





## HEADQUARTERS ARMY SERVICE FORCES

Office of The Provost Marshal General

Washington 25, D. C.

10 January 1944

MEMORANDUM for Colonel Alton C. Miller.

SUBJECT: Release from War Relocation Centers of Persons of Japanese Ancestry.

1. The Office of Naval Intelligence has been furnishing this office with a list of releases by the War Relocation Authority of persons of Japanese ancestry from the various relocation centers. This list is compiled by the Office of Naval Intelligence from departure advices furnished the Office of Naval Intelligence by the War Relocation Authority. The most recent list is dated 11 December 1943 and indicates the releases made as of 1 December 1943.

2. This list is being checked against the files of the Japanese-American Branch for the purpose of determining the number of persons released by the War Relocation Authority either without the action of the Joint Board or contrary to the action taken by the Joint Board. It will be some time before the entire list will be checked from this standpoint. However, certain other information is indicated from the list which has been compiled and is presented for your information.

3. According to information received from Mr. Stauber of the War Relocation Authority, the population of the various centers as of 1 January 1943 was 106,771. A check of the Navy list indicates a total of 20,682 persons have been granted a leave of some type from the various centers. This would indicate the population remaining in the centers 86,093. However, as of 20 November 1943, the report by the War Relocation Authority on weekly leaves by centers showed the population 90,420. We understand that at the present the population is approximately 91,000. These figures are given to point out that some persons who have been granted leave from the centers have returned to the centers because the population has been on the up trend for the last few months.

| 4. Center      | Population<br>as of 1/1/43 | Number of Leaves Granted |               |              |              |
|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
|                |                            | Total                    | Citizens      | Aliens       | Children     |
| Central Utah   | 7,910                      | 1,960                    | 1,362         | 408          | 190          |
| Colorado River | 17,620                     | 2,576                    | 1,887         | 295          | 394          |
| Gila River     | 13,341                     | 1,554                    | 1,145         | 231          | 178          |
| Granada        | 6,822                      | 2,195                    | 1,293         | 577          | 325          |
| Heart Mountain | 10,721                     | 3,490                    | 2,350         | 785          | 355          |
| Jerome         | 7,817                      | 1,168                    | 832           | 191          | 145          |
| Manzanar       | 9,912                      | 969                      | 637           | 217          | 115          |
| Minidoka       | 9,091                      | 3,890                    | 1,926         | 830          | 1,134        |
| Rohwer         | 8,447                      | 1,355                    | 975           | 267          | 113          |
| Tule Lake      | 15,090                     | 1,525                    | 1,062         | 248          | 215          |
| TOTALS         | <u>106,771</u>             | <u>20,682</u>            | <u>13,469</u> | <u>4,049</u> | <u>3,164</u> |

5. The files of this office contain no information on the alien Japanese who have been released from the various centers because aliens were released by the War Relocation Authority without reference to the Joint Board. It should also be pointed out that the files of this office do not contain information on some citizens who were released prior to registration and without Joint Board action. This presents what is believed to be a very serious situation for the following reasons:

a. Considerable attention is given to reviewing the record of citizen Japanese and his case is presented to the Joint Board for leave recommendation and the War Relocation Authority is informed of the recommendation by the Board (although the Board's recommendation is purely advisory and the War Relocation Authority acts as they see fit).

b. The 4,049 aliens released from the centers on various types of leave are turned loose without any effort being made to check as to their loyalty or eligibility for leave.

c. Under present policies, this office has no jurisdiction over aliens so released until such time as they may apply for employment in war industry and accomplish a Personnel Security Questionnaire. In the meantime, they roam the country at will and certainly present a more dangerous problem than would be expected from the Japanese citizens.

6. This question is raised for two reasons:

a. To point out the danger of the security effort under the present policies in the treatment of aliens by the War Relocation Authority which is, in itself, one of paramount importance and beyond jurisdiction of this office to remedy at this time.

b. The list furnished this office by the Sixth Service Command includes the names of aliens released from the various relocation centers and relocated in the area of the Sixth Service Command. When checking this list against the files of this office for the purpose of furnishing the Sixth Service Command with the names of those persons on whom the file indicates derogatory information, it is impossible to give the Service Command any information on the alien group which comprises a large portion of their list.

7. It is recommended that some steps be taken to secure from the War Relocation Authority the files or copies of the files on all Japanese aliens released by the War Relocation Authority on indefinite leave or on any other type of leave where it is believed that the individual is not going to return to the center at the end of a definite period of time.



Clarence R. Harbert,  
Captain, C.M.P.,  
Chief, Japanese-American Branch.

4. Comment has been directed to the registration at Manzanar stating that aliens did not have the privilege of answering, as in other Centers, question 23 as finally revised by the War Department and War Relocation Authority. At the commencement of the registration, aliens were asked to swear unqualified allegiance to this country and to forswear allegiance to Japan, however, this question was revised on 21 May 1943. The War Department and the War Relocation Authority to one which calls upon the alien to "abide by the laws of this country and to take no action which would impair its war effort". As soon as the change was ordered, this new question was immediately registered and published in the local newspaper, special bulletins were posted on the various Block Managers news boards, and it was publicized through the Committee of Four and the Block Managers. Numerous aliens took the opportunity to ask the alteration of the question. Notice of the new revised question was published in the local newspaper, special bulletins were posted on the various Block Managers news boards, and it was publicized through the Committee of Four and the Block Managers.

**COPY**  
**MEMORANDUM FOR** Office of the Assistant Secretary of War,  
Room 4E-886,  
Pentagon Building,  
Washington, D. C.  
Attention: Captain John M. Hall.

**Subject:** Comments on the Report dated April 3, 1943, by "Social Science Analyst", Manzanar, California.  
(Morris Opler, Claremont, California, Scripps College.)

1. Attempts have been made in a report issued April 3, 1943, by "Social Science Analyst" to minimize the importance of the numerous negative answers of aliens and citizens of Manzanar to the 27th and 28th questions on the Selective Service and WRA Questionnaire.

2. The Army Team at Manzanar interviewed 1893 male citizens and discussed the problems involved with the Committee of Four, representing the evacuees, the Block Managers, the Project Director, his staff and numerous female citizens and aliens. The program for information at Manzanar was worked out in conjunction with the Peoples' Committee of Four, the Block Managers and the Project Director and his staff. The speech prepared by the War Department was printed in both English and Japanese in the local newspaper along with prepared questions and answers. All of the Nisei were informed of the program by a series of meetings at which the War Department speech was presented and a discussion followed. At the suggestion of evacuee leaders and the WRA Staff, the aliens and women were not included at the meetings but were informed of the program and its details through the local newspapers and meetings held by the Block Managers.

3. The large number of "no" answers received occasioned much discussion between the Army Team, the various representative committees of the people and the WRA. Male and female citizens were closely questioned regarding their attitudes. It is believed by the Army Team that most of the decisions made by both the aliens and citizens definitely indicated their affection or disaffection for the United States.

7. Although public feeling in California outside the Center has caused resentment, it cannot be emphasized too strongly as a just cause for the large negative response to the loyalty questions at Manzanar.



4. Comment has been directed to the registration at Manzanar stating that aliens did not have the privilege of answering, as in other Centers, question 28 as finally revised by the War Department and War Relocation Authority. At the commencement of the registration, aliens were asked to swear unqualified allegiance to this country and to forswear allegiance to Japan, however, this question was changed by the War Department and the War Relocation Authority to one which calls upon the alien to "abide by the laws of this country and to take no action which would impair its war effort". As soon as the change was ordered, this new question was asked of all aliens, and those who had previously registered were allowed from February 16, 1943 to March 10, 1943, to signify their desire to alter their questionnaire. Notice of the new revised question and the possibility of change was published in the local newspaper, special bulletins were posted on the various Block Managers news boards, and it was publicized through the Center by meetings with the Committee of Four and the Block Managers. Numerous aliens took the opportunity to make the alteration and answer the new question. A fair opportunity was available to all aliens at Manzanar to answer the revised question just as in every other Relocation Center. Each Relocation Center which had commenced registration prior to the issuance of the revised question employed a similar technique to rectify the situation. Thus it is the conclusion of the Army Team that the aliens who answered the 28th question in the negative understood the full import of their answer, and did not feel at the time that their answer to the substitute question would be any different than their answer to the original question.

5. It has been stated that the Terminal Islanders were strong in their negative response to question 28 as a protest to the harsh conditions to which they had been subjected at the time of evacuation. It is true that a percentage of the Terminal Islanders were bitter over their evacuation experiences, but personal conversations with them revealed the fact that most of these people were formerly fishermen and remained away from American soil and ways of life for long periods of time, and even while in the United States remained apart from American influences. Thus they failed to become assimilated and a large percentage of them feel no loyalty for the United States and consider themselves more Japanese than American.

6. It has been said that the Japanese aliens answered question 28 in the negative because they feel unable to face outside competition and public feeling and have lost faith "in their future and rehabilitation in America" and that this is not an index of their loyalty. It seems apparent that if the Japanese aliens do not believe their future and rehabilitation in America is possible, their loyalty likewise does not lie with the United States but rather with Japan, and their negative response to the 28th question truly reflects their disaffection for the United States.

7. Although public feeling in California outside the Center has caused resentment, it cannot be emphasized too strongly as a just cause for the large negative response to the loyalty questions at Manzanar.

It must be remembered that as yet there has not appeared in California the intensified public feeling as aroused in Arkansas culminating there in land laws against Japanese-Americans.

8. To believe that the large number of Japanese aliens answered the 28th question in the negative merely because the wording was unfair to them, or because of harsh treatment during evacuation, or strong public feeling against them is to lose the forest for the trees. Parents who answered the 28th question in the negative and directed their citizen sons to follow their lead, did so because of their belief that Japan will win the war, and will penalize those who side with the United States and reward those who side with Japan. They want to return to Japan where they have relatives, special interests and ties which they wish to hold on to, and they expect their sons to accompany and support them. If the parents are loyal to the United States and answered the 28th question in the negative merely because they did not have an opportunity to answer the alternate question 28, why did they exert such tremendous pressure on their children to answer questions 27 and 28 in the negative? The Army Team concluded that a negative answer to question 28 by an alien after given the opportunity to answer the revised question in most cases is a definite indication of his disloyalty toward the United States.

9. The negative attitude of a majority of the parents in the Center was, in the opinion of the Army Team, the strongest single reason causing male citizens to answer "no" to the loyalty questions. It must be remembered in this connection that the Japanese family has always been ruled with an iron hand by the parents. This was indicated in the registration when children who had never been to Japan and had received their entire education in the United States answered the 27th and 28th questions in the negative, signifying their desire to go to Japan. Evidently, a greater loyalty existed for the parents than for the United States. The parents' opposition to the War Department's program was based on the deep-seated belief that Japan will win the war. Such matters as "discrimination", "harsh evacuation treatment" etc., were used by the parents and Kibei to stimulate resentment in the children.

10. At Manzanar, the control of the Center is jointly in the hands of the Issei and Nisei. Two members of the Peoples' Committee of Four are Issei, the Block Managers are predominantly Issei, and 35% of the Police and Fire Departments are Issei. Thus the Issei have considerable control in the community as well as in the family.

11. It was the observation of the Army Team that many Japanese-Americans answered the 27th and 28th questions in the negative because they felt they would be able to avoid military service by this act. This could be observed from the type of questions asked regarding the draft and its effect on an evacuee who answered the 28th question in the negative. All male citizens were privileged to answer question 27 to their satisfaction; "yes" if they wished to volunteer, or "yes" if drafted, or "no" if they did not wish to serve in the Army. No man



was refused permission to volunteer because he was married or had a family. The records show that married men were enlisted. Nearly 500 men answered question 27 "yes, if drafted".

12. Every citizen and alien at Manzanar was allowed an opportunity to make any change in his questionnaire until the day of our departure, March 10, 1943. It was apparent to the Army Team that in 90 per cent of the cases, the evacuees had reached a definite decision regarding their answers to questions 27 and 28 prior to the time of their interview. It should be recognized that these residents answered the 27 and 28th questions after a good deal of thought and consideration. They realized the seriousness of their answers and the consequences. They understood that their answers would be weighed by the War Department, the United States Government, and the War Relocation Authority and with that understanding rendered their decision on the questionnaires. In the majority of cases, it was not until the evacuees learned that the War Relocation Authority at Manzanar would not permit leave clearance to those who answered "no" to question 28 that the citizen and alien alike decided to change "no" to "yes" as a matter of convenience. Their original decisions should be taken as an indication of their affection or disaffection for the United States.

13. One of the most conclusive evidences of disaffection of the Japanese at the Manzanar Center is the expressed desire of male citizens to be repatriated (or expatriated) to Japan. At the request of the WRA and with the approval of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, a tabulation of answers to Question 28 was made by the project staff and Army sergeants. (See report of Lieutenant Bogard.) At that time, 1893 male registrants were classified as to their answers to Question 28: 956 replied in the affirmative, 933 in the negative, and 4 refused to answer. Of the 933 who gave a negative answer 722, or 82 per cent, indicated on their forms that they either had applied for repatriation, or wished to go to Japan. (This tabulation of those who wished to go to Japan was not included in the items asked for by the WRA but was initiated by the Army team.) Indeed, the Center management found it necessary to stop repatriation request procedures because the extremely heavy registration for repatriation was interfering with the army registration. While this might have been interpreted as a reaction to the army registration, it cannot be explained away as a lack of realization of the meaning of repatriation. This matter had been a principal topic of conversation in the Center since the June, 1942, repatriation of several persons from Manzanar on the SS Gripsholm. Eugene D. Bogard, 1st Lt., C. M. P., Army Team Captain, Manzanar, California.

COPY

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Community Analysis Section

troubled over the Second Special Report on Registration

time, and have either asked to be allowed to change their

I arrived at Manzanar the evening of March 26 and began answer or would like to do so.

work on March 27. I have felt that my first task is to be-

My conclusions and interpretations on the basis of this come familiar with the history of Manzanar and have endeavored preliminary survey are as follows: For all realistic purposes in various ways to acquaint myself with the flow of past and in spite of the intentions of the framers of the questions, events. The reading of the files of the MANZANAR FREE PRESS, it is very doubtful whether these questions should be called the perusal of the reports of a number of divisions, combined "loyalty" questions at all. In a good many cases (the great with what I knew of Manzanar from published articles and majority, I suspect) the final decision had relatively little newspaper files, have given me at least a beginning of back- to do with affection for Japan or disaffection for the United ground and perspective.

States.

I was not long at Manzanar, however, before I discovered

The crux of the whole problem is that the aliens were asked that a most important problem requiring social analysis and a question to which they felt they could not, in safety to their interpretation exists, one that requires understanding and future and conscience, say "yes". On the original form (659 Rev. A) the aliens were asked not only to swear unqualified al- created within the Project and because of the damage and re- legiance to this country, which refuses them naturalization and percussions which can result from a mechanical or shortsighted citizenship; but to forswear allegiance to Japan, the country reaction to it from the outside. I refer to the large number of which they are nationals. It is true that this question was of "no" answers returned by both aliens and citizens to the so- withdrawn and another substituted for it, but the very fact that called "loyalty" questions (Nos. 27 and 28) during the registra- it appeared on the form created great uneasiness. It must be tion and application for leave clearance which began February 13. realized that these aliens are well aware of the resolutions of

Accordingly I have thus far devoted much of my time to an legislatures and of group and individual demands that they be investigation of these "no" answers, and to the question of returned to Japan as soon as possible. Many, despite an earnest whether they can be accepted an an indication of actual dis- desire to end their days in this land, have been led by circum- loyalty toward the United States and of active loyalty toward stances to the conclusion that they will never again be able to Japan. I have talked the matter over with a substantial number earn a livelihood in this country, and assume that they will of persons of Japanese ancestry, some aliens, some citizens, in therefore be forced to seek a refuge in Japan. an endeavor to learn what was in their minds when they made their response. Many of these people, I may add, are greatly



Naturally they wondered whether such a renunciation of Japan troubled over the answer they felt it necessary to give at the time, and have either asked to be allowed to change their answer or would like to do so.

My conclusions and interpretations on the basis of this preliminary survey are as follows: For all realistic purposes and in spite of the intentions of the framers of the questions, it is very doubtful whether these questions should be called "loyalty" questions at all. In a good many cases (the great majority, I suspect) the final decision had relatively little to do with affection for Japan or disaffection for the United States.

The crux of the whole problem is that the aliens were asked a question to which they felt they could not, in safety to their future and conscience, say "yes". On the original form (659 Rev. A) the aliens were asked not only to swear unqualified allegiance to this country, which refuses them naturalization and citizenship, but to forswear allegiance to Japan, the country of which they are nationals. It is true that this question was withdrawn and another substituted for it, but the very fact that it appeared on the form created great uneasiness. It must be realized that these aliens are well aware of the resolutions of legislatures and of group and individual demands that they be returned to Japan as soon as possible. Many, despite an earnest desire to end their days in this land, have been led by circumstances to the conclusion that they will never again be able to earn a livelihood in this country, and assume that they will therefore be forced to seek a refuge in Japan.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the question 28 for non-citizens which came from Washington as a substitute for the first and unsatisfactory version, though it was the question answered at all other centers, is markedly different from the question which the Manzanar residents faced.

Naturally they wondered whether such a renunciation of Japan would not jeopardize their Japanese citizenship or subject them to punishment or disability at the hands of the Japanese government should they come within its jurisdiction, and they reacted accordingly. A negativistic attitude sets in.

The substitute question, formulated at Manzanar, while it did not call upon the aliens to forswear allegiance to their national government, did inquire whether the aliens would defend the United States from attack, including attack by Japan. Unfortunately, the Japanese character by which the words "to defend" was translated, has a much more aggressive and militaristic connotation than the English equivalent. To many Japanese aliens, a "yes" answer seemed equivalent to an agreement to take up arms against the country in which they hold citizenship. Such an agreement or action, according to the laws of most nations, including those of the United States and Japan, is considered treason, and is punishable by the loss of citizenship and worse. Although the purpose of the question was primarily to expedite leaves from the centers, upon reflection and in view of the total situation, it is not difficult to see how the very presence of the question evoked resentment or was received as a fresh attempt to persecute and disconcert.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the question for non-citizens which came from Washington as a substitute for the first and unsatisfactory version, though it was the question answered at all other centers, is markedly different from the question which the Manzanar residents faced.

have passed resolutions asking for the privilege of answering Registration at Manzanar was virtually completed by the time the Washington version. It is difficult to see how this request the substitute question arrived and it was too late to make can be refused or why the results, if the request is granted, the change.

should not replace the old statistic. Only in this way can a reliable comparison between Manzanar and other centers be attained. The final Washington question, which all centers except Manzanar had the privilege of using, is an eminently just and and if these answers are to be in any way used as a basis for reasonable one. It calls upon the enemy alien to abide by the future dealings with the residents, only in this way can equitable laws of this country and to take no action which would impair treatment be accorded the evacuees in Manzanar, its war effort. But it does not imply any responsibility on

While the character and unfortunate sequence of the questions the part of the alien for bearing arms against the country of concerning loyalty were an important factor in the negative re- his origin and citizenship. As I understand it, this is all sponse of aliens, other elements were at work in the complex that can and should be asked of an enemy alien in time of war situation. To a certain degree the greater hardships though under international law. And I am convinced, had this question which many of the residents have passed are reflected in their and not the other been submitted at Manzanar, the record of the responses. Many of the Manzanar residents are from Terminal residents would have been as affirmative as that of other centers. Island. Even before the outbreak of war, they were the butt of In other words, I think it is safe to assert that the difference a certain amount of discrimination and suspicion. When war came, in percentage of "yes" and "no" answers between Manzanar and they were the first to suffer a total work stoppage and loss of other centers is largely a function of the difference in the income, while farmers and persons in other fields of endeavor question asked rather than a reflection of variation in basic were able to continue for a time. They were not a prosperous loyalties.

group and so suffered hardship almost at once. Their work had The current reaction of the residents tends to bear out taken them close to naval and defense installations, and so they this analysis. As a result of correspondence with friends and received more than average attention from the F.B.I. Their relatives in other centers, residents of Manzanar have learned leaders were taken into custody and their community crumbled under that the question they answered was much more perplexing and dislocation and fear. After being assured that they would have formidable than that which was put to aliens elsewhere. They 30 days to vacate their premises, they were suddenly informed have inquired of the Project Director concerning this, and, at that they had but 48 hours in which to evacuate. They bear the the present writing, the inhabitants of 17 blocks have met and sears of the suffering and property loss that compliance with



have passed resolutions asking for the privilege of answering the Washington version. It is difficult to see how this request can be dissociated from recent bitter experiences. It is naive to expect it; it is cynical to pretend to expect it. The negative response to a question that was deemed unfair and was reinforced by a protest over harsh conditions to which these people had been subjected. In my judgment the element of protest dominated any element of affirmation. It treatment be accorded the evacuees in Manzanar.

While the character and unfortunate sequence of the questions concerning loyalty were an important factor in the negative response of aliens, other elements were at work in the complex situation. To a certain degree the greater hardships through which many of the residents have passed are reflected in their responses. Many of the Manzanar residents are from Terminal Island. Even before the outbreak of war, they were the butt of a certain amount of discrimination and suspicion. When war came, they were the first to suffer a total work stoppage and loss of income, while farmers and persons in other fields of endeavor were able to continue for a time. They were not a prosperous group and so suffered hardship almost at once. Their work had taken them close to naval and defense installations, and so they received more than average attention from the F.B.I. Their leaders were taken into custody and their community crumbled under dislocation and fear. After being assured that they would have 30 days to vacate their premises, they were suddenly informed that they had but 48 hours in which to evacuate. They bear the scars of the suffering and property loss that compliance with



this order entailed. No response to an important question can be dissociated from recent, bitter experiences. It is naive to expect it; it is cynical to pretend to expect it. The negative response to a question that was deemed unfair then, was reinforced by a protest over harsh conditions to which these people had been subjected. In my judgment the element of protest dominated any element of affirmation. It was not interest in Japan, but blind resentment over discriminatory treatment which entered prominently into the decision.

There is still another factor which has very little to do with loyalty or disloyalty toward the United States, but which motivated a good many "no" answers from aliens. This is the loss of confidence in themselves and in the American public which evacuation has entailed. The form on which question 28 is found is an Application for Leave Clearance. There were those who assumed that if they answered all questions, and particularly question 28, in a manner satisfactory to the authorities, they would be sent out to face the competitive system in the outside world at this time. Many of these aliens have seen the stakes and fruits of a life of toil disappear in a few turbulent months. They are now in average well past their prime in years. Their total discouragement at their dispossession and insecurity is a reaction from their past thrift and industry. This loss of a faith and confidence is and will continue to be one of the most appalling consequences of evacuation.

Enough time had not elapsed by February 13 to give a picture This is particularly serious because it is contagious; the old reflect bitterly that they have not been able to establish security for themselves or their children in a lifetime of toil; the young read their future in the light of their parents' plight. At any rate I have found that a good many answered "no" or were influenced toward a negative response simply because they could not again face the responsibility of an independent economic existence in or near white communities. Obviously this has little to do with loyalty as such. It does have a great deal to do with an assault that has been made on the psychological integrity of a group. I hear rumors that the "no" answers are likely to act as a basis for repressive action against those who gave them. No policy could be more unwise. In those cases it would only increase the hopelessness of the individual and make his rehabilitation virtually impossible. Certainly a sympathetic and constructive policy is required, one which penetrates beyond the verbalisms of "yes" and "no" to basic motivations, fears, and uncertainties.

It is my considered opinion that the answers of the non-citizen group to question 28 are far more an index of their faith in their future and rehabilitation in America than of loyalty. The renewal of faith and confidence in themselves and in America is not an automatic or speedy process. It takes time; it proceeds against obstacles.

Enough time had not elapsed by February 13 to give a picture undistorted by disillusionment and despair. The obstacles to the "settling down" process, to the calm and adjustment which people was so central for the response that the younger generate confidence and now faith, have been particularly marked at Manzanar. To begin with, Manzanar was first an assembly center, and the shock and grief of first dislocation is in some measure associated with it. Secondly, Manzanar is one of the smaller projects in size and, being in the Western Defense Zone, is subject to close military surveillance. Thus the barbed wire, the guard towers, and soldiers, with their return a comparable answer so that, whatever happened, the grim implications, are all too evident. Finally there is the families might remain together and inviolate. The pressure unnerving attitude of the outside population of the area, from upon the children was intolerable. They had soon their which the center cannot be insulated. In no other part of the country is the feeling so hostile against those of Japanese ancestry. Nowhere else does the radio and newspapers carry so many threats against the future and civil rights of those of Japanese antecedents. Those inevitably have their effect; they evoke anger and promote pessimism. They revive fear and uncertainty. They act as the basis for rumors and throw suspicion on questionnaires such as the one under discussion. It seems to me necessary and justified that the Federal Government, which has established relocation centers and is responsible for the maintenance of order and the well-being of the residents, should attempt to exercise some control over the dissemination of and gangsterism, and I propose to investigate the point. There is much evidence that those internal disputes have greatly to create restlessness and resentment among the residents. affected personal happiness and family life, and it is therefore imperative that the issue be settled as sensibly as possible and as soon as possible.

I have dealt with the underlying meanings of the "no" answers of the non-citizens because the decision of the older people was so central for the response that the younger people felt impelled to make. Once their parents, for any of the reasons listed above or for a combination of them, determined that they would answer "no", the children were faced with a grave problem. The older people assumed the worst, that a "no" answer would bring segregation and eventual forced return to Japan. They appealed to their children to return a comparable answer so that, whatever happened, the families might remain together and inviolate. The pressure upon the children was intolerable. They had soon their parents uprooted and humiliated. A good many, resolved to spare their elders any further worry and sadness, suppressed their own desires and voted "no". Others resisted parental pressure for some time, only to give in at the end. The movement to have all members of the family reply in the same general way, so that a like fate and destination would be shared by all, precipitated an endless number of quarrels and misunderstandings within families. No more unfortunate and disorganizing event could have occurred. Ill-feelings and family disruptions which were occasioned then still persist. I believe that this has materially contributed to delinquency and gangsterism, and I propose to investigate the point. There is much evidence that those internal disputes have greatly affected personal happiness and family life, and it is therefore imperative that the issue be settled as sensibly as possible and as soon as possible.



The feeling of loyalty to the old people and the resolve to share their fortunes and keep the family united was the dominant factor in "no" answers of citizens. In part this loyalty was volunteered; in part it was exacted. Where it was exacted, a note on the attitude of the elders is in order. It must be remembered that the non-citizen Italian group has very rapidly been reduced from a position of leadership in the Japanese community to a position of impotence. Since the Nisei as a group were young and untried, financial and community control was in the hands of the first generation. And, of course, their positions as family elders left the parents, particularly the fathers, in the ascendancy. No group has been more rapidly deflated. Their assets and jobs were swept aside. The more prominent they had been in community life, the more likely they were to be investigated, detained, or interned. Criteria of prestige were suddenly rendered void. When self-government for assembly centers and relocation centers was instituted the Issei were barred from office. The family was the last as well as the strongest refuge of this older generation, the only spot where the word and advice of the elders still carried weight and authority. Both aliens and citizens sensed this, and because of it, the former were more insistent and the latter more pliant than would otherwise have been the case.

Like the "no's" of the non-citizens, those of the citizens were a compound of many influences. The citizens shared the resentment of the aliens over what they considered to be discriminatory and arbitrary treatment. In fact, they felt their grievances to be even greater, for they had assumed that their

citizenship would protect them from evacuation. Then, too, many of the young people reacted against the lot of their parents. There are those who believe that their parents have been interned for reasons and on evidence which would not suffice to hold an Italian or a German.

There are objections, also, to questions 27 and 28 put to male citizens. By army directive, only those who were willing to volunteer immediately to serve in the armed forces were permitted to answer question 27 in the affirmative. Hundreds of young men who are willing to take their chances according to the workings of selective service and to take up arms when and if they are called, were forced to answer "no" and so misrepresent their position to the point of saying that they were not willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered. It seemed to those young men, and it is difficult to resist their logic, that a test of willingness to serve was being presented to them which differed from anything demanded of the rest of America's youth. And it is the opinion of many of them that this super-patriotism expected of them oddly contrasts with the abridgment of citizenship rights which they have suffered. The particular interpretation put upon question 27 by the Army simply worked to irritate a large number of citizens. One young man whom I interviewed, for instance, was angry because he had been forced to answer "no". He had been eager to volunteer but the Army men in charge advised him not to be-

cause he had a wife, a child, and other family responsibilities; (At Granada, on February 10 - 13, the most frequent answer to question 27 was "Yes, if drafted"--an answer which the Army team accepted. F.L.S.)

Much more repugnant to the male citizens was question 28. Over two-thirds of the male citizens are not and have never been dual citizens; they have never been registered at a Japanese consulate within the required 14 days of birth. Legally they do not exist for Japan. When these young men were asked in question 28 to "forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor", their reaction can be imagined. Many of them interpreted it as an attempt to force dual citizenship upon them, and as an indication that our government was making race and not national or international law the criterion of their status. They did not fail to note that they were being asked to assent to a loyalty oath such as is ordinarily administered to foreigners when they naturalize. They took this as added proof they "were not wanted or trusted" and it reinforced their determination to answer in the same spirit as their parents.

It is true that some answered question 28 in the negative because they wished to avoid being inducted into the armed forces and believed that such an answer would insure their continued civilian status. Even in the majority of these cases, however, I do not think that the motivation was cowardice or regard for the Japanese emperor. More important was the feeling that they were being expected to assume the responsibilities of citizenship without being able to exercise the full privileges of citizenship.



It is inevitable that different treatment will result in different response. Over 10,000 male citizens of Hawaii volunteered for combat duty. The ratio at Manzanar was far different. The state of mind that makes for the difference can be overcome. A fair handling of the alien loyalty question and the consequent bolstering of the morale of the older people will not fail to have its effect on the younger generation. Time, a successful relocation program, and favorable reports from those who have joined the armed forces, will stem the tide of bitterness and awake interest and faith in democratic principles to the point where these young men will be as enthusiastic as any to defend them.

This is a preliminary report and a hastily written one. It by no means does justice to the complexity of the situation. But it indicates, I hope, that the "no" of a resident of Manzanar, like that of some young ladies, should not always be taken at face value. It suggests, I hope, that a complex situation cannot be properly described by a word of limited meaning, such as "loyal" or "disloyal". Most of all, I trust I have made clear my conviction that the problems of Manzanar are not to be settled with an adding machine.

investigation of these "no" answers, and to the question of whether they can be accepted as an Social Science Analyst  
 Manzanar, California.  
 April 3, 1943  
 loyalty toward the United States and loyalty toward Japan. I have talked the matter over with a substantial number of persons of Japanese ancestry, some aliens, some citizens, in an endeavor to learn what was in their minds when they made their response. Many of these people, I may add, are greatly