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Manzanar Relocation Center
Community Analysis Section
August 4, 1944

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THE REPATRIATE-EXPATRIATE GROUP
OF MANZANAR

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INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF METHOD

In August, 1943, I attended a series of interviews between representatives of the Welfare Department of Manzanar and repatriates who were being sent to Tule Lake. My observations were summarized in a report titled "An Analysis of the Repatriate Group at Manzanar." I was impressed then by the variety of personalities involved, by the range of individual and family problems which were revealed, and by the complex web of motivations which existed. I resolved to attempt a more careful and definitive study of this type of material when time would permit. Other aspects of segregation, and crises such as the one occasioned by the resumption of the draft for the nisei, have claimed most of my attention since then, and it was not until recently that I could again give ample time to this important subject.

However, the upsurge in repatriation and expatriation requests in late winter and early spring of this year again directed attention to the problem and underscored the desirability of a careful and sustained examination of the entire situation.

In early May the Manzanar Community Analysis Section began to gather data concerning the repatriates and expatriates of Manzanar. It was decided to include as subjects of the study all persons then at Manzanar who had ever requested repatriation or expatriation. The fact that some of the persons involved had since withdrawn their applications was considered an advantage, for it opened the possibility of comparing adamant repatriates with cancellees, and of finding any differentiation factors for the two groups.

It was decided, also, that the study would not be based on sampling methods but would utilize all relevant material concerning every individual belonging to the proper categories. Since 508 persons were finally included in the total group, the task became a major research effort, absorbing much of the time and energies of four persons for two months.

Repatriation-Expatriation Face Sheet

Community analysis family number
Name
Sex
Age
Nationality
Address before evacuation
Center address
Marital Status
Citizen married to alien
Nisei married to kibe
Family position
Family size
Citizenship in family
Number of military age men
Number in family repatriating or expatriating
Number in family not repatriating or expatriating
Relatives in Japan
Relatives (friends) in Tule Lake
Relatives in U.S. Army
Date of arrival in U.S.
Residence in Japan
Vocation before evacuation
Average earnings before evacuation
Property in U.S.
Property in Japan
Property losses at evacuation
Education
Religion
Language
Internment
Health
Date entered Manzanar
Furlough
New Work
Answer to Question No. 28
Leave clearance status before repatriation-expatriation
Repatriation or expatriation date
Repatriation or expatriation through the Spanish Consul-date
Date canceled repatriation or expatriation
Motivations

Consecutive No. _____

For every individual subject a repatriation-expatriation face sheet was prepared which we hoped would bring together both the usual statistical data and also the special pertinent factors which operate in respect to this particular group. A copy of the face sheet, which contains some forty items, is attached.

The headings of the face sheet were most carefully and deliberately chosen. For the purposes of this study two numbers were given to each subject, a community analysis family at the top and an individual consecutive number at the bottom of the sheet. Families and the individuals who composed them were arranged alphabetically, according to the last name, for the purpose of giving the numbers. The family numbers provided a cumulative picture of the number of families involved, their relative sizes, etc., and permitted the staff to quickly find and compare kinship units. Letters designate the family members and their positions in the family constellation. Thus if a family of four named Arika is No. 8 on our list, the father or family head will be 8a, the mother will be 8b, the eldest child will be 8c and the second and youngest child will be 8d.

The consecutive numbers disregard family affiliation, although the order established by alphabetizing the names and arranging the subjects according to family position is maintained. These numbers run from 1 to 508 therefore. They permit the easy handling and comparison of the materials relating to subjects with like problems and characteristics, apart from considerations of family.

Besides these numbers, the face sheets contain the ordinary and inevitable items such as sex, age, nationality, address and marital status. But along with nationality we have also recorded whether or not a person is a dual citizen and a kibeï. In addition to the present Center address, in an attempt to see whether localization of repatriation-expatriation requests at the Center correlates with pre-evacuation groupings and solidarities, we have noted the address before evacuation.

In order to gage the various internal family pressures we have singled out those cases where citizens are married to aliens and nisei are married to kibe.

Family position and family size were included as headings because these factors were considered to be especially important for this particular study. If a boy is the oldest son or the only son, he is less likely to oppose or successfully to oppose the insistence of his parents that he expatriate and follow them to Japan. Where the families are large the fear of forced relocation and the doubts concerning final rehabilitation are especially great.

The reasons for the inclusion of many of the other headings are equally plain. As an aid in the understanding of the influence of the draft announcement, the number of men of military age in each family is listed. In order to locate those families where splits or internal dissensions have occurred, the number in a family who are repatriating or expatriating is given. To estimate the influence that relatives outside the Center or abroad exert, the number of relatives in Japan, the number in Tule Lake and the number in the United States army have been put down. An attempt to obtain a cross-section of the economic factors is made by the inclusion of such headings as vocation before evacuation, average earnings before evacuation, property in the United States and Japan and property losses at evacuation. Through items such as education, religion and language we have sought some light on the intellectual background and standing of the repatriates-expatriates as a group. That anger or despair over internment and considerations of health are significant in repatriation-expatriation decisions is too obvious to require any special comment.

Those who came first to Manzanar as "volunteers" met particularly adverse conditions and suffered many disappointments. The date of entrance to Manzanar is included in order to single out this "pioneer" element.

A count of those who have been away from the Center on furlough or who were employed at the camouflage net factory in Manzanar was thought advisable

because both of these activities were at one time considered an indication of pro-Americanism and a proof that the individual was making an adjustment which would result in relocation and rehabilitation.

The final series of headings which have to do with the original answer to question No. 28, the leave clearance status before repatriation-expatriation, the repatriation or expatriation date, whether or not the move was made through the offices of the Spanish Consul and the date of cancelation if it occurred, are included further to probe into the influence of the nisei draft, and to ascertain the degree of indecision concerning the whole problem within the group.

In order to properly fill in the face sheets a tremendous amount of material had to be consulted and utilized. Forms 26, 126, 304, repatriation application forms, segregation hearings, leave clearance hearings, repatriation hearings, reports from welfare, the hospital, the schools, the employment office,-- in fact all possible sources of information concerning the person on the Project and everything that this Section could accumulate was examined. Anything that seemed particularly revealing, that provided insight, information or explanation, was copied and attached to the face sheet. Therefore we now have a very complete case history for most of the subjects, as well as the material summarized on the face sheets.

The present study is primarily the arrangement and interpretation of the information which appears on the face sheets. It does not draw from the large body of descriptive case material which has been accumulated in the course of the researches. This first study is concerned with group characteristics, with trends and with averages rather than with individuals, personality types and the problems of individuals, families and groups within the larger group. But this report is to be followed by another in which emphasis will be placed on the particular human problem instead of on the statistical average, in which case records will be organized according to type, and a classification of

motivation based on descriptive materials will be offered.

One or two points should be kept in mind in reading this report. By a "relative" or "immediate family member" is meant the spouse and single children of the married person (a grandparent who resides with the family unit may be included) and the parents and unmarried siblings of a single person. Therefore, when it is said that a married man has but one relative in Japan, his wife, this does not preclude the possibility that he may have a parent, siblings, aunts, uncles and cousins residing in Japan also. In other words, "family" or "relative" is used throughout this paper in the social science sense of elementary family or a member thereof.

A final word about the time element in relation to the stability and dependability of the basic data. The membership of the repatriate-expatriate group is always changing. Cancelations occur and new names are added to the list. It was in May 1944 that the basic data were first gathered for this study. Final corrections and modifications were made in mid-June. Since that time there have been at least twelve cancelations or repatriation or expatriation (practically all of these were cancelations of expatriation). But there have also been a number of new cases of repatriation-expatriation, one of a family of six persons. It is likely, therefore, that the statistical picture is much the same. However, it should be remembered that in an exact sense the figures arrived at pertain to a given time period only.

GENERAL GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The persons still at Manzanar who have, at one time or another, been listed for repatriation or expatriation (whether the repatriation request has been canceled or not) total 508. One hundred thirty-one have withdrawn the repatriation or expatriation request. Three hundred seventy-seven are still listed as repatriates or expatriates. The group divides on the basis of sex into 312 males and 196 females. The predominance of males to some extent reflects the interest in returning to Japan of men who, because of immigration restrictions, never succeeded in bringing their wives to America, and of male kibeï whose families reside in Japan but who sought an escape from service in the Japanese army when the acts of the Japanese military leaders in China committed Nippon to a long conflict.

There are 225 aliens in the group and 283 citizens. Actually what is commonly called the repatriation problem, therefore, is in reality an expatriation problem. The citizen group consists of 161 males and 122 females. Of the citizen males forty-two have canceled expatriation requests, but 119 are still on the expatriate roll. Twenty-two of the citizen females have canceled, but 100 are still among the expatriates.

A larger number of citizen males than citizen females is involved because there was a tendency at the announcement of the application of the draft to nisei for families with males of military age to sign for repatriation and expatriation. The larger number of male citizen cancelations reflects the reaction that set in when it became known that expatriation requests made by a male of military age after the resumption of the draft had been announced, would be considered draft dodging and would open the individual involved to legal penalties. Some young men who were trying to reach Tule Lake by the expatriation route in order to avoid military service also reconsidered when it became known

that the draft would be made applicable to male citizens at Tule Lake as well.

Of the 225 aliens with whom we are concerned, 151 are males and seventy-four are females. Fifty-one of the males have canceled the repatriation requests but only sixteen of the alien women have done so. The difference in these figures can be accounted for as follows: When the evacuees first entered Manzanar (the early comers or volunteers were almost all men) many of them were angered and disgusted at the whole evacuation process and the difficult conditions of existence during the first period of the Center. Single men whose relatives were in Japan, and married men with wives and children in Japan were at first eager to arrange to rejoin their kin and their families, especially in those cases where the economic stake in this country had been eliminated or where the individual feared future discrimination. Many of these "single men" (actually quite a few were married and had wives and children in Japan, as we shall see) signed for repatriation at the first opportunity, in 1942. As the war continued and it became evident that comparatively few nationals of the combatants would be exchanged until the end of the conflict, and as the facilities and conditions of the Center improved, there was a reverse tide of sentiment and a stream of cancelations. The darkening picture for Japan's war prospects and the arrival of Red Cross messages which reassured repatriates concerning their relatives abroad, contributed to the trend as well.

The 283 American citizens may be divided into those who hold citizenship in this country only and those who hold Japanese citizenship in addition. Those who belong to the first category number 187; those who have somewhere indicated that they hold citizenship in both countries total 96. Into this category of dual citizens I have placed all cases in which testimony is conflicting and all those individuals who were not sure of their status.

There were eleven individuals who have stated on one form that they hold single citizenship only but who have written elsewhere (usually on the repatriation and expatriation application) that they are dual citizens. In most

of these instances I believe that the individuals are United States citizens only. In fact, in at least two of the cases, there is evidence that the persons canceled Japanese citizenship some years ago.

This claim to Japanese citizenship, then, is sometimes an emotional rather than a factual or legal matter. Once the die is cast, the expatriate is emphasizing his Japanese affiliation and interest, even in disregard of legal realities. The individual in such an instance is finally coming around to the "American" viewpoint with a vengeance. Having been classified as a "Japanese" on the basis of ancestry for the purpose of evacuation and detention, he now insists he is a Japanese national because of his parentage. In addition to these eleven cases there are three others where the individual is not sure of his citizenship status.

After the corrections which I deem justified are made, I find that 85 of the citizen group, or thirty percent of the 283 persons involved, are citizens of Japan as well. This is a higher percentage of dual citizenship than is found for the entire citizen group of the Center (I estimate it to be not greater than fifteen percent). The proportion of dual citizens in this expatriate group is swelled by the presence of a substantial number of kibe about whom something more will be said later. Yet it comes as a shock to discover that in this group, which might be expected to be more closely affiliated with Japan than any other, only thirty per cent have any claim to Japanese citizenship and to the protection of Japan. For seventy per cent, then, the renunciation of American citizenship is not an affirmation of anything, but is a purely negative gesture. In my opinion this is a point that requires much more emphasis than it has received. "Repatriation" is the word that is most often heard in connection with this situation and it is the word around which most discussion centers. It is important, therefore, to remember that the majority of those affected are citizens, that what they are doing is expatriating, and that for

most of them, at the present time, this act is leading them exactly nowhere.

Mention has been made of kibe within the citizen group. Forty-three individuals or fifteen per cent of the citizens are kibe. Of these, twenty-eight are males and fifteen are females. Twenty-six, seventeen males and nine females, are listed as expatriates. Seventeen, eleven males and six females, have canceled the expatriation application.

To pass on to the subject of marital status. Two hundred eighty-six, the largest number by far, are unmarried. One hundred eighty-eight persons are married. Eight persons are listed as divorced, three have separated from mates, nineteen are widowers and four are widows. The large number of unmarried individuals gives some hint of the substantial portion of children who are included, and offers some clue to the factor of dependency in the entire situation.

A count was made of family units according to size. One hundred individuals of the 508 total were "listed alone," that is, they are the only representatives of their families at Manzanar. There are twenty-five families with two members listed. Twenty-two families have three members. Eighteen families contain four members each. Ten families include five members and a surprisingly large number, sixteen, have six family members. From this point on there is a sharp drop. In only seven instances have families seven members, two families have eight members and there is a single example of a family of nine.

There is an extremely high correlation between membership in a large family and final determination to remain an repatriate or expatriate. Of the sixteen families with six members each, only one has canceled. In another of these families of six, one individual has canceled but the other five persons remain repatriates. Of the seven families with seven members, one unit is canceling, four continue as repatriates and in two cases the family has divided on the issue. In one of these two instances a single family member is canceling and the other six are repatriating, in the other instance three persons remain

repatriates and four have withdrawn the request. Both families of eight continue as repatriates. Members of the family of nine are among the cancellees. The total membership of these families of six or more is 170. Of this number only 28 have canceled. The other 142 are repatriates and expatriates still and constitute 38 per cent, an excessive proportion, of all repatriates-expatriates.

This inquiry into the relative size of families and into their repatriate status also revealed the degree to which the kinship clusters involved in this study have acted and reacted as units. When repatriation occurs the entire family is likely to be affected. When it is canceled, it is ordinarily withdrawn for all family members. Thus there were only five families (of the 101 with two or more members) in which a split in the final decision occurred. Three of these five cases have been mentioned above. This does not mean that all members of a family are happy over the course chosen. It does not mean that all family members are consulted about the choice to be made. It does mean that family heads retain control ordinarily, however, and that in the final analysis all members of the family are headed in the same direction.

The general picture with regard to religious affiliation is interesting too. Ninety-nine give as their religion some sect of Protestantism. Twenty profess Catholicism. Therefore a total of 119 are Christians. Buddhism claims the largest group of adherents, 243. Only two persons give Shinto as their faith. This turns out to be almost exactly the four tenths of one per cent which a recent W.R.A. survey found the strength of Shintoism to be among the Japanese in this country. Eighty-six persons disclaimed any religious preference, and satisfactory information concerning the faith of fifty-eight others could not be found. These figures indicate that a rather impressive segment of this group, some twenty-three per cent, are Christians. Forty-eight per cent are Buddhists. The percentage of Christians among the repatriates and expatriates is as large or larger than among the remainder of the Center population.

In other words, attachment to the religious complex of Japan does not appear to be a significant factor in the repatriation-expatriation decision. On the contrary, since so many are entirely disinterested in formal religion, since less than half the group is receptive toward Buddhism, and since there are a negligible number of believers in sect Shinto, this group, if it ever does reach Japan, is likely to be quite poorly adjusted from the religious point of view. The American environment has evidently remolded the religious pattern to a significant degree for these people. The figures suggest that a large proportion of the children fail to follow the Buddhist leanings of their parents. Many of the children become Christians, but those who have no important contacts with Christian teachings or who are not persuaded by the contacts they do have, tend to continue without church affiliation rather than to follow the faith of their parents.

One other figure might be included in this general picture. Twenty-five persons who were interned are members of this repatriate-expatriate group. Many of them are family heads. Their internments therefore directly affected several scores of persons. Where internment resulted from a blanket warrant, as in the case of the Terminal Island fishermen, indignation and bitterness run high. Other family members, even where they are not enthusiastic over repatriation or expatriation, respond to the feeling of injustice of the person who was interned and acquiesce in the family decision.

THE FACTOR OF AGE

Of particular significance in the expatriation-repatriation situation is the factor of age. The alien males who have at any time been listed for repatriation range in age from 30 to 77 years. The median age is 52 years. Those who are clinging to their decision to repatriate show an average age of 52.5. Those who have canceled the repatriation requests have an average age of 50.5. The tendency, in other words, is for those who are in average younger to resolve more often to attempt to rehabilitate themselves in America.

This can be demonstrated in another way. Male repatriates sixty years of age and over number forty-one. Thirty-one of them have not altered their decision to repatriate and only ten have canceled their repatriation applications. As a group the alien males are adhering to their decision to repatriate at the approximate rate of two to one, but in this higher age bracket they are repatriating at the ratio of three to one.

The reverse is true if the alien males of the opposite end of the age scale are studied. There are fifty-four alien males who are in the youngest group and who are from thirty to forty-five years of age. Thirty-three of them are resolved to repatriate, and twenty-one have canceled the repatriation application. This is a repatriation rate of approximately 60 per cent, compared to one of 75 per cent for the older men.

The alien women of the entire group range in age from seventeen to sixty-three years old. The median age is 46. Forty-one, well over half of these women, are between forty and fifty years old. The mean of average age of the total group is 45.8 years. Those who have canceled are 43.3 years old in average. Those who remain repatriates average 46.5 years old. Again the correlation between advancing age and repatriation is noticeable.

The citizen males range in age from infancy to 50 years. The one 50-year-old individual was born in Japan but was naturalized as a result of his services in World War I. The median age for citizen males of our entire list is 18. The average age is 17.3. Those who have canceled the expatriation application average 16.8 in age while those who did not cancel are 17.4 years old in average.

The pattern of age distribution is much the same for female citizens. The age spread is from infancy to 39 years. Seventeen is the median age. The average age of the 121 subjects is 16.4. The mean age of those who canceled is 18.7. Those who failed to cancel are 15.8 years of age in average.

THE ALIEN BACKGROUND

Arrival dates and residence in Japan

In order to understand the reaction of the alien repatriates to evacuation and their attitude toward the future, it is necessary to know something about the background of these aliens as a group. Because they are and must remain aliens (at least until our nationality code is modified) there has been the tendency to identify them with Japan. It has been assumed by many that the associations of the enemy aliens of the repatriate group with Japan must be particularly close.

In order to gain some perspective concerning this point, the records of arrival of the aliens listed in this study were examined. A reliable record of arrival date existed for 148 of the 151 alien males. The earliest arrival date was 1889. The most recent was 1931. The three who came after the exclusion act of 1924 was passed are treaty merchants or illegal entrants. Some members of the group have lived in this country for as long as 55 years and the most recent comer has resided here for 13 years.

This means that while Japanese immigration is recent in terms of the total history of immigration to this country, the Japanese immigrants themselves are not recent comers. The bar that was lifted against Japanese immigration 24 years ago has made it inevitable that members of this group be long-time residents of the United States. Since immigration from non-Asiatic countries has continued, there are few, if any, groups of aliens from any European or South American country which have as long an average term of residence in the United States. For instance, the average number of years which the alien male of this group has lived in the United States is 32.1. Since the average age of these alien males is 52 years this means that these men have spent about 60

per cent of their lives in the United States. The statistically average member of the group left Japan in 1912, two years before the outbreak of World War I, ten years before the advent of fascism, twenty-one years before the rise of Hitler, nineteen years before the Manchurian incident and the beginning of the modern expansionist movement of Japan. Those alien males who have canceled the repatriation request average 31.2 years of residence in the United States. Those who remain repatriates came to this country in average 32.5 years ago.

Since the alien men came as immigrants to this country first and then sent for brides or returned to Japan for brief visits to marry, the alien women have not been in this country for as long a period as the men, on the whole. Yet their terms of residence are impressive. In 69 cases of the 74 total trustworthy records of arrival dates are at hand. The earliest arrival date is 1902; the most recent is 1930. Thus women of this group have been here for as long as 42 years and the most recent arrival has lived here 14 years. The average for the entire group is 24.7 years. The mean term of residence for the group of cancellees is 24.3. Those who are still repatriates have been in America an average of 25 years. As in the case of the men, those who have lived here longest tend to remain repatriates. The disillusionment at being rejected and suspect is most complete when residence in the country has been longest, apparently. Sentimentality over the place of birth grows with age. Doubts concerning ultimate rehabilitation in this country are related to sickness and dependency, and these factors are correlated with old age and with the longer term of residence.

But it may be asked whether these long terms of residence in the United States, based on arrival dates, are not more apparent than real. It may be asked whether frequent and prolonged visits to Japan did not keep these aliens in constant and meaningful contact with the mother country. In order to explore this possibility a careful check was made of all foreign travel of the aliens of this group. It was found that 97 of these aliens have never visited

Japan since their arrival in this country.

These 97 subjects divide into 64 men and 33 women. Of the men, 25 have now canceled and 39 are repatriating. Of the 33 women, 8 have cancelled and 25 are repatriating.

The average age of all males involved is 53.5. These men have spent an average of 30.2 continuous years in the United States. The repatriates among them are 53.7 years old in average and have, in average, spent 30.1 consecutive years in the United States. The mean age of the cancellees is 50.1. Those of this category have spent an average of 30.4 years in the United States.

The average age of the alien women who have never returned to Japan is 44.6. An average of 24.2 of these years have been spent in the United States. The women who have canceled average 37 years in age and in average they have spent 22.2 consecutive years in the United States. The repatriates of this group are in average 47 years of age and have averaged 25 years of uninterrupted residence in the United States.

Besides the 97 aliens who have never returned to Japan there are a number of alien men on our list who returned only for the purpose of marrying. In 1920 the Japanese government agreed to end the movement of "picture brides" to the United States. This agreement was strictly observed. Aliens who wished to marry therefore had no recourse but to travel to Japan to find a bride. There are 26 clear cases where alien men visited Japan for short periods with the specific purpose of marriage in mind. These trips were of a few months duration only. The longest trip for this purpose of which we have a record lasted thirteen months. The shortest lasted but one month. The average time spent in travel and stay in Japan on these occasions is five months. These trips took place most frequently in 1922, 1923, and 1924, just before the final enactment of a Japanese exclusion law.

In average these 26 men are 52.6 old and, with the exception of the

marriage trip, remained in the country for an average of 35 continuous years. Nineteen of these men are now repatriating; seven have canceled the original repatriation request. Those who have canceled average 51.8 years in age and (the marriage trip excepted) have spent 34 continuous years in this country. The repatriate group at present averages 56 years in age. Its members have spent an average (if the marriage trip is excepted) of 35.8 years without halt in the United States.

There are other alien men who made one short trip to Japan after the agreement with Japan and before the application of the exclusion law. Some of them doubtless went for the purpose of finding a mate, but since they nowhere assert this on the forms or in the materials which have been studied, they have been excluded from the list. Then there are many others who made but one short trip to Japan during a long period of residence in the United States. Sometimes the nature of the errand is stated,--to settle property affairs following the death of a parent or close relative, to see an ailing parent for a last time, etc. For the most part these short emergency trips, usually occasioned by personal or family matters, give little indication of interest in Japan as a national entity and do not disturb the impression of long residence in America for this group.

The Educational Background of the Aliens

During this period of war and removal the people of Japanese ancestry in the United States have been confronted with many serious questions and problems. They have seen repatriation and expatriation forms. They have been advised to scatter over the United States instead of concentrating in particular places. They have been asked to think of the effects of their decisions upon the citizenship rights and future prospects of their children. They read of debates in

Congress relating to them. They hear of laws concerning them which are introduced in legislative chambers. All this they are expected to digest, and they are expected to react in an intelligent and calm manner to these various stimuli. Some persons who are close, perhaps too close, to the scene, wonder why evacuees do not see more clearly the ultimate consequences of answers to questions and of repatriation requests, and why personal factors are allowed to intrude where the problem is theoretically a political and national one.

For some insight into the emotionalism, the unnecessary mistrust and apprehension, and the willingness to act in response to rumor rather than as a result of inquiry and knowledge, it is necessary to understand the educational background of the group with which we are dealing.

That the aliens have an impressive work record and a better than average conduct record is certainly true. That they lack the education and training to interpret some of the complex occurrences and problems which evacuation has brought is in many instances quite as true.

A careful examination was made of the educational records of 148 alien males of the group. It was found that 87 of them, well over half, had only a grammar school education in Japan. Sixteen of them had four years or less of schooling. Forty-two had gone to grammar school for six years or less. Twenty-four members of the group have had some Japanese middle school education, though most of them did not complete the course. Twenty-seven claim the equivalent of American high school training but the majority of these seem to have dropped out after the first two years. Ten individuals have had one or more years of college training. Only three finished a four year college course.

Reliable records were found for sixty-eight alien females of the total group. Forty-five have received grammar school education only and of these twenty-six stopped at the sixth grade or before. Seven attended middle school and fourteen have had some high school training. Only two of these women have attended college and neither of them completed the course.

RESIDENCE BEFORE EVACUATION

It was possible to ascertain the pre-evacuation residence of 503 of the 508 subjects. The others were agricultural workers who moved so constantly that no permanent address could be given.

The largest number of persons who at one time or another have applied for repatriation or expatriation or who have been listed on family summary sheets, come from Los Angeles proper. This is not unexpected, for the largest concentrated group of persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States lived in downtown Los Angeles (Little Tokyo). It is the repatriation requests of "single" men (men who were the sole representatives of their immediate families in this country, whether they were married or had families in Japan or not) which has swelled the figure for this area. The flood of repatriation requests which came from "single" individuals in 1942 has already been mentioned. However, for reasons which have already been briefly discussed, many of these applications were canceled in 1942 or 1943. Forty-one of our 135 subjects from Los Angeles, or nearly a third, have now withdrawn the original request.

The second largest group, numbering 130 persons, formerly lived on Terminal Island. Only twenty-three members of this group have canceled, leaving 107 repatriates still. The Terminal Island contingent does not contain the "single" person element which is so conspicuous in the downtown Los Angeles picture. The larger family constellation was the basic unit here and this variation has given a far different result. For instance, the 135 persons from Los Angeles represent seventy-two different families, giving an average family size of 1.87 persons. The 130 persons who originally came from Terminal Island represent thirty-one elementary families, an average of 4.2 persons in the family.

What accounts for the large percentage of repatriation and expatriation requests from Terminal Islanders (25 per cent of the total) and the relatively

small number of cancelations?

The Terminal Islanders feel that they have been treated worst of all the people of Japanese ancestry in this country and that their prospects for rehabilitation are least bright. No other localized group suffered internments at the rate that they did. They had to leave their homes at short notice, despite the fact that their tools of trade (fishing nets, gear, boats) are not the type of possession which can be cared for or disposed of quickly and easily. When they were evicted no provision was made for their housing, and they wandered about seeking the barest shelter. Today they still ruefully refer to themselves as "the Japanese Okies." Their numbers, their solidarity, their former isolation and their social and occupational stratification did not enhance their popularity among the other residents of the Center, and so their stay at Manzanar has not been particularly happy. Because they were wanderers on the face of the earth at the time of evacuation, sleeping in garrets and cellars, in abandoned language school rooms and church rooms, they took the first opportunity to come to Manzanar. They therefore became well acquainted with the discomforts of the early Center period.

The occupational horizons of the members of this group are the least flexible of all. The fathers of many of the aliens were fishermen before them in Wakayama Ken. They have specialized in deep sea fishing of a specific type. They know the habits of certain fish and the places where they may be found. They have seen the navy take over Terminal Island and they assume they will never be able to use the place that they know so well as a fishing base again. There were some hints in the past that arrangements might be made for them to fish in southern waters, in eastern waters or on the Great Lakes. None of these possibilities has materialized.

The property owners of the group have seen their holdings condemned and appropriated by the government. Though they were removed from their premises over two and a half years ago, they have received no payment to date. Many of

them do not believe that they will ever be compensated for their property loss.

The indications are that the Terminal Islanders are at low ebb financially. Like most fisherfolk they worked hard, made fair money in season and spent it freely out of season. Because of the manner of their eviction their property losses were proportionally heavier than those of other groups. They therefore lack even the modest "stake" which gives others the courage to start over again elsewhere.

The fact that Terminal Island contained so many larger family constellations has been mentioned before. The difficulties of finding housing for sizable families and the doubts of family heads (many of them unskilled except for their knowledge of the fishing industry) that they can maintain a large family on the outside, has led to a greater than average fear of "forced relocation" among these people. Repatriation and expatriation is one reaction to this. Also the rather complete and prolonged isolation of this group on Terminal Island has caused its members to wonder whether they can adjust easily to ordinary American communities throughout which they would be scattered, especially since the linguistic handicap, particularly among the elders, is pronounced.

It is probable that the announcement of the re-institution of the nisei draft had a more serious effect upon the Terminal Islanders than among members of other groups. In the first place, because of the large families, a considerable body of young men from this group was involved. And, since this is the group which feels that it was treated in a conspicuously cruel fashion, there was a greater determination to resist the summons until some gesture toward amends was made, and the rights of citizenship were clarified and restored.

Moreover, this is the group that feels that its future is least secure or predictable. The West Coast press has sought to convince the American public that these hard-working fishermen were up to some mischief on Terminal Island. Constant efforts are made to secure legislation which will prevent

these people from again fishing in West Coast waters. The sons want to know what is likely to happen to the parents, particularly if they fall in battle. The parents want some sign for the future, some indication that they are not to be swept from their occupation and from the country, before they send their sons to the service.

Persons from West Los Angeles who have been listed as expatriates or repatriates at one time or another number sixty-eight. Twelve of them have canceled, leaving a repatriate residue of fifty-six. A great many of the family heads of the West Los Angeles group were gardeners. Equipment for this work required only a modest outlay. Once a customer list was build up, income was steady, work expenses light and risk negligible. The investment, risk and loss at evacuation of the farmer or fisherman was much greater in comparison. Consequently it is generally believed that the West Los Angeles gardener did not suffer as much as did many others and that a number of the men who lived in this area were able to salvage a fair proportion of savings.

A good many of these men had been carrying on this work for many years and were coming to the age when they looked forward to retirement anyway. Since their type of business depends largely on good will and the desire of the home owners of a district to hire them and have them on the grounds, they are, as a group, pessimistic about the future. They fear that war propaganda will have turned their old customers against them and that their jobs will have been usurped by persons of other nationality backgrounds. They have therefore made up their minds to take their earnings and to return to Japan at an early opportunity. Indeed, quite a few of them are men with wives and children in Japan. Others are single men who are eager to return to their kin and to their ancestral homes. Twenty-nine families are represented in the group of sixty-eight individuals from this area, an average of but 2.3 persons per family. Sixteen members of the group are the sole representatives of their family in Manzanar. Age, relatives abroad, future prospects and unwillingness longer to

risk savings in this country combine to turn members of this group toward repatriation and expatriation.

The majority of our subjects come from one of the three districts named. The other places or districts which are represented in the total are:

San Fernando Valley	35
Glendale	27
Venice	18
Sacramento Valley	16
Hollywood	14
Bay Area	9
Culver, City	9
Malibu	7
Pasadena	7
Hynes	5
Wilmington-San Pedro	5
Compton	3
Gardena	2
Long Beach	1
Palos Verdes	1
Pomona	1

The San Fernando Valley, Venice and the Sacramento Valley are farming districts in which the evacuees suffered particularly heavy losses at the time of removal.

The Manzanar addresses of our 508 subjects and the records of cancellations and repatriations by blocks are as follows:

Block	Total	Number Canceled	Number present Repatriates
2	4	1	3
3	23	8	15
4	19	2	17
5	6	3	3
6	3	1	2
8	0	0	0
9	54	10	44
10	27	3	24
11	27	9	18
12	12	2	10
13	7	3	4
14	24	3	21
15	23	7	16
16	14	2	12
17	13	0	13
18	1	0	1
19	21	5	16
20	7	0	7
21	9	3	6
22	9	2	7
23	14	5	9
24	31	2	29
25	1	0	1
26	1	1	0
27	25	2	23
28	20	6	14
29	30	7	23
30	5	2	3
31	13	3	10
32	5	1	4
33	19	12	7
34	4	3	1
35	23	10	13
36	14	13	1
	508	131	377

The analysis of the block situation reflects to a considerable degree the hardships and difficulties of evacuation as they affected particular localities and shaped attitudes.

In Blocks 3 and 4 live the "single" men of downtown Los Angeles who were among the first-comers to Manzanar, who quickly signed up for repatriation but who have since reconsidered for reasons into which we have already delved. In Blocks 9, 10 and 11 live the Terminal Islanders, and the ominous figures point to the factors which we have already discussed in respect to them. Blocks 14 and 15 are peopled by former San Fernando farmers and flower growers whose losses have mounted and who have become more and more discouraged with the passage of time. Another block where the repatriate-expatriate list runs high is Block 24 where the people from West Los Angeles, mostly gardeners whose state of mind we have already interpreted, live. Blocks 27 and 31 draw largely from the Florin district of the Sacramento area, and the forced departure of these people just before harvest time still rankles in their memory. The record, incidently, is clearest for blocks like 25, 26, and 32, whose people came from Boyle Heights in Los Angeles and part of the Los Angeles downtown district. Evidently the city dweller did not lose so heavily as did the evacuee farmer or fisherman and is not so discouraged over his future prospects.

EMPLOYMENT, VOCATION, EARNINGS,
LOSSES, PROPERTY AND DEPENDENCE

Of the 508 persons who have been listed for repatriation or expatriation, 251, or less than half, were gainfully employed before evacuation. This group of 251 gainfully employed persons is composed of 204 men and 47 women. The greater number of these people are aliens; 172 aliens and only 79 citizens had found paying jobs prior to removal. The employed issei further divide into 146 men and 26 women. Of the alien males, 97 are repatriating and 49 have canceled the request. Nineteen of the alien women of this category are repatriating and seven have canceled their applications.

The citizen group consists of 59 males and 20 females. Forty-four of these males are repatriating and fifteen have moved toward cancelation of the request. Of the citizen women, twelve are still in the repatriate column and eight have canceled.

The average age of the gainfully employed aliens of both sexes is 50.5 years. The average age of the citizens who had found gainful employment is 26 years.

Many types of work appear in the list of vocations and positions which these people held, as the tabulation below indicates:

No.	Occupation	OCCUPATION		
		Total	Number Canceled	Number Present Repatriates
1.	Gardener	46	15	31
2.	Retail Sales Clerk	25	5	20
3.	Cannery Worker	24	5	19
4.	Agricultural Worker	22	9	13
5.	Farm Owner or Operator	19	7	12
6.	Fisherman	18	2	16

No.	Occupation	Total	Number Canceled	Number Present Repatriates
7.	Retail Store Owner or Operator	11	5	6
8.	Cook	11	3	8
9.	Restaurant Owner or Operator	9	1	8
10.	Clerical	7	3	4
11.	Nursery Owner or Operator	7	3	4
12.	Waiter	7	4	3
13.	Wholesale Produce Concern Owner or Operator	6	4	2
14.	Truck Driver	6	3	3
15.	Hotel Owner or Operator	4	0	4
16.	Beautician	3	2	1
17.	Barber	3	0	3
18.	Domestic	3	3	0
19.	Laundry Owner or Operator	3	0	3
20.	Seamstress	2	0	2
21.	Laundry Worker	2	2	0
22.	Hotel Clerk	2	0	2
23.	Flower Grower	2	0	2
24.	Nursery Worker	1	1	0
25.	Hotel Janitor	1	0	1
26.	Dentist	1	0	1
27.	Research Technician	1	1	0
28.	Merchant (Treaty)	1	1	0
29.	Billard Hall and Soft Drink Operator	1	0	1
30.	Billard Hall Worker	1	0	1
31.	Radio Technician	1	0	1
32.	Auto Mechanic	1	0	1

Most of the retail clerks and the truck drivers who are enumerated here were employed by produce concerns. The cannery workers are the wives and daughters of Terminal Island fishermen and were hired to cut and can the fish which their male relatives caught. Their high rate of repatriation and expatriation is related to the equally high rate for the fishermen. It is therefore evident that it is gardeners, agriculturists, fishermen and the operators of small enterprises (grocery stores, produce markets, restaurants, nurseries, etc.) who are repatriating and expatriating in numbers. The reasoning of the gardeners in respect to the situation has already been noted. The reverses suffered by the farmers and fishermen are well known. The discouragement of the storekeepers (many of whom depended upon the Japanese community for patronage) can be imagined, especially during a period in which it is so difficult to establish or to re-establish modest business enterprises.

An attempt was made to determine the average earnings before evacuation of the members of the repatriate-expatriate groups who were gainfully employed. As a result of material gathered from various sources, positive evidence or statements were obtained concerning the former earning capacity of 52 of the 251 individuals involved. Forty of these persons are males and twelve are women. This is hardly a sufficient number of cases to permit unqualified statements on the subject, but it provides a fairly suggestive sample (approximately 20 per cent of the total).

Those who reported their earnings by the year had an average annual net income of \$1,610.00. Those who reported their earnings by the month showed an average yearly income of \$1,700.00. Those whose incomes were given according to weekly earnings averaged approximately \$2,000.00 a year. Those employed at an hourly rate averaged \$.58 an hour.

From these figures we gather that the income of the ordinary family head was in the neighborhood of \$1,500.00 or \$1,600.00, none too much on which

to raise and educate a family, but enough to give a feeling of consequence, achievement, and moderate success to an immigrant who perhaps began his career in this country as an agricultural worker or a railroad worker at one dollar a day. It is important to realize that this represents the maximum level of economic attainment for the issei as a group. By 1941 the issei had in most cases established and developed their enterprises to as great an extent as possible or had reached the peak of their earning capacity as employees. They were past their prime in years and were looking forward to retirement and to being replaced by their sons. It is obvious that savings and reserves which the average person could accumulate from such an income would not often be large. Certainly any severe reverse to a group in this modest income bracket when its members are advanced in age, would lead to financial conservatism and to pessimism concerning the future. This is reflected in the repatriation figures. Of the 42 subjects about whose livelihood we have data and who saw their modest but cherished stake in this nation's economy suddenly disrupted, 38 are repatriating and 14 are canceling.

Some attempt was made, further, to learn the relation of severe property losses at the time of evacuation to the repatriation-expatriation request and to the final decision concerning cancelation.

Members of twenty-four different families made specific complaints of substantial losses sustained and in one way or another related the economic set-back to their decision to repatriate or expatriate. Among the possessions reported lost outright or sacrificed at a small percentage of the true value are farm equipment, homes, farms, boats, business savings, insurance, hotels, stores and restaurants. These twenty-four families contain ninety-four persons, almost one-fifth of the total number involved in this study. And most of them are still resolved to repatriate and expatriate. Only seven of these families, with a total of nineteen members, have indicated their desire to cancel.

Seventeen families, representing a total of seventy-five individuals, are scheduled for repatriation and expatriation.

Next, the influence of property interests in Japan upon attitudes and decisions was considered. Representatives of sixty-one families mentioned property interests in Japan. Of these, fifty-four were quite sure that they had some holdings abroad. Five were not certain that the possessions or property had been retained or secured for them. Two others were confident of inheriting property in Japan in the near future. Small farms, houses, small tracts of land and bank accounts were the possessions most frequently mentioned in connection with Japan. Many of the "owners" confessed that relatives or friends had worked or utilized these holdings for years and that they had little conception of their present worth or condition. Persons who have been to Japan have told of the difficulty of dispossessing those who have occupied and managed property for many years in the absence of the owner. Despite legal rights, it often causes serious family quarrels and difficulties to enforce such claims. There is no doubt that many who now look forward to enjoying their inheritance in Japan are going to be unpleasantly surprised at the degree to which the holdings have been appropriated by others, the meagerness of the property in any case, and the difficulty experienced in coming into full possession of it.

Nevertheless misfortune and dispossession in this country have led to a compensatory and reactive magnification of holdings in Japan. Persons who were too thoroughly engrossed in their American enterprises to be anything more than amused by a Japanese inheritance have now taken a deep and sudden interest in it. When an inheritance abroad, however small, is all one has to which to look forward on the eve of old age, it takes on an importance which it lacked in happier times. The holdings in Japan are less significant for their actual value, whatever that may be, than for the assurance they give bewildered issei that they are still owners and will never be paupers.

One point that has been mentioned in passing deserves further exploration, namely, the small number of nisei who were gainfully employed. Of the 283 citizens of our total group only 79 or approximately one out of four fall into this category. A great many of the rest were school children or infants. It will be recalled that after all the average age of nisei expatriates is less than 17 years.

Even this figure of 79 gainfully employed nisei requires interpretation. Some of those who so list themselves were employed as clerks or clerical workers in family stores, or aided on family farms. The Terminal Island girls were able to work in the canneries because of the location, vocation and contacts of their fishermen fathers. In other words, even in this group there are those who never tried to earn an entirely independent living or to chart a course apart from the family circle and economy. It is not too much to say that as a whole the citizen group with which we are concerned lacked the chronological maturity, the work experience and the assurance of earning capacity that makes for independence of judgment and a place in the family council. In short, this was a dependent group even in normal times, without the enervating effect of center life and war fears to complicate matters further.

It is well to emphasize these elements of inexperience, the grounds for self-doubt, and the factors of youth and dependency because without this perspective we tend sometimes to become impatient with the nisei who does not oppose his elders on the expatriation question and who will not take a firm stand in defense of his American citizenship. It is not alone respect and sympathy for the elders which is involved. The psychological correlates of pre-Center dependency are as powerful as the material ones. Apart from considerations of sentiment, solidarity and loyalty, it is extremely difficult for a young person to defy, and to resolve to live at the other end of the world from those who fed, housed and provided for him from birth to the time of evacuation.

LINGUISTIC POSITION
AND FOREIGN TRAVEL OF THE CITIZENS

Expatriation is something that a large proportion of the citizens who are caught in its web would be most unlikely to seek if left to their own devices. This is plain from a survey of the degree of their familiarity with the Japanese language, and of their relative proficiency in the speaking, reading and writing of Japanese.

Considering only those nisei of the expatriate group who are ten years of age or older, we find that there are eight individuals, one girl and seven young men, who cannot speak, read or write Japanese. None of these young people has canceled.

Then there are 85 individuals who can speak Japanese but who cannot read or write it. This group consists of 56 males, 10 of whom have canceled the request, and 29 females, 5 of whom have also withdrawn their expatriation applications.

Finally there are six subjects who can speak and read, but who cannot write Japanese. Four of them are females (two have canceled) and two (one of whom has canceled) are males.

From all this we gather that a large proportion of the expatriate citizens who are ten years of age or older would be virtual illiterates in Japan and would be facing great initial embarrassment and hardship, especially if they had to make an economic adjustment and had to compete for jobs immediately.

The statistics concerning the number of expatriate nisei who have first hand knowledge of Japan are quite as sobering. Again the tenth year is taken as the dividing line, since pre-war residence in Japan by anyone who is now less than ten years of age is not likely to mean much for the future.

The figures reveal that 115 of the total number of expatriates of the age group we are considering have never been in Japan. Anything they know about

that country is hearsay. Fifty-nine of this number are males and fifty-six are females. Fourteen of the males are canceled, but forty-five remain expatriates; twelve of the females have canceled but the status of the other forty-four continues unchanged.

There is another group of these expatriates, 35 in number, who have been in Japan for less than a year, ordinarily for one of those three-month summer trips. Their impression of Japan is one that the tourist and vacationist receives of a country, and it is hardly likely that they yet have the realistic conception of the land which is essential to any kind of permanent adjustment. Among these 35 individuals are twelve females, none of whom has canceled. Of the remaining 23 males, only two have canceled.

Five other cases were found where the individual had been in Japan for more than a year, but at such an early age that the sojourn could have no meaning for him now. These five subjects divide into one female and four males, none of whom has taken steps to terminate his expatriate status.

HEALTH

No series of data brought together for this study is more revealing than that which pertains to the health of the subjects and the influence of illness upon the repatriate-expatriate decision. Minor ailments or complaints of evacuees which were not supported by the project health or hospital records were ignored for the purposes of this inquiry. Only those physical handicaps which were serious, which were authenticated and which were associated to some degree with the decision to repatriate or expatriate were tabulated. Paralysis, tuberculosis, diabetes, arthritis, hypertension, low blood pressure, heart trouble, glaucoma, and missing limbs constitute a good cross-section of the types of difficulty which enter into the records.

Forty-seven persons, representing forty-three different families, had health problems serious enough to constitute a factor in the repatriation-expatriation decision. In four families two individuals suffered from physical disabilities of this nature. Incidentally, every one of these four families is adhering to its decision to repatriate. In fact the repatriation-expatriation rate is high throughout the group affected by the ill health of one or more family members. Thirty-four of the forty-seven individuals directly involved continue to remain repatriates, which means that the repatriation rate is higher for this category than it is for the repatriate-expatriate group as a whole. The forty-three families which include one or more of these sick persons contain a total of 163 individuals. Of this number only thirty have withdrawn repatriation and expatriation requests, and 133 still follow the first course chosen. Most of the persons who are ill are aliens and, as might be expected from the sex ration among aliens, the majority are men. There are 35 aliens and 12 citizens involved. Thirty-five of these subjects are men and twelve are women. In the group are 34 married persons, 7 single persons (two alien males, two male citizens and three female citizens), 5 alien widowers and one female

citizen who has separated from her husband.

The family position of the ailing individuals is of importance too. Seven of the group, all males, are technically listed as family heads, though they are the sole representatives of their families at Manzanar. Two of them are issei widowers. Two others are unmarried issei. Two are married issei whose wives and other family members are in Japan. It is easy to see how, old and ill as they are, they long to be reunited with their kin. The one citizen of the group is a married man, a kibe, whose wife is not living in the Center. Included in the group, too, are 21 fathers and 8 mothers. Three husbands (married men living with their wives at Manzanar but having no children) and one wife are listed. In two cases it is the illness of a dependent grandparent which complicates matters, and in the other seven cases it is a child of the household who has presented the health problem.

There is a definite correlation between advanced age and sickness and between both of these factors and the determination to continue as a repatriate. The average age of subjects with these special health problems, citizens and aliens alike, is 47.1 years. The average age of the aliens is 54.7 years, that of the citizens is 24.8 years. The average age of the alien males is 56.4 years, compared to an average of 51.1 years for the alien women. The alien men who are repatriating are 58.2 years old in average, while those who are canceling are but 48 years old in average. The alien female repatriates average 52.5 years of age and the cancellees among the issei women are 49.3 years old in average.

THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONALITY DIFFERENCES
AND CONTRASTING BACKGROUNDS

In studies of segregants which I have made in the past I found evidence, that citizen women married to aliens had in many instances been under considerable pressure, regardless of their own wishes and convictions, to return an answer to question No. 28 that would agree in principle with the husband's response. I was therefore interested to learn how many instances of issei-nisei marriage and kibe-nisei marriages were registered in the repatriate-expatriate roster, and what effect on the total situation these instances have had.

Ten cases of alien males married to citizen females appear in the body of data. However, in six of these ten cases the citizen female is a kibe, and in five of the six cases the kibe wife is also a dual citizen. In these instances the man and wife are not far apart in linguistic accomplishments or in outlook, presumably. In one case, as a matter of fact, the impetus toward repatriation-expatriation came from the wife, who is a kibe and dual citizen. It was she who wrote to the Spanish Consul and listed her sick husband's name as a repatriate. The man, incidentally, was most irritated when he learned of this and has taken steps to cancel the repatriation request.

In four cases, however, an issei is married to a nisei woman who is not a kibe. In three of the four cases the woman is not a dual citizen either. The insistence of the husband upon repatriation in these cases will probably lead to the loss of citizenship for the wife.

The repatriation rate for these couples is extremely high; eight of the ten families enumerated are holding steadfast to the decision to repatriate-expatriate.

There is one case where a male kibe (a dual citizen) is married to a nisei woman (also a dual citizen). In another case it is the wife who is the kibe (she is also a dual citizen) and the husband who is a citizen possessing American nationality only. Both of these couples are expatriating.

THE KIBEI

Forty-three kibeï are included in the 508 repatriate-expatriate total. This number divides into 28 males and 15 females. Seventeen of the males are still listed as expatriates and eleven have canceled. Nine of the females are in the expatriate classification still and six have withdrawn the request. This gives a present total of 26 expatriates and 17 cancellees for the kibeï group.

Seventeen of these kibeï are listed alone on the Center rolls, that is, they are the only representatives of their families in Manzanar. In three other cases (involving six subjects) a pair of siblings, both kibeï, are listed together and are the only family members at Manzanar. Therefore 23 of the 43 subjects are by themselves at Manzanar or are living with other, related kibeï. Twenty are members of family constellations containing non-kibeï relatives.

Where then are the close relatives (parents and unmarried siblings of the single; wives and children of the married) of the kibeï who live alone at Manzanar or who live with a kibeï brother or sister? It is certain that a large number of these relatives are not in Manzanar. The kibeï of Manzanar who are on our list and all their immediate relatives who reside in the Center together number no more than ninety-nine. Yet the number of individuals in the families represented by these kibeï, totals, as far as can be determined, 167.

The explanation is that a large proportion of these kibeï have relatives in Japan. Seventeen of them have a total of forty-nine close kinsmen in Nippon. There are nine of them who have all other family members in Japan. These relatives abroad total twenty-eight. Four more have all other family members in Japan or in Tule Lake. The number of these relatives is nine.

The figures relating to the number of relatives in Japan and in Tule Lake are important, I feel, because where the weight of family numbers is abroad

or at the segregation center, a powerful magnet exists that may over-ride individual feelings and overcome anything that can be done or said at Manzanar.

Some of the most revealing figures resulting from this kibeï survey are those which indicate the long term of residence in Japan through which so many of these young people had passed. For the males the tabulation of length of residence in Japan is as follows:

Number of Kibeï men

2
1
2
1
2
3
1
1
1
3
5
4
1
1

Length of Residence in Japan

4 years
6 years
7 years
7½ years
8 years
9 years
10 years
10½ years
11 years
12 years
14 years
15 years
17 years
22 years

For the women the figures are:

Number of Kibeï women

2
1
2
2
2
2
1
1
1
1
1

Length of Residence in Japan

7 years
8 years
9 years
10 years
11 years
13 years
14 years
15 years
17 years
23 years

In passing and in conclusion one or two interesting items concerning some of these kibeï should be mentioned. A member of the group who persists in his intention to expatriate was a soldier in the United States armed forces and was honorably discharged after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan. Another, who has since canceled, volunteered for the combat team at the time of the February registration. Still another has a brother in the United States army. A fourth, who had canceled his Japanese citizenship in 1940, expatriated after he was denied leave clearance. A fifth would like to stay in this country with his brother. But the other five members of the family, including their elderly parents and their sisters, are in Japan. He has decided, after consultation with his brother, that since he is the oldest son, it is his duty to return to Japan and repair what ravages the war has made on the prospects of the parents. The older boy is expatriating therefore; the younger boy is re-locating. The outlook and personal desires of both are much the same. The variant destiny of each has been decided by order of birth.

THE FACTOR OF RELATIVES IN JAPAN AND TULE LAKE

Family and relationship are powerful symbols and realities to the average person of Japanese ancestry. We have already discussed what happens to the kibeï when the center of gravity of relationship for him lies not in Manzanar or in those places where relocation is possible but in Japan or in Tule Lake.

The same principle applies to those who are not kibeï. When we arrange the persons on our repatriation-expatriation roster according to family, we find that over one hundred individuals, 94 males and 6 females, are listed alone. These one hundred persons, then, are the only representatives of their families at Manzanar. When we further arrange this group of "persons listed alone" according to various criteria, we find that it includes 70 male aliens, 36 of whom are repatriating and 34 of whom have canceled. There are but four alien females, one repatriate and three canceled. Male citizens in this group number 24, fifteen repatriates and nine canceled. Twenty of these citizens are kibeï, incidentally.

Two female citizens are listed alone (both have canceled) to make the one hundred total.

Because they were listed alone on family cards a good many of the alien males have been called "old bachelors" and it was assumed by some that they were single migratory workers who had never married and whose relatives in Japan were dead or long since forgotten.

Actually a good many of these men are married and do have families or close relatives in Japan. As a matter of fact the influence exerted by relationships in Japan is tremendously important throughout the whole repatriate-expatriate group. It was found, for example, that the 508 persons of the repatriate-expatriate list have at least 248 family members in Japan. Members of 92 of the 201 families of our repatriation-expatriation roster live in Japan.

What is more, the kin of our "single" repatriates-expatriates, that is, those who are "listed alone," account for a large share of these 248 relatives in Japan. Actually few of them are "single" in the sense that they do not have close relatives somewhere. Of the 70 alien males, all but 18 have members of the immediate family in Japan, Tule Lake or another part of the United States. To be exact, total membership of the families to which the one hundred repatriates-expatriates who are "listed alone" at Manzanar belong is 348.

How shall we account for the 248 additional family members who are not in Manzanar? A careful count shows that 207 of them reside in Japan. Fourteen more are at Tule Lake. Seven are in the armed forces of the United States. The other twenty are in other Relocation Centers or have settled in various parts of the United States.

An analysis of the relatives in Japan of Manzanar's repatriates-expatriates who are "listed alone" provides this picture. Among the married aliens two have one relative in Japan, a wife. Four have a daughter there, and one has a son in the land of his birth. A number of the unmarried aliens have a father, mother, sister, brother or a combination of these relatives living abroad.

Thirteen aliens who are alone at Manzanar have a wife, daughter and son in Japan. The wife and son of five more and the son and daughter of two others are also in the mother country. The unmarried list as residing in Japan such relationship clusters as parents-sister-brother (two cases), father-sister (one case), father-brother (one case), mother-brother-sister (two cases), and parents-sister (two cases).

Citizens who are "listed alone" at Manzanar have a good many relatives and combinations or clusters of relatives in Japan also, as our kibe review has already indicated. Five of these individuals have parents-sister (s)-brother (s) in Japan. Two have parents and a brother there. Two more have their mother-brother-sister (s) abroad. A male citizen has a brother and three sisters

in Japan. Another has a mother and sister in Nippon. One person has both parents living in Japan and still another lists his mother as a resident of that country.

The anxiety which from time to time must grip these residents of Manzanar in regard to their relatives abroad, the sense of obligation that they must feel if they had been responsible in any way for the support of these kin, the difficulty in entirely repudiating Japan in the light of these ties, must be abundantly clear from these figures and from this description of family dispersal.

The average age of the aliens who are caught in this maze of relationships is 51.92 years. The average age of the citizen is 23 years. The aliens are old enough to be sentimental and nostalgic over the family members from whom they are separated by war and evacuation; the citizens are young enough to feel the obligations which they cannot now perform and to know the homesickness which comes with prolonged separation.

THE VOLUNTEERS

The first evacuees to come to Manzanar were the volunteers, who were brought to the Center March 21 and March 23, 1942. A great effort had been made to recruit them in the Los Angeles area, for the Army and W.C.C.A. were eager to inaugurate the movement toward the Assembly Centers. Almost all of the volunteers were men who expected to aid in the completion of the construction of the Center and to ready the place for the family groups which were to follow. These men were bitterly disappointed over living conditions, work prospects, wage scales and the lack of allowances of any kind for a long period. It is worthwhile, therefore, to see how many of them have become involved in the repatriation-expatriation situation, and to learn something about the group characteristics and present status of those of them who appear on our list.

Thirty-two men who entered Manzanar on March 21, 22 or 23 are on our list. Although it is often said that the volunteers are bachelors or single men, we find that over a third of them are or have been married. Among them are twenty single men, seven married men, two who have been divorced, and three widowers.

The impression that the majority of the volunteers are old bachelors grew up largely because thirty of them, all but two, are the only members of their families at Manzanar and are, therefore, listed alone on family cards. Of the two others, one is a married man who lives at Manzanar with his wife and child (he came up ahead of them as a volunteer), and the other is a young unmarried man who now lives with his three other family members at the Center.

Yet, though thirty of these thirty-two individuals are listed "alone" in Manzanar, only five of them are really "alone" in the sense that there are no members of their elementary families elsewhere. In fact five of them are members of family constellations containing two persons, five others belong

to families consisting of three members, eight are members of a family of four, in two cases the total family of the volunteer contains five members, three are members of a family of six, the families of three others include seven persons, and one of these volunteers is a member of a family of eight. The total number of members of the families to which these thirty-two volunteers belong is 119, that is, there 87 family members besides the volunteers to be accounted for.

Five of these, namely, the other family members of the two volunteers who are living with kin at Manzanar, have been mentioned above. Where then, are the other 82 family members? The answer is that 23 of our 32 volunteers have a total of 71 members of their elementary families in Japan and three in the Tule Lake Segregation Center. One volunteer, a citizen, has a brother in the United States Army. Another, an alien, has a son in the army. The other six "stray" family members are scattered over the country or are in other Centers.

The manner in which the family situation is masked by the residence of so many relatives in Japan can be appreciated from the facts concerning the seven married subjects of this group. Five of them, though they are alone in this country and are listed alone at Manzanar, have families in Japan. In one case a wife is the only family member in the mother country. But two have a wife and two children abroad and two others have a wife and five children in Japan.

The analysis of the nationality status of the thirty-two volunteers is interesting, too. Twenty-four of the subjects are aliens and eight are citizens. Of the citizens seven claim dual citizenship and six are kibeis. It is evident that a number of kibeis whose families resided in Japan were footloose and insecure on the coast after the outbreak of war and took the first opportunity to come to a Center.

The average age of all members of the volunteer group is 44 years. The average age of the aliens among them is 51 years and that of the citizens is 22.5 years.

To date fourteen of these volunteers have canceled repatriation-expatriation requests and eighteen have allowed them to stand.

Because they have been rather free and unattached (at least in this country and Center) a good many of the volunteers, twelve in all, have been out on furlough or group leave.

From these figures and this analysis we gather that the volunteers were not necessarily single men, bachelors, or men without families, but rather that they were men whose families and dependents in many cases were abroad, and who were therefore more free than the average person of Japanese ancestry to heed the call for volunteers to come to Manzanar. Many of them, especially married men with families in Japan, became discouraged over harsh Center conditions of the early period, panic stricken at the prospect of family separation during wartime, and applied for repatriation at the earliest opportunity. A substantial proportion of them have since realized how small a chance there is for a reunion with their families during hostilities, and have withdrawn the application.

FURLOUGH AND NET WORKERS

When group leaves were first begun, there was much talk of "food for victory" campaigns, and evacuees were to seek furlough and agricultural work as a patriotic duty. It is sobering to realize that 50 members of our total repatriate-expatriate group, 42 citizens and 8 aliens, responded to this call. Thirty-three of them are still in the repatriate-expatriate category and seventeen (including six of the eight aliens) have withdrawn their requests. Of the forty-two citizens, eight converted their short term leaves to indefinite leave. These eight individuals have now returned to the Center to expatriate (in almost all instances as a result of family pressure) and all of them have remained in the expatriate column to date. One youth had been out on furlough three times before he was listed for expatriation by his parents on a family form. Fortunately, largely due to his efforts, the family has now reconsidered the step. There are cases where young people were notified by letter while they were on furlough or on indefinite leave that their names had been submitted to the Spanish Consul as expatriates by another family member, usually a parent. The child was then confronted with the alternative of defying the parents or of returning to the Center to accept a family decision made in his absence. If these figures concerning group leave prove nothing else, they indicate that many who are now repatriating or expatriating are perfectly able to adjust to American communities and American economy and that they worked and resided in unrestricted zones without in the least endangering the national safety or the war effort.

On our total list, in addition, are the names of ten citizens who, in spite of the criticism and opposition which came from some quarters, yielded to the argument that it was their patriotic duty to work at the Manzanar Camouflage Net Factory while it was in operation. Six of these subjects are males and four are females. Only one, a male, has canceled the expatriation request.

INFLUENCE OF THE NISEI DRAFT

That the announcement of the resumption of the draft influenced many to apply for repatriation and expatriation is certainly true. Reports submitted by the Community Analysis Section have furnished unmistakable evidence of this, and testimony in repatriation hearings point in particular instances in the same direction.

However, a rigorous examination of the repatriation-expatriation situation reveals that it is possible to over-emphasize this factor. In order to clarify the picture we have sought to arrange the data so that the theoretical limits of the influence of the nisei draft upon repatriation-expatriation might be evident.

For instance, there are exactly 100 individuals of the 508 on our roster who are the only representatives of their families at Manzanar. But only 24 of them are of draft age. The motivations of the other 76 must be sought apart from the element of the draft. Of these 24 of draft age, incidentally, 14 are expatriating and 10 have canceled the request.

Of the 101 families with two or more members which are on our list, only 46 contain one or more boys of military age. Seven other families have a boy seventeen years of age about whose approaching draft age status they might possibly feel some concern. But even if all these families containing boys of 17 and 18 years of age had no other motive in repatriating-expatriating except that of protecting their young men from military service (and this is patently not the case) there are still approximately half of these families whose repatriation-expatriation motives would have to be accounted for in some other manner.

In refining the figures still more we find that there are 36 families represented which have one boy of military age. Twenty-eight of these families are repatriating-expatriating and six have canceled. In the other two families there has been a division. One is a family of seven in which six are repatriating-

expatriating and one has canceled. The cancellee in this instance is the young man of military age himself, who does not wish to have an expatriation request mistaken for draft dodging. Five of six members of the second family are holding to repatriation-expatriation, while one has withdrawn the application. The total number of individuals listed in these 36 families is 150. Of this number twenty-five are canceling and 125 remain repatriates-expatriates.

There are nine families, in addition, each of which include two men of military age. Six of them are still listed as repatriates, one family has canceled all repatriation-expatriation applications for its members, and the two others have split on the issue. Of the two families in which there is a division, the first contains but two persons. The second is a family of seven, of whom three are repatriating and four are seeking to terminate the request. Among the four cancellees are the two young men of military age, it might be added. The total number of individuals who belong to these nine families is forty-nine. Thirty-five of them have retained their former stand, but 14 have canceled the repatriation-expatriation application.

There is but one family in our records with three men of military age in it. This family of six has not moved to cancel the repatriation-expatriation request.

In considering the seven families which have no men of military age but which have boys who are 17 years of age we find that six of them (26 persons) are still among the expatriates-repatriates. One family of two persons is canceling.

It should probably be mentioned that five of the thirty-six families with one man of military age list a 17 year old boy as well. Four of these five families are still listed for repatriation-expatriation. One has withdrawn the application. Of the twenty-four persons in these five families, nineteen are now repatriates-expatriates and five are cancellees.

The families with men of draft age are only a little less prone to cancel repatriation-expatriation applications than those who have no men of this age group. Of the 166 members of families of the former category, 39, or twenty-four per cent, have canceled. Ninety-two persons, or twenty-six per cent of the 348 who belong to families of the latter type, have withdrawn the request. This is another reason for supposing that the draft, by itself, will not entirely explain the situation.

It may be useful to consider the figures pertaining to the young men of military age apart from their distribution in families. Eighty-five men of draft age have been listed as expatriates at one time or another. Twenty of them, or slightly more than 23 per cent, have canceled. This is only two per cent less than the figure for all cancelations among the 508 persons with whom we are dealing in this study.

Besides the 85 males of draft age there are also 12 seventeen year old boys on our roster. Ten of them are expatriating and only two of them had canceled at the time this material was compiled.

No discussion of the draft is complete without mention of the sons and brothers of members of the repatriate-expatriate group who are already in the service.

There are nine families included in our study which have a member in the armed service. Excluding the soldiers, there are twenty individuals in these families. Eight of these nine families are repatriating-expatriating. Only one individual of the twenty, the brother of a soldier, has canceled the application.

Four of these nine families have a boy of draft age in addition to the one in the army. In only one family where there is a member in the army and another of draft age has there been a cancelation. This is the case of a "family" of one, that of the young man whose brother is a soldier and who himself

is of draft age. One family, which remains in the repatriate-expatriate class, has two men of draft age as well as the one in the army.

We may infer from these figures that a number of families with representatives in the armed forces are quite bitter, and are determined to repatriate-expatriate. Much of their anger derives from the fact that at the outbreak of the war Germans and Italians who had sons in the army were given special privileges and consideration, even in areas where there were restrictions upon enemy aliens, while Japanese parents received no favors or exemptions whatever. Those who already have one son in the service seem particularly unwilling to see a second or a third son fight for the liberties and freedom which they feel are being withheld from them and from those of Japanese ancestry in this country.

There are a few other cases of interest in connection with our general topic and army service. One young man who was a member of the armed forces before Pearl Harbor and who was honorably discharged after war was declared, is expatriating. An alien whose brother (a citizen) volunteered for the combat team in February 1943 only to be rejected on physical grounds, applied for repatriation but has recently canceled. A man who was born in Japan but who earned American citizenship as a result of service in the last World War is expatriating with his family. He has two sons of military age and another who is seventeen years old. Apparently he does not consider his reward for service to his country sufficient to make it logical that his sons follow in his footsteps. Then there is the case of a kibeï, who, worried over family affairs, expatriated in the early days of Center life. Later he canceled this application and volunteered for the army, though he was not accepted. The son of an issei who repatriated and then withdrew his request, also volunteered for the combat team but did not pass the physical examination.

Some close relatives of repatriates and expatriates are serving in the army but are not included in our tabulation because they are not members of the immediate family as we have defined it.

For instance, the brother of one of the expatriates volunteered for the combat team and is now in the armed services, but because our subject is married and has a separate household we do not take account of this and similar cases.

REPATRIATES, EXPATRIATES AND QUESTION NO.28

Since the answer to the so-called "loyalty" question, No. 28, has been so consistently used as a barometer of national allegiance and as the most important factor in the granting of ordinary leave clearance, eastern defense clearance, and war work clearance, it is interesting to learn how those whose names are found on our repatriate-expatriate roster responded to this important query.

The total number of those who originally answered "yes" to the question is 239, and is divided into 189 aliens and 50 citizens.

The 189 aliens constitute an overwhelming majority of the 225 aliens involved. This could hardly be otherwise, for 97.83 per cent or all but 76 of the 3502 aliens of the Center answered this question in the affirmative.

But when we say that 189 of the repatriate aliens answered "yes" to question 28 originally, this requires some explanation. Actually the aliens balked at answering the citizen version of the question, a version which called upon them to renounce the country of their nationality, and they also rejected a substitute question which they interpreted as calling upon them to bear arms against Japan. The final version which all agreed it was legitimate to ask enemy aliens simply required them to obey the laws of this country as long as they resided within its borders and to do nothing to interfere with the war effort. This is the form of the question to which 189 of those on our repatriate roster answered "yes."

Unfortunately, it was while the aliens were under the impression that they were being forced to respond to an unjust question and when they were determined to reply in the negative that their citizen children were being registered. Parents who were in a negative mood and who foresaw retaliation or even deportation as the penalty for answering as they felt they must, quite naturally prevailed upon their children to answer in the same negative vein. Throughout the Center it was argued that if all members of the family, whether citizen or alien,

answered in the same spirit, family separation would not occur no matter what else happened. Later, when the elders were offered a question to which they could in good conscience answer "yes" the children who had answered "no" at their parents' behest were left curiously and uncomfortably isolated.

This accounts, in part, for the much higher proportion of original "yes" answers for the aliens than for the citizens. However, the figure of 283 citizens should not be used as a basis of comparison. Only those who were 17 years of age and older were required to register, and there were approximately 120 citizens who were under age but who have been listed as expatriates by their parents. Therefore, in round numbers, 50 of the 160 citizens of our roster who were eligible to register at the time the question was put answered "yes" to question 28.

To complete our figures for those who responded with "yes" answers: The 189 aliens divide into 124 males and 65 females. One hundred fifty-two are now repatriating and 37 have canceled. Of the repatriates 96 are men and 56 are women. Of the cancellees 28 are males and 9 are females.

Twenty-nine men and twenty-one women constitute the group of 50 citizens who originally answered "yes." Expatriates among them now number 38, and 12 are canceling. Twenty males are expatriating and nine are canceling. Among the citizen women the number of expatriates is 18 and there are but 3 cancellees.

When the opportunity came to request changes of answer either through filing an application at the Community Management Office or before a Hearing Board, a good many who are now on the repatriate-expatriate roll, 78 to be exact, took advantage of it.

Because by this time almost all of the aliens had been able to answer their mild version of the question satisfactorily, only four of them, three men and one woman of our list, were involved. The men are all repatriating now; the woman has withdrawn her repatriation request.

Seventy-four citizens, however, participated in this "change of answer" movement. Fifty-three of them were males and 21 were females. Now 52 of them are expatriating (38 men and 14 women) and 22 (15 men and 7 women) are canceling.

In ten cases, subjects, all citizens, changed from "no" to "yes" and back to "no" again. This reflects the initial desire for leave clearance followed by a family or individual determination to expatriate. For once a person has expatriated he often feels that he must have his record clear as far as the Japanese government is concerned. Accordingly he decides that he does not want a "yes" answer to an anti-Japanese "loyalty" question to cause trouble for him in the future. This group of 10 is composed of 2 women and 8 men. Eight of them (6 of the men and the 2 women) are expatriating; 2 men are canceling the expatriation requests.

The same psychology explains the action of 7 citizens who were originally "yes" answers but who have changed to "no." Three of these individuals are men and four are women. One of the 7, a woman, has recently canceled and as a result she will probably seek another change of answer.

There are four cases where citizens have held steadfast to original "no" answers and have never modified their stand. Two of these unwavering individuals are males and two are females. All are expatriating. Their decision to expatriate was made long ago, and their answers have been consistent with this decision.

There were 10 women, all citizens, who at the time of registration put down "undecided," "neutral," "no answer," "doubtful" or who refused to answer, but who later changed to "yes." All of them are now expatriating. Some of these women were the wives or daughters of internees and at first did not dare to respond because they were not able to consult with their husbands. Others were gentle souls who could not become as defiant and indignant as their husbands or brothers, but who did not dare to render an affirmative answer that might split

and separate the family.

Our last category contains the 37 persons who were not required to register because they were repatriates or expatriates at the time the questionnaire was submitted, but who answered the "loyalty" question in the affirmative after cancelation of repatriation or expatriation. Thirty-two of these persons are aliens and 5 are citizens. Six of the aliens are women and the other 26 are men. Six of the aliens, 5 men and 1 woman, are repatriating after all, having reviewed their applications during the last flurry. But the 26 others remain in the canceled column. As to the citizens, who consist of 4 women and 1 man, none has returned to the expatriate category.

From all this shifting back and forth in respect to question 28 it is not difficult to gather that the repatriate-expatriate group is one whose members have been torn by indecision. In the majority of cases, there was no immediate determination to repatriate or expatriate. This is indicated by the effort of so many to clarify any misunderstanding in regard to question 28 and to obtain leave clearance. As matters stand now almost all of the aliens who are repatriating have answered "yes" to the key question and approximately three-fourths of the expatriates have done so. We can say, then, that the present group of repatriates and expatriates at Manzanar is not, on the whole, composed of persons who had an initial and persistent interest in Japan as their post-war home. The decision to which most of them have finally come is a cumulative result of factors and combinations of factors which are explored in other parts of this study. In fact, if question 28 means anything, the present repatriate-expatriate group at Manzanar, curiously enough, must be considered essentially loyal to the United States!

REPATRIATION-EXPATRIATION AND LEAVE CLEARANCE

Since evacuation itself was based on the supposition that the West Coast Japanese communities harbored unidentified individuals whose sympathies lay with the enemy and who might, if opportunity were presented, commit acts inimical to the national safety and welfare, from the beginning the emphasis in leave clearance procedure has been on the determination of "loyalty." Thus leave clearance application forms have always included questions designed to elicit interests, experiences or affiliations which would associate an individual with Japan. Any adverse report from the intelligence services was sufficient grounds for denying leave clearance. At first, leave clearance was automatically withheld from those who had ever been in Japan. Even now a given term of residence and education in Japan makes it necessary for citizens to undergo a special hearing before leave clearance may be granted. And, of course, anyone who clouded his claim to loyalty by answering "no" or by qualifying his answer to question 28, was subjected both to segregation hearings and to special leave clearance hearings before he could be "cleared."

With this rigorous concern over "loyalty" as a background, it is interesting to see what the leave clearance status of members of the present repatriate-expatriate group was before their applications were filed. Almost all of the aliens, because they had answered their version of question 28 properly, and because their records were, in almost every instance, otherwise unblemished, were eligible for leave clearance.

The situation in respect to the citizens has been much more complex. Because so many of them, in an effort to answer as they thought their parents were going to do, became entangled in the question 28 issue, they were subjected to searching leave clearance hearings and the process of obtaining leave clearance was much slower for them. Yet, at the time they expatriated or were expatriated, the leave clearance status of the 161 citizens (62 women and 99 men) who were of

registration age was as follows:

<u>Status</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
258 Leave clearance	95
258-A Leave Clearance (Eastern Defense)	26
Leave clearance recommended	2
Leave clearance deferred	10
Action pending	22
Leave clearance denied	3
Leave clearance recommended denied	3
	<u>161</u>

At the present time 122 of the 161 total are still expatriating. Thirty-nine have canceled the expatriation request. These thirty-nine, therefore, have an opportunity to retain or, through another hearing, to regain, leave clearance. If an individual who had leave clearance was expatriated by a parent or relative without his consent or approval, for instance, he can make the proper explanation and retain his leave clearance status without additional hearings.

The present status of our 161 subjects, after a great many repatriation-expatriation hearings have been held, is this:

<u>Status</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
Leave clearance denied	32
Leave clearance recommended denied	64
Split recommendation (Project Director and Board in disagreement)	2
Hearings pending	34
258 Leave Clearance	9
258-A or 258 R1 and 3 (Eastern Defense)	9
Leave clearance recommended	11
	<u>161</u>

From these figures it is clear that in the end leave clearance for those of this category who secure it will closely follow the cancelation count, and that therefore approximately 120 citizens of this age group will finally be denied leave clearance.

PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED LEAVE CLEARANCE OR FOR WHOM DENIAL
OF LEAVE CLEARANCE HAS BEEN RECOMMENDED

At the time the data were assembled for this study 225 persons of the expatriate-repatriate roster had been denied leave clearance from Washington or were recommended for denial of leave clearance by Project officials.

Originally a large number of these individuals, 161 in all, had answered question No. 28 in the affirmative. One hundred two of this number were men and 59 were women. One hundred twenty-nine of them were aliens and 32 were citizens. The original answer of 59 others of the group was "no." Forty-five of these original "noes" were men and 14 were women; all of them were citizens. The five others, all female citizens, put down "doubtful" or "neutral" or refused to answer.

During the period when changes of answer were permitted, 47 of the persons who originally said "no" changed their answers to "yes." Eight of these were to reverse themselves at least once more and to return to the "no" column during the "repatriation-expatriation period." In this transfer to the "no" column they were to be joined by seven others who had initially answered "yes," but who felt that such an answer was incompatible with the expatriation request. Again the scene is one of flux and indecision, with most individuals hesitant to give or to maintain a "no" answer to the loyalty question, even though they are expatriating or repatriating. This suggests that the evacuees do not think of their repatriation or expatriation requests as a measure of loyalty or as a display of disloyalty, but rather tend to think of repatriation-expatriation as a step forced upon them by considerations of health, family, personal safety, or economy.

At the time the material was assembled for this study, 101 individuals, 69 males and 32 females, had been denied leave clearance. Sixty-five of these persons were aliens and 36 were citizens. Those for whom the project recommended denial of leave clearance numbered 105 at that time. Undoubtedly many of them have been denied leave clearance from Washington by now. Of this "recommended

denied" group, 46 were aliens and 59 were citizens.

In addition there were 19 instances where the Repatriation Hearing Board recommended denial of leave clearance (usually it did so mechanically on the basis of repatriation) but where the Project Director took issue with the decision. Eighteen of the persons involved in these split decisions are aliens and one is a citizen. These are almost all cases of very old people who have lived peacefully and lawfully in this country for many years, and who are now repatriating because of age, ill health or because of general bewilderment over what has befallen them. The Project Director does not believe, one can gather from his comments, that harmless, sick and insecure old people, even though they have indicated a wish to end their days in the land of their birth, should automatically be labeled "dangerous to the security of the United States" and placed under heavy guard in a Center that is associated in the public mind with active and violent disloyalty.

A word now about the dates on which the members of this group applied for repatriation. A number of persons applied for repatriation-expatriation through the Spanish Consul some time before they advised W.R.A. of their action, and the dates of their letters are not known. But reliable data exist for over 200 of these subjects. Fourteen first applied some time in 1942 (the range of dates is from May 1942 to September 1942). However, all these requests, some of them made while the person was in an internment camp, were canceled, and the individuals reapplied at a later date.

During 1943, thirty-five of our group repatriated or expatriated. Almost all of these persons did so during the latter part of the year, after segregation was announced as a definite policy. It was then that family heads frantically sought to marshal all family members on one side or the other. There was a general bracing against any possibility of separation, and in this determination to attain uniformity where there were "no" answers in the family,

repatriation and expatriation played a part.

From the beginning of the year until the end of August 1943 only five of our group had expatriated. The count for September alone rose to seven, and in December of 1943 there were eighteen such cases. But it was in January that the expatriation-repatriation movement really got under way. The total of 81 known cases for that month from this group dwarfed anything that had happened in December. This number was even exceeded during February when the monthly total from this group rose to 83. By March the tide had subsided, for only five persons of the category in which we are interested here applied. This number dwindled to three for the month of April. The history of the movement which these figures reflect will be reviewed in greater detail in the next section.

REPATRIATION DATES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

In the preceding section the distribution of dates of repatriation of individuals for whom leave clearance has been denied or recommended denied was given. In this section we are concerned with all available repatriation dates of families involved in the study.

It was possible to ascertain the date of repatriation-expatriation for 165 of the families listed. The information concerning family repatriation-expatriation dates almost invariably tells when the individual repatriated or expatriated too, for in this matter the family acted as a unit. There are only five "split" families included in the study, and even in these cases the family members first responded uniformly, at least as far as the records are concerned, though we know that in actuality the family head often took the initiative and listed the others in a letter to the Spanish Consul or on a family summary repatriation form. The fact that these families are divided now is due to later cancelations of one or more family members.

As matters stood at the conclusion of this study, 65 of the 165 families had canceled, 95 were still repatriating-expatriating, and five were divided. There are three families in the present cancelation column who have twice signed for repatriation-expatriation and have each time withdrawn the request. There are eleven instances where families which are now in the repatriation-expatriation category have repatriated twice, and two others where families now of this status have repatriated three times. Sometimes these multiple repatriations are for the purpose of emphasizing the desire to leave for Japan, but more often they simply are meant to restore a condition which existed before a cancelation. The number of families affected by these splits and these multiple cancelations-repatriations, 21 in all, gives some clew to the amount of indecision and debate which surrounds the step for the average family.

A survey of the repatriation-expatriation movement as it developed year by year is instructive too.

In 1942, forty-nine of the families with which we have dealt in this study repatriated-expatriated. In time thirty-nine of them, all except one, canceled, but ten have returned to the repatriate-expatriate group again. The ten families which repatriated so early and which are now once more in the repatriate-expatriate category are the most uncertain and unstable of all the kinship units which we are considering. The two families which have changed back and forth five times belong to this cluster. Nine of these ten families have repatriated more than once.

In 1943 twenty-eight of the 165 families with which we are now concerned repatriated-expatriated. Eleven have since retracted the request and 17 are bent on repatriating-expatriating. Of these last 17 families, four have wavered considerably before making a final decision. One family which is now divided on the issue repatriated-expatriated as a unit in 1943.

Eighty-three of our families repatriated-expatriated from January 1 to April 4, 1944. Sixty-eight of them are still in the repatriate-expatriate division and fifteen have canceled. During this period four families which are now of divided opinion also signed for repatriation-expatriation.

One fact stands out concerning the multiple repatriations-cancelations. Of the 16 cases where a family applied for repatriation more than once (in two cases three times) the great majority have ended up in the repatriate-expatriate column. Thirteen of these families seem to be headed finally for Japan while only three have withdrawn the applications following the second repatriation request. The inference is that for many families the decision to repatriate is not easy or clear-cut and that even after it is made, it is a verdict about which there is much misgiving. Since the margin of decision is so narrow and the application is so often canceled at least once before it is allowed to stand, it may be assumed that in spite of the alien status of

the family heads and the strains of the war, many of the families who are repatriating would never have contemplated the action if it had not been for evacuation and the special conditions resulting from it.

For the most revealing picture of the ebb and flow of the expatriation-repatriation movement, however, the figures for repatriation-expatriation by the month must be examined. The table below summarizes this information.

REPATRIATION-EXPATRIATIONS OF 165 FAMILIES BY MONTH

<u>Year and Month</u>	<u>No. of Original Applications</u>	<u>Reapplications</u>
1942 (month unknown)	2	0
January 1942	1	0
May 1942	2	0
June 1942	3	0
July 1942	29	0
August 1942	11	0
October 1942	0	1
November 1942	1	0
1943 (month unknown)	1	0
February 1943	1	1
March 1943	0	1
May 1943	1	0
June 1943	1	0
July 1943	3	0
August 1943	1	0
September 1943	7	0
October 1943	1	0
November 1943	2	0
December 1943	10	3
January 1944	41	7 (one for 3rd time)
February 1944	41	4 (one for 3rd time)
March 1944	5	1
April 1944	1	0

These figures have limited meaning unless they are translated into the historical process which they reflect. For that reason it may be well to sketch briefly the train of events and the development of policy as they have affected repatriation-expatriation.

On July 3, 1942 the W.R.A. San Francisco office notified the Director of the Community Services Division at Manzanar that the Gripsholm was

scheduled to leave this country sometime in August, taking abroad those Japanese nationals who wished to repatriate. An announcement was printed in both Japanese and English in the Free Press on July 9, 1942 urging interested persons to register and to apply without delay.

At the end of the first day, according to the July 14, 1942 report of the Historical Documentarian, 200 persons had requested information and 170 had registered. It had been announced that registration was limited to aliens only. "About half a dozen kibeis also came in, but we had to turn them down because they were citizens," explained the Director of the Legal Aid Section. One of the kibeis hopefuls is quoted as saying, "I can't speak English. I don't see why I should hang around here." Because applications from citizens were not accepted during this period "nearly all applicants were single men, without families or citizen relatives."

A little later the Project was notified that the names of citizens and dual citizens could also be included in the list. On July 24, 1942 the Documentarian wrote, "Children of Japan-bound parents are allowed to accompany them except that those over 14 are permitted to express their preference. Dual citizens are accepted but written application deprives them of American citizenship." In this last sentence, written by an evacuee who was as well informed as any on the Project, we see the inception of the mischievous notion that application for expatriation extinguishes American citizenship and exempts the person from the obligations of citizenship. This idea was to mislead many when the debate over the draft began. By July 24, 423 persons had applied for repatriation or expatriation and 30 applicants a day were filling out the detailed questionnaire.

The motivations which were voiced by the repatriates and expatriates and which were reported by the Documentarian included "the wish for a free trip," "the feeling of growing too old in an unwelcome land," the desire to join relatives, the rebellion against evacuation and detention ("If we're

going to be exchanged for American prisoners of war, it proves that we're in a prison camp"), the fear of the issei that there would be little opportunity for them in post-war America, the belief of the nisei that they were to be deprived in the end of the citizenship which they felt had been ignored, and finally the expectation that nisei could find opportunity in Japanese-controlled territory.

Time wore on. August came and went. The repatriates and expatriates who supposed that their applications were equivalent to a departure for Japan waited for further directions. Then, during the second week of October 1942, 157 residents of Manzanar received printed notices from the W.C.C.A. in San Francisco telling them that they and the members of their families listed on the form were "being considered for repatriation to Japan." The notices were signed by Colonel Bendetsen and directed recipients either to fill out W.C.C.A. Forms R-100 and R-101 or to prepare Declarations of Declination. Both citizens and aliens received the notices. Only six of these who received them had applied for repatriation or expatriation, ironically enough.

These notices, prepared from a list of names of persons whom the Japanese government indicated it would accept for exchange, caused great consternation. The confusion grew when it was learned that W.R.A. and the Project's Legal Aid Section knew nothing of the matter. Most of those who had not applied for repatriation through W.R.A. but whose names appeared on the new list felt victimized, and wondered if they were being tested for pro-Japanese sentiment. Cries of "Korean spies in camp" began to arise. Those who had applied through W.R.A. and whose names did not appear on this list wondered if they had not been deceived into revealing their sympathies and desires by fair words and promises which were not to be fulfilled. And some who had not before seriously considered repatriation began to mull over the offer that was dangled before their eyes.

These episodes can be related to our repatriation-expatriation curve. The upsurge in July and August of 1942 was due to the announcement that an exchange was to be made and that those who wished to be included in the passenger list had better make out the proper forms. All those who applied in 1942 (with the exception of one medically deferred case) canceled before segregation took place. Otherwise they would be in Tule Lake today. The cancellations began to occur when residents realized how few exchange trips there were likely to be and how small a chance there was that their names would appear on the Japanese government's list.

The sad fact is that there were also others who applied and who in time lost interest in repatriating but who did not make out a Declaration of Declination either because of inertia or because they did not sense the importance of doing so. When segregation policy was formulated an important provision was that those who had not canceled repatriation requests by July 1, 1943 were to be segregated without hearings. There was a sharp outcry and protest, for when residents were originally told that they could apply for repatriation, they were also assured that this act would not be held against them, and that they would not be penalized because of it while in this country. Nevertheless many were forced to go to Tule Lake because of a form they had signed a year and a half before, at a time when the full implications of evacuation and detention had plunged them into the nadir of disillusionment. It should be remembered that this was the period when barbed wire fences were going up, when leave clearance and relocation programs did not exist, when public temper was high and newspaper comment hysterical and acid. In this situation it was inevitable that repatriation should be utilized, in certain cases, as a gesture of relief and defiance. I doubt that there is any essential difference in the outlook of many of the 1942 repatriates who were sent to Tule Lake and that of those who remain.

Repatriation-expatriation came to the fore as an issue once more during the registration in mid-February, 1943. Many who believed signing a leave clearance form was tantamount to being forced to relocate and who preferred an uncertain reception and future in Japan to an America which they were convinced was entirely hostile, decided to repatriate rather than to fill in the required form. Citizens, indignant over Question 28, and bristling over the attempt to recruit them for a combat team from behind a barbed wire fence, threatened to expatriate rather than answer the inquiries. Kibei, sure that they were being led to make statements that would forever bar them from Japan and embarrass their relatives in Japan, likewise sought to avoid registration by expatriating. As a result it became necessary, in order to arrest an hysterical rush, to halt the registering of applicants for repatriation-expatriation during this period. But before this flood was turned considerable damage had been done. Moreover, the reaction during registration demonstrated the degree to which the repatriation-expatriation request could be a protest and an outlet for pent-up anger rather than a carefully-considered decision in favor of one or another country or nationality.

During the summer of 1943 interest in repatriation-expatriation was kept alive by preparations that were in progress for the departure of a second exchange ship. On May 8 new instructions concerning change of requests and the filing of the proper forms were received by the Project from Washington.

Meanwhile the registration had divided evacuees into "yes" and "no" answers in respect to the so-called "loyalty" question. At Manzanar, for reasons which have been explored in previous Community Analysis Reports, there was a large proportion of "no" answers among the citizens. Congressmen became aware of this. The old refrain, "How are you going to tell a loyal from a disloyal Jap?" changed to "Separate the disloyal from the loyal." A call for segregation began that grew in volume and intensity.

On May 22 the Project Director left for a Washington meeting. By June 7 he was back at his desk. It was assumed that the Washington meeting would be primarily concerned with the division among evacuees which Question 28 had created, and with the related problems of leave clearance and possible segregation. On June 8 the Project Director, in a special message to the Block Managers, confirmed that these had indeed been the topics under consideration. He explained that the difficulty of defining loyalty and the injustice of determining it on the basis of a monosyllabic answer had been recognized at the Washington meetings and that therefore those who said "no" would be granted leave clearance after questioning, if they could satisfactorily explain their answers and demonstrate their real American sympathies and good faith. He told the Town Hall meeting that a policy of segregation would be announced and that four groups would be involved, (1) those who said "no" and whose record and testimony under questioning indicated that they really were pro-Japanese, (2) repatriates and expatriates, (3) those against whose records there were F.B.I. or other adverse intelligence reports, (4) those who were unco-operative and unproductive. After segregation was achieved, the Project Director declared, relocation would be stressed and would become the prime objective.

The Project Director met with the Block Managers again on June 11. He mentioned that the Gripsholm would sail sometime during the summer and explained that of the 1800 passengers on board, 800 were to be from the relocation centers. A Block Manager asked if it was necessary for a repatriate to cancel if he wished to stay at Manzanar. The plan, according to the Project Director, was that a repatriate might or might not be sent to a segregation center depending on W.R.A. Children would be considered. If the person were helpful and co-operative the Project would want him here. Some repatriates, he opined, ought to stay. Children should not be sent because some old lady repatriated. But he stressed that "some new ruling by W.R.A. or the military

or Congress might come which says that people who want to go to Japan will have to go." He therefore advised any person who was sure that he wanted to stay to cancel his repatriation request and he announced that the records would be opened again through the Community Management Office for this purpose.

Another problem that was to agitate many was brought forward now when a Block Manager said that the parents of a boy who said "no" were worried over the possibility that he would be drafted. The Project Director replied that since he was still a citizen his answer to Question 28 would have no bearing on the matter if nisei were to be drafted.

It is plain from the tenor of this meeting that at the time there was still the possibility that final decisions concerning those to be segregated might rest with the officials at the various Projects, and that considerable authority for latitude in the handling of cases of repatriates and expatriates was still likely to be conferred upon the Project Director.

During May, June and July W.R.A. and its charges were under heavy fire in Congress. The results of registration were embarrassing to W.R.A. and most difficult to explain to anyone who was not completely familiar with the entire situation. Surface appearances provided a perfect opportunity for congressional oratory and war-linked exaggerations. The climax came on July 6 when the United States Senate passed a sharply worded resolution calling for segregation. A program of some kind could not be much longer delayed.

On July 9 a wire was received from the Washington Office announcing the broad outline of the segregation program. The Project Director called a special meeting of Town Hall to acquaint the Block Managers with the details as far as they were known.

According to this first information the segregation program was to begin September 1 and to be concluded by October 20. Four classes, including those who had signed for repatriation or expatriation and who had not canceled

their request by June 1, 1943, were to be segregated.

At this special meeting it was also announced that the Spanish Consul was due to arrive in Manzanar on July 20 and that both repatriates and expatriates would be given a chance to confer with him about their rights and privileges in respect to the segregation plan. Later, when the Spanish Consul gave inaccurate information which confused the draft picture and stimulated a rash of expatriations, citizens were criticized for carrying their troubles to him and he was censured for taking the problems of American citizens under advisement. But at this time, it should be remembered, W.R.A. officialdom saw no objection to his interest in the problems of expatriates.

At this meeting also, in discussing the Center and the situation as he saw it after segregation, the Project Director declared: "I think that those who stay here and express their loyalty to this country, those who are eligible, should be subject to the draft, just as any other loyal American citizen..." And he went on to predict the reapplication of the draft to nisei.

The wire which arrived July 13, 1943 carried one instruction relating to repatriates-expatriates which caused considerable concern. That was the provision that those who had not canceled repatriation or expatriation requests by June 1 were to be segregated. Since the Project, all through the month of June, had been advising those who really had lost interest in repatriating to cancel the request, the degree of predating was a touchy point. The same thing apparently had happened at other centers, for inquiries and protests streamed in to Washington and the effective date was changed to July 1.

In due course there arrived Administrative Instruction No. 100, dated July 15 and titled "Separation of evacuees of doubtful loyalty from loyal evacuees." In the main its contents followed the wire which had been received July 9. It definitely named Tule Lake as the Segregation Center.

But it gave no indication that the Project Director might exercise discretion in the segregation of repatriates and expatriates, merely stating crisply:

- A. In general, persons will be moved to the Tule Lake Center in the following order of priority:
 1. Persons who have applied for repatriation or expatriation and have not retracted their requests prior to July 1, 1943, with the exception of those whose names are furnished by the Director as being persons who may soon embark for Japan.

Thus the repatriates and expatriates became members of a group whose disloyalty was assumed without a hearing and who were officially named as the very first to be segregated.

During the week of July 19 the Chief of the Community Management Division spoke to the teaching staff and explained the segregation program. She mentioned that about 450 persons had applied for repatriation or expatriation and had not canceled by July 1. She stated that these persons would be affected by the program and would be among the first to be removed.

On July 28 it was announced that Colonel Rasmussen and Lieutenant Gould were scheduled to visit the Relocation Centers and to be in Manzanar during the first week in August to recruit men for the Camp Savage Language School. The reason given for this trip was "a plan in line with the total war effort whereby all loyal Japanese-Americans will be given an opportunity to participate actively in the war effort by utilizing their special talent in the Japanese language." The very same day the War Department issued a statement revealing that a limited number of nisei women were to be accepted for enlistment in the WACs. Many saw proof in these events that the ranks of the army were to be opened wide to nisei men in the near future.

By August the interviews for repatriates and expatriates who were being segregated and the segregation hearings were in progress. Since so many repatriates and expatriates were involved in the segregation movement from Manzanar, exact knowledge concerning their status was desired by the residents.

At Town Hall on August 13 a Block Manager asked whether citizens who applied for expatriation had terminated their citizenship by this act. A W.R.A. official replied that the only way a United States national could lost his citizenship during war-time was to commit an act of treason; otherwise he would retain his citizenship as long as he remained in this country. At this meeting of August 13 the Project Director found it necessary again to assure his listeners that in spite of all rumors to the contrary, evacuees who remained in the Center after segregation would not be "pushed out."

On August 15 the Los Angeles Examiner carried a report that Manzanar was to close in December. The source of information was supposed to be a Director of another Relocation Center. Within a few days the report had spread to all corners of Manzanar and was implicitly believed. Moreover it was directly affecting responses during the segregation hearings and was leading to renewed requests for repatriation and expatriation. So serious did the unrest become that the rumor was submitted for comment to the Washington office. The August 25 issue of the Free Press carried the answer that was teletyped from Washington by the National Director:

I am anxious to correct an impression which has been created in some places that some or all the relocation centers are to be closed in the near future. While it is true that the long range goal of the War Relocation Authority is to enable as many as possible of the eligible evacuees to relocate, we realize that it will be a slow process.

We have no plans for closing any relocation center in the immediate future. As relocation takes place and more people move outside, we expect to close some centers but this will not take place in the near future. There will be no compulsion to relocate outside of centers although we hope that an increasing number of people living in relocation centers will find it to their advantage to relocate and become self-supporting.

This statement somewhat allayed the hysteria, but much was made in certain quarters of the admission that some centers were to be closed, and there were cynical comments about the interpretation to be placed on the words "immediate future."

In the midst of all this worry and excitement sixteen Manzanar repatriates and expatriates left the Center to begin a journey that would take

them to Japan on the second exchange voyage from the United States. The fact that more than one movement was actually being consummated awakened dormant hopes and once more stimulated interest in repatriation and expatriation.

At this time, too, the West Coast newspapers were full of the thunderous charges and "revelations" of the Dies Committee. But it was pointed out that for all the sensationalism the Dies report really made three fundamental demands, namely, the segregation of the disloyal, the drafting of loyal nisei, and the relocation of the rest. In spite of the difference in its tone, in principle this seemed reasonably close to the program of the W.R.A. Now that segregation was a reality what reason was there to doubt that a nisei draft and forced relocation would follow!

It was inevitable that those who were antagonistic to or unprepared for relocation or who opposed the drafting of nisei from the Centers would use the segregation program to protect themselves against the developments they feared. It must be remembered that during July and August in all the literature and explanations which had to do with Tule Lake, it was emphasized that segregation was not punishment, that the management of the Center would continue under W.R.A. direction, that the policies and services would be the same, with the exception that leaves would not be granted and representative community government would not continue. Pleasant pictures of Tule Lake graced administrative offices in the Centers and there was jocular talk about "the Tule Lake Travel Bureau." Much was made by evacuees of the fact that Tule Lake had been originally designed as a Relocation Center and that the housing was therefore more substantial than at Manzanar. In the Free Press of July 31 the item describing the built-in closets of the Tule Lake apartments made a considerable impression. The wish-fulfillment mechanism was at work and added fancy to fact. It was not long before the "lake" after which Tule Lake was presumably named was being described, and prospective segregants were picturing themselves on pleasant fishing expeditions.

Evacuees who did not wish to leave California were pleased that Tule Lake was in that State. And it should be remembered that citizens had been advised that under existing law they could not be deprived of citizenship as a result of a "no" answer or expatriation. Tule Lake loomed as a Center which had, in addition to all the advantages of the others, a stability and promise of longevity for which hundreds longed.

When such reflections were added to the old list of grievances and complaints the ranks of the "Tule Lake bound" were sure to be swelled. A substantial number of "no" answers was retained. Persons who said "yes" but who wished to accompany "no" family members to the segregation center sought repatriation or expatriation as a means of double protection against any family separation. Since no provision was made for a review of those who had previously said "yes," individuals of this category who had experienced a change of heart turned to repatriation and expatriation as a method by means of which to accompany friends and relatives to the segregation center. By September 4 it was announced that 2200 persons, including 356 repatriates and expatriates, were slated to be sent from Manzanar to Tule Lake.

On September 10, at the regular meeting of Town Hall, the secretary announced that applications for repatriation were being received at one of the administration offices. At the same session mischievous rumors had to be downed once more. The Project Director again denied that forced relocation was to take place immediately following segregation. He also dealt severely with the story that a species of "segregation" was going to occur at Manzanar because of lack of room at Tule Lake, and that to accomplish this fences were going to be erected within the center to keep the "loyal" and "disloyal" apart. The Project Director admitted that there would indeed be a delay before the main body of Manzanar segregants left for Tule Lake because several thousands more were segregating than had been expected to do so.

But new buildings were being erected, he informed the Block Managers. He stated that the plans were to send a first contingent of about 200 segregants from Manzanar about October 9. And for the first time Tule Lake was revealed in a stark and ugly light. It was described as "not such a nice place," enclosed by a barbed wire fence eight feet high, and with about one thousand soldiers stationed around it.

With so many persons committed to go to Tule Lake a tremendous interest arose concerning the center and what was taking place there. About September 15 a rumor circulated that riots and bloodshed had occurred there and that the project was under martial law. However, these stories were denied by a Manzanar official who had just returned from there and who was at Tule Lake when these disturbances were alleged to have taken place.

By October 1 considerably more was known about Tule Lake and the atmosphere which was likely to prevail there than had been the case when the segregation program was first announced. On that date the Project Director gravely told the Block Managers that segregants should have a realistic picture of what they faced, - Tule Lake had no lawns, no trees, no victory gardens. There were more soldiers there than at Manzanar and they had heavier equipment.

On October 1, too, the last group of the young men who volunteered for army service in February left the Center to begin their training.

On October 8 it was announced that because of the necessity of sinking new wells at Tule Lake the date of departure of the larger group of segregants was uncertain. The first group of 289 segregants left Manzanar October 13. The October 2, 13 and 16 issues of the Free Press were filled with the appreciation notices of the departing and for a week before the departure a series of farewell banquets was held

When the regular meeting of Town Hall convened on October 15, one of the Block Managers asked whether repatriation requests were still being taken. He was told that they were being accepted but he was warned that repatriation is a serious matter, that only those who really want to go to Japan should apply and that persons who requested repatriation just because they wished to get to Tule Lake were making a big mistake. The Block Manager then revealed what was in the back of his mind when he asked: "If I don't relocate after segregation, will I be considered as non-cooperative and sent to Tule Lake anyway?"

There is a certain amount of irony in this exchange of October 15. The theory was that only persons actively interested in Japan and eventually headed for Japan were going to Tule Lake. Yet the administration found it necessary to warn persons who were disinterested in Japan as a future home against repatriating or expatriating merely to gain entrance to Tule Lake. Thus in spite of theory the Administration was fully aware that many who were little concerned with political or national aspirations were segregating and repatriating because of the fear of the closing of Centers and for other reasons discussed in this paper and in previous studies.

The leave clearance hearings began at Manzanar on October 25. If it had been possible to hold to the planned schedule, segregation would have been completed by this time. As it was, the "change of answer" contingent and those who canceled repatriation or expatriation before the deadline had to make their protestations of loyalty and their explanations amid a chorus of critical and cynical remarks from over 1800 persons who were busily preparing for the Tule Lake journey. Just before the review began, one of the prominent Block Managers inquired of the administration whether it was true that after the first of the year a person would have the choice of relocating or of going to Tule Lake. Given this setting of pressure, uncertainty and suspicion, it was little wonder that there were some confused and conflicting responses

and a number of denials and deferred decisions.

Throughout the first half of the month of November stories of the imminent closing of Manzanar persisted. Friends from the outside and from other centers wrote to residents of Manzanar asking them where they planned to go when Manzanar was liquidated. What is more, the Administration no longer promptly denied the rumors. Finally, at the November 19 meeting of Town Hall a Block Manager rose to say, "The residents continually ask if there is any truth in the rumor that we are to move from here by July 1944."

Though it was a difficult moment to reveal it, with leave clearance hearings only partly completed and with hundreds of segregants urging others to join their ranks, the Project Director told the truth with characteristic frankness. The closing of Manzanar was under consideration. For once a rumor had come close to the mark. "Mr. Myer," he said, "is planning on closing two centers; as to which two, it has not been decided. However, he promised me that Manzanar will be given a chance to present its case. As soon as I know definitely I will let you know."

In late fall the Gripsholm was on its return voyage to the United States after delivering Japanese repatriates and expatriates to an exchange port for the second time. Negotiations looking toward a third exchange had been initiated. To help complete the necessary records an Administrative Notice on the subject of Repatriation, dated November 23, 1943 was issued, directing evacuees who desired to be exchanged to Japan to follow W.R.A. procedures and also "to write to the Spanish Embassy, Washington, D. C. making a similar request." The notice further stated, ".... it is believed the prospects of their repatriation will be increased if they write also the Spanish Embassy; hence, the above suggestion." This was advice the evacuees were to use to the full a little later.

Senor de Amat, the Spanish Consul, was in Manzanar December 16 and 17.

With him came Mr. Earl Dickover of our State Department. On December 17 the two men attended the Town Hall meeting and answered questions put to them. A number of the questions had to do with repatriation and expatriation. One of the questions addressed to the Spanish Consul was this: "Those niseis who repatriated to Japan without Japanese citizenship, how does the Japanese government consider them?"

To this Senor de Amat responded, "As a Japanese subject, I suppose." Why the Spanish Consul should "suppose" that the Japanese government would deal with non-citizens as though they were citizens was not explained. There is absolutely no justification for such a procedure in the Japanese nationality code. But the Consul's "supposition" was enthusiastically accepted as fact by many evacuees who had been deterred from expatriating their citizen children only for fear that they would become "men without a country."

Senor de Amat was also asked, "When a citizen applies for expatriation, does he lose his American citizenship?"

To this the Consul replied, "No, not during war time."

When he was asked what type of reception the expatriated nisei received in Japan the Consul stated that the reception was apparently on the same basis as that accorded nationals, judging by the Japanese government's request for some nisei in past exchange.

Mr. Dickover also spoke on the legal status of expatriates, stating that expatriation does not have a legal effect on citizenship during war-time. The Project Director told of the instructions received from Washington advising repatriates and expatriates to apply to the Spanish Embassy. The Spanish Consul also requested that this procedure be followed.

During the latter part of December the rumor that the nisei draft was near grew more insistent. The December 22 issue of the Free Press carried an article notifying evacuees of draft age that special instructions had been received from Washington directing all those subject to the Selective Service

Law to keep in touch with their draft boards, to register, and to notify the Board of changes of address.

The interest in departures for Tule Lake was kept alive when ten persons, the wives and families of men already there, left for the segregation Center on December 29. It was announced at this time that 1944 others were still scheduled to go later from Manzanar, perhaps by February 15, 1944.

On January 1 another notice to repatriates and expatriates and to those contemplating repatriation or expatriation was carried by the Free Press. It was worded as follows:

It has been suggested by the Washington Office of the W.R.A. that all those persons who have applied for repatriation through the W.R.A. also make applications through the Spanish Consul; and all those persons who have never applied for Repatriation should do so at once by writing the Spanish Consul,...

No further applications are being taken at Manzanar at this time because of the work entailed by the leave clearance program. It will be announced to the Block Managers the time and date the Repatriation Office will be open again at Manzanar.

This notice, with its reiteration of the advice to apply through the Spanish Consul and to do so during the very period when such applications were not being accepted at the Center (the acceptance of applications at the Center ceased, until further notice, December 5) created the impression, unfortunately, that repatriation and expatriation were the business of the Spanish Embassy, and that negotiations with the Spanish Embassy on the subject were sufficient and would bring best results.

The depressing effect of the unfinished state of segregation was underscored by an event which occurred January 5, 1944. Evacuees of another Center had proposed a conference to discuss various phases of relocation. When the matter was discussed in Town Hall, the Block Managers rejected a proposal to support the plan or to send delegates, pleading that because segregation was not completed, attitudes were too unsettled and interest in relocation was too slight. By January 14 the postponement of the conference was announced.

The January 21 meeting of Town Hall was held in an atmosphere of gloom. The tentative date for the departure of the large group to Tule Lake was announced once more as February 15. When someone suggested that a center-wide farewell party be given for the segregants, the chairman remarked: "Regarding the Tule Lake departure, we should not give a farewell party for them, for I believe we are all in the same boat. It is true that they are leaving us after living with us for nearly two years. But what about those of us who are left behind? There is a possibility that we might have to move to Poston. Who is going to give us a farewell party then, when no one is left behind?"

The chairman spoke truly. The threat of the liquidation of Manzanar still hung over the Center. The Project Director himself referred to this at the meeting and said that a greater economy in the operation of the Center was needed if the Project was to be allowed to continue.

The important news of the day, however, was the announcement that nisei were again subject to the draft. The information had been released from Washington and had reached Manzanar by teletype.

The immediate reaction to the news was voiced by one of the Block Managers who said: "We should not oppose this draft ruling, but I think that it is essential that a clear understanding be gotten on this. After all, the government has elected to herd us in here, taking away all the privileges of citizens. Now that soldiers are needed they are utilizing us, and making us give up our lives for our country. It is all right, but what are the future plans of the government toward us?"

On January 28 the Block Managers were informed that persons who had applied for repatriation through the Spanish Consul should come to the Community Management Office with evidence of their application and they would then be given a leave clearance hearing and allowed to go to Tule Lake with the next movement. It was officially announced at this time that the Manzanar segregants would move to Tule Lake in four groups on February 21, 22, 24, and 25. Before this gathering, too, was read a list of questions and answers which W.R.A. had issued to prevent

any misconceptions about the draft. Questions 5, 6 and 8 and the replies given to them were of particular moment to those concerned over expatriation.

Hypothetical question No. 5 ran: Will an individual of Japanese ancestry who has applied for expatriation be inducted? The answer to this was: Generally speaking, no.

Question 6 asked: Can a man avoid induction by changing his answer on the loyalty question or by asking for expatriation at this time? The answer given stated: No. A change in his answer or a request for expatriation will not affect his liability for training and service. The Selective Service Law carries penalties for false statements made for the purpose of avoiding induction.

Question 8 was: On what basis does the Army determine "acceptability for service?" It was bracketed with this answer: "Acceptability for service" is determined by checking individual records.

These questions and answers were published in the Free Press on February 2 and mimeographed copies of them were distributed to the residents as well.

The interpretation put upon these answers at the time was that an expatriate, particularly one who had acted before this explanation arrived (the end of January) would not be called for military service. And it was also assumed that when individual records were checked by the Army, expatriates would be declared "not acceptable for service."

The last week in January was a troubled time for the Centers and for the evacuees in many ways. The atrocity stories of the march from Bataan were published January 27 and the fear of public resentment and retaliation made segregation and repatriation a welcome alternative to relocation for some. The wrath that rose against the Japanese in America was quickly transferred to W.R.A. With the Tule Lake disorders of November so well remembered and publicized, many doubted that the Authority would survive the barrage of criticism. A newspaper report that Manzanar was to be liquidated gave both evacuees and some members of the appointed personnel a first-class case of the jitters.

Some of these feelings of the evacuees were translated into repatriation and expatriation applications.

By February 4 there was evidence that a large number of persons were repatriating and expatriating through the Spanish Consul. Therefore on this date it was announced that those who had repatriated or expatriated directly through the Spanish Consul were to come to Town Hall and register. After these people were registered, it was explained, they would be called in for leave clearance hearings and would be sent to Tule Lake at a later date. All members of the family 17 years of age or older were directed to come to the hearing. At the same time residents were asked not to stampede in signing for repatriation and were reminded of the seriousness of the step. During these first days of February, incidentally, the first draft notices were being received by young men in the Center.

To the general uneasiness during this period was added the troubled state of mind of many of those who had changed answers before segregation boards and who had then faced a leave clearance board. Some had not clearly understood that their testimony before the segregation board would not be the final step and were troubled to learn that they would have to submit to questioning by a leave clearance board as well. Moreover, the leave clearance board had the power of recommendation only. The final decision concerning leave clearance or segregation lay with Washington. Persons with relocation prospects sometimes saw them ruined because leave clearance did not arrive in time. Evacuees who had particularly asked for an early leave clearance hearing watched the days and months pass with no word from Washington. They grew nervous and resentful. Some assumed the delay to mean that leave clearance would be denied. "Change of answer" boys who had planned on fall furlough work grew sullen when leave clearance hearings and the long wait for word from Washington kept them in Manzanar. Now kibeis, even though they were original "yes" answers were being summoned for leave clearance hearings. The word was passed around that these kibeis, no matter what they did and said, would never be granted leave clearance and might as well expatriate first as last.

A number yielded to this argument and to the general discouragement.

Then there were the persons for whom "yes" dockets were being received. These were individuals who had answered "yes" to question No. 28 originally and who had long assumed that they had leave clearance, but who were now to be examined because the Joint Board desired further information concerning them. Often the point at issue had nothing to do with the individual's own record, but had reference to financial or other transactions of a parent or a spouse. Many of the persons affected were leaders among the ultra-Americanized group and had been friendly and helpful to the administration. Now for the first time they were shaken, and they began to talk of "witch-hunt" and "inquisition." Their hearings went to Washington with the rest and they had no guarantee that they would not be denied leave clearance and sent to Tule Lake. In this manner dismay and irritation were spread, and because of this, sympathy for the "Tule Lake bound" flourished among those who otherwise never would have felt it.

In short, to a very vocal group of nearly 2000 segregants were added the dissonant voices of the members of several other aggrieved groups. It was a time when it was exceedingly difficult for anyone to retain perspective and calm judgment.

Into this troubled setting fell still another bombshell. On January 22, immediately following the reinstitution of the draft for nisei, a parent at Manzanar wrote to the Spanish Consul at San Francisco, asking whether it was obligatory for American citizens of Japanese ancestry to serve in the United States armed forces. The Spanish Consulate in San Francisco referred the question to its Embassy in Washington. A reply, dated February 16, 1944 arrived at Manzanar on February 17 and was widely circulated and discussed among the residents for the next few days. The body of the letter stated:

The Japanese citizens, as such, are not compelled to join the Army. The Japanese-American, second generation, being American citizens, must serve and answer any call from the War Department. But the American authorities have stressed the fact that, if an American citizen (of Japanese descent) does not desire to serve this country, he is not under any obligation to do so. He will then be considered disloyal to the United States and may ask for expatriation to

Japan, which will or will not be granted, as this is solely a matter to be decided by the United States Government.

The main difficulty with this information was that it was outdated by approximately a month, and applied to a condition which had been altered. Certainly, by suspending the drafting of nisei, by placing them in a 4C classification, and by making service in the army contingent upon volunteering for a combat unit, the American government for a long time can be said to have "stressed the fact that, if an American citizen (of Japanese descent) does not desire to serve this Country, he is not under any obligation to do so." What the Consul did not take in account, however, was that the resumption of the drafting of nisei on January 20, was a major change of policy which applied the Selective Service machinery, with all its mandatory aspects and penalties, to nisei as well as to all other American citizens. Nevertheless parents who had been angered by evacuation, who had lost property, who were uncertain about their future in the country, and who were frightened by proposed legislation which threatened them with deportation, accepted the statement of the Consul as official proof that their sons, if they expatriated, would be exempt from army service. A number of them hastened to repatriate and to list their children as expatriates. Sometimes this was done with the consent and knowledge of the children; in a good many cases the parents acted first and discussed the matter afterward with the children.

On February 18, at Town Hall, the reality behind the rumor that drastic changes were in the offing for W.R.A. was announced. It turned out to be nothing ominous; W.R.A. was being transferred to the Department of the Interior.

Then, at this meeting, the Project Director spoke gravely of another matter. Through the Spanish Consulate the Project was receiving lists of names of those who had applied for repatriation and expatriation. Most of the persons involved had never indicated their desire to repatriate through W.R.A. channels. A good many had already been granted leave clearance or had been strongly

recommended for leave clearancy by the Project. Their self-confess "disloyalty" now brought the judgment of the Hearing Boards and of the Project into disrepute. About this the Project Director said, in part:

There have been a great number of persons applying for repatriation who have just lately notified the W.R.A. This puts the administration in an embarrassing situation. While the office and W.R.A. tries to fight for the welfare of the Japanese, some of the Japanese are undermining the effort of the W.R.A. There is no objection to asking to go to Japan, but when a person applies to the Spanish Consul, he should in all fairness notify the W.R.A. In this way there will be no misunderstanding. He should not make one statement to W.R.A. and then in the same breath apply for repatriation.

When the Project Director spoke, he did not yet know of the letter of the Spanish Consul and of the impetus it had given repatriation-expatriation. But by the 24th of the month it had been called to his attention. He immediately wired the entire text to Washington. The next day, at the regular Block Manager's Assembly, the Project Director reviewed the situation. He censured any attempt to evade the draft by expatriating, and he discussed the Spanish Consul's letter, stating that in his opinion the Consul had no right to interfere in any way with American citizens.

Also discussed at this meeting was the opposition of nisei to being drafted from Centers unless there were restoration of civil rights and guarantees for the future. It was revealed that five nisei who had objected to the draft had been arrested at Amache. Nevertheless, in spite of this display of force, the nisei of Manzanar felt strongly enough on the same subject to determine to take some action. Therefore the Project Director agreed to meet with delegates from the blocks on Sunday, February 27, to discuss the nisei draft.

While the storm over the nisei draft and expatriation was in progress, the movement of segregants to Tule Lake was under way. It had been announced on February 19 that the final list of segregants contained 1874 names and that of these 573 were repatriates and expatriates. With the repatriates and expatriates were to go 19 family members. The removal of hundreds of evacuees who in two years had become an integral part of the economic, political and social fabric of

Manzanar was a serious traumatic experience. Evacuees who longed for decision and rest, who were confused and troubled over the draft, the future, relocation and delayed leave clearance could not help but wonder whether these segregants were not well out of it all. The February 23 issue of the Free Press was filled with farewells and appreciation notices. For some time in advance the evenings were long with banquets. Many of the farewells struck a wistful note. Residents who were remaining in Manzanar asked themselves if they did not do so at the price of new uncertainties and future crises. Fresh rumors were already on hand to plague them. One story had it that after the movement to Tule Lake another segregation would divide prospective relocatees from those opposed to relocation. The tale persisted, too, that kibeis would no longer be granted leave clearance. On February 25 figures were released to show that 124 kibeis had been granted leave clearance and that 103 had relocated, but the rumor continued to circulate.

At this time, too, the Biddle bill was passed by the United States Senate and went to the House. In spite of much loose talk no national legislation directed against persons of Japanese ancestry had been approved by a House of Congress before. Evacuees asked whether this was not the beginning of a stream of restrictive legislation that would make life untenable for them in the United States.

February 26 brought a telegram from the National Director in Washington. It stated that Selective Service laws were being strictly enforced in regard to the drafting of Japanese-Americans and that the War Relocation Authority was co-operating fully in the matter. It also called attention to the issuance of warrants for the arrest of five Granada nisei who had refused to report for pre-induction physical examinations.

By February 26, too, a message from Washington concerning the letter of the Spanish Consul was at hand. The highlights of the rejoinder were that the "statement attributed to the Spanish Consul de Amat is not in accord with regulations of the Selective Service," that "requests for expatriation made since January 20, 1944

on the part of male citizens of military age must be regarded as efforts to evade military service," and that "A citizen designated as acceptable for service who refuses to be inducted into the armed forces, on the grounds that he has requested expatriation, will be subject to penalty prescribed in Selective Service laws." The contents of this teletype were explained and emphasized at the next Block Manager's Assembly. The information also reached the residents by means of a leading article in the March 2 issue of the Free Press and it was discussed at the meetings of block delegates on the subject of the nisei draft. As a result the expatriation of any family with a boy of military age now became recognized as an exceedingly hazardous step. The young man would be open to charges of draft dodging. The elders might find themselves prosecuted for interfering with the operation of Selective Service laws. Moreover, men of military age who had expatriated after January 20 had the burden of proving that they had not intended to evade the draft by their action.

On February 29, at Town Hall, it was announced that persons who had applied for repatriation or expatriation might cancel through W.R.A. and would not have to do so through the Spanish Consul.

Now the rumor arose that draft-age men who had expatriation would be forced to retract the request. At the Town Hall meeting of March 3 this report was branded false, but it was emphasized that the Project wanted men eligible for military service to be fully aware of the consequences of their acts. At this same meeting the Heart Mountain proposal for a relocation conference at one of the Centers was voted down by the Block Managers. They argued that the nisei did not wish to relocate on account of the draft and that the issei were in no mood to entertain such a proposal.

On March 17 the incident of the Spanish Consul's letter was officially closed when Mr. E. J. Utz, Acting Director of W.R.A., sent the following teletype from Washington:

We have been provided through the State Department and the Spanish

Embassy with a copy of a letter de Amat, Consul of Spain, sent to certain projects in regard to military service for American citizens of Japanese ancestry which supplements his earlier letter.

"I have subsequently received an additional memorandum from the Embassy, the translation of which follows below:

'The protecting power is not authorized to act in behalf of American citizens, and it is solely with the American authorities that they, the American citizens, must deal in these matters concerning American military service, since these authorities are the only ones who can solve such problems.'

"May I also point out, as has been frequently and repeatedly emphasized by the Spanish delegates in their visits to the various centers, that the above-mentioned memorandum is not limited only to military service, but to anything that concerns American citizens. They must approach their own American authorities not the protecting power, whose duties are toward the Japanese Nationals in the United States.

Very truly yours,
F. de Amat, Consul of Spain"

We believe this letter should be given maximum attention in all centers since it corrects misunderstandings created by the Consul's earlier letter.

Though this document further clarified matters it was really not needed to stem the tide of repatriation and expatriation at Manzanar. The mass exodus of segregants was over, the legal relationship between expatriation and draft evasion had been stated, the nisei men of draft age had been permitted to relieve their feelings by the drawing up of resolutions which the Project Director carried with him to the Washington meetings which began March 6, leave clearances had begun to arrive from Washington, and measures had been taken to counteract some of the more harmful products of the rumor mill. Only five families repatriated-expatriated throughout the entire month of March, and this was more than offset by almost twice as many cancelations. Only one family repatriated-expatriated in April while seven withdrew the request.

I have offered this review of the period and of the chronologically arranged fluctuations in repatriation and expatriation applications because I do not believe that the entire situation can be understood without some such historical perspective. These were nightmare months, when abuse of W.R.A., its works, and the evacuees was so general that one hesitated to pick up a newspaper.

Many members of the appointed personnel, who had far less at stake than the evacuees, felt the strain and grew anxious and irritable under the pressure. So many factors were at work to try tempers, to exploit uncertainties and to undermine confidence that it is difficult to identify for certain the significant element in any one case. The reapplication of the draft may have been the effective cause in a number of instances. But who shall say whether this in itself would have been enough if the presence of 2000 segregants had not created an atmosphere of antagonism and suspicion. Distrust of W.R.A. statements and promises sent the residents to the Spanish Consul for advice concerning their rights, and from him they absorbed misinformation that cost some of them dearly. But back of the distrust of W.R.A. lay the knowledge that this government agency was under sharp newspaper and congressional attack and the belief that it was on the way out. The trail of unrest and uneasiness this time leads through the maze of American political life and to our channels of communication.

The truth is that the war and evacuation set in motion a whole complex of negative factors in respect to persons of Japanese ancestry in America and these seemed to combine and to reach their peak in the fall and winter of 1943-44. Repatriation-expatriation was the reaction to this totality, and it was a compound of many defensive gestures. Segregation would so reduce the center in numbers that its abandonment would be inevitable, evacuees reasoned. Therefore those who were not ready for relocation and who dreaded another move, were resentful of segregation and fearful of forced relocation. Leave clearance hearings were considered a prelude to pressure for relocation; leave clearance was a privilege that one would soon be sternly urged to exercise. The draft was a further device for emptying the centers and for sending the residents to Tule Lake, to the Army or to an unfriendly and propagandized outside world. With all this the segregants agreed, of course. They had acted upon the basis of such thinking. Accordingly it was difficult in the extreme for others to resist such constructions.

Those of us who tried to stem these currents of thought did not long underestimate their combined strength.

In the light of this succession and combination of events, the dates and figures for expatriation-repatriation are not difficult to understand. The movement began to gain momentum by September, when the inevitability of segregation was appreciated and when segregation and leave clearance hearings had unsettled a considerable number of the residents. It gathered still more adherents in December when uncompleted segregation and the fear of the closing of Manzanar turned the thoughts of the hesitant toward Tule Lake and Japan. It reached an apogee in January and February when to the continued presence of a substantial group of segregants was added the factor of the nisei draft. The removal of segregants in late February and the firm policy pursued in respect to the draft robbed the movement of its impetus, and it had run its course by the beginning of March, as the figures quoted attest.

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