

SEGREGATION

by

Tamie Tsuchiyama
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Introduction

Ever since the much publicized November "incident" a small number of Poston residents have been advocating the segregation of about two hundred "undesirables" to facilitate the smooth-functioning of camp. Also, from time to time, beginning with the inquiries made by the Senate Investigation Committee and climaxing with the investigations made by the Dies Committee, the Pacific Citizen, the Los Angeles dailies, and the Japanese papers -- notably the Utah Nippo, the Rocky Shippo, and the Colorado Times -- have been reminding the residents of a proposed segregation of "disloyal" elements from the relocation centers but the majority of them lightly dismissed these warnings as another propaganda series and did not consider the matter seriously until Mr. Head issued the following statement on July 20, a day before his departure for the Denver conference:

"Information has been received which states that a relocation center will be set aside as a segregation center for those individuals whose sympathies lie with Japan. I wish to emphasize the fact that the segregation center will not be a punishment center. The center at Leupp, Arizona will continue to be operated as a punishment center.

"In accordance with my policy, I shall make an announcement regarding the segregation program as soon as I receive the complete segregation plans from Washington."

Head's statement brought home the reality of segregation and the rumors manufactured overnight began to fly at a terrific pace. Wild guesses such as these told in an authoritative tone spread like wildfire throughout the three camps:

"Manzanar people are going to be brought here since it's to be the camp."

"Granada is going to be the segregation camp."

"Families are going to be separated."

"The disloyal will be sent to Arkansas."

"The weak guys are rushing to the Ad to change their No's to Yes's".

"Kibei who returned here after 1930 and who have finished high school or higher cannot get leave clearance." (To give credulity to such a statement they cited the case of a man in block 30 who attempted to get a clearance and was denied by the Leave office.)

The chief source of worry, however, appeared to be the imminent closing of Poston. People on the whole were more concerned about the future status of this camp than segregation. Rumors such as these began to circulate:

"This camp is going to be cleared of Japanese. There are so many Italian prisoners they don't know what to do with them. They are therefore going to bring them to Poston."

To give authoritative tone to such a possibility they variously cited the following facts:

"Seventy-five Italian prisoners are working near Parker."

"Three hundred Italian prisoners are compounded near Parker."

"Three hundred Italian prisoners are living on the Arizona side of the Colorado River near this camp."

"Four Italian prisoners are in the hospital."

"The Italian prisoners were brought here because the climate here is similar to that of Tunisia."

"The Catholic father said that eighty Italian prisoners are working near Parker."

Others gave the following "evidence" for the evacuation of the Japanese from Poston in the immediate future:

"President Roosevelt said over the radio (evidently referring to his speech of June 28th) that Poston, Gila and Manzanar will be closed."

"It is funny they started paving the roads. They are certainly going to kick the Japs out and use this camp for something." (The plan to pave center roads was made in May of last year and the surveying was done during June and July, 1942).

"They are letting the Japanese build school buildings but these are not intended for schools. They are going to be used as hospitals for the wounded."

It is interesting to note that the date of closing of Poston differs in various versions -- anywhere from Sept. 1, 1943 to spring of next year. Most of the dates, however, concentrate between September 1st and October 30th of this year.

The news of the imminent closing of Poston soon reached such alarming proportions that the entire block managers' meeting of July 27, 1943 was taken up by the unit administrator in an attempt to discredit such a rumor. He began:

"People are jittery and worried about what's going to happen. They make guesses and talk about them. When someone says that Poston will be closed by Sept. 1, people naturally become excited over it. But these rumors are not true. Mr. Head is in Denver at this moment working out plans. We don't know what plans are going to be made. I've told you everything I know. My policy is to let you know everything as quickly as possible. We don't hold back anything from you. As soon as Mr. Head comes back, the block managers will be called together for an emergency meeting."

His voice rose emotionally in the typical Nelson manner as he continued:

"No one is going to be thrown out of Poston. Those people whose sympathies lie with Japan are going to be put together. Those people who applied for repatriation are going to be put together. They are sincere in their belief. I don't agree with them and they don't agree with me. So what?"

"They have nothing to worry about," he assured the block managers.

"They are going to be transferred to a camp which is to be set aside for that. I don't know which camp it is to be, but they will be treated all right there. Let me repeat one thing: Poston is not going to be closed on September first."

The manager of block 12 inquired: "Who started that rumor?"

Nelson replied: "It was started by a fellow who has been doing a lot of work for this project. He told that at a meeting."

(1)

The manager of 45 interrupted: "You can't blame just this man for that kind of rumor. Similar stories are coming in here from the outside. For instance, the Arizona Republic came out with an article recently that those people who answered negative on the loyalty question and who asked for repatriation are going to be sent to Tule Lake. It stated also that the relocation camps at Poston, Gila, and Manzanar will be closed. This article was written by a guy by the name of White who claims he is a Washington correspondent. He claimed that he got the information from the WRA."

Nelson replied: "I am not blaming this fellow for saying Poston is to be closed by September first. You say lots of news are coming from other centers and outside papers. I know that." Then turning to Ruth McKee, historian for the WRA, who was listening in, he exclaimed: "Now about that Arizona Republic. That's right down your alley."

Miss McKee explained:

"I sat in the project directors' conference in May and several staff conferences, but nothing was decided more than that those people will be placed in some one camp. There wasn't any discussion that the camps will be closed. However, when people go out and one thousand or two thousand people are left in this camp or in other camps, naturally they will be put together for reasons of economy. But you know yourselves how fast people are leaving. I don't know who this man White is but I wouldn't believe everything the papers say. Before coming here I read that the WRA was supplying each evacuee one gallon of whiskey."

1.

George Kurata, chairman of the Hospital Committee, visited block 59 about ten days previously and called a meeting in the messhall to discuss current events. At that time he claimed that Poston would be closed by September first. As soon as Nelson heard about it he hailed Kurata into his office and gave him a thorough verbal lashing. Kurata excused himself saying: "I didn't say that. All I said was, 'It may be closed by September first.' It's my guess and my guess is a good as yours." He explained that the answer was given when someone in the audience asked: "Do you think this camp will be closed?" According to Roy Furuya, executive assistant to the unit administrator, it was finally agreed between Nelson and Kurata that the latter will hold another meeting in block 59 to clarify his former statement.

About this time someone who works in the Ad section made type-written copies of Administrative Instruction No. 100 which defines the procedure for segregation and distributed them among his friends. These gave rise to numerous speculations adding to the general confusion. The administration, realizing that numerous changes had to be made in it to insure efficient functioning had carefully withheld it from the Poston Chronicle but someone apparently had surreptitiously made copies of it to circulate in camp.

"About this time I also heard the rumor that "the most reliable source confidentially stated that the whole segregation program had been cancelled at the project directors' meeting in Denver." Its origin was credited to someone in Unit III whence it spread to the other two camps.

On July 28 the Poston Chronicle announced that Tule Lake had been selected as the segregation camp. At the block managers' executive committee meeting held in the morning, the manager of 45 requested verification of the article from Roy Furuya who was representing the unit administrator at the meeting. Furuya replied casually: "That's right. We knew that for a long time."

45 exclaimed indignantly: "What? What do you mean by 'we'?"

Furuya elaborated: "Mr. Head, Mr. Nelson and myself."

45 probed further: "Nelson knew that?"

Furuya answered calmly: "Yes, Mr. Nelson knew that."

45 continued accusingly: "Do you remember that Nelson said yesterday that his policy is to let us know everything just as soon as possible? That he has been telling us all he knew? This makes him a damn liar!" There was an immediate chorus of "That's right!" from the block managers present.

Furuya sensing the rising tide of resentment replied defensively: "Sometime ago Mr. Head called Mr. Nelson and me into his office and said:

'I received a notice from Washington that they have selected Tule Lake for the segregation camp.' But Mr. Head told us to keep quiet about it because it might be changed. So although I knew about it I couldn't tell you."

45 continued relentlessly: "All right! If that's the case why did Nelson say that he did not know which camp it was to be when I asked him about it?" 59 added: "He should have said he wasn't sure. That he couldn't tell us until it became definite. He lied to us anyway. That sure gripes me."

Furuya attempted to dismiss it lightly by saying: "Yes, but Nelson is nobody but an Okie. I cal him 'Okie' all the time."

45 could not be soothed and demanded: "That doesn't excuse him. Bring Nelson in."

When Nelson entered the room a few minutes later 45 jumped to his feet and burst out accusingly: "You said that no one knows which camp is to be selected for the segregation camp. Your policy is to let us know everything just as soon as you find out. Now Roy Furuya here informed us a few minutes ago that you have known for some time the fact that Tule Lake is to be the center. There is discrepancy in these two statements. And there is some indication that you have known it. Up to this time we took your word on face value. We believed what you said. Now, here is evidence that we might have been deceived by you. Our confidence in you is shaken. We want an explanation from you."

Nelson appeared extremely nervous when 45 was delivering his tirade and when he ceased replied defensively: "You people have misunderstood me. I said that my policy is to inform you everything definite and official. Sure, Mr. Head told me sometime ago that Tule Lake might be the place. He was not definite and we were afraid it might be changed again. We thought it best to keep quiet until it became definite. If we had told it then people would have become

excited and there would have been no end to rumors. If Tule Lake had to be changed to somewhere else people would have been confused. I will show you that we weren't sure about Tule Lake by citing an incident. Do you know Ray Best: Well, he is the project director at Leupp. He is a good friend of mine. He was here about four weeks ago to spend an afternoon with us. He said, 'Len, I'm going to be the director of the new segregation camp.' I replied, 'Yeah? Where is that going to be?' He said, 'I don't know yet.' Then I asked: 'When are you going there?' He answered: 'No one knows.' So you see, even the guy who is to be the project director of the segregation camp didn't know where it was to be.

"Another thing is this: I don't think it's wise to announce anything too early before it is definite. At Manzanar they announced it too early and there was stoppage of work. They figured: 'Hell, if we are going away, why should we continue work?' That is serious. You realize how serious the stoppage of work is. I still repeat that everything definite is to be decided at the Denver Conference which is going on right now. Mr. Head is coming back with the final and definite plan. Until then nothing is definite. This morning for instance, Administrative Instruction No. 100 lay on my desk. I am not announcing it because we can't work it that way. We want to change it. You see there isn't any use in announcing something we are planning to change. There is another thing. We got a wire that the Gripsholm is to sail again. It said that six people were arriving here Sunday morning and would stay overnight. Then they would go to Gila Monday with fifteen people from Poston. At Gila they would pick up some more and then proceed to New York. I went to see Miss Butler who is in charge of that and asked her which fifteen were going. She said she didn't have the list and didn't know. I figured it was no use telling the people without knowing who was going. I thought it unwise to get people excited.

Then those Manzanar people didn't arrive on Sunday. On Monday a wire came saying everything had been cancelled. You see, that's the way it is."

45 acknowledged Nelson's explanation for the block managers: "We understand your situation now. But -- I hate to let you in on this -- but the psychological setup of the residents now is just the same as that at the time of evacuation. There are all kinds of rumors floating around. People hear all kinds of things. But there isn't enough official information. They are talking about segregation and the closing of camp. People are worried. They don't know what to believe because every story is told with convincing argument. They naturally come to the block managers to verify what they have heard. Therefore, we must be well-informed to either verify or discredit any story. I notice on the part of residents that an indeterminate 'up in the air attitude' is growing rapidly. Anxiety is increasing. It is getting to be like February and March of 1942. Only, of course, on a smaller scale. People were worried because they didn't know what was going to happen to them. The trouble was there wasn't enough official information. The officials did not have ready answers when asked. That led to more guesses. And more guesses led to greater anxiety. This is being repeated right now. We hate to see people worried. We are anxious to give the right information to the people as quickly as possible.

"This morning we were led to believe that you had withheld the information to which we, as block managers, were rightfully entitled. Our confidence in you was shaken. But I am glad that our suspicion was unjustified and groundless. However, I want to stress that we want to shoot straight and we want you to shoot straight, too."

Nelson answered in an impassioned tone: "Just as soon as I lose your confidence I'll quit my job. That has been the whole trouble with the administration. The evacuees did not have confidence in us. Things can't work that way.

I'll leave this place when I lose your confidence. I'll have no use here then."

In an attempt to stifle the numerous rumors floating in camp that Poston would be closed in the immediate future Moris Burge, acting Project Director, and Ruth McKee, WRA historian, issued the following statements on July 29:

There are no immediate plans to close any relocation center. The statement in the Los Angeles Examiner of July 28 quoting Director Myer was misleading in the extreme. It is the hope of the WRA that eventually all relocation centers will be closed. This has been stated many times. I am certain the evacuees themselves share this hope. But this may be a matter of years, and in the meantime evacuees can rest assured that except for segregation or internal security reasons they will not be forced to leave relocation centers if they desire to stay.

/s/ Moris Burge
Acting Project Director

In late May, when the Washington office of WRA held a conference of Project Directors, the subject of segregation was thoroughly discussed, and a committee outlined the program and enumerated the principles upon which the program should be founded. I attended all sessions of that conference.

On July 14th I attended the Director's staff meeting in Washington, at which date and manner of segregation were announced. At neither time, nor at times when the program has been less formally discussed, have I heard anyone mention the closing of any center in the immediate future.

Looking ahead, someone did mention the fact that when relocation had reduced the population of the centers to a fractional part of the present population, it would be feasible to close some centers and combine the groups of people, for economy's sake.

But with the movement of a large number of people to and from the segregation camp beginning in September, and all the checking of people and goods, all the endless detail work of moving this group, it is not reasonable to believe that WRA should plan to close any center simultaneously. And, as for Poston, judging by the present speed of relocation, it does not seem probable that September 1 would find so many people relocated that there would be only two or three thousand of you left.

/s/ Ruth McKee
Historian, Washington Office

At the block managers' meeting on August 3, Nelson announced that a meeting would be held in Ward 7 of the Hospital at 3:00 p.m. to acquaint the block managers and councilmen of the three units with the procedure for segregation. He stated that he was counting on Head and Gelvin returning from Denver

in time to address the group. At that time he made the following statements which I took down at random:

"The question of timing has to go into this. We want to give every chance in the world to the segregants not to rush it. They preferred the government of Japan to that of the United States. They expressed their desire to live together. That is their prerogative. We are not going to influence them to change their minds."

"Soon we will have a booklet prepared in which questions and answers will be given. There will be translations, too. It takes time to put it out. This afternoon the meeting will be held for the purpose of dispensing information. We are establishing the machinery for segregation immediately."

"Administrative Instruction No. 100 has been revised. I'm glad it didn't break into the community."

"Families of segregants may accompany them without stigma being attached to them."

"The Family Welfare Department is going to render counseling service."

"July 1st has been arbitrarily set as the deadline for the retraction of applications for repatriation. We had to fix it at some date. Provisions will be made for those who wish to withdraw after July 1."

The deadline for changing No to Yes was July 15, but this does not apply to our project."

"Civil liberties will not be denied to "No, No people."

When someone inquired whether Tule Lake could not accommodate any more people rumored, Nelson replied: "The Tule Lake population is way down and if Tule Lake cannot accommodate all of them another center will be selected." (About this time it was widely rumored that the majority of the people at Tule Lake did not wish to be sent to another center so the administration was flooded with requests for repatriation in the hope of remaining there.) Someone suggested that block meetings be called to find out what questions the residents wanted answered but Nelson dismissed the idea claiming, "If you break

the news that a meeting on segregation will be held, Ward 7 will be jammed."

About 250 individuals, including 140 block managers and councilmen from the three camps, assembled in Ward 7 at 3:00 p.m. to receive news of the procedure for segregation. Since Head and Gelvin failed to return from Denver, Burge, the acting project director, presided at the meeting. Ted Haas and John Powell who attended the Denver Conference, and Zimmerman, Employment Chief, were also present to aid Burge in answering queries.

Burge opened the meeting by announcing that "The segregation program is for the purpose of placing in a separate center those persons of Japanese ancestry who by their acts have indicated that their loyalties lie with Japan, or in the case of United States citizens have refused to swear allegiance to the United States. That is their decision, not ours. This country has no alternative."

He disclosed that the first movement out of Poston will occur during the first week of October and will affect the following two groups:

1. Persons who applied for repatriation or expatriation and who did not retract before July 1, 1943. Families in many cases signed as a group but where they failed to do so the Social Welfare Dept. will interview individual family members and render counseling service.
2. Those persons who answered No to question 28, who refused to answer and who refused to register. A neutral answer will be considered equivalent to a negative one. All persons in this category will be given an opportunity to state whether they have changed their minds since registration or not. In case of change they will be later given a hearing before the Board of Review for Leave Clearance and that body will recommend to the project director whether they should be sent to Tule Lake or be given leave clearance.

Burge explained that the families of segregants will be given an opportunity to choose voluntarily whether to accompany the segregant to Tule Lake or to remain in Poston. He also stated that it was unnecessary for them to apply for repatriation. Such a decision must be made when the families of segregants are interviewed by the Welfare Department.

Burge also related at this time that the Tule Lake Center will be quite similar to Poston except that there will be no evacuee government or judicial commission. Furthermore, no leave permits will be issued. An appeal board, however, will be set up to conduct hearings for those who feel that they have been unjustifiably transferred there. He concluded that the administration was depending on the block managers to disseminate all information concerning segregation and that council members will be kept informed.

To illustrate the type of worries harbored by the evacuees concerning segregation I am quoting in toto the queries that appeared during the question and answer period:

Q. Must all minors go with their parents?

A. In case there is no guardian, it is unwise to leave them here.

Q. At the end of the war what happens to the minor?

A. It cannot be predicated now. It depends on Congress and the public.
(Haas)

Q. Is a leave permit granted at Tule Lake?

A. In case of extreme emergency some leave permits will be granted. And there will be some student relocation. (Haas)

Q. What class does a parolee belong to?

A. Same class as any other evacuee for purposes of segregation. However, he is on the stop list. This is just for his own protection. When a parolee wishes to go on an indefinite leave, we must write to the Dept. of Justice, Division of Immigration and Naturalization, at Los Angeles and notify them where he wants to go. They review his papers. If they approve his leave we must notify the Dept. of Justice, Division of Immigration and Naturalization, at Philadelphia and the District Attorney of the county where he is going. (Zimmerman)

- Q. Will persons who applied for repatriation be returned to Japan during or after the war?
- A. This depends on the action of the Japanese government. Concerning the status of the Japanese after the war no one knows. He may be allowed to go back at his own expense.
- Q. Can a person apply to change his answer on question 28 from Yes to No?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What happens to a person who has no citizenship in Japan and answered No?
- A. He will be sent to Tule Lake. (Burge)
- A. No one who cannot go to the unrestricted area will be left in the nine centers at the end of the year. (Powell)
- A. However, there is no immediate plan to close any of the WRA centers. (Burge)
- Q. How long will it take for an answer from the Review Board?
- A. The recommendation of the Review Board is sent to the project director for his decision. This will be given to the person without delay. August 23 is the last date to send the list of names. The Review Board will be set up as soon as Mr. Head returns. (Burge)
- Q. How many of the present Tule Lake evacuees will stay there?
- A. Unknown
- Q. What happens in case Tule Lake cannot accomodate all of the segregants?
- A. Other accomodations will be made by the government.
- Q. What will happen to expectant mothers and invalids?
- A. They will not be sent out until they are able to travel.
- Q. Will personal belongings be taken care of by the government?
- A. Yes. Segregants should take enough for sixty days, others will be sent later. The segregants must pay freight on unnecessary articles. They must pay freight for ornamental things such as ironwood carvings. (Haas)
- Q. Will persons who applied for repatriation and did not ask for a change before July 1 be given a hearing?
- A. No. Not in Poston. They can apply for a hearing before a board of appeals in Tule Lake.
- Q. Will clothing allowance and wages be the same as in the relocation centers?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Will Tule Lake be open to visitors?
- A. A procedure will be established by WRA setting forth who may visit and under what conditions.
- Q. If a husband applied for repatriation, does the wife have to go?

- A. No. The decision is up to the wife. The Welfare Dept. will act as a counseling agency. Repatriation is a serious personal matter.
- Q. What happens to the people in Tule Lake after the war?
A. It has been answered already. We cannot answer that.
- Q. Will any evacuee be on the Board of Review for Segregation?
A. No, only appointed personnel. However, provisions will be made to have one or more evacuee observers.
- Q. Are repatriations cancellable now?
A. No, but requests for change of status may be brought before the appeal board at Tule Lake. For the train movement the exact number must be known. For that reason an arbitrary date was chosen as July 1.
- Q. Will Tule Lake be similar to the Crystal City camp?
A. No.
- Q. What is the climate condition of Tule Lake?
A. Cooler in summer, colder than Poston in winter and more rain.
- Q. What will be the status of the segregants after the war?
A. Unknown.
- Q. Do they (i.e. Tule Lake people) get first chance to go to Japan after the war?
A. We cannot answer that. That depends on the Japanese government.
- Q. Will persons who applied for repatriation after July 1, 1943, be in the same category as those who applied before July 1?
A. No. Action will be taken on those persons at a later date.
- Q. Those persons on seasonal leave -- can they be allowed to go to Tule Lake to rejoin their families?
A. Yes.
- Q. Will the status of Poston be changed with the evacuees going out?
Will the three camps be consolidated? Will others be brought into Poston?
A. No change is contemplated at the present time. The WRA in Washington estimates that our population will still be 15,000 at the end of the year when the people on seasonal leave return. (Burge)
- Q. Can relatives or friends in Tule Lake be called to Poston?
A. The same procedure as applied to those in the Santa Anita Assembly Center will be followed. Relatives or friends must apply for transfer from the relocation center to which they are sent.
- Q. Can vital workers, as doctors, be replaced if a shortage is seen caused by segregation.
A. Yes.

Procedure for Segregation:

Board of Review for Segregation: According to Mas Kawashima, chairman of the Central Executive Board, Head was basically opposed to segregation. His attitude was that segregation would not serve any good purpose -- that the most efficient procedure would be to remove four to six perpetual troublemakers from camp. Although he had received instructions from Washington to change No's to Yes's on question 28 he had purposely refused to permit any change in the hope that plans for segregation might be altered. By making Poston a stumbling block he had hoped to offset segregation. (It is rumored that this attitude was greatly influenced by the petition presented to him in May containing "17,000 names" requesting him to remain in Poston for the duration). According to Kawashima Head presented his plan at the Denver Conference and as a concession to him the rest of the project directors agreed to give a uniform hearing for all those who had not changed their answers prior to July 15. It is reported that other centers had been giving hearings to all those who desired to change their answers since registration in February, but are now giving rehearings.

Head and Gelvin returned from Denver in the afternoon of August 4, and immediately the administrative quarters became a hive of activity. Numerous administrative conferences were called to formulate plans for the smooth functioning of the program. On August 6, Head announced the appointment of the following to the Board of Review for Segregation:

Ralph M. Gelvein, associate project director
Len L. Nelson, Unit I administrator
James Crawford, Unit II administrator
Moris Burge, Unit III administrator
Ted Haas, project attorney
John Powell, acting chief, Community Management
Giles L. Zimmerman, chief, Employment Division
Ernest L. Miller, Chief, Internal Security

At the same time Burge was given charge of the segregation program. The following day Walter Balderston, supervisor of Community Activities, and Dr. A. Pressman, director of Health and Sanitation, were added to the Board. At the same time the following were appointed by Head on the recommendation of the block managers and council of their respective unit to act as evacuee observers at the hearings:

Unit I: Roy Furuya and Seeichi Nomura

Unit II: J. Kazato, M. Fukuda, and F. Nitta

Unit III: N. Ozawa and F. Kagiwada.

Late in the afternoon of August 6, all those who were to be given a hearing next day were notified of the time and place of meeting by their respective block managers.

The Board of Review for Segregation swung into action on the morning of August 7. All those who answered "No" to question 28 (with the exception of those who also applied for repatriation), who failed to answer, or who stated "Neutral", were called before the board to determine whether they wished to change or to retain their original answers. For purposes of segregation "Neutral" answers were considered equivalent to negative ones. The members of the Board worked in pairs: Powell and Pressman, and Gelvin and Balderston in Unit I; Miller and Crawford in Unit II; and Haas and Zimmerman in Unit III. While the officials assigned to Camp I and III utilized administrative offices for their interviews, Miller and Crawford moved from block to block using the messhalls to conduct their hearings. The individual interviews generally consumed only a few minutes since the Board was only interested in segregating those who wished to retain their "No's" from those who desired to change to "Yes." The simplicity of the procedure is evident in Nelson's

graphic explanation to X: "We ask an individual to come in. Then we say to him: 'You answered No to question 28 when the registration was held in February. Is that correct?' And then we say: 'Do you feel the same way right now?' If he says, 'Yes', we say to him: 'Thank you very much.' If he says, 'No', we say: 'You'll hear from us again.' It's as simple as that."

According to Len Nelson, Gelvin's team was more efficient than Powell's since it was not so interested in "asking so many questions". The hearings moved without a hitch in Units I and III, but in Unit II Miller and Crawford encountered some difficulty. When they approached block 207 on the first day everyone of the 33 double negatives refused to change their answers. Of that number, twelve refused to change claiming they had been instructed by their parents not to do so while six declared they were afraid of being drafted if they remained in Poston. Miller and Crawford suspected something was in the air so suspending their hearings conducted an investigation. (Mas Kawashima with reference to this remarked: "Even those dumb guys got wise because the answers were so uniform.") The investigation revealed that the night before meetings had been held in blocks 207, 208, 209 and 216 to advise the youngsters how to conduct themselves at the hearings. Interestingly enough, the main discussion centered on whether it was more advantageous to remain in Poston or to go to Tule Lake rather than on the seriousness of the situation.

The statistics on answers to question 28 as obtained from D55 304-A (for male citizens) and 126 Rev. (for female citizens and aliens) are as follows:

	<u>Answers to Question 28</u>			
<u>Definite "No"</u>	<u>Camp I</u>	<u>Camp II</u>	<u>Camp III</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male citizens	196	225	41	462
Female citizens	26	60	6	92

<u>Definite "No"</u>	<u>Camp I</u>	<u>Camp II</u>	<u>Camp III</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male Aliens	5	2	3	10
Female Aliens	0	1	1	2
 <u>Qualified "No"</u>				
Male Citizens	21	28	20	69
 <u>Unanswered</u>				
Male Citizens	0	1	1	2
Female Citizens	7	2	2	11
Male aliens	1	2	3	6
Female aliens	0	1	1	2
 <u>Neutral</u>				
Male Citizens	59	3	6	68
Female Citizens	12	2	1	15
Male aliens	0	0	0	0
Female aliens	0	1	0	1

According to information received confidentially from Len Nelson on August 21, of the 321 called before the Board in Unit I, 140 requested to change their answers from No to Yes, while 181 stubbornly clung to their original answers. One of the strongest factors in influencing the change of answers appears to be the issuing late Saturday afternoon of Segregation Release 2A, which states that the Selective Service Act will also apply to

those confined in Tule Lake. Apparently a great number of the double negatives hoped to evade the draft by going to the segregation camp.

According to Len Nelson and Mas Kawashima, Segregation Release 2A was originally intended to be issued on Friday, the day before the first hearings, but the original signed by Wade Head was lost and since the mimeograph office will not accept anything not signed by the project director it was delayed. The original was finally discovered in Camp III on the desk of Drennen, the Leave Officer there. When Kawashima expressed great concern over its delay, Drennen is reported to have said: "This is nothing at all. This isn't going to change their minds. What's the use of doing anything for them?" Mas replied: "I'm a Jap so I'm working for the Japs."

Statistics obtained confidentially from Mas Kawashima indicate that the draft circular had some influence in changing answers. Of the 94 interviewed in Camp I on Saturday, 23 requested change while 71 refused to change; while of the 70 interviewed on Sunday, the day after the posting of the draft circular, 28 changed while 42 refused. Nomura stated that of the 26 interviewed by Powell's team on Monday morning 20 changed. He further observed that most of the Nisei changed but the Majority of the Kibei stuck to their original answers. Statistics for the other units are still unobtainable but from chance conversations it appears that the ration is about the same as in Camp I.

According to Nelson, almost all females who answered double negative changed their answers during the hearings. The majority of them answered negatively because of misunderstanding or misinterpretation on the part of the interviewer. He cited the case of one woman who answered No, when asked whether she would join the Waacs, because of her two months old baby, and the interviewer taking for granted that she would answer No to the loyalty question.

also. One Kibei girl who scarcely understands English was asked by a "isei interviewer in Japanese, "Will you become emperor of Japan?" with reference to question 28, so she answered "No." According to Nelson a great deal of the No's received during registration could have been avoided if we had sufficient interviewers with good working knowledge of Japanese. Those who persisted in retaining their negative answers apparently did so because their husbands had also done so. They seemed to have no definite convictions of their own concerning loyalty.

Nomura reported that all the Issei, male and female, who answered No changed their answers during the hearings. It was obvious that they had misunderstood the question because of the inadequacy of the interviewer's Japanese.

About this time the following rumors were afloat in camp:

"Those guys who answered No to question 28 must face music a little later. (Apparently referring to imminent drafting of Nisei).

"A short-wave radio broadcast from Japan claimed recently that Japan knows of the segregation process going on at present in the relocation centers. It advised Nisei to act as American citizens and to obey American laws."

"People are going around getting married just as they did before evacuation. The girls want to follow their boy friends to the segregation camp." (Actual investigation revealed that so far there has been only one case of a girl marrying a double negative to facilitate her accompanying him to Tule Lake).

The following releases were issued by the project director during the course of the hearings (which started on Aug. 7 and ended about Aug. 11) and subsequently to acquaint the residents with the purpose and procedure of segregation: (The following releases are omitted: Colorado River War Relocation Project Release on Segregation (No.1), (No. 2A), (No. 3A), (No. 4A), (No. 5A), (No. 1), (No. 7A), (No. 8A), (No. 9A), (No. 10A), (No. 11A), Segregation Notice No. 3A, and letter re repatriation interviews through Family Welfare Dept., from Lou Butler.)

Attitude of Double Negatives:

The following are some of the attitudes of those who wished to retain their negative answers at the hearings before the Board of Review for Segregation:

Kazuo Kawai of block 45, who is 23 years of age answered negatively to the loyalty question at the time of registration because he could not see how he could forswear allegiance to the Emperor of Japan. The day before his registration his friends had informed him of the question but he could not decide how to answer it at that time. However, the moment the question was read to him by the Japanese sergeant he knew there could be only one answer -- a negative one. He calls himself "the tragedy of the Kibei". He was taken to Japan at a very early age and called back five years ago. He feels that if parents had not sent their children to Japan this sort of tragedy would not have occurred. X explained to him at full length that since many of the Japanese parents were poor and had to work in the fields together little children came in the way so for expediency's sake they had been sent to Japan. Their intention was to make sufficient money to return to Japan to be reunited with their children but the anticipated fortune could not be accumulated so they were compelled to be separated from them. If such had been the case, Kawai feels that these parents should not have had children in the first place. He told X with anguish that if he has children of his own he will not let them out of his sight.

Kawai despises those people who changed from No to Yes because a thing like loyalty should not be played around with for the sake of personal convenience. He brands these individuals as "cowards" and of no value to either country. Commenting on question 28 he related to X that if that question had been asked in its original form only four or five Issei in block 45 would have answered negatively. He believes that all of the Issei in America have degenerated considerably in the last thirty or forty years and condemns their opportunistic attitude. He continued: "When it comes to a true life and death crisis, you will find out the true color of the Japanese, even if they be blabber mouths. Even if we go to Tule Lake, when drafting comes, I doubt if very many will stick it out. Most of them will change color and join the army. One Kibei told me, 'Well, if they draft me, I can't help it.' It's life and death there. How can a Kibei be comfortable in a U.S. uniform when his convictions lie elsewhere? I know what I'm doing. I'm satisfied in the knowledge that I'm sticking it out according to my convictions even if they take my life away."

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"If I say Yes I'll be drafted and maybe get killed. If I go to Tule I won't have to fight." (Rather a widespread attitude at one time)

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"They kicked us out here and we are not treated as American citizens. How can we swear allegiance to the United States?"

#####

"If I change to Yes I won't be able to walk on the streets of Tokyo with a clear conscience after the war. I can't forswear allegiance to the Emperor of Japan."

#####

"During the hearings a Kibei came in with his Kibei wife. It happened that both answered double negative and the wife wanted to be sure that her husband did not change his answer.

#####

A Kibei answered "Neutral" and wanted to retain that answer. When Powell informed him that a neutral answer constituted a negative answer he stated that he would not mind going to Tule Lake. If he changed to "Yes" he feared something might happen to his relatives in Japan. Yet, he couldn't commit himself to putting down a definite "No".

#####

A notice was sent out shortly before the hearings to a man whose name was on the stop list but whose registration questionnaire could not be located, to fill in another blank. He answered double negative. He said: "They can't trust me, so why should I trust them?"

#####

A Nisei gave the following reasons to Powell for wanting to retain his original answer: He didn't want to kill. After all war is an institution in which men kill each other. He explained: "I can't pledge allegiance to any political state. I can pledge allegiance to something supernatural, God, for instance." When Powell inquired whether he attended church here he replied "No". When questioned if he had attended church in pre-evacuation days he maintained that he was once a good Baptist but had stopped going to church because "Nowadays churches justify war and that is contrary to the teachings of Christ."

#####

A Kibei requested to retain his No answer because he can't speak English and therefore can't relocate successfully. He believed that after the war there would be no opportunity for him in this country.

#####

One young Nisei told Jim Yamada shortly before the hearings that when called he would take the map, which appeared recently in the Sunday edition of the L.A. Examiner showing the areas conquered by Japan since Pearl Harbor, and throwing it on the table would say, "Can you blame me for having pro-Axis sympathies?"

#####

Len Nelson in his usual colorful language related the following incident on the first day of the hearings: "One tough guy came in this morning mad as hell. He was hot. He shouted: 'You can't change my mind. No use calling me in so many times.' So I said to him: 'All right, all right, Brother. I'm not trying to change anybody's mind. There are lots of people who want to change their answers and we are giving them a chance.'"

#####

Nomura reported that on the first day of the hearing two brothers out of three who had answered No were called before Powell's team. The youngest who has never visited Japan readily changed his answer but his older Kibei brother refused to change. Nomura was curious to know how the oldest brother would answer.

#####

Nomura also related that on the first day two individuals from the same block failed to show up for their interviews so Powell sent a messenger to fetch them. He found out that they had gone fishing early in the morning. The block residents informed him that they had been saying: "It's no use going before the Hearing Board because we are not changing our answers."

#####

According to Ted Haas the majority he interviewed in Camp III who wished to retain their original answers did so because they felt they were not American citizens. They could not speak English and could see no future in America. He further claimed that many of them were thinking in terms of actual invasion of America by Japanese forces when they answered those questions.

#####

Nine Kibei in the Unit I Police Department answered double negative and realize that they will be transferred to Tule Lake within a few weeks. They want "to take it out" on the residents so for the past month or so have been raiding small-time gambling games. It is reported that the largest stake they have confiscated so far has been \$1.59. About July 20 they caused a commotion in the hospital by raising Cain there after midnight. When admonished by the Senior Nurse they stole the doormat which announces visitors.

#####

Attitude of Those Who Changed from "No" to "Yes"

The work of Issei "morale managers", like X and No. 14, who have been advising youngsters whenever consulted to give the question a second thought, probably had great influence in the changing of answers. Their arguments seemed to run in the following direction: "We are not trying to influence your decision either one way or the other but you had better do some serious thinking. This is your last chance to change. The United States government is giving you another chance because it realizes that you were not in the right frame of mind when you answered that question. To get a job in post-war Japan you must have unusual skill. Cheap labor is abundant there and you cannot hope to compete with them."

#####

Shortly before the Denver Conference, it was reported that a Nisei came rushing into Head's office to have his answer changed. He cried indignantly: "My father double-crossed me. He told me to answer double negative and he answered "Yes" himself."

#####

According to Ted Haas one third of the group he interviewed in Camp III wanted to change their answers. The majority of them told him that they were still sore at evacuation at the time of registration but on second thought realized they were more American than Japanese. They felt that there would be greater opportunities for them in post-war America than Japan.

#####

X was consulted by a Kibei who had answered "No" and "Neutral" to questions 27 and 28 during registration. He has a lame wife, a child, and an aged mother-in-law. During registration he hesitated in answering question 28 when it was read to him in English saying it was not quite clear to him. Sergeant Kinoshita therefore, rephrased it in Japanese: "Are you willing to shoot the Emperor of Japan?" He replied: "I don't know. I don't think so." Since he could not make up his mind he answered "Neutral". After listening to X's arguments he decided to change to "Yes."

#####

A young Nisei who has never been to Japan answered "Neutral" and then changed to "Yes", during the hearings. He told Powell: "If the war is going to last only a short time I'd stick it out, but it looks as though it's going to last a long time. What's the use of being stubborn?"

#####

Two boys who answered "Neutral" in block 45 were very jittery before the hearings and kept asking X when the administration would give them a hearing. One told X: "I answered 'Neutral' but that can't be so bad. I didn't say 'No'. They've got to give me a hearing because I don't think they can afford to let it stand as 'Neutral'. Anyway, I didn't know what I was doing then."

#####

Frank Kobayashi, the present block manager of 21, is reported to have gone around during registration saying: "No Japanese can with a clear conscience say 'Yes' to that question." That attitude gained great popularity for him in the block and subsequently he was elected block manager. Now that he has changed his answer to "Yes" the block residents are referring to him as a "shiftless bastard."

#####

X related the case of a Kibei who had hoped to change his double negatives at the hearings but whose name was not called because he had also applied for repatriation. He is furious now because he cannot find a loophole to get out from going to Tule Lake. He considers himself a grand sap now since the Selective Service Act will also apply to Tule Lake.

#####

Attitude of Those Who Influenced Others to Answer "No" at Time of Registration.

One prominent member of the Judo Department influenced his friends to answer double negative while he himself answered in the affirmative. (The Judo Dept. went on record to tell everyone in its department to answer "No's" to 27 and 28.) As soon as the news of segregation was announced he became afraid that his colleagues would find out that he had "doublecrossed" them so rushed to the Welfare Department to apply for repatriation. He had hoped by doing so to be included in the first contingent leaving Poston but has recently discovered that since his application was not filed before July 1st his departure will be much later than that of his colleagues. (i.e. after his case has been considered by the Board of Review for Leave Clearance).

#####

Peter Kanno, No. 14 in our Spanish Consul Report, revealed this interesting bit of news concerning Takeshita (No. 17) who was probably the most influential member of the Judo clique before his departure for Chicago in June:

"During registration Takeshita was telling people to answer double negative. He intended to answer that way himself. I got hold of the news so went to visit him and tried to impress on him the seriousness of such action. I told him that segregation would come and that he might even be tried for treachery. He couldn't see it that way at that time. I visited him again on the eve of registration but he was not at home so I explained everything all over again to his wife. I managed to make her realize the consequences involved in answering 'no'. Takeshita came to see me about seven o'clock on the morning of registration so I reiterated my stand to him. I wasn't sure at that time whether it had any effect on him or not but on the way home he stopped and said: 'I registered the way you advised me to but please keep this a secret.' I have kept it a secret till today. Takeshita's departure for Chicago several weeks ago was greatly influenced by this fact. He felt very guilty about 'doublecrossing' his colleagues. He couldn't tell the others to answer affirmatively because he had no time to contact them at so late an hour or they had already registered."

#####

Mas Kawashima related the plight of another "double-crosser" a few days ago: "There's a guy who answered affirmatively to 27 and 28 but influenced others into answering double negative. He was in an awful mess for a time but his brother stuck to his guns before the Review Board so he's happy now since the whole family is going with him."

#####

Jimmy Yahiro, whose dirty acts I have already cited on numerous occasions, is very unpopular among his friends who now realize that they had been tricked into answering double negative by him. There was talk a few weeks ago, shortly after his appointment as city clerk, of "beating the hell out of him." (In connection with Yahiro, Nelson had this to say about him: "there's a guy who went around and told others to answer 'No'. He then answered 'Yes' himself. Yes, we will catch up with that guy soon. There were many guys who told people to answer 'No'". As an afterthought he added: If I had my way during registration I'd have split camp into four parts and called mass meetings of parents and children to tell them what registration really meant. Then we wouldn't have had all this trouble."

There is some indication at present that the administration is intending to chastize these scoundrels after the main segregation program is over. As Ted Haas told me: "Well, it isn't exactly cricket to tell people to answer 'No' and then answer 'Yes' yourself." Furthermore, it seems very probable that a small number of perpetual troublemakers like M. Okamoto, Tsukamoto, Nakamura, etc. will be shipped to Leupp after the main movement is completed.

#####

Another political figure who is "laying low" at present for double crossing his friends is Kuroiwa, city manager, who was undisputed leader of the Kibeis in Camp II after Tachibana was removed during the beating of Saburo Kido last January. According to Nomura, Kuroiwa as city manager was scheduled to speak at the send-off party for the fourth contingent of volunteers to the combat team several weeks ago but attempted to get out of it by requesting George Kurata to speak for him. Kurata being one of those individuals who "love to hear their own words" readily accepted. When Nomura heard about this he scolded Kurata: "Don't do it. Let Kuroiwa speak. If he talks, he has to say something patriotic. He was saying very pro-Japanese things until Tachibana was arrested. He wanted a good job so was saying those things to get the support of the residents. Now that he has a good job he is a loyal American citizen. It's a good idea to let people know he is a dirty guy." So on the following day Kurata informed Kuroiwa that it was the city manager's duty to speak at the party. The latter replied: "Oh, don't say that. You do it for me." He then failed to show up at the council office in Unit I for several days claiming his wife was sick and he was needed at home. Nelson and Nomura waited for him until Friday but since he failed to appear they put Kurata on the program for Sunday night. Nomura concluded: "They tell me that Tachibana was not really bad. It was Kuroiwa who was giving him advice. If Kuroiwa wasn't sick, Tachibana would not have gone to that extreme."

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Board of Review for Leave Clearance

After the transfer to Tule Lake of repatriates and expatriates and those who wished to retain their "NO's" to question 28 has been completed -- i.e. somewhere about the latter half of October -- the Board of Review for Leave Clearance will according to Administrative Instruction No. 22 Revised begin interviewing those individuals who fall within the following categories:

1. Those who qualified their answers to question 28 in the registration.
2. Those who changed from "No" to "Yes" during the hearings conducted by the Board of Review for Segregation.
3. Those who applied for repatriation or expatriation and then withdrew their application before July 1, 1943.
4. Those who applied for repatriation after July 1, 1943.
5. Those who desire to change their answers to question 28 from "Yes" to "No".
6. Those who have been denied leave clearance by the project director.
7. Those who have been unfavorably passed upon by the Joint Board.

8. Those with adverse intelligence records.

9. All others whose eligibility for leave is in doubt.

This board which is entirely separate from the Board of Review for Segregation will be under the supervision of Ted Haas, project attorney, and will consist of the following appointed personnel:

L.L. Nelson, Unit I administrator.
James Crawford, Unit II administrator
Moris Burge, Unit III administrator
Giles L. Zimmerman, chief, Employment Division
Ernest L. Miller, chief, Internal Security

According to Haas the procedure in all probability will be to let one member of the Board gather all data available on a certain individual and then judgment being passed by all members of the Board sitting as one body. The final decision as to whether that individual will be transferred to Tule Lake or be given leave clearance will rest with the Washington office. The Board will merely make its recommendations to the project director who in turn will transmit them to Dillon Myer. Haas expects the hearings to continue for several months -- the last group leaving for Tule Lake toward the close of the year.

Repatriation

According to the project files 660 individuals applied for repatriation prior to July 1, 1943. This figure does not include those who made applications through the Spanish consul in San Francisco or Washington or through other sources and for whom the project does not have records. Of this number 62 had retracted their applications before the deadline.

At first the policy of the administration was to ignore applications made through sources other than the project but after some deliberation Head issued Segregation Notice No. 1 on August 11, 1943, which stated that "All

those who may have made applications for repatriation to the Spanish consul and have written evidence or other verification of having made such application are requested to present same to the unit Welfare Office." I have been unable to obtain statistics on those who responded to this call but would imagine it to be rather small. It is reported that the majority of those who applied for repatriation at the assembly centers are only too happy not to be able to present such evidence at this time. Furthermore, those who are anxious to return to Japan would have seen to it long before this date that their applications had been placed on record so that they might be called in case the exchange ship could accomodate them.

On August 9, 1943, the project director issued Segregation Release No. 5 which announced that the repatriation and expatriation list for the three camps of Poston totaled 281 families or 590 persons. It further claimed that all of these with the exception of those whose names appeared on the list for sailing on the next exchange ship would be sent to Tule Lake.

The actual number for segregation on grounds of repatriation is much smaller than indicated here because it included those individuals who had never formally applied for repatriation. When the project issued its first call for repatriation in June of last year it is reported that hundreds rushed to the administrative quarters to file their applications. The great response was primarily due to the fact that they were still smarting under the impact of evacuation. They were apparently also under the impression that applications for repatriation would result in speedy passage to Japan which was infinitely better than remaining in an American concentration camp for the duration. Many parents with little children further felt that the possession

of American citizenship literally meant nothing and that it might be better to bring them up as good Japanese citizens. With reference to this Miss Lou Butler, who is in charge of repatriation, stated to X: "Lots of people came up and signed for repatriation without giving it second thought. Now they want to change. One individual even thought it would be wise to go back to Japan during the war and come back to America after the war."

Somewhere toward the latter half of July of last year Head made an announcement that all those who wished to repatriate must come and sign on a certain date. It further claimed that even those who had signed in June must reapply if they wished to have their applications honored (inferring that unless you signed a second time the first application would not be placed on record). Meanwhile a great number had changed their minds and did not bother to reapply. They were under the impression that since they had not reapplied their names had been withdrawn from the repatriation list. (Recently we found out that the form utilized in June was one prepared by the project, while the one in July was the official form distributed by the WRA). As soon as the news of segregation leaked out a rumor began to spread in camp that those who had signed for repatriation only once as well as those who had applied on both occasions were on the list of repatriates and would be sent to Tule Lake. Worried people began to investigate one by one and found that their names were actually on the stop list for requesting repatriation.

Somewhere during the first week of July, Kato of block 45 called at the block manager's office and requested X to find out if his and his wife's name were on the repatriation list. He informed him that he had applied at the first call but had not bothered to answer the second summons. X discovered that both

of their names were on the stop list so rushed over to Nelson's office and explaining the situation to him requested to see the memorandum issued by his predecessor, John Evans, in July of last year claiming that those who did not reapply would not have their applications honored. The memo could not be located so X was sent back to confer with Miss Butler of the Welfare division. Since she had arrived in the project only in March of this year she was unacquainted with previous administrative policies and informed him that unless that memo was located she could not act up on it. Two days later it was unearthed in Head's office. Since this placed an entirely different slant on the repatriation picture, the Welfare Division distributed on July 26 the following memorandum to all those who had requested repatriation in June, 1942, but had failed to sign when the second call was made in July:

Kato, Kojiro, and Mitsuye:

Our records show that you made a request for repatriation or expatriation to Japan early last summer. However, proper blanks were not then in use so your name is not on the official list. Your failure to sign such blanks when opportunity was given to do so later leads us to think you do not wish to be considered. If this is true, please sign the following statement and bring it to the Family Welfare Office, Unit I.

I hereby declare that I do not wish to apply for repatriation or expatriation to Japan.

Date _____ Name _____

If you do wish to apply for repatriation or expatriation, you should come to the Family Welfare Office and sign the proper forms.

Family Welfare Division, Unit I.

It is claimed that practically all of those who received this form failed to reapply.

Numerous cases of names being placed on the repatriation list because of administrative inefficiency have been reported in the last few weeks. Here are

a few representative samples:

Mr. Ikuno, the cashier of Community Enterprises, related the following story to X: "Sometimes ago Roy Yoshida (assistant leave officer) told me that my name was on the stop list. He told me that I'd better find out about it. So I went up to the administration and they told me that I had signed for repatriation. They said I signed it when they called for it the very first time. The facts are these: You remember several hundred people stormed the office and there was much commotion and excitement. The people in the office didn't know what they were doing. Anyway, I went there for Mrs. T., who occupied the same apartment with me, to find out the details. Her husband wasn't going back and he wouldn't do it for her. At the entrance to the office the girl took my name down and made me sign a paper which contained many signatures. Otherwise she said she wouldn't let me in. So I signed it. Now Miss Butler claims that I signed for repatriation. After a great deal of explanation she finally convinced and drew up an affidavit for me. I signed it but I don't know how good that is. Anyway, she said that my name is not on the Washington list but on the project list. She said it was better not to cancel because applications for cancellation are sent to Washington."

Nelson related the following to X: "There are several cases in which persons claim that they withdrew their applications for repatriation, but their names are still on the list. There is one specific case in block 4. This fellow went to the Social Welfare office last December to withdraw his applications but the place was busy and he was sent to the Leave Office. He claims that he put his withdrawal there but there is no such record."

X replied: "You have to give those cases full consideration because you cannot penalize anyone for administrative inefficiency. You know there was a great deal of inefficiency and incompetency here."

Nelson answered: "Yeah, that's right. But how do you know he wasn't lying?"

X retorted: "Well, that should be determined by the integrity of each individual. You can get testimonies from his acquaintances."

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Mr. and Mrs. M. Iketani of block 59 filed applications for repatriation in July, 1942, because they were under the impression that by doing so they would be sent to Japan immediately. They were also greatly concerned over the future welfare of their two children, aged 9 and 11, whose rights as American citizens they felt had been taken away. However, as the months progressed and WRA policies became more and more definite and it appeared that it was no longer necessary to be confined in a relocation center for the duration, they began to hesitate about returning to Japan. Moreover, by this time the future status of their children seemed rosier. Consequently during the first week of

June, 1943, he approached his friend, X, and inquired as to the procedure for withdrawal of application for repatriation. Since X was not quite certain as to the exact procedure he advised him to consult the project director. Head's receptionist informed him that it was extremely difficult to cancel applications and that most of those who had requested to do so had been denied to date. He was further told that a thorough F.B.I. investigation would be necessary before his request could be granted. Sensing the futility of seeing Head he returned home without consulting him. A few days ago he encountered X and was informed that applications for cancellation had been accepted up to July 1, 1943, and all those who had applied had received favorable consideration. In view of this I wrote two affidavits to Miss Butler -- one for Iketani reciting his attempts to cancel his application and the reasons motivating his action, and the other for X verifying Kietani's desire to withdraw his application during the first week of June. X and the Iketani family called on Miss Butler with these affidavits on August 14 and were granted permission to cancel their applications after the deadline on grounds of administrative inefficiency.

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With reference to administrative inefficiency in the handling of repatriation cases, Mas Kawashima told X that he had sent a memorandum to Head pointing out 19 specific cases of names being placed on the list through administrative bungling. His request for leniency in these cases were apparently granted since he claimed that only "two failed me."

Realizing the foolishness of sending people to Tule Lake who do not want to go there, the administration is following a tolerant and realistic approach in ignoring the July 1 deadline as far as cancellation for repatriation is concerned. As Ted Haas remarked: "It will be difficult to get out of Tule Lake once an individual gets there. It's wiser to consider the case here and pass judgment on it." To illustrate this attitude I shall cite the case of Dr. Murase, who applied for repatriation last year and failed to cancel it before July 1. Both Dr. and Mrs. Murase received a notice from the State Department a few months ago informing them that their names appeared on the list requested sent back by the Japanese government and inquiring whether they wished to accept the invitation or not. Both refused the offer and shortly afterwards Mrs.

Murase alone withdrew her application. On July 2, Dr. Murase applied for cancellation. Since this occurred a day after the deadline his name appeared on the list to be transferred to Tule Lake. He protested claiming he could not find time earlier to apply for cancellation because of the shortage of doctors at the hospital. He contended further that his refusal to return to Japan on the exchange ship should be sufficient evidence of his intention of remaining in this country. Head accepted his cancellation even though it was filed after the deadline. I do not know the exact statistics on cases of this sort but it is reported to be rather large.

On August 14, Head issued Segregation Release No. 8 A which announced that "Wives or other members of a family now residing in Poston, who had made application prior to July first, to move to the Crystal City family interment camp will not be segregated to the Tule Lake center at this time. They will remain in Poston pending official action on their application."

On August 24, twenty residents, listed in the repatriation category, left for New York via Gila to be returned to Japan on the exchange ship. The following day an additional seven departed for Gila to join the first group.

The deleting of all of the above individuals from the original list of repatriates compiled in Segregation Release No. 5A will probably cause a substantial drop in the number of repatriates actually to be transferred to Tule Lake in early October.

Requests for Repatriation after July 1, 1943

When the segregation news was announced in the Poston Chronicle on July 28, Nelson reported that "500 individuals" stormed the unit administrator's office in Camp III to request repatriation because they were afraid they would be compelled to relocate if they remained in Poston. By going to Tule Lake they hoped to be guaranteed room and board for the duration. Ted Haas with

reference to this claimed Nelson's statement a "gross exaggeration" but there must have been some basis for it because the Camp III page of the Japanese section of the Poston Chronicle printed the following article on July 31, 1943:

"It is expected that the details of segregation will be announced to the public as soon as Director Head returns. However, the article in the Los Angeles Examiner of the 28th claiming that "76,000 Japanese from the relocation centers will be released" has greatly disturbed the residents. Some hasty people are rushing to the administration to demand applications for repatriation. Regarding this, acting director Burge issued the following statement on the 29th: (Cf. page 9 of this report).

Assistant Manager Wumino of Unit III warned the people to refrain from rash and hasty acts. He pointed out that it is impossible to abolish all of the relocation centers entirely for the following reasons:

(1) The Examiner statement in Director Myer's unofficial personal statement. The abolition of all the relocation centers is his opinion of long standing.

(2) The government should not release evacuees without due consideration once the people have been evacuated and their lives have been uprooted from their foundations.

(3) The United States government is responsible for their living and for public sentiment towards the Japanese after they have been released.

(4) Although the Dies Committee and public opinion requested the segregation of the disloyal from the loyal, present public opinion supports the maintenance of the centers."

As far as Units I. and II were concerned there was no sudden rush to apply for repatriation. The few who applied gave the following motives for such action:

"I don't want to go outside. If I remained here the WRA will put pressure on us to go outside. They will close the camp sooner or later. If I go to Tule Lake I am safe for the duration. They can't kick me out of there."

"My family is going there. I don't want to be separated from them." Thus Nakachi, the chairman of the L.R.B., applied for repatriation because his son answered double negative and is Tule Lake bound. This attitude was quite prevalent until the administration announced that it was unnecessary for families of segregatns to apply for repatriation.

"I want to sign for repatriation so I can be sure that I will get first chance to return to Japan after the war."

On August 1, 1943, the Welfare Division officially ceased to accept new applications for repatriation, but on August 25, issued the following announcement:

August 25, 1943

Family Welfare Department

Persons wishing to make application for repatriation may apply now at the welfare division offices in the different units, for an appointment.

Interviews will not begin until September 2, and those who had made application prior to August 1 will be interviewed first. Repatriation applications have not been accepted since August 1 because of the segregation priority.

Miss Alice Cheney, associate counsellor, will be in charge of repatriation interviews in Unit 1; Miss Esther Rhoads, assistant counsellor, in Unit 2; and Miss Alice Grube, assistant counsellor, in Unit 3.

/s/ Lou Butler
Chief of Welfare Division

Those who applied for repatriation after July 1, 1943, however, will not be transferred to Tule Lake at the same time as the rest of the repatriates but will be first given a hearing by the Board of Review for Leave Clearance after the main segregation program has been completed.

Family Splits

On August 11, the Welfare Division began to interview all those who had been recommended to go to Tule Lake by the Board of Review for Segregation to determine what other members of the family desired to accompany them. In Segregation Release No. 6A which announced this procedure, Head requested each member of the segregant's family over 14 years of age to be present at the interview so that the "whole family" may take part in making the best possible

plans for their own future."

Because of the strong family solidarity of the Japanese, cases of family splits reported to date are rather rare. More common are stories such as these where the entire family is planning to accompany the black sheep into exile.

In block 13 there are two Issei brothers who are both married to Kibei girls who stubbornly adhered to their double negatives during the recent hearings. The Issei men are lamenting because they feel obligated to follow their spouses to Tule Lake.

Two of Ted Haas' best secretaries who are both over twenty years of age are Tule Lake bound because their parents applied for repatriation and are insisting that the entire family must go together.

A Kibei in block 45 answered double negative. His Kibei wife does not want to go to Tule Lake but is making plans to go there since she is a good Japanese wife and will follow her husband into exile.

A Nisei girl married a double negative a few months ago. Now she is furious at her husband and is crying indignantly: "Why didn't you tell me you answered double negative during registration? I wouldn't have married you then."

A man in block 2 answered double negative and is insisting that his wife accompany him. They are reported to be having quarrels daily because she does not wish to follow him.

A twenty-year-old girl who has never set foot in Japan before was compelled to go there recently with her parents on the exchange ship sailing September 1st. Her parents could not see any sense in leaving her behind.

A farmer's daughter, aged 18, in whose name all the family's real estate and bank accounts are listed, answered double negative during registration and stuck to her guns during the hearings. Her parents are said to be considerably worried not only because they will have to go to Tule Lake with her but because they are uncertain as to the fate of their property. When the father expressed his concern to a good friend, the latter inquired: "Have you talked to your daughter about this?" He replied: "No, I haven't". It appears that the father was the one who encouraged his daughter to answer negatively during registration and could not very well ask her to reconsider without losing face.

A Kibei wife in block 45 thought her husband had answered double negative so proceeded to buy a lot of heavy underwear in preparation for Tule Lake. However, he was not called for a hearing so she accosted one of her female friends: "You're the one who told me my husband answered 'No, No', but he hasn't been called yet. Looks like he isn't going to be called."

The friend answered: "No, he won't be called."

The wife replied angrily: "Why didn't you tell me?"

The other declared: "That's none of my business to tell you. Why don't you ask your own husband?"

She replied: "That's his personal matter. I'm not suppose to ask him about it. But you should have told me if you knew." According to X they have not been on speaking terms since this incident occurred.

The following are the only cases of family splits which I have been able to record:

One woman in block 5 is not accompanying her husband to Tule Lake for the sake of their little children. She does not want the stigma of disloyalty to be attached to them.

In block 21 or 22 an Issei applied for repatriation and is Tule Lake bound. His wife who is a Nisei is saying: "I'm not going to Tule Lake. Before you go there, I want you to divorce me."

In one of the block managers' meeting one of the managers cited the case of a 16 year old boy who wants to relocate but his parents are transferring to Tule Lake. To go out a guardian must be appointed for him. The manager wished to know if the boy could rejoin his parents at the segregation center even after a guardian had been appointed to look after him -- in other words he wanted to know if the boy had the right to cancel his guardianship if relocation proved to be a failure for him. Nelson assured the manager that he could do so.

Mrs. Kawai of block 45, after some deliberation decided to remain in Poston with her common-law husband rather than accompany her "disloyal" son to Tule Lake. At the time of her son's interview Miss Cheney of the Welfare Division insisted that she must either transfer to Tule Lake or live separately from her present husband because she was not legally married to him. X, as block manager, objected to the attitude of Cheney whom he described as a "God-damn narrow-minded bitch", so I hastily scribbled the following memorandum to Head to request the Welfare Division to "adopt a more tolerant and realistic approach" to the disposition of her case:
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For son's attitude consult page 22 of this report.

MEMORANDUM TO: Mr. W. Wade Head, Project Director

FROM: Manager, Block 45

SUBJECT: The Segregation Case of Mrs. Fukumatsu Kawai

DATE: August 18, 1943

Mr. Kazuo Kawai of 45-4-c¹/₂, who has been recommended by the Board of Review for Segregation to go to the Tule Lake Center, called at my office Monday morning, August 16, 1943, for advice concerning the future welfare of his mother. He explained that when he was interviewed by the Welfare Division on Thursday, August 12, he had told Miss Alice Cheney that it was his mother's wish as well as his that she remain in Poston with his stepfather rather than accompany him to Tule Lake. At that time Miss Cheney had decreed that his mother must either transfer to Tule Lake or live separately from her husband in Poston since she was not legally married to him. She had instructed him at the close of the interview to send his mother and her common-law husband to her office on Monday but he wanted my advice before informing them.

I immediately consulted Mr. Haas as to the legal status of common-law marriage in Poston and was informed that there was nothing in the legal machinery here to prevent a couple from living together. However, since the Attorney General of California has ruled that evacuees still hold legal residence in California we are theoretically supposed to abide by California law which does not recognize common-law marriage although it is sanctioned in most of the other states.

I subsequently contacted Miss Cheney to verify the statements made by Mr. Kawai earlier in the morning. When I protested that common-law marriage is not considered illegal here she replied: "What's the use of getting a marriage license then?" She was greatly concerned that the condonation of such a practice would be a bad influence on young people. I argued that that depended on their age -- if they were very young they would not understand; if they were old enough they would not mind. Since we were obviously approaching the problem from different angles we could reach no agreement and dropped the matter at this point.

At lunch time I cornered Mr. Kawai, his mother, and Mr. Ikuno, his stepfather, and acquainted them with my experiences during the morning. They unanimously agreed that it was none of Miss Cheney's business to meddle in their affairs. Mr. Ikuno then assured his stepson in my presence that he would continue to take good care of his mother as he had done in the past eight years.

After lunch I revisited Mr. Haas to inquire whether the case in his opinion would fall within the category of illicit cohabitation as defined in the penal code of Poston. He explained that the framers of the penal code did not intend common-law marriage to be included in that classification unless the residents protested against such a practice.

I then took Mrs. Kawai to the Welfare Division to be interviewed by Miss Cheney. She wished to know why Mrs. Kawai had not brought her husband along so I explained that this was a hearing on segregation and that he had nothing to do with it. All that was really necessary as far as I could see was for her to ask Mrs. Kawai whether she desired to go to Tule Lake or not. Miss Cheney retorted at this point that the Welfare Division like to handle every social problem as it came up. She elaborated that she was not insinuating that Mr. Kawai was a bad woman but advised her to go through a marriage ceremony immediately if she preferred to remain in Poston. When Mrs. Kawai replied that many circumstances were involved and that she did not wish to decide the issue at the moment Miss Cheney demanded to know why she refused to get married. Mrs. Kawai explained that she had always entertained the idea of returning to Japan someday but since her husband had no such desire they had decided it was wiser to retain their present status. Miss Cheney interrupted at this point that if she wished to return to Japan she should transfer to Tule Lake. She argued that after the war boats would be unavailable for some time and that she would secure earlier passage by going to Tule Lake.

When Mr. Ikuno was brought to the Welfare Division at the insistence of Miss Cheney later in the afternoon he contended that the marriage problem was an entirely separate matter from segregation and did not desire to discuss it at the moment. Furthermore, he believed it was his personal affair and did not wish to be molested.

From all indications it appears that unless Mrs. Kawai undergoes a socially acceptable marriage ceremony in the immediate future Miss Cheney is determined to send her to Tule Lake or compel her to live separately from her husband in Poston. As block manager keenly interested in the welfare of my block residents, I wish to raise the following objections to such an administrative attitude:

(1) I am convinced that segregation is a momentous event, second only in importance to evacuation in the lives of those affected, and feel that it should not be confused with extraneous matters which have no relevance whatsoever to the question. I strongly believe that the making of a decision by Mrs. Kawai should not be influenced by personal matters which have absolutely no connection with the primary question of segregation. It is my understanding that only those who desire to follow the segregant to Tule Lake are supposed to do so and that the administration will not compel anyone to transfer there against his wishes. Hence the main issue to me is not whether Mrs. Kawai will remain in Poston with her common-law husband but whether she wishes to follow her son to Tule Lake. The fact that Mr. Ikuno has assured his stepson in my presence that he will take good care of his mother should be sufficient evidence that she will be well taken care of during the segregant's absence. I have known Mr. Ikuno for over fifteen years and can vouch for his honesty and sincerity in carrying out his promises.

(2) Miss Cheney's main contention is that both Mrs. Kawai and Mr. Ikuno have legal residence in California, a state which does not recognize common-law marriage. My argument is that common-law marriages have flourished for years in California but the law-enforcing agencies have not bothered to suppress them. Mrs. Kawai and Mr. Ikuno have lived together for eight

years and entered Poston as man and wife. They live happily together and block 45 has accepted them as man and wife. As far as the residents are concerned there is no moral issue involved, except perhaps in the minds of Caucasian ex-missionaries and evacuee Christian leaders who I feel interpret the teachings of their Master rather narrowly. If objections on moral grounds had been raised by the block residents, I, as block manager, would have acted upon it even before it reached the Family Welfare Division. I am by no means advocating the wholesale practice of common-law marriage in Poston but feel that those who entered camp as man and wife should not be molested at the present time. As far as Miss Cheney's fear that it will be bad influence on young people is concerned I wish to state that there is no such danger from that quarter. The Nisei, with only a few notable exceptions, have swallowed in toto the virtues and prejudices of Middle Class American societies so it will not occur to them to indulge in such a practice.

(3) All residents of Camp I did not come from California. According to Mr. Haas many states sanction common-law marriage so confusion will surely result if we attempted to enforce the laws of various states in Poston.

(4) According to Mr. Haas there is no WRA regulation prohibiting common-law marriage in relocation centers. The fact that so many individuals have lived in this state unmolested for over a year implies silent acceptance by the WRA. Furthermore, when the legal status of common-law marriage came up for discussion in the fifth meeting of the Temporary Community Council on August 12, 1942, in connection with the section on Illicit Cohabitation in the Proposed Code of Offenses, it was generally agreed among the council members that any couple who entered camp as man and wife even though they actually were not should be recognized until the real husband appeared to protest. According to Mr. Haas this attitude has been carried over into the newly revised code of offenses.

(5) My contention, therefore, is that if the residents of a block are willing to accept common-law marriage the administration should not instigate otherwise unnecessary dissension by suppressing such a practice. Common-law marriage is a deep-rooted institution in Japanese culture. Acculturation studies conducted by anthropologists all over the world indicate that sudden attempts to eradicate age-old traditions by government edict or missionary zeal generally have a chaotic ending. Since deep-rooted social institutions cannot be changed overnight I believe that the best policy for the Welfare Division -- anyway, for the present -- will be to adopt the attitude: "Let well enough alone."

To eliminate the anxiety of the Kawais and to facilitate the making of a decision by Mrs. Kawai I respectfully appeal to you as project director to request the Welfare Division to adopt a more tolerant and realistic approach to the disposition of her case.

I reiterate that segregation is a vital matter in the lives of those affected and the making of decision should not be influenced by extraneous matters which have no pertinence to the question. If Christian prudery demands that the couple be married to entitle them to live together in Poston, I believe it should be requested later when the problems of segregation have been settled. I protest the method of Miss Cheney threatening to send Mrs. Kawai to Tule Lake unless she goes through a marriage ceremony with Mr. Ikuno immediately. I interpret such action to be punishment for Mrs. Kawai for practising common-law marriage. It is my understanding that the punishment center for undesirables is Leupp, not Tule Lake; that Tule Lake, according to your Segregation Release No. 3 A, is for "those people who have indicated their desire to follow the Japanese way of life, or who have renounced their allegiance to the United States and whose movements must therefore be restricted in time of war."

Your prompt consideration of this matter will be greatly appreciated.

/s/ Richard S. Nishimoto
Richard S. Nishimoto
Manager, Block 45

The day after X handed this memorandum to Head's secretary, Head and Nelson called at this office and commended him on the "best memo we've received so far." Head requested him at that time to inform Mrs. Kawai that it was unnecessary for her to go to Tule Lake or go through a marriage ceremony with Mr. Ikuno because as far as the administration was concerned, eight years of living together as man and wife constituted "legal marriage" to them.

A case which technically does not belong here but which has been included because of considerable interest is that of a Kibei who answered "Yes" to 27 and 28 at the time of registration at the instigation of his Nisei wife. Since he had always promised that he would do everything the way his Kibei friends did he could not reveal this "cowardly act" to them. When all his friends were called before the hearing board and returned home proudly declaring that they had stuck to their convictions he could not bear to show his face among them. Now all of them are preparing to go to Tule Lake and he is extremely miserable. His wife is pregnant and he is hoping in his loneliness to find a "new outlook on life" through his unborn child.

Issei-Nisei Attitudes Toward Segregation

Here are some of the attitudes toward segregation that we have been able to collect from Issei and Nisei in camp. Interestingly enough, practically all of them appear to condone segregation.

Issei Attitudes:

"The Diet sent a message through the Spanish consul that we should conduct ourselves with prudence and hope. It means that Nisei should act like loyal Americans."

"Even Gen. Araki announced over the radio that Nisei should fight for America."

"Japan does not appreciate the behavior on the part of "No, No" kids. I don't think she would give any credit for their attitude."

"Well, they didn't treat the Nisei like American citizens, did they? It is natural that they answered 'No' to 27 and 28. If the U.S. government wanted them to be loyal they should have treated them like loyal American citizens."

"This is the way the government wants to punish us mildly. They are going to assemble the 'disloyal' together and Americanize them. They are going to try to make them loyal."

"Nothing we can do about it."

"There is so much talk outside about disloyal people influencing loyal ones in camp that the WRA had to quiet down public criticism."

"This is to speed up the relocation program. They want to vacate all the relocation camps soon."

"When people put down in black and white that they are disloyal, the government can't very well ignore that. It must do something about it."

"When they said: 'Those who want to go to Japan come and sign for it,' I thought there was something fishy."

"Tule Lake will not be any better than Poston. The pro-Japanese tendency will be accentuated and drastic action might be taken by the agitators. If any disturbance occurs the Army will take control immediately so conditions will not be any better than here."

"It can't be helped. It will be all the same everywhere. The segregation camp can't be worse than here."

Many Issei are asking at present whether the Army or the WRA was responsible for the registration in February. They feel that the administration was at fault in not revealing the "true intention" of registration. It compelled the evacuees to register without making them realize the consequences.

Some residents consider those who are going to Tule Lake "saps". If they can return to Japan immediately by transferring there, they see some advantage in it but since that's improbably they are ridiculing them.

Nisei Attitudes:

"They had it coming to them."

"Some are trying to change their 'No's' to 'Yes's' but that wouldn't be allowed."

"Too many guys didn't know their own minds. They were too easily influenced by agitators."

"Too many people were irrational and flippanant. They were too easily influenced by others."

"Segregation had to take place to appease certain factions in Congress and in California and Arizona, and also to facilitate the administering of the centers."

With reference to the shibai group putting up a farewell show on Sept. 19 for the Tule Lake bound, George Fujii commented: "Let's not treat them like criminals."

When X asked his friend, Saito, the block manager of 59, whether his block was planning to give a farewell party for the segregants he retorted: "Hell, why should we give them any block party?" Jo, the manager of block 32, who was standing by, added: "Suppose you were in Japan, they'll throw you in jail."

Statistics:

The latest statistics revealed by the segregation office on August 25 indicates that at least 1468 individuals will be transferred to Tule Lake in early October. This is not the total figure leaving Poston since it does not include those who may be recommended for segregation by the Board of Review for Leave Clearance or those in the repatriation category whose cases are still under investigation. These are the latest figures for repatriates and those who answered "No" to question 28 for the three camps:

	<u>Camp I</u>	<u>Camp II</u>	<u>Camp III</u>
Repatriates	325	138	14
Family members of Repatriates	36	66	23
Those who answered "No"	122	180	36
Family members of "No" individuals	180	315	33
	<u>663</u>	<u>699</u>	<u>106</u>

It is interesting to note that Camp II, which has less than half the population of Camp I, actually has a greater number leaving for Tule Lake.

The following is a block by block analysis of the number of people to be transferred to Tule Lake from Camp I in the order of decreasing number. The figures for each block fluctuate from day to day depending on the number of

family members who decide to accompany the segregant. The list is based on figures obtained from the office of the block manager's supervisor on August 28:

<u>Block</u>	<u>No. Leaving</u>	<u>Area from which evacuated</u>
37	59	Orange County
43	35	Orange County
4	33	Riverside
26	32	Imperial Valley and Los Angeles
3	30	Delano and Orange County
18		Mixed (Mostly from Salinas A.C.)
44	29	Oceanside and Orange County
6	25	Mixed
16	23	Salinas Assembly Center
19		Bakersfield
22		Oceanside and Orange County
12	22	Orange County and Oceanside
21		Orange County
38		Orange County
17	19	Salinas A.C.
5	18	Orange County
59	17	Los Angeles and Imperial Valley
28		Orange County
42	16	Imperial Valley
39	14	Imperial Valley
54	12	Imperial Valley

11	11	Mixed
14		Mixed
27	10	Orange County
46		Los Angeles
36	8	Los Angeles
2	5	Los Angeles
15	4	Arizona
30	3	Los Angeles
45		Los Angeles
60		Imperial Valley
31	2	Salinas Assembly Center
35		Los Angeles
53	1	Imperial Valley
32		Salinas Assembly Center

An accurate interpretation of these figures would, of course, have to take into consideration a number of factors, e.g. the size of family groups, but even cursory analysis may be of interest. The largest numbers seem to come from three adjoining rural areas in southern California -- namely Orange County, Oceanside, and Riverside counties. The lowest figures come from blocks inhabited by people from Los Angeles, Imperial Valley and the Salinas Assembly Center. That the Los Angeles groups contributed so few to the segregation center may be partly accounted for by the fact that urban peoples are more cosmopolitan in outlook and are considerably more opportunistic than rural dwellers. The low figures for Imperial Valley areas are not at all surprising when we recall that directly after Pearl Harbor a number of prominent Issei and Nisei in the Valley

in conjunction with the American Legionnaires drew up a resolution forswearing all allegiance to the Japanese Empire which they advertised in English and Japanese dailies. The low figures for blocks 31 and 32 stand in marked contrast to other Salinas blocks but the incongruity might be explained by the fact that there is a great concentration of office workers in these blocks. Because of their proximity to the administration area a number of clerical workers and professionals requested to be moved to these blocks.

The quad embracing blocks 37 and 43 has long been regarded the most "Japanesey" section of Camp I. It not only has a high concentration of male Kibei but is also the stronghold of active Buddhists who are generally more old worldist than Christians. Block 37, furthermore, is the home of Jimmy Yahiro, and block 43; that of Kamatani -- two agitators who were actively advising people during registration to answer double negative. The presence of shady political figures like Nagai and Andy Sugimoto, may also account for the high figures in blocks 3 and 4.

The original plan for the transfer of the segregants called for a block to block removal of repatriates followed by those who answered negatively to question 28, but on August 26 Head announced that no distinction would be made in classification and that all of the segregants from one block would be removed at the same time. Instructions from Washington provide for movement in two groups but a special dispensation was secured for Poston to insure orderly evacuation.