation is a drastic change. Now the people are saying, "We might be segregated; if so, I better apply for repatriation."

Another point, applications for repatriation always increase whenever it appears that there is a possibility of exchange between Japan and the United States. I think that this has influenced people in the last few months.



About a month ago an article appeared in the newspapers, L.A. Examiner and L.A. Times. The fact that segregation was coming closer was another reason.

Another reason my people are applying for repatriation is because they think that by doing that they'll be sent to a permanent camp, Tule Lake, because they don't want to go outside.

I think they had rather go to Tule Lake and on to Japan, not because they are disloyal but because many of them think that after the war there will be no opportunity for the Japanese in America. Public sentiment will be too high.

I know that the sudden check-up gave a kind of excitement to the group. On the other hand it gave a feeling of some hope to certain repatriates because they thought that this check-up brought repatriation closer.

I heard too - (my block has the most "NO's" in it.) My children are good friends with the boys who answered "NO". I also like them. Since I know that there is no opportunity in this country for me I really feel that they and I will be better off in Japan. We are sort of hanging in between.<sup>1</sup>

All the last two weeks I have been thinking about it. Now that the chance is open people are taking it. Fear is not the general attitude. There is much more excitement in other centers I hear. There is no sign of violence here.

---

<sup>1</sup> Hikida's state of mind at this time gives some insight into the psychology of many of the evacuees. Hikida is certainly a respectable citizen of Butte and a level headed individual. He was very depressed at the time of this interview. He had been attempting to get into one of the navy Japanese schools as instructor but was refused, perhaps, he thinks, because he was once connected with the Japanese Association in California and was at one time interned.

With this set-back to his plans of comfortable relocation he was ready to throw up the sponge and repatriate. It is not unreasonable to suppose that many other Issei - convinced of their inability to make an adjustment to the outside world - determined to apply for repatriation with just as sure a conviction that they were doing nothing disloyal to the United States.

Not one of the segregants whom I interviewed admitted to any sentiment of disloyalty. Nor do most of the evacuees remaining in camp consider the segregates disloyal. (?)



Myer's speech was an important factor in making people decide to repatriate rather than to be forced out.

There is a certain worry about the war situation. I think it is in the mind of every Issei that when the war becomes critical between Japan and America, if America bombs Japan, Japan may naturally come to this country and start some action or U.S. may start it first. In such a case any Japanese being outside will be in a dangerous position. That is one more of the reasons why people don't go out. Even I who have perfect confidence in the American public, even I worry.

Some people thought Japan would win at the beginning of the war, but they do not think so now.<sup>1</sup>

I do not think the suddenness with which the check-up was made has made more people apply. Those who had applied were waiting for notice.

I can say this for the majority of the older people. It is better to go back to Japan and no matter how hard it is to be with your own race and get away from this racial prejudice. Unfortunately the Japanese people are not given equal opportunities as other aliens, so they are more or less not well Americanized in the sense of their devotion to this country. They are not given the right to naturalize and are always under a sense of racial discrimination.

Such a sudden check-up must have promoted a feeling among the evacuees that this exchange or repatriation is coming more to a realization. So instead of giving the evacuees as a whole inclined toward relocation, they

---

<sup>1</sup>X. disagrees. Most of the Japanese, says he, believe what they hear from Japan and not what they read in American papers. More intimate association with evacuees causes me to side with X. A widespread evacuee idea in Gila is that the war may end as a draw - with Japan keeping *hegemony* in the East.



were adversely touched.

I showed this reaction too. When they were checked up and it became definite that at some time there would be segregation, they felt a feeling of being treated as different from the other Japanese. They had some kind of an inferiority complex, being treated differently from those who were not asked to come.

Another thing - most of the Issei are pretty old, 60 or 65, the youngest is about 50. When people become old their childhood love and longing for their country in which they were born increases. It is increasing among us.

I have consulted with Hoffman. I wanted to relocate and live in this country. But I cannot go out as a domestic, I cannot work in a restaurant as a waiter, nor can my family. So I thought that the best thing for me to do was to polish up on my Japanese and when the war was over I might be able to apply for a position in a university or a high school as a permanent occupation. Once this looked very favorable; I thought I would get a position. But at the last minute, perhaps because of my being connected with the Japanese Association (I was picked up once), these things bothered my application.

As far as I am concerned my future is pretty dark here. Now, if I go back to Japan, regardless of whether Japan wins or America wins, I can live free from such worry as being considered a dangerous alien, etc., and once in my life I may have the right to cast even one ballot as any human being should! But here I can't do it. Socially, politically and economically, I'm shut out. No matter how hard it is to live in Japan, maybe it will be better place for the freedom of the individual.

I have been treated too suspicious. I told the F.B.I. men again and again that the Japanese would do nothing to endanger this country. The



young men who were citizens were absolutely safe. But still because of racial descrimination some have begun to feel bitter.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>A common segregant attitude.



MRS. FUKUZAWA, August 2, 1943 - verbatim statement

Mrs. Fukuzawa is also an older Nisei, ostensibly awaiting a good opportunity to relocate.

From what I've heard I think the older people are dreading segregation because it will mean separation from the family. They are torn between their families and what they think is right. We Nisei all feel that our destiny is here. We've heard so much about not being accepted if we did go back to Japan. We know we'd be looked upon as foreigners and ostracised. Even the Issei, I think, have noticed that before the war. All their lives they want to go back to Japan but when they do go back they find things changed and all are in a hurry to come back.

I know my father. That's all I used to hear him talk about was going back to the old country. When he did go back, I think he was sorry. In the meantime he took sick and died over there.

They always remember how things were when they were children, and don't realize that it's been a good many years and everything has changed.



MR. TEIZO YAHANDA - August 6, 1943 (from notes)

Many of the people applying for repatriation don't really want to go back to Japan. The fact that they don't know the language here is one of the main reasons they don't want to go out. If the administration would say it would do something and then follow it through, the evacuees might trust it.

This loyalty idea is all wrong. People are not repatriating out of disloyalty it is fear of economic hardship and race prejudice.



INTERVIEW WITH WOLTER - August 7, 1943

Spoke with Wolter this morning. Main impression gained is his faith that all will be well after segregation. After the loyal have been separated from the disloyal, relocation can proceed apace. Then the Administration can really concentrate on it and get something done.

He spoke of his plan of setting up evacuee men as sources of information to segregees - men who will know what the people should do, what they should do with their property in warehouses, where they can get lumber for crating, etc. He hesitates to put the block managers in this position since he feels that the people in general do not like the block managers.

When, in passing, I commented upon the unrest and wild rumors I had heard among the Caucasians he became extremely angry, stating that if he knew who was going around broadcasting these vicious rumors he'd see that some people were fired right now; then they wouldn't have to wait and see if their jobs would last six months.

Tuesday - August 10, 1943

Gila News carried appeal for order by Wolter. Mentioned he had heard of threats and resistance. Says he thinks it is only a very very small amount of community and that every device will be used to trace down threats of any kind under laws of the state and the county. "No step can be too drastic or too thorough in our attempt to protect the people who wish to be American citizens and to protect all people who wish to live the peaceful and tranquil life either here or at Tule Lake."

This is no doubt a reaction to the poison pen letters brought to Terry by evacuees. At present I cannot but feel that the administration is putting too much emphasis on this sort of thing. I doubt that poison pen letter writers are going to be subdued by administrative threats, anyway.



From what I can gather from the people the whole segregation matter is being taken very quietly. Trouble makers if any are lying low and confining themselves to the threatening letters.



G. KAWAMOTO - August 8, 1943 (partly verbatim statement)

With the Issei it's still the same old story of insecurity. Reports keep coming in that many of the people are not as well off as they thought they would be. Many of the cities are asking Japanese not to come any more, Salt Lake City - parts of Colorado and sections of Chicago.

The Isseis have been growing lazy - It's a handicap, they think they can't go out and get a good job. I think there are two classes of Issei.

1. Those who are going to stay willing to go out if the govt. asks them and if they get a good job.
2. Those who won't go out even if a satisfactory job is provided. Are afraid of outside.

The persons who have worked with their hands are more willing to go out than the professional or business men. The reason, the Japanese business men always have depended on Japanese trade. All the professional men who do go out to Denver, Salt Lake City.

The crises is likely to be right before repatriation, right before the people are taken out. I know a person who just received a letter from Tule Lake saying that the "Yes" people don't want to move and that they are all signing up to be repatriated.



HANKEY - notes - August 8, 1943

On August seventh and eighth all persons, about 700 people, who had answered "No" on the military questionnaire and those who had applied to change their answers since the 15th were interviewed before two interviewers, an interpreter and usher. Twenty-four interviewers had been appointed by the administration. They worked in pairs. Each board handled about sixty people in all and according to Brown, who served on a Board, the matter was handled as humanely as was possible under the circumstances. However, in the few minutes allotted to each individual, very little could be accomplished in the way of gaining the confidence of the person interviewed.

The object of the interviews was to separate the individuals into three groups - those who were to be segregated, those who would not be segregated, those who were doubtful.

Tuttle meanwhile has been interviewing applicants for segregation, with the help of six case workers, each of whom is interviewing about forty people a day. The social service staff is working extremely hard - has been kept at it every night this week and ~~is~~ also worked on Sunday.

It is Brown's impression that the great number of the interviewers are trying to be as fair as possible. With the exception of a few men quite unfitted for the task, the appointed personnel are reasonable and fair and do as capable a job as could be expected. They made no actual attempts at persuading the people to change their minds, but on the other hand, they leave the evacuees every opportunity to avoid segregation. If however, they are outspoken about their intention to segregate, they are placed on the list without hesitation.

The personality of the interviewers may influence the percentage of segregates. This remains to be seen.

Terry reports that the sending of poison pen letters to loyal is commencing.



MRS. FUJIMOTO - August 15, 1943 - verbatim statement

Mrs. Fujimoto was one of the few able Issei women still living at Rivers who was able to understand English well. She has now relocated and is living with her children.

Before evacuation she was employed as a domestic in Pasadena and according to her account, was greatly appreciated with her employer. This appreciation is understandable; she is able, charming and intelligent. She is very honest.

She has worked for the Community Activities Department for some time, although she is in her fifties (I should judge) and the work must have been extremely tiring. Though an Issei, she is extremely progressive. Her departure is a great loss to the camp.

She gives an accurate portrayal of the state of mind not only of many of the older segregees, but also of the older evacuees remaining at Gila. Grief at parting from friends or members of their families, uncertainty as to whether going to Tule was the best move, concern over their treatment there, and a feeling of confusion and helplessness combined to darken their last days in Gila.

Evidently, as at evacuation, none of the first generation thought of resisting government orders. In any case, they had been expecting segregation for a long time.

Mrs. Fujimoto remarks on the feeling of indifference, of detachment from the war, and the utter lack of comprehension as to how this war is affecting the people on the outside. These are salient features of the evacuee state of mind.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>When chatting with a group of evacuees one frequently has the odd sensation of being transported some four or five years back into the state of mind current among Americans in pre-war United States. The Issei are concerned, as were many American parents, with keeping their children out of the war.



Mrs. Fujimoto also corroborates X's statement that some of the people who truly intend to repatriate have relatives or property in Japan. The plight of the other segregants, those who fear forcible relocation in this country, have no funds, and know they will not be welcome in Japan, is pathetic.

"There is no reason to expect violence. They are so sad about it. They say, government say 'yes' so that's why we have to go. They agree. They kind of almost expect it; they've been talking about it so long.

"I think they should have given more chance to change from No to Yes. I think they're a lot of families being segregated who don't really want to go.

"They're almost like expecting that it's going to be very strict. They (the Administration) shouldn't be so strict because we won't do sabotage. I think hardly anyone of them would do sabotage. They think that's most awful thing to do.

"They say, 'This war is not ours. Just the big shots want to fight.'

"They don't know what to do. That's so sad. Even if you go back to Japan you don't have anything. They're afraid they won't even be happy if they go back to Japan.

"Your mother or brother is there in Japan and might help them to start again. But they really won't be welcome. Quite a few business men are talking about this. If a bank help us and trust us we could start over again in business, but I don't think the bank will help them.

"Many go back because they have a relative they hope will help them to start all over again.

"People don't feel bad about the administration for segregation. But I tell you the decrease of job<sup>1</sup> has affected people more than segregation.

---

<sup>1</sup>Reduction in employment



Because of that sixteen dollars nobody is working really very hard, That more than segregation affects people. They are not especially angry. They say, 'Only sixteen dollars. That's just our spending money.'

"So sad story I heard yesterday. One family, I don't know name, mother and father are "Yes" and their son "NO". So this son have to go to Tule Lake and other daughters want to go outside. So mother and daddy are so sad to be separated.

By the time October comes we'll all be so sad to be separated from our friends. But we understand that that's the law.

So many of us feel this way: We owe so much to America and have so many friends, that we shouldn't forget that we should repay. So when our children drafted we were willing to give our sons to the United States. Not only myself, many of us feel that way.



HARRY MIYAKE - August 19, 1943 - verbatim

When I heard about segregation I expected riots and trouble, but now seeing how the program is being carried on, I don't expect trouble any more. Mr. Wolter has done a good job of educating and giving the people information. There was a feeling in Rowher and Jerome that there was going to be trouble. I am anticipating some trouble in the other camps but here people knew just what they were up against.

These parties determined to go back to Japan are in no way disloyal. If they were real Japanese patriots, they would say "Yes", cheat, and stayed to make as much trouble as they could.



MR. HIKIDA - August 13, 1943 - verbatim

Mr. Hikida informed me this morning that he had not made application for repatriation yet. He intends to wait and see what the chances for relocation may be. Also, as the chance to repatriate is very slim, he does not now want to be segregated. "It is a difficult decision. Even if I do apply for restatement I don't think I would be included in the group for Tule Lake."

"I think there has been very little change in the attitude of the people since July 20. It seems to me that those who applied for repatriation are not certain whether they want to go to Japan or not, but they applied for repatriation because they want to stay inside the center for the duration of the war.

And quite a few adults as well as young people answered "no" or applied for repatriation because they did not want to go into the Army. They didn't want to be drafted. The reason for not wanting to be drafted are three. (1) Unfortunately these people think that if they go into the Army they will be sent immediately to the actual combat zone. There will be little chance of coming back, you know. It seems to me that this feeling prevails among among the Issei and Nisei. Such feeling was created because at the military registration and volunteering for the Army enlistment. Both things were done at the same time. According to my opinion, had these things been separately conducted much evil feeling would not have arisen with the minds of the people. (2) War between this country and Japan, the country to which their fathers and mothers are subject. They don't want to fight against the people of the country of which their mothers and fathers are subject and another reason (3) until very recent years the Issei have sacrificed everything. All their material things in other words the Issei gave up everything to bring up their children. As a result they



are financially not very well-to-do.

Japanese families have a lot more children than the ordinary Americans. Their savings were spent to send these children to colleges and higher education. Now these elder parents expect some dependency upon their children. to cite one example. My brother, he is 47 years old. He has six children. The eldest is a son 24 and the next three children are boys about one and a half years apart. Until the time of the outbreak of the war what he earned by farming he mostly spent on bringing up his children. Now the children are of an age that they can somehow help support the family. Of course my brother's case is very special. He is still middle aged, under 47, but most families have a father and mother around 60, so naturally they have to look for the assistance of some of their children, particularly their sons. If their children are taken away for enlistment it will create a very serious problem which will affect the whole family.

That is one of the reasons that some of the parents and the Issei think that rather than be subject to the draft, answer "no" or repatriate. They think that because of the treatment which they had they don't feel so responsible about this call for service to the Army. The older Japanese came to this country when they were young between the ages of 17, 18 to 25. They have been away from Japan and because of that although they are subjects of Japan, their sense of responsibility is not to Japan but to America. The sense of nationalistic feeling such as gratitude, duty, and so forth is to a certain extent lacking. They are more or less men without a country.

Besides this the Issei were not given the right to naturalize. So even if they live in this country 30 or 40 years, they have never been given the chance to show their sense of duty to the nation. That is very unfortunate.



I spoke to Mr. Spencer some time ago and handed in a paper in regard to the matter. Prior to the war when the Nisei were drafted for the United States, their fathers and mothers felt very proud of it. I think that among the offices in the Selective Service in each draft board recognized that the Japanese people sent their sons off very willingly. They would have a big send-off, farewell parties and so forth. In spite of much feeling prior to the war, the picture now seems to be just the opposite. I think that it is because of the discriminating treatment which they received. Another reason may be the fact that this war is between their country and their fathers' and mothers' country.

In the case of Hawaii, you know, when they announced that recruiting of volunteers for the United States Army they got many more applications than they needed. The Japanese in Hawaii and the Japanese in the mainland are the same as far as their feeling of loyalty is concerned, but because of the fact that people in Hawaii were getting equal chance with the citizens of foreign origin the Japanese in Hawaii had a stronger allegiance to stay in the same status as before the war. That is except for a certain dangerous group. But here all Japanese have been forced to mass evacuation. This, I believe, is the big difference.

#### Present sentiment in regard to segregation

There has been no very obvious change in feeling since July 20th when it became known that those who applied after July 1st would not go to Tule Lake. It seemed to me that there was a feeling of disappointment. That is about the only change in the people.

#### Policy of the Administration

I think the administration has been passing around information through the block managers from time to time. They are telling everyone "There is no need to fear or worry as to this segregation." They are telling them



that they can get out of Tule Lake even after segregation and also of the opportunities they may have in the segregation camps in case they change their minds and express loyalty to this country. They feel it is very fair. If he wants to change his mind he may do so. The boards have been fair and the people think so too.

Mutilated segregation poster

The young man's name was Yamazaki. I heard that he is to be taken to Leuppe, from there is to be transferred to Tule Lake. I didn't know anything about this case.

He has an uncle here. This uncle happens to be an acquaintance of mine and came to see me because he was very much worried. He asked me if I could see Mr. Wolter and while he didn't ask me to request special consideration from Mr. Wolter, he asked me to find out what would be the final outcome and also asked me what the chances of the boy were. He is a very good boy. One of the best. His uncle told me that there was certain evidence that he drew the Japanese flag, but somebody else wrote the remarks. It is a very serious offense, but because the boy thought that if he told who had written the remarks, it would cause bad feeling among a certain group of Japanese, he said that he had done everything. He thought if five or ten people were called into the office there would be trouble so he better take the blame himself. His uncle told me this very clearly.

His relatives are more or less satisfied with the action. They have made no complaint. They didn't want to see him taken to jail.

Poison pen letters

I got one too. I think four people; Mr. Miura, myself, Mr. Hirose, and Mr. Miyake got them. I think they are just a matter of jealousy. Some people think that myself, Mr. Miura, Mr. Miyake are all Issei working



for the administration. They think we have a certain influence in administration activities and they think the round up and apprehension made right after military registration is the result of our influence. This is absolutely not true. I think this must be happening as a result of resentment against apprehension. This coming segregation is also influencing these people.

The statement itself, was not so serious. You can take it as advice. In my case they said you are man of the future so instead of ending your life here in this community, relocate! (you can take this any way, as if to stay here and spend my life foolishly, that is the end of my life.)

I'm not worried very much.

Mr. Hirose is a bachelor. They told him instead of fooling around with segregation why don't you find a nice widow and go out and relocate. I got my letter last Friday. I think about 5 o'clock p.m. I concluded that if I made this public it may cause too much excitement. I kept it to myself. I think it is an act of one or two foolish people. There could not be more than four or five people behind it.

If I knew that I didn't have the rest of the people in this community I might be worried but I'm very very confident that I have the backing of the people. All people except these few have confidence in me. So I never take it very seriously. I think since the Japanese have come into this place it has created a feeling of jealousy. They had become inclined toward suspicion.



NOTES ON ASAMI - a "NO-YES" man

I first encountered Asami at a Block Manager's Meeting. We found that we had attended City College in Los Angeles at the same time. We chatted over old times and eventually he told me he had been No-Yes. I invited myself over to discuss the matter.

Asami was born in Hawaii and has the backbone and self-respect of the Hawaiian born Japanese. He taught Japanese in the islands and hopes to return there after the war is over. His reaction to military registration is unique. He feels that as a citizen of a democratic country it is his duty to fight for the restoration of democratic treatment to the Japanese. His sincerity is so great it transcends his awkward English.

Asami - about September 12, 1943 - verbatim statement

Captain Thompson tried to insist me to change from "NO-NO" to "YES-YES". I stated to him how, when I was a kid in school and pledged allegiance to the flag - justice and equality for all.

Now I had my education in Japan. Why I came back? Hawaii called me. I went back to Hawaii against my father's will. I had no prejudice in Hawaii. I didn't even know what Jewish problem was like. It was when I came to City College<sup>1</sup> that the boys would say, "He's a Jewish, or something like that."

Then I was put in assembly center and my dream was faded and I didn't have any confidence as in my youth. So I told Captain Thompson that since my confidence in the U.S. Government and in democracy was gone I can't say "Yes".

We are fighting for democracy and freedom but on the other hand we American citizens are not free. So I said I'm not going to answer unless our Constitutional Rights are respected as before.

---

<sup>1</sup>In Los Angeles



He says I can't do it.

I said, "My sincere soul is 27, NO' and 28, Yes! If you insist to persuade me I'm going to be penalized and also you're going to be penalized.<sup>2</sup> "

Oh, no, says he. But he left it that way.

If that was the case, I had my leave clearance from Washington February 12. My registration was February 15. If I just write "Yes-Yes", I could go out. But as a Nisei I must fight for my Constitutional Rights. It is really a tough problem to us.

First, it is my duty as a citizen to fight against injustice. Second, what Patrick Henry cried, "Give us the privilege first and let us do the duty." Third, this war aim is for freedom and democracy. Give us the freedom and then let us do our duty.

If possible I'm going to go back to Hawaii. Many of my students that I taught in Japanese school are in the American-Japanese Combat Unit. I'm very proud of them. I think Hawaii is what you call paradise.

I'm not going to Tule Lake - I have no complaints about the committees.

Registration was quite a foolish thing to carry on. If they'd given them a chance to go outside and then asked for registration, all the boys would have volunteered.

When I was in City College a boy who was valedictorian of the Los Angeles High School came to college also. He took a C average at L.A.C.C. I told him, "Why don't you do your best?" He said he had represented his high school at Hollywood High School as valedictorian. When he got there he was asked by the principal to send a Caucasian instead. That was the first time that happened to him.

So he's going to take only art courses and enjoy himself drawing.



LETTER SENT BY ASAMI TO LIEBER AND CARDOZO

April, 1943

Dear Mr. Lieber:

I here enclosed this letter with the WRA to state my reason why I have taken the negative answer to the selective service questionnaire, which confronted me very much during the period of registration. Before I gave the negative answer to the questionnaire #27 during the interview with Captain Thompson and Sergeant Aburamen, I definitely stated the reasons as follows:

I was born in Hawaii and brought up among various races without a notion of creed nor discrimination. We pledged allegiance to the flag of the United States of America not because we were persuaded nor insisted by the teacher, but from the sincere soul that we were 100% American citizen. But since I was evacuated my past belief, my reliance, my confidence began to fade with the barrier in me. Is the Government treating us justice? Are we not American citizen? At the same time the urgent call of our (Nisei) constitutional rights began to glow in me with the voice of justice and freedom of all our (Nisei) privileges. To act as American are denied to a certain height with the public tensions by other Americans. I am not against #27, not ~~I~~ have I a bitter feeling against #27, but I want the urgent and serious consideration of the President of the United States and Mr. Stimson to give our (Nisei) liberty, freedom and right to act and live as our forefathers have fought and created the immortal doctrine of Americanism. The majority of the Nisei who answered negatively have confronted these problems (#27 and 28) seriously with the task of the present secluded situation of theirs and unequal justice to live as Americans which to my knowledge have taken the hesitated answer and not the decisive negative one. They are the ones who sincerely had



the faith to be and were loyal American citizens when they had their freedom to act as American for their pursuit of happiness. They are asking the government to preserve their love of liberty, the doctrine of equality that they once had, and give a fair trial to abolish the faded dreams they now have. We are now in the midst of turmoil - the war of freedom - to which this registration we are facing is urged for. For this reason we are aiding Great Britain, Russia and all Allied Countries. We want to secure and preserve our own freedom; our privilege and justice in our own land as well as in other lands. For this reason, Captain Thompson let me state my reason why I am answering "NO" to #27 (and I wrote):

"Unless our Constitutional rights are respected and granted as other American citizens my sincere soul won't allow me to change my present decision."

Mr. Lieber, the above statement is the brief outline that I pointed out in my discussions with Captain Thompson and Sergeant Aburamen through 30 minutes interview. My negative answer is not the decisive one, but I am asking our privilege before doing our duty as American citizen. As you know Mr. Lieber, I am not asking 100% equality of opportunities or position (as I didn't have such ambition when I was outside,) but the freedom as I used to have before evacuation. I am willing to fight for this country as I have mentioned so often in the previous letters to you, but before accepting the duty (the registration) to take arms as American, I want Mr. President and Mr. Secretary of War to reconsider our Nisei's present secluded life (crippled freedom) and give us Democracy that we are fighting for in the home land (among Nisei) as well as in the war front and overseas.

Mr. Lieber, please write to Mr. John Landward, who is taking charge of leave problem, your sincere answer concerning my character, my behavior, my Americanization when I was in Santa Monica. I am sorry to bother you so much, but Mr. Landward doesn't seem to take any consideration how I am



acting in this Center as American, but he seems to me a mere agent to sign applications to Washington and various WRA offices and give the responses he had from those various sources.

Again I am not asking you, Mr. Lieber, to give your false report, concerned my character in order to help me to get release, but your sincere answer where I stand as an American citizen.

I thank you.

Harold M. Asami



NOTES ON STATEMENTS OF SEGREGES



NOTES ON STATEMENTS OF SEGREGEEES

These statements deserve a far more thorough and penetrating analysis than I am able to give them at this time. However, my short study has impressed me with several points which are worth mentioning here.

The all-pervading tone of the statements is one of complaint against unjust treatment and undeserved abuse. Simmering resentment and hostility to Caucasians which has its roots in pre-war racial discrimination is far more apparent in the statements of these segregées than in the ordinary conversation of the evacuees who have remained in camp. Almost all of them say that evacuation was not necessary, that "the majority of the people would have remained faithful, diligent, and true to the United States." The ill treatment received at the Assembly Centers appear to be more thoroughly resented than later hardships in Relocation Centers. To be put behind barbed wire, watched by soldiers, to have to line up and take food like paupers, injured pride and self-respect terribly. Then came the crowning indignity: After this ill treatment they were asked to volunteer to serve in the army. In this connection it is very interesting to note how many of the men interviewed said that they would have been glad to go if they had been drafted; or that they would have volunteered if evacuation had not taken place. Several respected issei remaining at Gila have stated that before evacuation no one would have objected to being drafted. Only the most militantly pro-American nisei have stated that they looked upon the opportunity to volunteer as a chance to show Americans that the Japanese were loyal citizens. The evacuees on the whole ignore the implication of the authorities, that the opportunity to volunteer is a marvelous chance to gain a place of respect and trust in the hearts of the Caucasian inhabitants of the United States.



Most members of the Caucasian staff are at a loss to understand this attitude. The evacuees ought, in their opinion, try humbly to conciliate the hostile American population in every way possible. But the evacuee population has almost no interest in conciliating the American population, at least by this method. Many of the evacuees feel that they have done their part by consenting to evacuation and, the American Government now owes them an apology and cash restitution for the wrong they have suffered.

It should be understood that the presentation of these statements of segregees does not imply that they are a complete and invariably truthful expression of their authors' state of mind. They are the remarks of persons who were facing segregation and were approached by a Caucasian university student and asked to tell why they were going to Tule Lake.

But even when taken with reservations, many interesting attitudes are shown. It is apparent that these people are not able to think clearly either about the issue of segregation or about their own future; they frequently contradict themselves. At one moment they elaborate on the theme that there is no hope or future for them in post-war America. A little later some admit that they have no intention of going on from Tule Lake to Japan. Rather than discuss their reasons for going to Tule, most preferred to relate experiences which they had suffered in the process of evacuation, incidents of race prejudice committed against them or against other Japanese, or tales of injustice shown toward evacuees by members of the administrative staff at Rivers, giving me to understand that this treatment was sufficient reason for their decision.

Of one thing the reader may be sure--the powerful resentment felt toward the administrative staff, and toward the Caucasian in general is in no way exaggerated in these accounts. Resentments toward Caucasians expressed by the segregees are almost as powerful among the evacuees re-



maining in camp. Since however, those remaining do not have the conviction that "We're going to Tule Lake anyway, what more can they do to us? We might as well talk!," they do not ordinarily express themselves so freely.

As I was taking down these accounts I noticed on several occasions that the fluency of my informant was increased by the fact that here at last he had a chance to tell a Caucasian just what he thought about the way he and his race had been treated, without the inhibiting effects of the knowledge that his statements would be used as evidence of pre-axis leanings. "I.", in particular, became more confidential the longer he talked. Eventually he stated that he hoped Japan would win the war.

The different motives given as reasons for repatriation or answering "no" are worth noting:

Mr. O. really intends to go back to Japan. A trained electrical engineer, a graduate of the California Institute of Technology, he feels the humiliation of evacuation very deeply. Even his regard for the Caucasian Dr. McNeil, whom he regards as a second father, cannot mitigate his resentment.

Mrs. S., on the other hand, was quite cheerful about going to Tule Lake and said simply that she was going wherever her husband decided to go. Mr. S. said he is going to Japan because he has never been treated as an equal. I suspect however, that Mr. S. intends to live in Tule Lake for the duration, and then, after due consideration of conditions on the outside, make up his mind about remaining in America.

Megumi C. is in a state of confusion. Like so many of the "no-no" boys he says he would have volunteered for army service if he had not been evacuated. He is going to Tule Lake but is determined not to go back to Japan. He has not made any plans for the future and feels



himself a man without a country.

Mr. M., when asked why he was going to Tule Lake, replied with a long list of resentments.

Masako A. is a pathetic case. Having had most of her education in this country she went back to Japan just before the war broke out and attended a Christian mission school. She was questioned by the F. B. I. and because of her recent residence in Japan, her repeated attempts to relocate in this country has been unsuccessful. She is going back to Japan as a second choice. She would rather stay in America, but, sick and discouraged, she has decided that there is no hope for her here.

Mr. I. is a very interesting case. Many of his statements would be echoed by a large proportion of the inhabitants of Gila. He is described by X. as a very opportunistic young man. He is going to Tule Lake and see what happens. He figures he can't lose. "Why go outside when things are so uncertain."

These individuals seldom admit to any personal opportunism in discussing their reasons for choosing segregation. They have however, no hesitation in denouncing some of the individuals who remained in camp, particularly those who have changed their answers from no to yes.

Finally, none of these individuals considers himself disloyal to the United States. With all of the evacuees remaining in Gila and with the discerning members of the Caucasian staff, they agree that one cannot decide an individuals loyalty by the answers he makes to two questions.



INTERVIEWS WITH SEGREGES



INTERVIEWS WITH SEGREGEEES - September, 1943

In the course of accumulating statistics on persons who had answered "NO" at the time of military registration, I noted that some of the people who were being segregated had completed one or more years of college or university in the United States. It occurred to me that some of these individuals, if properly approached might express verbally or in writing, their reasons for choosing segregation or repatriation. Actually, I had little hope that any would consider talking to me, and, as I began the long hot walk from the Administration Building to Block 39 I had to force down considerable nervousness. I felt hesitant about intruding upon these strangers, prying them on a subject which concerned them so intimately. However, I hoped that the scholastic aim of the study and the fact that we are attempting to record the truth, would outweigh their attitude of timidity, suspicion or hostility.

I was fortunate in finding three out of the four individuals I had hoped to interview at home, and was able to speak to the brother of the fourth. These first interviews were moving and impressive. Never before have I seen people who reacted as these did. All were polite; all appeared to be under emotional strain, much as if they had controlled themselves almost to the breaking point and were about to give way. They spoke with the constrained, aching-tight, trembling voices of people who are almost in tears.

1. Mr. O.

Mr. O. is a United States citizen and was born in Sacramento. He is twenty-nine years old. He spent twelve years in Japan, and completed four years of high school there. He then attended college seven years in the



United States and completed one year of Post Graduate work at the California Institute of Technology, after which he obtained a good position in electrical work. For seven years, while attending school, he lived and worked in the home of a Caucasian named McNeil. O. has an enormous respect and affection for this man and stated several times that he dreaded writing to him and explaining why he had answered "no".

He received me very courteously, turned two electric fans on me and served ice tea. I explained the object of my visit. He began to talk without hesitation, saying that he thought he knew when he could trust someone. He is going to Japan because his pride has been hurt. He feels he will have no future here in postwar America. His attitude is not unlike that of an intelligent child who has been punished for another's fault. Several times as he talked he was not far from tears. He said he could not answer question #28 in the negative and be disrespectful to the emperor. He remarked that there were very few true gentlemen in America. My suggestion that he write an article on his sentiments concerning segregation interested him, he promised to make the attempt and invited me to return to meet his wife. As I left, he thanked me for coming.

I paid several visits to his home at intervals and on one occasion found his wife at home alone. She is far more American in outlook than O., even though she had been sent to Japan by her parents "to learn something about manners." While in Japan she concentrated on the study of music and became proficient on the Japanese harp. *under & strong feeling*

It was apparent that she did not wish to go to Tule Lake or on to Japan, but she did not entertain the thought of not following her husband. She remarked that he had been hurt very much and that he was very stubborn. She also apologized for his Japanese accent; although he has lived so



long in America, he still has it.

Later, I discussed O. with his wife's brother-in-law, K., a friend of mine. K. gave me the impression that he did not approve of O's decision. He sympathized with Mrs. O., his wife's sister. (K. has also been to Japan, but has decided to remain in the United States and is at present an unusually hard working, honest citizen of Butte, being very active in the Cooperative and in the new Permanent Council.)

O., said K., has received a hard knock. Before the war he had just finished school after years of work, and in spite of prejudice against Japanese had stepped into a very good job. When war broke out he was evacuated, and was now very bitter. "It's very hard on his wife, who likes it here," said K. "But she has decided to go with him."

Several days later I paid a farewell visit to the O's and took a small gift. Mrs. O. began to cry when I left. She gave me the article her husband had prepared and apologized for it. She did not think he expressed himself too well. "He's mixed up in his mind. He's at once Japanese and at once American. But in his heart he's really Japanese, though he's had eleven years in this country."

O. is no representative of the common man. He is a scholar. He is above complaints of physical discomforts or tirades against the stupidity of certain members of the Caucasian staff. He is not afraid of public opinion and insists that he was not influenced in his answers to the questionnaire by anything people were saying at the time.

The injustice of being evacuated although he is a loyal citizen and then being asked to fight after having been treated like a prisoner of war rankles in his soul. Instead of making bald accusations, he prefers to use logic, and, at times, puts across his point with considerable irony. On page        he makes a noteworthy dissertation on his feelings of loyalty



to Japan and the United States and also makes the significant statement that evacuation, military registration and segregation are so tied up in the minds of the evacuees that they cannot be considered separately. Like all the evacuees he blames the treatment during evacuation and the incompetent handling of military registration for the universal feeling of resentment.

He denounces the opportunism of those evacuees who changed from no to yes, only out of a desire to relocate. In some cases his criticism is just. Many persons who requested changes did so for reasons of convenience and not because of any change of loyalty.

When reading O's statement, it should be kept in mind that he is a scholar, an individualist, and a conservative, and does not concern himself overmuch with camp affairs or camp gossip. His is the reaction of a proud, intelligent person who knows he is intelligent and capable. It should not be considered typical.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See my notes on Tule Lake for O's interesting reaction to the Tule Lake riots.



## II. THE F. FAMILY

It was well that by chance I visited O. first. Had I encountered the F.'s first I would have been considerably discouraged and might have abandoned my project. I was invited in grudgingly and after standing a short time was offered a seat. I explained my errand, but the younger F. brother who was born in Fresno, has never been to Japan and has had a semester at U.C., showed very plainly by the expression on his face that he did not trust me. He implied, by almost whispering replies to my questions that he wished neither to talk to me nor write anything for me. I requested that he speak to his brother who is three years older (F. is nineteen), but I had no hope that he will feel differently. The same tense, strained attitude shown by O, and by most of the evacuees when they speak of their ill-treatment, was manifested by F. I mentioned that O. had agreed to write his experiences and F. Immediately asked his name. I explained that I could not give it without permission.

## III. Asoka S.

Asoka S. is twenty-six years old and has attended junior college one year. She has never been to Japan. She received me in a friendly manner, gave me a drink of water and explained that she was going to Tule and later to Japan, because that was what her husband had decided to do and naturally she would go with him. We chatted some time and then I suggested that she ask her husband if he would care to talk to me. She called him (he was taking a nap behind a screen) and I restated my proposition. I happened to mention that if he were afraid to speak, he need say nothing, and replied as follows: (verbatim statement)

I'm not scared to say anything. Like us, we been farming in California and naturally Japan and U.S. fight. So like Italian or German



people and like Japanese we sit in camp. And now they want us to be loyal and want us to go outside to work. But you haven't got anything. There's no future in it. We work and get only money. After the war we have nothing. Even if Japan win or lose, same thing. Get treated as not equal.

My feeling this is a racial war. We are never equals, white people and Japanese. If we go to Japan we will be treated equally.

After this mistake - too late. Just like a diamond. If you have a diamond and you crack it, it's too late!

I know I was born in this country and I was loyal till then, but Christ! They treat us unfair. Just like my brother was in the army and they discharged him. He's not treated equal. This was about two weeks ago.

Besides like my father, he was taken to North Dakota, sick in bed. When the F. B. I. took him, he die in North Dakota. Naturally he's an enemy alien and they can't help. But he was sick and they took father to North Dakota where he pass away.

There is no use making trouble. If ten thousand Japanese get mad in this camp, it don't do no good.

Even in the U. S. Army, you go down to Phoenix. They still refuse to serve you. If the U. S. gave me a fair deal I'd be willing to give my life for this country. But they never did.

Since the Japanese came to this country from then till now they never treat the Japanese right; and now, during the war things get worse.

The M.P. at the post told me he was born in Germany. He told me that when he goes in the army he don't treat equal. When he watching at post he get gun but after finishing that duty they take the gun away from him. That not right.



F. is thirty years old, was born in Santa Maria, and was in Japan from the age of four to ten. He is neither as intelligent, as well educated, or as stable as his wife. He has attended high school two years in the United States.

He is convinced that he has been treated unfairly in this country, implies that he intends to return to Japan. I am inclined to think that he will go to Tule and wait. If conditions on the outside appear more favorable, he will change his mind and decide to remain in the United States.

#### IV. Megumi C.

Megumi C. is twenty-one years old and has never been to Japan. He attended the University of California for two years. I called at his home and an elderly woman took me to the block manager's office. I found he was block manager. When I explained my errand he showed the same combination of nervousness and ill-concealed emotion that had been exhibited by the other "no-nos" I had contacted. However, he showed some interest in my work and admitted that he had often wished to write down his experiences and tell how he felt. He suggested that I come back in about two or three weeks and see him again.

When I returned he had written nothing, and excused himself on the grounds that he hadn't been able to put anything down. It was too difficult. He did not object to making a statement:

#### Megumi C.'s Statement (verbatim)

In my case group feeling had nothing to do with it. Group feeling was stronger with the younger people, but not with the older (meaning himself). The physical loss was also negligible in my decision. We don't consider the loss as much as racial prejudice.



My future is just really no place at all. I have no intention of going back to Japan. At the hearing I told them I'm not going to Japan. I'm just going to wait it out.

The hearing as for myself was all right.

What I can't understand is that people who changed from no to yes is allowed to go out. I don't see the value in the hearing having been conducted.

Many people who said, "no" are not disloyal. I don't consider that I am.

Most of the fuss and hubbub they raise outside about us being pampered. Everytime we read something in the paper it says something about demonstrations against us. They are closing us out of certain Universities and certain parts of the country.

It's hard to state. It's just a burning resentment inside of us. In the first place nobody can tell us just why we were put here. They just can't give us a satisfactory answer.

After the war, we figured we wouldn't stand much of a chance on the outside. We can't lease or buy land. We have no money in the first place.

I say "no" now. I figure I would have volunteered and got turned down because of Japanese ancestry. At first these soldiers in uniform couldn't go back to California. I just can't understand that."

Like Mr. O., Megumi disclaims all influence by group pressure and scorns to base his resentment on economic loss. His frank statement that he is just "going to wait it out" and that he can see no place for himself in the future is illuminating. Many of the segregees of his age hold similar views, although many will not admit as Megumi does, that they have no intention of returning to Japan. It is possible that he intends to leave the U. S. after the war for some other country in the Western Hemisphere.



Like O., he shows bitter hostility against the people who changed from no to yes, and insists that he is not disloyal. Like many of the other segregees he insists that he would have volunteered for the army before being subjected to evacuation.

V. CHOKU M.

Mr. M. is a high school graduate, twenty-six years old and has never been to Japan. He is heavily built, unprepossessing, rather villainous looking individual and I must admit to a few qualms, when he proved to be the person I was looking for. He grudgingly asked me to be seated. Several male friends or relatives sat around on the porch and watched me with expressionless faces. When he had finished my explanation he had no hesitation in talking.

Had his remarks been made to the project director instead of to me, Mr. M. would probably be on his way to an internment center instead of Tule Lake.

(verbatim)

"I'm puzzled about this. We, the American born, never thought that such a thing as evacuation could happen.

Well this---well, before evacuation my brother volunteered for the army and passed his physical. He was told to go to some induction center when he was rejected because he is a Japanese. He's got proof of that too. And well--that's one thing that if you're a citizen of this country well, that's one mistake they made.

"Another thing. The white people, President Roosevelt said this country is made up of men, not of race, different minds and heart.

"I figure that this so-called democracy is limited to all the white races. Well that's okay if you happen to be American, white people, Caucasian. Well, say you're still outside and free and make sacrifices and



rationing--can't blame them if they asked to do what they can. But like us, taken away from our homes and all we built up during a short time all broken. Even after the war no place to go back or.....

"I heard of different societies in California where they want the Japanese back--you think if those are even democratic ideas? If that's what you call democracy it seems to me it is a kind of Naziism.

"Well that's about all. In other words--in my point of view I can't understand this democracy business.

"There's many that have my ideas."

#### VI. Masako A.

Masako is a young woman, 25 years old, born in the United States, lived here till she was 18, and then was sent to Japan where she attended the mission school receiving credit for 3 years of college work. She lives with her mother, father, and five other brothers and sisters. She received me very courteously and brought out chairs and cushions explaining that the house was not clean, that her mother would be embarrassed if I came in. She appeared to be a gentle, subdued creature. She made the following statement very freely. (verbatim)

"I was educated here and in Japan at a mission college. I would like to go to college here but there is no hope. After graduating in Japan I worked in the Charthid Bank of India, an English bank. Most of the time in Japan I was going around with American people. They told me to come back to the United States and finish up my schooling.

In Tulare, there were a lot of missionary who visited me. I tried real hard to go outside to school. I don't know. They just don't understand me. But they won't let me go out so I lost hope. They distrust people who were educated in Japan.



A few weeks ago I applied for repatriation list. That's all I could do. But I have hope over there too. I have a sister and all.

Right now I came to go back. But when I left Japan I thought I would leave there forever. That was my desire. And besides I don't know. The f. B. I. called me. If they treat me like American it's all right. But they treat me as a spy. They asked me everything about Japan. But how do I know. I'm just a school girl. So I lose hope.

I was sick three, four months here. I was in bed. When you lose hope you get sick. Then the problems of disloyal and loyal on that. I don't know how they could decide that by questions. You can't tell who is loyal or disloyal to America like that. Some, they say, "We have a grudge against everything."

Then just before evacuation they say you're loyal if you went into camp. Now they say you're loyal if you go out.

Before registration they wouldn't even talk to me.

My parents, they will be here forty or fifty years. This time they have no hope here. I don't know what they are going to do. I have younger brothers. Most people here are penniless.

In California people were real nice to me. But it's too bad that some have a grudge against us now. A lot of families and fathers were interned, you know, and their sons taken into the Army. Now the mother is left here with small children. It's really sad. I'm worried about the boys and girls. They don't want to study. They fool around.

If we're treated all right we'll stay here. We were born here and everything. Many don't want to go back, but they have no hope here. Their second choice is Japan. Many are scared to go back here. It is very pitiful. This time if they go back they can't come back. People that doesn't like Japan--I hate to see them go back.



We have been here a year already. I'm kind of scared. It's not good for us. And then everybody is getting lazy. I don't blame them. There's no hope here.

VII. Mrs. K.

Like so many of the Japanese women, Mrs. K. had difficulty in expressing herself.

"I intend to be segregated. I haven't very much other plans. The reason is I just have my mother. If I do go out it would be hard for me to work for a living. I have a sister in Japan, so that should help some."

ANONYMOUS GROUP

Evidently several families live in this apartment. A woman and three men were in the apartment. One man had just finished looking at the sewing machine. I hoped to interview the woman whom I knew had had some work at college but though she spoke English very well, she merely smiled agreeably when I asked what her feelings about camp life and treatment here were. One of the men in the room who might have been her husband expressed himself freely and rapidly and I was able to take some notes with his permission.

"We expect to go to Japan later on. That's why we're going to Tule Lake. We haven't had fair treatment. I'm a citizen. At least we can't be discriminated against in Japan. Besides, people don't seem to want us. We don't want to stay where they don't want us. Even the soldiers don't get an even break. We're not going to stand for any more of that stuff."



I can easily see how the attitude of men like this man and Mr. Fukuoka would appear extremely insolent to the administrative interviewers. At times they speak in a manner which reminds me of spoiled child. I found that I had been making great error in my previous interviews by *not* saying that I had come to see them because I had heard they were "no-nos" and why they feel as they do. It seems to be a matter on which many of them are aching to express themselves to any sympathetic ear.

#### VIII. The "I" Family

These two interviews with "I" and his wife were remarkable in many respects. They are marked by a most unusual frankness and lack of suspicion or fear of betrayal. "I's" attitudes and viewpoints are typical of many Japanese of his age and background. He expresses resentments which are probably felt by all Japanese but which are seldom stated before Caucasians. The deep-seated resentment which has its foundation in racial discrimination appears repeatedly in his remarks.<sup>1</sup>

This resentment is a very important factor in the mental processes of these evacuees who have decided to repatriate or have refused to change their answers to the military questionnaire. It appears in polite phrases in the statements of Mr. Hikida. "I" reiterates it constantly. Once, at the end of an interview, when I had closed my notebook and put away my pencil, Hikida remarks in obscure sentences that this resentment of the Japanese against American insults to racial, national and cultural pride may have been responsible for the incidents that led to Pearl Harbor.

---

<sup>1</sup> This discrimination, which the Japanese usually call "racial prejudice" is more accurately a mixture of American distrust and dislike for the Japanese nation, a lack of sympathy with certain of their cultural traits and a prejudice against all orientals in general. All Japanese who have lived some time in the United States have felt its force to a greater or lesser degree. It is shared to some extent by the Chinese, several of whom have recounted to me experiences very similar to those resented by the Japanese. It may be partly responsible for the sympathy I have heard expressed by the Chinese for the Japanese-Americans.



"I" went into great detail in telling of the insults he had suffered in this country before evacuation, the hardships over the avoidable and unavoidable difficulties of evacuation to Assembly Centers and Relocation Centers. He is even more fluent when he speaks of the indignities which the Japanese employees in Gila endure from the various members of the Administrative staff. Finally, he admits that he would like to see Japan win the war. He is convinced that the hardships he has undergone pay off any obligations he may have to the United States and says that this sentiment is shared by many of the people.

In spite of his constant harping on how he has been abused, it is interesting that he has, apparently, no real intention of returning to Japan. When asked how he expects to manage in Japan, he became vague and changed the subject. He admits in part of his narrative that he asked for repatriation, not because he intended to repatriate, but because he wanted to make sure that the Administration would not keep him out of Tule Lake. It is impossible to discover what he hopes for from the future. Perhaps he does not know himself. But if Japan won the war, if the Caucasians were made to admit that they were not the Lords of creation, it would do his soul good. He would, perhaps, be willing to remain in the United States, work diligently to support his wife and child, and cherish this refutation of the sense of inferiority which he states is instilled into the Japanese by the discriminatory treatment to which they have been subjected in the United States.

With several other segregants he expresses hatred and scorn toward those who at first answered "NO" and then changed to "Yes". The "Yes" group apple-polish the Administration, says he, and when a "No-No" man must deal with the Administration he has to do it through this detestable "Yes" group.



I have included "I's" remarks in tote although some of them do not deal directly with segregation. They are significant in that they indicate his state of mind and give accurate accounts of the late difficulty in the mess, the incident whereby Mr. Graves, Head of Internal Security, incurred the dislike of a part of the evacuee population, the part Yamashiro played in the Mess difficulty, and the story of the clothing scandal in the Turlock Assembly Center.<sup>1</sup> In all except the latter incidents "I" proved to be quite accurate, since I was able to check his general stories from several different sources. I have no other information about the Tada and Omachi story, but hope eventually to check it.

September 2, 1943

I had called at James "I's" house a few days ago and his wife invited me to come some evening when he would be home. He is twenty ~~one~~<sup>nine</sup> years old and has had two years of college work. His wife is a high school graduate and has been a beauty operator. His sister, who also came in later, has had five years of high school and has worked as a cashier. They are all above average in intelligence and very Americanized. James has been to Japan on a visit of seven months in 1929.

When I arrived last night his wife and his four year old were at home and I was received very courteously. James came in about twenty minutes after finishing some dumb-bell exercises. As he himself admits, he is very gabby and will speak freely on anything.

(verbatim statement)

MESS

Keadle is dumb. He is so dumb I forged his signature and Keadle couldn't tell the difference. I wrote a note to a girl saying Mr. Keadle wanted to see her in his office immediately. It appeared that Keadle showed



up soon after and the girl too. She took the note to him and it took him about five minutes to figure out whether it was his signature or not. Finally he came to the conclusion that it was not his signature since he haven't written the note. Anything Keadle does is done in a high handed manner. This is the low-down on the mess trouble. They had sent out a notice that there would be no cut in the mess personnel till the first of September. This notice went out some time at the beginning of August. Then it must have been around the 18th that he sent a notice that nullified the first notice. When the second notice came everything got into a uproar. Keadle and Mr. Thomas interviewed all mess hall supervisors. The Senior Steward wanted to be in on these conversations but they were not permitted in the office.

I've worked in the Mess Operations Division since August of last year. At that time Mr. Harding was chief Project Steward. It just happened that in a conversation I mentioned Keadle. Harding said he got him that job because he felt sorry for him.

Keadle is more or less incompetent in that he won't listen to reason. As example last week we had a shipment of mackerel. These mackerel were not iced and uncleaned. That is a lot of weight. I have worked in fish markets and I know that if the viscera are left in, the fish are bound to spoil. We had about three thousand pounds of mackerel once that all went to waste. It was spoiled. They couldn't use it. They took it to the hospital and had it analyzed. (one of the senior stewards took it). The bacteriologist tested it. He said that anyone who had that fish would be in for a good case of ptomaine poisoning.

I can't understand it. We have asked Keadle any number of times to bring in fish that would be appreciated but we have never had any other



type except herring, sardine, mackerel, and little cod, never anything else. Oh, once we had barracuda.

I know that Manzanar has been getting white sea bass and stuff like that. We have never had white sea bass. We have never had chicken either.

Case of Evacuee Boys - disrespect to Graves

Nineteen boys lost their jobs just because they happened to talk back to Graves. At that time if anybody had spoken to me they would have gotten the same crack.

That morning they were taking mess supplies to the camouflage warehouse and twenty boys went on a truck although they had only about fifteen or seventeen boxes on the truck.

If he had been nice nothing would have come of it, but he found a chance and began with saying, "What the hell are you doing here?" One of the boys answered, "What the hell is it to you?" Graves asked for their names. The boys refused to give them so he charged them with interfering with an officer. That was the charge.

Keadle wouldn't stand up for these boys although they were his own boys. What made it bad at that time was that there was no offense except that they talked back to him. Bennett wasn't here. He was in Denver and so the senior steward called up Hoffman. Hoffman was acting project director. When the senior steward called Hoffman he told Graves to give the boys another chance. Now under these circumstances, if Hoffman was the acting project director why didn't the order stand? Why bring the case up any more? After Bennett came back it was brought up again and the nineteen boys were fired.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>This incident, which is still remarked upon resentfully by the evacuees, was told to me by several other individuals, whose accounts agree substantially with "I's". X. picked up the story also.

Gordon Brown who sat in on the hearing said that Graves acted like a son of a bitch. (See story of Grave's trouble in my addenda to Tamie's report on Gila.)



Things were moving smoothly till Thomas came in. Why is it that they are having to relieve so many evacuees of work and at the same time are increasing the Caucasian personnel? It seems that this place is getting to be a haven for ignorant people. The only one I have spoken to here who I thought had a particle of sense was Landward. Henderson was okay too.

What got me was the report by Senator Reynolds who said that the situation of the many of Japanese in camp here was better than it used to be on the outside.

#### TURLOCK ASSEMBLY CENTER

The saddest thing that ever happened to me was when I first got into the assembly center. I had to line up in front of the mess hall. I had to wait to be fed in the mess hall and act like a beggar. The first meal at Turlock was a crying shame. All we had were two pieces of Vienna sausages and a piece of stale bread.<sup>1</sup> The second, there was nothing on the table but a portion of canned corn beef each and a salad of green raw spinach, no dressing. We never got rice for three weeks. I think evacuation never would have taken place if a few politicians hadn't gotten a bright idea of calling attention to themselves. We went into assembly center May 3. I weighed 138 pounds when I went into Turlock. A week before I left on August 10, I had dropped to 121 pounds. My mother dropped from 102 to 83.

The camp concensus of opinion in camp is the thing wrong with this camp is Bennett himself.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The Vienna sausages of Turlock are brought up again and again.

<sup>2</sup> Bennett is universally disliked. Individuals like Keadle, on the other hand, would be more properly described as despised. They are too stupid to merit a good strong hate.



REASONS FOR SEGREGATION

Main reason I'm going to Tule Lake and I would say in general disloyal to the United States. But my personal opinion is that they're going to go because of the treatment that the Japanese people have received since the beginning of the war. To many, going back to Japan seems a darn sight more pleasant than remaining here and being treated the same manner hereafter. That I think is a whole thing in a nut shell. Then people say if it can happen once it can happen again. Because of their distinct physical characteristics the Japanese have had what you might term an inferior complex than Caucasian race and the American people have had. For this reason the Japanese race is unassuming. It is in that they don't want to mix. If the American people were willing to meet the Japanese <sup>half-way</sup> ~~as we~~, they would be more than willing to become a part of American society.

(In discussing the fact that so many of the segregees felt as they did about speaking to me, "I" remarked, "I'm not exactly a dope and I think I can distinguish between a character to trust and one I can't trust.")

I think the main argument that supports that train of thought is that if the American people had any intentions at all of permitting the Japanese race to become a part--a real integral part of the American society, they would have been treated in the same manner as the Germans and Italians were treated.

I've spoken to a few of the fellows here that's gone outside and they feel the treatment is just terrible. They just had it pounded into them--even before evacuation they were nothing but a bunch of Japs.

Here is an opinion you might have heard before you came here from fellows my age. I was 27 when evacuation came. When war broke out, and



when army registration came, I was at that time more or less perfectly willing and would have been happy to go into the army and do my best for this country. Since then you know what happened.

#### MILITARY REGISTRATION

They had military registration in the centers. If they had just taken the boys from our local boards back in California and transferred those fellows back there to Pinal and had started to draft them without registration there wouldn't have been any squawks. At the beginning of the war they were quite willing to fight, but after having been treated in this manner already described, no incentive to fight. After they had been kicked around what's left to fight for?

Anyway, as I see it, it is a state of mind. When Captain Townsend was here nobody asked him that question, if the Japanese-Americans were drafted or inducted why weren't they permitted to join the marines or some other branch?

#### KEADLE

I told Keadle he was not running a bunch of Mexicans or Niggers. I guarantee there isn't a 4th grade student who would make the errors Keadle does. He can't say anything without reiteration. That's the only way he can talk.

The best man we ever had in Mess Operations was Raymond Hayward. He wanted to do things for the Japanese people. He wanted to make things smooth in this center. He took Hardings place, he was a San Francisco man. If Hayward had been here there wouldn't have been any trouble. He treated the Japanese as equals. As far as I know he is the only Caucasian on the project who would walk into any evacuee mess hall. He rode all around on a bicycle. He was all for finding out what goes on here.



The difference between Thomas and Keadle is - I can handle Keadle. I can talk to Keadle and gain my point. If I talk fast and cleverly enough I can make him think he sees what I want; but Thomas is another story. He's not a dope like Keadle. But he has a mean streak. Privately I think he's a person with a colossal ego. You won't find one Caucasian out of a hundred who would come into the Mess Division as he did and the first week he was there in official capacity as Assistant Project Steward take over most of Keadle's work.

He cut all the workmen from 19 to 16 dollars a month. So the warehouse foreman after the cut refused to be held responsible for the goods stored in the warehouse. Well, when the cut came a couple of the foremen walked up to Thomas and asked Thomas or rather told him that seeing that we are now only sixteen dollar men they wouldn't be held responsible for the goods in the warehouse. Just in the way Thomas replied that I got the impression he was really stuck on himself. He just up and told the boys, "Well, you don't have to worry - I'll take all the responsibility."

Now this is a matter of eight warehouses. His offices are in the Administration building. It's an awful big order for even a man who claims to be a deputy sheriff of Pinal County.

I know the food is getting bad for the same reason. I hear that they're cutting down personnel. You can't handle Japanese people that way.

#### TUTTLE AND RELOCATION

I spoke to Tuttle when we went to file repatriation papers. He asked me why I didn't want to relocate. I told him, "Due to evacuation I was cheated out of practically everything I owned." I had a car and sold it



for a song. Then they told us we could store goods. The government would store them so that later they would be sent to the relocation centers. That was all right. One of the provisions they set up - (the War Department) - that you had to have the date of departure set before you could store in the government warehouse. Well, I was definitely notified of my date of departure just three days before I was actually on the bus on my way to the Assembly Center. So you can see what happened to most of my personal property. I stored the stuff in the house of a Japanese friend. This house, which he owned he placed in charge of a real estate agent who rented it to some war workers. We had an air cooler. We stored it in the basement and when we came here in August the heat was so terrific I wrote to the damn transfer company in Stockton to go to the basement and locate the cooler and send it here. I sent them a map of the basement and the exact location of the cooler. And then I got a letter that the cooler couldn't be located.

Now Tuttle asked me why I didn't want to relocate. I've got an old father, a wife and children. That's four of us right there. How do you expect me to go out and relocate and earn enough in five or six months to have all of these people with me. It's impossible unless you're fairly well fixed, which I'm not. If they sent us back to our homes in California it would be a different story. But outside, with a family, we'd have to live in hotels, and eat out. Any job paying 100 to 160 dollars a month isn't going to be enough. Say I work at this job for five months. I'd be just as broke after five months as I was when I landed.

Tuttle told me I wouldn't have to live in a hotel. I could rent a house. In my family with my younger sisters and brother, I'd need a house with a minimum of four bedrooms, a furnished home. I couldn't



afford that. As far as this part of the information goes it wouldn't harm to have it printed in the paper: "If they'd offer me \$1,500.00 to go out I'd go out and relocate tomorrow. That's a modest amount compared to the loss I suffered. It would only be partial compensation.

YAMASHIRO

During the time of the Mess Hall Strikes there happened to be a young fellow here from Leupp.<sup>1</sup> He came here for the sole purpose of being married and then quite peacefully go on his way to Tule Lake. Certain elements in the camp were against him. They told the Administration that he was behind the strike. The F. B. I. came and took him back to Leupp. He had been married just a week.

The people feel they'd be a lot safer in Tule Lake than on the outside. I'll lay you dollars to doughnuts that if the American people - or take a certain race, Irish, Scotch, or Germans, had been treated in a similar manner they'd be a lot more uprisings than this.

MILITARY REGISTRATION

Going back to registration - no one knows who asked this question of Thompson; "Why were we Japanese evacuated from the Pacific Coast." Their reply was that people were evacuated not because California didn't trust them but because they thought it would be more or less for the future safety and welfare of the Japanese people themselves. So one of the fellows I knew came back with a question and said, "Well, if that's the case why were not the Chinese evacuated at the same time. The Chinese are physically much the same. Thompson had no answer.

---

<sup>1</sup> Yamashiro.



The only difference between the Japanese and the Germans is that the Japanese were different physically. Talk about evacuation. They should have taken the Italians also. But the Italian people as a whole had more influential people in higher government and state offices. They had more backing.

The American people would just have to change.

STATEMENT OF MR. T. - October 4, 1943

I went to visit Mr. T. and his wife on their invitation two days before they left for Tule Lake. On the walk over I was forced to pass around quite a few piles of baggage set out neatly before houses. Evidently it was to be picked up by trucks later. The T's home was in the same state of unavoidable disarray due to packing, that I had observed in all the homes of segregants that I had visited this week. Everything except the coats, bare mattresses, a few dishes and toilet articles, one table and one chair had been packed. While we talked friends came in constantly to say good-bye.

Both Mr. and Mrs. T. were neither so cocky nor so cheerful as they had appeared at the time of my previous visit in the early part of September. Fatigue and concern over conditions in Tule had no doubt played their part. Mrs. T. remarked several times on how she hated to go. After T. got underway, he proved to be his usual garrulous self.

EVACUATION

"If anyone did dirt by this country it was the people responsible for the inept manner in which evacuation was carried out and also the, shall I say, unqualified people who came into the WRA centers to take charge. Their messing it up was the chief cause of hard feelings.



"If evacuation had been carried out in a more or less orderly manner with good treatment in the Assembly Centers and Relocation Centers, I think a good 90 to 98 per cent of Yesses would have been answered instead of Nos.

"I think if there hadn't been any unnecessary hardships imposed on evacuees there wouldn't have been a portion of as many fellows who feel that the hardships they went through and the kicking around they got paid off whatever obligations they owe to this country.

"They could have asked the No or Yes questions previous to evacuation, and I'll guarantee that there would have been practically 100 per cent Yesses. And then a year later after putting people through just as much would have changed to No.

#### TREATMENT AFTER SEGREGATION - IN GILA

The general feeling is that conditions might be better considering that in this center they're encouraging people to go out.

On the other hand some people think that food standards, etc., have been more or less deliberately lowered in order to force the people out. If the people go to Tule, the supposedly disloyal ones wouldn't go out if they wanted to, they figure they probably won't try to force people out anyway by freezing them and feeding them rotten fish.

Another thing, people are thinking about after they get to Tule - take here in Rivers, the groups are more or less divided into Yes and No groups. Naturally, if the Yes group plays it's cards right and apple-polished, the chances of their getting better paid positions in the office is more or less enhanced. The Yes group is more or less under the thumbs of the administration. Any time the No people had a kick coming the first people they had to see were Yes people. Especially if the Project



Director and the majority of the Caucasian staff is more or less unsympathetic with the No group.

#### MESS STRIKE AND LEADER OF G. Y. P.A.

This young man, the leader of the G. Y. P. A. in Butte, naturally when the F. B. I. cracked down he was one of the first to go. He was sent to Moab and then to Leupp. The director at Leupp at that time was Ray Best. Best felt that this fellow wasn't as dangerous as the WRA in Rivers thought, but inasmuch as the F. B. I. was responsible for his arrest when this fellow put in a request to come back to Rivers to get married, Best consented and arranged for his return here. Best made arrangements so that he could go on to Tule with his bride before segregation started, since he was No-No anyway. So he came here to get married and spent about a week with his new bride.

Now a couple of Yes group had it in for this guy. So they evidently represented him to WRA as the instigator of the Mess Operations strike. They (the administration) believed them and sent this fellow back to Leupp. He'll know when he's going to get to Tule now.

#### SEGREGATION

The first step they took was to call in all the No-Nos and ask them if they had ever considered changing to Yes. Then, of course, as in my case, instead of just replying that not only do I want to remain a No, but I want to make out papers for repatriation, they don't give much of an argument.

That's one of the reasons I made a request for repatriations. I was afraid they'd give me too much of an argument and I was supposed to know my own mind.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Evidently T. was afraid that he would not be allowed to go to Tule. This  
(next page)



The second step we went to the Social Welfare Department, after we received notification that we were to be sent to Tule. It evidently seems that Mr. Bennett here had the whole say as to who was going to Tule and who wasn't. Because all the papers connected with segregation mentioned his name and his name only! <sup>2</sup>

Throughout all the segregation proceedings all the staff I came in contact here with more or less have given me pretty decent treatment except a certain person I ran into whom I thought was more or less unreasonably curt in her answers. This was Mrs. Wilson in the hospital. <sup>3</sup>

This Bennett here, I don't know whether it's true or not. I've heard he was more or less connected with a used car business. Another fellow I never got straight is Huso. It seems there are some reports that he's an ex-butcher. There's an awful lot of difference between a meat cutter and a job placement officer.

#### REMARKS OF INDIVIDUALS ANGLING FOR POWER

Harry Miyake He's one of the p.hs. (perfect hypocrite.) because on the surface he seems to be doing a lot of hard work for the evacuees and there were a few times when he got mixed up in the mess arguments. He went to see Bennett with a couple of definitely known no-no supervisors from the mess halls and with these superintendents then present he said quite a few harsh things directly to Bennett. And yet, in spite of all he said to Bennett he still seems to be in Mr. Bennett's good graces. That doesn't sound quite kosher. I think all the arguments Miyake had

---

(cont'd from p.71)

is interesting. I have heard of no complaints of persons sent to Tule against their will. I have heard several people say they wished they had been allowed to go.

2

This was according to administration directions.

3

Miss Wilson, was the medical social worker.



with Bennett in the presence of various supervisors were put up jobs for the benefit of the supervisors and also to enhance Mr. Miyake's position as a darn good s. p. (stool pigeon) If I had the highest and most responsible position in camp as a Japanese, if I had spoken to Bennett as he's spoken, I'd have been kicked out of here and sent to Isupp.

The way Miyake's been going around, traveling around the country seems awfully funny to me.

He's formerly from around Santa Maria and Guadalupe. Even when he was on the outside he more or less had an unsavory reputation.

Mr. Hikida (At the mention of Hikida's name a howl of derision arose from T's two brothers who were sitting on an uncovered mattress.) That ought to tell you. He should have a notch in his ears! He's worse than Miyake as far as that goes. Miyake works for the Administration here. I think Hikida is the type to work for the Administration plus his own profit. It seems to me that there's been cases where various people went to him for help because he was supposed to have an in with the Administration; and he just deliberately told them a lie. He's too big and too busy to be bothered!

Henry Kondo

He's an Alameda boy. He doesn't seem to have any bad points. The staff (Kondo works in the mess) has him buffaloed. He's afraid to put up a resistance for his own rights. He's just a weak sister. (At this point the conversation turned to the possibility of trouble arising after segregation had taken place.)



This camp would have been turned inside out long ago if it just hadn't been gutless.<sup>6</sup>

The reason many of the young people pitched in is that deep down inside, their sentiments are pretty much the same as the No-Nos.

My own personal opinion - It might seem as though I'm bragging about the Japanese race. Many of the No-No answers were brought about not only because of the Japanese race - but because whatever propaganda they made to make people feel more loyal was not done in the right manner.

#### American-Japanese Combat Team

This American-Japanese combat team - they really ballyhooed that thing. They up and said that if they would fight for this country now, then when the war is over they would be able to walk the streets and do the same as any other American.

But - you know as well as I do that that is nothing but a pack of lies, because if they would go back and survey the history of the various fighting units that fought for this country during the last war they'd find that there were a lot of Isseis and there were more than a lot of negroes. Now to take each race respectively is this - the Isseis who fought for this country in the last war according to this propaganda, should have been treated quite decently and possibly left behind when evacuation struck.

My opinion of the J.A.C.L. is that they would take the Japanese and put them in with Caucasian units, that in the majority of cases there

---

<sup>6</sup> X. expressed almost the same words. This camp lacks leaders with spunk. Otherwise it would have had a serious blow-up long ago.



would be some hard feelings. For some reason the army has more or less deemed it necessary to segregate the negroes.

The Caucasian Race and Democracy

As you say, the Caucasians heretofore have had the notion that they were the superior race. Physically speaking they are probably the superior race. But mentally - I think the large majority of Caucasians probably due to lack of observation and education falls far behind the average oriental. They are too damned lazy to think for themselves, and in that instance you'll find that the Japanese differ. (I brought up the group pressure and "rumors" at the time of military registration and was told that there was no such thing.)

Group pressure is just all tommyrot. They claim the young people's associations exerted all the pressure. The parents possibly did. I really think orientals are more inclined to think for themselves.

Althought the United Nations claim that this fight is for the preservation of democracy, if you take and analyse what that word democracy adds up to - it's just, I think, a state of mind that came into being over a long period of time by lording it over other simpler and supposedly lesser nations.

According to my understanding, democracy is supposed to mean equality for all men. And also they say - what's this phrase the D.A. is using all the time? - the right to seek life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That's what I believed during the beginning of the war - I've had my doubts during my lifetime, in certain isolated instance when people call me a Jap or show me in various other ways that they were supposedly a little better than I was.



But in spite of all that, when war broke out I still believed in democracy.

A good ninety percent of the Caucasians here are afraid for their jobs. They are afraid of Bennett. A fellow like Hanna, for instance, he , in his way, wants to be more or less decent to the Japanese. But he's afraid of his job. There was a truck which went from here to Phoenix. There were supposed to be six fellows (evacuees) on it but there were actually eight. Hanna trailed these fellows all the way into Phoenix. He didn't bawl them out. All he said was, "I'm going to report you to Bennett. I've got a good job now."

THE SCANDAL OF THE CLOTHING ALLOWANCE IN THE ASSEMBLY CENTER.

This was at Turlock. Mr. Ernest G. Pine<sup>1</sup>lla was the center manager. We, the majority of us, were moved into the Assembly center the early part of May, and naturally under the circumstances we had to move--we were shy of clothing and didn't take much food either. Everyone knew that the government would make full preparations for this stuff. The morning of the second day when we were called into the mess hall we got two vienna sausages for breakfast, no rice, no coffee, just weak tea.

In the afternoon we got raw spinach salad and corned beef hash, no rice, no coffee. We got water; water was cheap around Turlock.

So--that kept up for three weeks.

Most of us had gone out with just one or two pairs of shoes, and so when we got into Turlock with its rock, sand and gravel our shoes wore out. The majority of people went into assembly centers in a half way

---

<sup>1</sup> I am not able to express the sneer with which this gentleman's name was pronounced. Miss In<sup>Y</sup>ue's remarks on Pinella are worth reading also.



decent financial state. About May people started to go in and ask Pinella if he couldn't soon get some clothing and shoes for them from the government. There had been a lot of squawks about the food because the army high command in San Francisco was supposed to have sent sufficient food to serve basic menus in the centers. The worst of it is, I don't think the camp got any more than sixty percent of the basic ingredients. The command sends supplies a month ahead. The food procurement officer for camp is supposed to go out and get food. But it seems he never got around to getting a lot of stuff. We knew that chicken and ice cream were called for on the menu. Chicken we never got, not even once - some of the other things we got once in a blue moon.

All this time we were eating sloppy grub. We were wearing out our clothes and shoes. I was just about out of finances. I bought shoes for the baby. They lasted a month and nine days...yet they wouldn't take any steps to expedite matters to make it possible for people to get clothing. A few desperate cases went to Pinella directly and just demanded that things be done. One man took his barefoot kids into his office and just yelled. They made some cash settlement there to the satisfaction of both parties.

Outside of one or two cases the rest of us didn't get a thing for the simple reason that the order according to Pinella to make it possible for people to order clothes from Mail Order Houses did not come through from Washington until the latter part of July of that year. Already, there was some talk of going into Relocation Centers and so, one night, at a movie, there was two Japanese representatives from Pinella's office who got up and spoke on the P. A. system and said that Pinella suggests that the people defer ordering any clothing until they were relocated due



to the reason that after relocation the ordering and subsequent delivery of goods would be facilitated and also that the people would be able to order clothes to suit the new climate. So when you put it that way it sounded like good common sense. So the people believed him and trusted him.

We moved over here. Landward was here. There was a lot of talk about getting together with the WCCA officials to get our clothing. They said, this is the WRA. We've got nothing to do with the WCCA. So because of Pinella 3,490 people didn't get their clothing allowance. That was three dollars and fifty cents a head, per month. See how much money somebody got a hold of? The families in here from Tulare got \$150.00.

The majority of people figure now that the No-Nos are out and the disloyal ones are gone, they're going to be treated real fine, due to the fact that they're supposed to be real loyal Americans. They say, "See if we don't get big T-bone steaks now."

The reason they didn't really put on pressure is because possibly the Caucasian staff here was in fear of violence from the No-No group if they went too far. But with the No-No group gone out and the supposedly loyal group remaining, they feel they'll relocate.

They'll find out! The whole thing behind this is just figuring what they're thinking.

The majority of the people who remained as Yes-Yes are those who have no sons to be drafted, or those whose sons are too young to be drafted.

The general idea is, "What have I got to lose by putting down yes." They won't take me away because I'm too old and then I might get a little better treatment.



better treatment.

You know what I'd really like to see is Japan win the war and then call it a draw. Just so that the Caucasians get knocked out of them that they're not so damned superior as they think they are.

Guys to Watch Out For:

Norman \_\_\_\_\_ in Internal Security. He's a dog. He's a young tall fellow with a long face.

Ray Bacon Imai. He's from Tule Lake a while back.

Jun Nakano - He was instrumental in railroading these nineteen boys from the Mess Operations.

Omachu - watch him; also watch Iwasaki.

Omachu was one of Pinella's representatives who spoke over the public address system. He's very very superior. He and Tada were the two fellows who were the center representatives for Pinella's office. Pinella gave him and Tada a gift of five hundred dollars when they left for Gila. Omachu always looked shabby in Turlock. His shoes were always in a state. But he was really decked out when he came to Rivers. He certainly couldn't afford it at nineteen dollars a month. A young fellow like him, just out of law school.