

Mr. H. F. Halliday
Personnel Officer
E. H. Spicer, Head, Com. Analysis Section

March 13, 1946

Subject: Rachel Sady, Community Analyst, P-2

I would like the following statement to go into Mrs. Sady's personnel file:

Mrs. Sady was hired on February 14, 1944 at the grade of P-2 in the Community Analysis Section. She worked there until her termination on January 6, 1946 at the same grade.

During the whole of 1945, she was doing work which was at least the equivalent of P-3 work. She prepared the Weekly Summaries from the centers which were mimeographed by the Community Analysis Section and distributed to the WRA staff. This required initiative and judgment in the selection of material. Her write-ups of the summaries were rarely changed by me. In addition, she prepared one of the most highly praised Community Analysis Reports on "Prejudice in Hood River Valley."

I did not have her work reclassified largely because the agency was so near to liquidation. If we had not been liquidating, I would have acted to have her reclassified. I wish it to go on the record that she was doing work of a P-3 grade during her final year of employment. I would not hesitate to recommend her in the future for a P-3 position in social science analysis. I would consider recommending her for a P-4 position because of her excellent performance during a full year at what amounted to P-3 work.

Missing #'s

6, 7, 14, 15

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 1

Reactions in the Relocation Centers Following Announcement of West Coast Opening and Ultimate Center Closing, December 17-23, 1944

Reaction to opening of the West Coast almost immediately became tangled with the reaction to the projected WRA liquidation. The total response divided into two forms:

- (1) belief that WRA really will close the centers in a year;
- (2) belief that WRA cannot possibly close all the centers until the end of the war.

The second reaction was especially prominent at Poston and Heart Mountain. Although a negative response in terms of the individual, it appeared as positive in that it led to concrete suggestions and organizational action. But whether or not it led to action this first week, it was nevertheless clearly the reaction of a large majority of center residents.

Acceptance of Center Closing

Among those who have accepted as inevitable the closing of the centers and the necessity of their own planning for resettlement, there have appeared three groups.

1. The first contains people who still are anxious to return to the Coast within the next few months and will do so if conditions are at all favorable.

They want to have some personal contact with their property, even if they cannot occupy it but must work as laborers in their old neighborhood, perhaps on their own farms. (Cortez people at Granada)

They are more sure of making a living in California than anywhere else, with or without property. Some individualists see a chance to get ahead of other resettlers if they return to the Coast immediately. (Granada)

They prefer climate, way of living, old friends, in the old home.

A reaction of some of the young Nisei especially.

They think that relocated members of the family who have had experience with wartime living and have made a little money will be able to adjust to current conditions in California.

Having decided that there is a good chance of return to the West Coast, these people started immediately to plan for the return, notably at Heart Mountain, Rohwer, and Granada. (Possibly elsewhere, although not reported.)

0205-20
The Heart Mountain Council had established in November, 1944, a committee for the study of West Coast resettlement problems, usually referred to as the Study Committee. Although this committee was strongly opposed by several blocks, its foresightedness is entirely vindicated in these same blocks now that the West Coast is open. The Committee can be expected to exert a steadying and constructive influence.

At Rohrer, the Community Council began developing a plan to send scouts who "will travel over the state and report back to the Council. A self-appointed committee has already started to hold meetings to pick out scouts.... Evacuees with money of their own may be asked to pay their own expenses, and others may be financed with voluntary contributions." As planned at present, small groups of families will go to each section reported on favorably by the scouts, the Council or Relocation Planning Commission deciding on the number and types of families suitable for the given section.

At Granada, there was planning and informal organization by people from the same locality in California. The leader of the Livingston group, for example, has remained in the center and has been organizing a return to the old community.

B. The second group of people who believe that resettlement must be undertaken before the end of the war do not, however, want to return to the West Coast, but instead will go to Midwest, East, or South, only one of the three usually being favored.

A group at Rohrer considers the Gulf Coast a favorable area and during this week went ahead with a plan to send scouts to Louisiana in January. Prospective resettlers at Poston and Heart Mountain have been mentioning the East more frequently, giving "much less prejudice" and "family members already settled there" as their reasons for going East.

C. The third group really wants to go back to the Coast but is afraid of and hurt by non-acceptance there. (Granada and Rohrer) These people will return gladly if pioneer resettlers are well received and can get housing without arousing resentment and physical disabilities. The analyst at Granada observed that "this reaction was stated negatively by many on the first day the ban was lifted when they said, 'if they (the residents of the West Coast) don't want us, we don't want to go back.' Stated positively, they want more than anything else to be 'wanted' by their former friends and neighbors of the West Coast." People who feel this way do not commit themselves regarding plans. They'll just wait and see.

Reaction Against Center Closing

Among those who believe that the centers cannot or should not be closed within a year, there has been probably the most vigorous and most organized reaction at Heart Mountain. It must be remembered, however, that people who think this way are evidently in the majority in all centers at present. In this first week, they suggested two lines of action:

- (1) WRA may intend to close the centers but action by evacuees will prevent liquidation. Possibilities suggested at Heart Mountain: residents' refusal to move; pressure to remain, on those who might resettle; appeals to Japan; petitions to high government officials in the United States.

The developments in this center indicate that any center meetings at which sit-downs and petitions are proposed are likely to be emotional, even tumultuous if no one offers a restraining leadership or suggests alternative action. Fortunately, the latter did appear at Heart Mountain in the form of consideration of the Nisei future and petitions to the United States rather than to Japan.

Two groups who "want to remain in camp," as stated at Poston the week of December 17: repatriates and expatriates; and those who want "the government to reestablish them in their former status with sufficient money to keep them going until they are really established and have no danger of collapse."

- (2) Some centers will have to be kept open to take care of certain people, but those who possibly can resettle will be expected to do so.

Although the attitudes and probable suggestions of those who want an evacuee conference were not stated this first week, it is likely that objections to closing of the centers were expected to be prominent in any such conference.

Objections to Return to West Coast

Objections to return to the Pacific Coast were voiced by both those willing to resettle elsewhere and those opposed to resettlement anywhere at this time. These objections are more important among the latter because they lead to arguments for keeping the centers open.

Arguments used against resettlement before the lifting of the ban were heard again after it was lifted on December 17. The new objections that apply especially or only to the West Coast are as follows:

- (1) Strong and organized prejudice, much stronger on the Coast than elsewhere. (At Minidoka, West Coast "race baiters" were accused of releasing the balloon with Japanese characters found in Montana, December 19.)
- (2) "Nothing to return to." (Frequently said at Poston and Minidoka)
- (3) Strict enforcement of Alien Land Laws. (Poston)
- (4) Now less knowledge available about California than about the remainder of the country because so few relocatees to bring back to the center reliable first-hand information. (Rohwer)

- (5) Unwillingness to return until resettler can be assured of self-support. (This appears apart from plan for indemnity.) Unwillingness to take any help through the West Coast Departments of Public Welfare. Maintenance of one's pride in the midst of the old community is implied here. (Granada and Minidoka)
- (6) Return to Coast contingent upon consideration of indemnity question. (Poston)
- (7) The desirable return of Issei and Nisei together now impossible because more and more young men are being drafted. (Granada and Minidoka)

Relocation Plans and Center Organization

The following immediate practical effects of the December 17-18 announcements were noted:

- (1) No specific plans for relocation which were already under way were changed. Also, people contemplating relocation were more serious in their planning than previously. (Rohwer, Granada)
- (2) Organization and planning by evacuees, which had been tentative, now received community support, a feeling of seriousness and immediacy, and a demand for concreteness. (Notably at Heart Mountain, but not evident at Minidoka)
- (3) New Coordinators of policy and procedure and new committees were announced. At Rohwer a special committee had been appointed and had met with the Director before the date of opening was known, and it went to work on December 18. However, generally throughout the centers, community attitudes toward the Coordinator and his auxiliary committee were not apparent this week.

Center Differences

Along with the basic similarities, there were some differences of reaction from center to center, and within any one center, particularly in timing of response. Differences apparent in the week of December 17-23 seem to have come from the following sources:

- (1) Staff presentation of the Army and other announcements and commitments or avoidance of commitments by the project director.

The question that apparently had to be handled with the greatest care was, "What will WRA do if there still are people in the centers when the proposed date of closing comes?" One project director responded that WRA's job is to resettle people and that it will do everything it can do in line with this program. There was no further questioning at this time.

The question and answer in another center went as follows:

"What is going to happen to the people who cannot or will not leave the center?" The director replied that he did not think this would occur after the people understood the true situation. This seemed even more satisfactory.

At Minidoka, questions as to center closing were avoided, chiefly as a result of the attitude of the Council chairman, in the initial meeting of Council and project director. This appeared to have had effect, giving rise to uncertainty and increasing tension in the center during the next few days.

The residents' reactions to administration moves have not been violent anywhere, but they have shown varying mixtures of relief and resentment. Probably the above crucial question was not asked directly in all centers up to December 23. There are indications that particular circumstances surrounding the asking and answering of it may provoke stronger reactions in some centers than in others.

- (2) Presence of the Army team to hear cases of possible excludees, and continued presence of the MP's.

The particular personalities and approach of the Army men undoubtedly varied from center to center. At Rohwer, the Army team was conscientious, considerate, and very anxious not to antagonize the residents. No bad effect was observed anywhere that week.

There was no reported reaction regarding the continued presence of the MP's although one project director recommended that they be retained to give the people a feeling of security.

- (3) Origin of center residents. At Poston, those from Northern and Central California seemed somewhat less negative than those from Southern California.
- (4) Nature of leadership. The Community Councils at Poston, Heart Mountain and Rohwer responded vigorously with concrete suggestions: an evacuee conference; petitions to the government; scouts to the West Coast.

The Future

Indications of future reactions were seen by certain observers.

A. "The closing of the center now looms larger than the opportunities for resettlement." (Poston, Heart Mountain) People said, "The government is going to throw us out." "It is worse than evacuation." But an observer commented, "Families will later discuss positive plans quietly." (Poston)

B. Efforts to discourage relocation will not work because by the single act of relocating, a person can remove himself from the pressure and the

censure. (Heart Mountain)

C. Petitions requesting that the centers be kept open and similar action which now appears only as trouble-making and negativistic really have a constructive aspect, in giving people an opportunity to blow off steam. (Heart Mountain)

D. If both residents and appointed staff can avoid making a rigid issue of the closing of the centers, avoiding ultimatums and do-or-die stands, it looks as though the fundamentals of the new policy will be accepted without serious trouble. One project director predicted this first week that if strict commitments can be avoided for a while, the issue of closing the centers "will probably work itself out within 90 days."

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 2

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers December 24-30, 1944

During the week the lifting of exclusion receded farther into the background. Although one of the main subjects of rumor was imagined happenings on the Coast, it was clear that the interest of evacuees was focused on the closing of the centers. For them the real meaning of the opening of the West Coast was that the centers would close and it was that to which they were chiefly reacting. However, sentiment was still in process of crystallization. Little took place which could be identified as clear-cut community reaction as yet.

Community Organization

There were nevertheless two important trends toward concerted evacuee action to meet the problems of liquidation. One consisted in proposals for an "all center conference". The other was an apparent seeking for new leadership within the centers in the face of the new crisis.

1. The proposals for an All Center Conference came uniformly from the Councils.

At Topaz the Council requested the project director to transmit a proposal for a general conference to all other Councils. No location for the meeting was named.

Rohwer and Winidoka Councils expressed approval of the proposal.

At Grenada the Council made a similar proposal.

The Poston Unit I Council also proposed a general conference, suggesting Poston as the place of meeting.

By the end of the week no further details had been worked out.

2. There was indication that the center communities regarded the lifting of exclusion and the closing of centers as a crisis which demanded new leaders to replace or augment the leadership already functioning in the Councils and other organized bodies.

This was apparent at Heart Mountain even before the date of the lifting of exclusion was actually known. There in November the Council had gone back to the blocks and called meetings for the purpose of electing block representatives to a "Committee for the Study of Return to the Coast." After tempestuous meetings, the Committee was formed and still exists, although it refrained from any positive actions until after New Years. In view of current developments it is evident that the Heart Mountain Council

showed keen political insight in going back to the blocks instead of attempting to form such a committee from its existing membership.

At Topaz this week an Advisory Committee consisting partly of evacuees formed the week before to assist the Coordinator of Information, was disbanded because of community desire to pass on the membership of such a body. Elections were called during the week and a Committee of 68 formed to discuss and create a new committee to handle the new problem. Meetings of the Committee of 68 were as tempestuous as those at Heart Mountain in November.

At Poston, however, an Advisory Committee to the Coordinator of Information was formed, consisting of 8 evacuees and 7 appointed personnel. No community reaction to this group was reported as yet.

Relocation

During this second week there was some indication of the "trickle to the West Coast" predicted earlier. Relocation officers in several centers indicated that planning was more definite. It was chiefly on an individual basis, but there was some group preparation.

At Heart Mountain about 12 families comprising 40 individuals worked on plans for return to the West Coast. At Rohwer 8 families were laying plans to return to the Lodi, California, district near Stockton. Six of these were farmers, the others a restaurant owner and a produce man. All were property owners. Also at Rohwer a scouting party to explore relocation possibilities in Louisiana and Mississippi was about to leave. This group was organized by the Resettlement Planning Commission and includes Dr. Koh Murai, the chief exponent of farm colonization at Rohwer. The Rohwer Resettlement Planning Commission has also worked out a careful plan for a five-man committee of Issei to scout the West Coast. Their plan includes payment of the scouts' expenses by the WRA. From Poston eight men went out on a short term leave to canvass possibilities for return to the Coast. At Granada systematic planning by a large group of families from Merced County in central California (Livingston and Cortez) was proceeding. At Minidoka a group of business men laid plans for scouting the Northwest in the near future.

Nothing so definite was reported from other centers this week. However, at Heart Mountain tentative plans of prominent center residents for relocation somewhere soon were reported and a conservative estimate was made by evacuee forecasters that one-fifth of the residents are "ready to relocate." At Tule Lake also evacuees estimated that about 20% want to leave the center now.

Evacuee Thinking

Samples of attitudes in the centers this week indicate a wide range, but the predominant note is negative. At Heart Mountain it was said that more people are thinking about ways of staying in the center than are thinking about ways of getting out.

One attitude springs from simple contentment in the center. Thus a well-to-do man at Heart Mountain perfectly able to return to the Coast said,

"I guess I'll just have to go next month now,....I don't want to go. I sort of like it here. My work is interesting. I have time for golf and fishing. I have lots of friends. I have no worries..... My wife likes it here all right and my daughter has her friends.... We're used to it.....Oh, I'll go. I have to now. But I don't want to."

Another, again from a man with some capital, strikes a note of desperation:

"I think and think but I can't find anything that I can do in which I would have a chance of supporting my family. Men without dependents can take most any job. I can't. If I try something and fail and use up the few thousand I have, I'll be on my back for sure. When I liquidated at evacuation, I took part of the cash and paid my life insurance for three years. Premiums on most of it, almost \$500, will be due in 1945. Only the kids' policies will be safe for awhile. I paid them for five years. I am like a lion in a cage, looking this way and then that for a way out. WRA has done nothing to help me and men like me. If I went to a welfare agency they would give me nothing. They would direct me to a job washing dishes. When I was young, I did anything. But now I'd like to work at a little higher level. Besides I can't support my family washing dishes.... Of course, I'll go. A lot of people won't but I will. I'll take my wife and kids and we will go out like refugees."

Resignation to the closing of the centers was expressed in this vein here and there. It often carried bitterness such as that in the words of a Heart Mountain woman, "The government just does what it wants to with us."

The prevailing attitude however in at least two centers this week was not one of resignation. It was rather a conviction -- resting on hope -- that the centers cannot be closed. At Minidoka the general feeling in the community was that "the centers can't be closed." This was the most frequently expressed evacuee opinion at Heart Mountain also, where one girl said, "This is a town. You can't close a town." No doubt many young people after two-and-a-half years in the centers have this feeling of the permanency of the places in which they have grown up.

A widespread attitude of the adults in Heart Mountain, Poston, and

Minidoka was one of putting up their backs at the threat of center closing. One man who had planned to accompany his son out on relocation before the announcement, has now changed and says he will not go "if the government is going to try to throw everybody out." This attitude has gained ground evidently in the centers since last week. At Heart Mountain, at Topaz, at Minidoka, and probably elsewhere it requires courage to indicate that you plan to relocate and especially to let it be known that you want to collaborate with WRA in solving the problems of liquidation.

The kind of argument that is being used in block meetings and in ordinary intercourse in the blocks is indicated in the following statement made by an evacuee in a Heart Mountain block meeting:

"The trouble with a lot of evacuees is that they are two-faced and weak-kneed. When they talk to us they say one thing, and when they talk to WRA officials they say another....A bunch of inus....If the evacuees would just stick together; if nobody would budge out of here, we would get somewhere. We could force the government to keep the centers open or give us some real assistance...."Worse, a lot of softies leave here for railway fare and \$25. And now that WRA has said it is going to close the centers, probably more will crawl out of the place like beaten animals."

It may be assumed that the phrase "like beaten animals" or a similar one is being used with telling effect in all the centers.

These are attitudes that were expressed in the November Heart Mountain block meetings before the announcement, in the Topaz block meetings and meetings of the Committee of 68 of the present week, and which will be expressed again and in other centers.

In this mood evacuees are looking for evidence of coercion. At Poston, the announcement of the closing of the schools is regarded as the clearest indication of "forced relocation" and the question is raised as to whether it isn't WRA's obligation to retain provision for schools until the last day of existence of the centers.

At Topaz there was talk among evacuees that there should be a new sort of segregation -- a division of the people into those who want to relocate and those who are determined to remain in the centers.

At Topaz a prominent evacuee leader made it a point to bring up the issue of government promises for war duration homes and insisted that evacuees in the assembly centers had signed statements agreeing to remain in the relocation centers for the duration and six months.

In the midst of this predominantly negative thinking, there was little except hope expressed on the positive side. Thus at Topaz the analyst felt that the "gulf between administration and evacuees has now been narrowed" and that "evacuation is no longer the issue that it once was." There was a basis for these views at Topaz for at least it was clear that the Council

was "against a sit-down movement" and there was a marked increase of interest in vocational training courses and in the English classes of the Adult Education program.

The Army Team

Coming suddenly, with only a very short time for preparation of themselves, and none at all for preparation of the evacuees, the army teams were nevertheless uniformly well-received. From all centers came the report that their activities caused no stir and that they carried on their duties "tactfully" and "graciously". The only unplanned for result of their visits seemed to be the rumor in almost all centers that the army was to take over the operation of the centers.

The Information Program

The project director at Heart Mountain this week expressed the feeling that "the evacuees aren't interested in asking questions."

The information program has been organized quickly in all centers and positive efforts have been made to get the available information distributed and to establish channels for keeping it going. At Topaz and some other centers, more information questions centered on short term leave, re-induction, and disposal of medical cases. Apparently short term leave was important because of its relation to scouting the West Coast and other areas.

The official information program was geared up and working, but it had something more to combat than a simple insufficiency of data about official policy. Everywhere this week rumor was distorting reality and evacuees were hard-pressed to know which was which.

Rumor. Rumor probably sprang from two sources, on the one hand the real anxiety which people feel about reception on the Coast and, on the other, wilful attempts on the part of some residents of the centers to deter others from leaving. At any rate the rumors which appeared this week and spread most rapidly within centers and from center to center were ones about atrocities committed against Japanese Americans on the West Coast.

In Heart Mountain, it was rumored that the Buddhist temple in San Jose had been burned and that James Yamamoto (of Delaware and New Jersey fame and now well settled in San Jose, California) had been killed. This rumor persisted despite the fact that Yamamoto's father-in-law was busily planning at the relocation office to return to San Jose and re-unite the family there. At the same time the rumor that five or six evacuee railroad workers had been killed in the State of Washington gained headway in the center.

At Minidoka, the rumors were persistent that evacuees who had already relocated in the Northwest were unable to buy food and gasoline because of feeling against them and that Caucasian students had refused to remain in the same school with an evacuee child.

These rumors were combated both by public announcement of the real facts (Heart Mountain) and by passing sound information on to individually influential evacuees (Rohwer). But it was evident that all the centers were in for a bad period of distortion of the facts about public acceptance on the West Coast. The situation was not helped by the actual ejection and mistreatment of three Nisei soldiers from a restaurant in Parker, Arizona, by a local deputy sheriff.

Another variety of rumor consisted in the familiar ones about center closures. It was rumored in most centers that Heart Mountain and Rohwer would be the first to close and that Poston and Gila would never close.

Tule Lake

It had been announced the previous week in Tule Lake that that center would now be "both a segregation and a relocation center." Confusion among the evacuees was inevitable, but curiously enough as it became apparent that a large proportion of the population would not be eligible for relocation, at least on the West Coast, there was a distinct trend toward acceptance of the idea of relocation on the part of many evacuees. There was at the same time however a minor trend toward renunciation of citizenship.

The Future

The trends for the week as summarized by the Heart Mountain analyst probably hold for all centers:

1. "Insofar as the problems of relocation are being considered, planning is going on almost entirely in terms of individuals, families, and small groups of related families. Such community planning as exists is pointed toward modifying the announced policy of WRA by seeking increased financial assistance and/or by trying to find a way to keep the centers open for the duration. If this situation continues for a few months, most of the leaders will have left... WRA may have to do the hardest part of its job with little assistance from the more intelligent and cooperative evacuees."
2. "So far there is a vigorous disinterest in any kind of consideration ...by the community of practical ways and means by which total relocation under the announced program might be accomplished. Any evacuee or group of evacuees who undertook seriously to promote such consideration would expose themselves to attack, would become unpopular, and would receive little substantial support. As yet and perhaps for a long time, one cannot be popular and urge evacuees to try to figure out how they can assist WRA in carrying out what they conceive to be a harsh and brutal policy."

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 3

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers January 1 - 7, 1945

If the centers differed from last week, it was chiefly in an increased awareness of evacuee viewpoints on the part of staff and in community awareness that some evacuees were reacting positively to the opening of the coast by returning home. There seemed to be the same diffuse negative public sentiment against closing the centers reported last week, but there was also more reaction to specific features of the new policies, such as visiting regulations, abolition of seasonal leave, and re-induction.

Relocation

The trickle westward actually began this week. The Nitta family, amid snapping flash-bulbs and west coast reporters, left Poston to resume residence in Orange County, California. A family of three left Granada for California. Relocation to the west coast was moving slowly into the action stage, but planning and scouting were still the major forms of interest in the old excluded area. Granada probably led all centers with 321 plans for west coast relocation already approved. On the other hand, it was reported from Rohwer that there was a "lack of interest in returning to California" among evacuees planning relocation.

Meanwhile relocation eastward proceeded, showing signs of moving out of the seasonal slump of November and December. At Heart Mountain the relocation office was "busy". At Rohwer the relocation office was "crowded with people" without specific plans but showing a great interest in general relocation information. At Granada 34 persons had relocated to the east since December 17. At Topaz it was predicted that 125 persons per month would be relocating eastward, beginning very shortly.

At Poston and Rohwer there was obviously some pressure in the blocks to deter persons who were planning to relocate to the coast. This sort of pressure was apparently not applied to persons relocating eastward. At Poston efforts of the Block Manager Supervisor of Unit I were creating an effective sentiment against such coercion.

Community Organization

Plans for an All Center Conference did not develop beyond the stage of the previous week. The Block Managers at Manzanar voted against the Topaz proposal taking the position that all problems had already been considered by WRA and hence that such a conference was unnecessary. No reactions were reported to WRA's statement that evacuees were perfectly free

to hold the conference, but that WRA would not pay the expenses.

The Heart Mountain Committee for Study of Return to the West Coast met during the week, but the staff was not informed as to the nature of the discussion. Interest in an All Center Conference still ran high.

At Topaz the Committee of 68 held meetings and continued to discuss the policy of center closure. It was reported that a small group of articulate Issei who were determined to stay in the center for the duration held the initiative and at least temporarily were dominating public opinion.

At Poston the community suddenly became organized but not over the issue of the new policies. A shipment of below-standard rice arrived at the center and a Rice Committee was organized to investigate and recommend refusal of the shipment. There was some talk that the poor rice was part of an effort to force evacuees out of the center. There was much excitement until it became apparent that the rice was to be rejected.

At Rohwer when the Joint Advisory Committee met the questions raised by evacuee members touched not on the new policies but rather on relocation, that is, on housing, employment, and community acceptance.

On the other hand; at Minidoka a joint meeting of Community Council and Block Commissioners was dominated by discussion of WRA promises to maintain centers for the duration and questions of "forced relocation."

It was impossible to predict as yet the direction which the organized bodies on the projects would take in regard to the new policies.

Evacuee Thinking

A number of evacuee points of view in regard to the closing of the centers became clear. One important one was expressed in various ways at Minidoka, Heart Mountain, and Topaz this week. This is the view that an evacuee has "a right" to live in a relocation center. The essence of the idea is that the government has an obligation to provide shelter for a person evacuated by the government from his home. This obligation it is held was admitted by WRA in the folder issued by the San Francisco regional office in 1942 to the effect that the centers would be "war duration homes". It is said that WRA further affirmed this obligation in establishing the policy of no "forced relocation." Thus the government is obligated to maintain centers at least for the duration of the war and evacuees have "the right" to live in the centers. The obligation of the government to evacuees is identified primarily with the maintenance of centers. The idea that the obligation may be met in any other way is not admitted, unless it be in the form of an indemnity.

The way in which this conception motivates individuals is seen in the following example from Heart Mountain:

A Nisei in his thirties went out on indefinite leave in May to work on the railroad. He returned and was re-inducted about November in order to be present at the birth of his sixth child and to help his wife with the added work for a few months. He is an energetic man and a good worker. This is how he views his problem. He thinks that there is a fair chance that the government will not be able to close the center. But still it may be closed. If it is to close, he realizes that what he should do is to depart as soon as possible and get the best paying job he can in order to build up the maximum relocation fund. To contribute to this end his family would be left here until the very last. If he goes out however, he loses his right to return to the center in case it does continue. His decision at present: To maintain his right to stay in the center, should it not be closed, by not budging out of the gate.

This sort of thinking lies at the root of criticism expressed by evacuees at Heart Mountain concerning the abolition of seasonal and trial indefinite leave. Several evacuee leaders maintained that this feature of the policy was a mistake. They say that persons will now be afraid to leave for fear that they may "endanger their right to live in the centers."

Another fundamental attitude indicating the thinking about relocation centers came out in connection with discussions of accepting relief at Rohwer.

Many Issei consider all forms of outright assistance to be "relief", and basically they are averse to accepting it under whatever guise. (When suggested) that support in a relocation center is essentially relief....., they say that it is not the same thing. It is different because the evacuees were forced to come to the centers, and so did not voluntarily accept such support. But it is different for another reason..... Assistance after resettlement would not be given arbitrarily and universally to all evacuees, regardless of individual circumstances, but would be individually asked for and received. As many, and no doubt most, would never have to apply for it, the mere asking... would imply failure at relocation and so would mean loss of face for the recipient.

It was clear that a constructive criticism of relocation facilities was being voiced by thoughtful and influential Issei in most centers, but especially noted this week in Granada, Topaz, and Rohwer. This involved an acceptance of the inevitability of relocation, but a questioning of the means at present indicated. They reject reliance on relief and maintain that provision of loans is what they want and what will ultimately enable people in large numbers to leave the centers. They feel that special provision must be made for their special case and that more positive indication of a federal policy on loans to Issei is necessary. They are generally doubtful of the adequacy of the present facilities.

It was apparent this week that the visiting restrictions were steadily becoming an issue. In the first place, there were increased applications for

visits, especially at Rohwer. In the second place, project directors were not always certain as to what constituted legitimate visiting under the new regulations. In the third place, evacuee reactions to the regulations seemed to be mixed, but generally unfavorable.

A staff point of view was expressed at Granada where it was held by the project director that he had stimulated thinking about relocation among visitors whom he had interviewed in an effort to get at the purpose of their visits. At Topaz it was reported to be the general evacuee reaction that restriction of visiting was felt to be out of line with the recent removal of restrictions on evacuee movements outside of centers. At Poston:

The Relocation Division has been interviewing visitors on the project to learn their plans and to discuss their status here with them. Interviewers have been impressed by the differences in attitude and behavior that many of these visitors show as contrasted with the majority of the Nisei who have remained in camp. The visitors have a good perspective on the nature of life in America today and give the impression of being well-adjusted. One interviewer said that it was probably a good thing that these visitors were here because they undoubtedly are exercising an influence on others in the camp their own age.

Evacuee Thinking about the West Coast. Aside from the rumors discussed below, there was a good deal of fear expressed in a general way about reception on the coast. At Heart Mountain the fear was said to be increasing. At both Heart Mountain and Rohwer fear of attack by Filipinos on the coast was strongly expressed. However, in the midst of the generalized anxiety, there was evident much calm thinking and putting together of scraps of information about specific localities, a weighing of the odds for and against successful return. It was evident that calmer evacuee opinion was stereotyping only a very few places on the coast as thoroughly "bad".

Thus at Rohwer there was a widespread belief that Central California -- Stockton, Lodi, and Sacramento -- were all good prospects and that the "Caucasians" there wanted the "Japanese" back, that there is plenty of housing and no overcrowding from war-workers. A similar feeling existed among Sacramentans in Poston who were reported to have suffered fewer losses from evacuation due to the relative leisureliness of the process there. Similarly in Poston, people from Fresno were talking favorably about their former area and were making plans "openly" to go back.

At Rohwer, there was a rather general feeling that Southern California would be bad or impossible. Rohwerites were undoubtedly influenced in this attitude by farmers from Gardena who pointed to the large number of war workers in that region and the militant anti-Japanese feeling expressed there by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. On the other hand, the much larger number of people from Southern California in Poston made careful distinctions between the various parts of the region. People from San Diego County

were planning immediate return. Feeling about Orange County was mixed, but it is significant that the first actual returns from Poston after exclusion was lifted were to Orange County. Coachella Valley, previously scouted by Nisei, was regarded by former residents as "good". Similarly, people from Pomona, Riverside, and San Bernardino were talking favorably of possibilities for return, and some had already received invitations. A few people from Los Angeles City were making plans to return from Poston, and in Heart Mountain there was some group planning on the part of former Hollywood residents who had previously made their living there as gardeners. Imperial Valley alone among Southern California localities was regarded by Poston people wholly unfavorable as a place to return to. It was also true that people in Poston from Salinas and Watsonville on the central coast were showing much fear and hesitation about returning.

There was thus a good deal of talk about return which was not submerged in the talk about resistance to closing the centers. Attitudes about possibilities were fluid and ready to be influenced by any bits of information that came in from relocation offices, newspapers, letters of friends, or any other source.

Outside Contacts

Last week Topaz evacuees had a stimulating visit from students of the University of California and the College of the Pacific extending a welcome to evacuee students. Issei as well as Nisei showed much interest and some plans for return to school on the coast were made.

This week Manzanar seemed to have enjoyed more outside contacts than the other centers, where visits were made by the Presbyterian Moderator of the Los Angeles area and by the Inyo County School Superintendent, the latter specifically to discuss the return of evacuee children to the schools in the County. Also the Secretary of Town Hall went from Manzanar to attend the JACL conference in San Francisco.

At Heart Mountain letters received by evacuees from west coast friends were extremely cordial and friendly, but uniformly ended with the advice not to return as yet.

Rumor

The rumors of the murder of Elmer Yamamoto and family at San Jose which swept Heart Mountain last week reached Manzanar this week, but the family murdered was as frequently said to have been in Los Angeles as in San Jose.

The biggest rumor of the week concerned a party of evacuees which was reputed to have left Gila for Los Angeles. Of this party of ten, five were rumored to have been stabbed in the Los Angeles Union Station and hospitalized in a critical condition while the other five returned immediately to the center. This rumor was strong at Rohwer and Gila, having reached Rohwer by mail.

At Minidoka rumors of bad reception in the Northwest were still rampant and were not dispelled by the publication of a letter from one of the families concerned stating that everything was all right.

At Poston the rumor that two potential resettlers to Santa Ana had been beaten was finally scotched with their return. Rumors conflicting in detail about the beating of an evacuee who has made several trips to Los Angeles continued to circulate.

It seems fairly clear that the diffuse negative reactions to the general policy of the closing of the centers are still widespread and strong. It is not clear to what extent opposition to the closing is going to become a general issue. The councils are tending to take up the issue of increased relocation assistance, not the closing. We may guess that plans for appeals to keep the centers open are being worked on by such groups as the Heart Mountain Study Committee, and that such appeals will be made to agencies and organizations outside WRA.

It is quite clear that there are groups in each center, but especially in Rohwer and Granada, who are looking carefully at specific opportunities, who are working on the problems of loans to Issei, and who are directing their activities to successful relocation somewhere.

The issues which require careful handling and consideration at the moment are the smaller ones, such as the visiting regulations and the closing of the mess halls.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 4

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers
January 8 - 14, 1945

The return of scouts from the west coast and the crystallization of opinion on an agenda for the All Center Conference were probably the most important events of the week.

Relocation

On the whole the situation was generally reported as "watchful waiting" in regard to relocation.

A few more families returned to the west coast.

At Heart Mountain there was much talk of relocation eastward for a few years, even by property owners.

At Topaz it was reported that interest in relocation to the south had suddenly appeared as information about scouting by Rohwer and Granada persons penetrated to the residents.

At Rohwer 55 people had relocated to points other than the west coast during the first two weeks of January. Relocation eastward was proceeding at least in accordance with a normal seasonal rise.

On the negative side, it was reported from Topaz as from Poston and Rohwer previously that "Issei and even Kibei" had to keep their relocation plans hidden because of group pressures against relocation.

Community Organization

Block meetings took place in at least three centers -- Minidoka, Heart Mountain, and Topaz -- in which efforts were made to crystallize community sentiment in regard to the new policies. Gila, Granada, Rohwer, and Poston did not report such meetings.

At Minidoka the block meetings were sponsored by the Council and the Block Commissioners. At Topaz and Heart Mountain, as indicated in earlier reports, meetings were organized by committees with the specific function of discussing the new policies.

Reports from Minidoka so far indicate that the discussions centered on the closing of the centers and that in one meeting the persons attending went on record in great majority as not intending to leave the center.

The Topaz meetings, although still in progress, were not described

in any further detail this week. However, another sort of effort to organize the community was reported. This consisted of the preparation and distribution throughout the center of a leaflet in Japanese signed by a group of "Determined Men." The leaflet maintained that any Issei who re-settled would be contributing to the United States war effort and hence as a legal citizen of Japan liable to certain penalties. Comment from Topaz was that this was "putting the Issei on the spot." The old issue of the interest of Japanese citizens vs. American citizens had been drawn again.

At Heart Mountain the results of the meeting of the Study Committee the previous week were gradually becoming known to staff. Planning for an All Center Conference to be held in Salt Lake City was the major activity. The Study Committee worked on an agenda for the Conference and in the course of this work thrashed over the various points of view of block spokesmen. The discussions were orderly and it was apparent that the Committee had general community support, even that a good deal of hope was being pinned on its deliberations.

The discussions at Heart Mountain were the clearest example yet reported of the orderly development of collective response to the new situation. It was significant that they were carried out in isolation from the WRA staff. The discussions of the Study Committee were apparently not regarded by evacuees in the same light as Council discussions, indicating a feeling that WRA staff were not regarded as a channel for the type of thing discussed. It was however held that WRA officials ought to be invited to the Conference, to state "their side of the picture."

At Rohwer it was indicated that a "sit-down group" was present in the center but that it was not organized. It was thought that their platform involved staying in the centers until "compensation" was received, presumably for evacuation losses.

Evacuee Thinking

The world in which the evacuees are living may be described by indicating the arguments used this week concerning the agenda for the All Center Conference, the reactions to specific features of new policies, and the weighing of chances for living on the west coast. All three were major concerns of evacuees during the week and abundant opinion on them was expressed.

All Center Conference Issues. At Heart Mountain the Study Committee busied itself with arriving at an agenda on which persons of varying shades of thinking could agree. It was clear that the basic division of thought in the Committee was not in terms of acceptance or non-acceptance of the new policies. There was agreement that the new policies are not adequate. The division of thought was rather in terms of the interests of American and Japanese citizens — in other words, the old issue between Issei and Nisei, between parents and children.

The Study Committee was agreed on the following points: (1) that more assistance than had been provided was necessary, (2) that an appeal

had to be made outside of WRA. It had not yet reached agreement on whether petitions for more assistance should urge merely more financial aid, the retention of centers, or both. It was still not agreed whether the appeal should be made through the Spanish Embassy, or through U. S. government agencies, or both.

Nisei actually took almost no part in the deliberations; they were Issei-dominated. The points of view expressed might be classed as (1) purely Issei, and (2) combined Issei and Nisei. It was held, for example, that the retention of centers was in the interest of Japanese citizens but not of American citizens. It was also held that petitions through the Spanish Embassy were appropriate for Japanese citizens but against the interests of American citizens. Those who spoke against demands for retention of centers did it not on the basis that that would be against Issei interests, but rather on the ground that it would not be in the interest of Nisei and that Issei had to consider their children citizens' interest. This group thought that retention of centers might be included in the petitions, but that the major issue was rather increased assistance of some kind to enable them to leave centers and take their children with them. They also urged that in the interest of their citizen children, appeal through U. S. agencies was necessary and that appeal through the Spanish Embassy was not in line with the children's interest. It appeared to date that compromises on these two basic points of view would be reached and the Heart Mountain Committee would shortly have an agenda ready for the Salt Lake Conference.

Reaction to Specific Features of New Policies. This week the visiting regulations were the chief subject of general discussion at Heart Mountain. Instances regarded as fantastic by evacuees, such as wives of servicemen sent overseas now unable to return "home" were talked about throughout the center until most became convinced that only unnecessary hardships were being created by the regulations. They continued to be described as arbitrary by evacuees. The Council passed a recommendation that they be withdrawn. The project director however was of the opinion that a short period of strict enforcement would result in a general acceptance. At Gila it was reported that the Internal Security force was spending a great amount of time in checking back and forth on potential visitors between the entrance to the project and the project.

The limitation of short term leave to 30 days was scored by evacuees at Rohwer on the ground that it was too short a time to gather adequate information about west coast areas and that it did not allow time to get a job, the only way in which an evacuee could really determine the feasibility of taking up permanent residence on the coast again.

At Granada there was a general evacuee criticism of WRA's not taking responsibility for securing housing and employment on the west coast. It was held that this indicated an "insincerity" in WRA's intentions about relocating people on the west coast.

Thinking About the West Coast. This week the persistent fears of Filipino violence came up again from Rohwer and Heart Mountain. An indication of

how evacuees had been expecting the return to the coast would be managed came out at Rohwer and Granada. The expectation was that evacuation would be put into reverse, that assembly centers, hostels or work camps would be reopened on the coast and that people would be able to scout and go out on work leave from these as they readjusted gradually to the coast communities.

Results of Scouting

A number of scouts returned to centers this week with real news of the west coast and of other relocation areas. The reports were mixed, both favorable and unfavorable. The scouts who went from Rohwer to Louisiana came back enthusiastically and immediately laid plans for the actual re-settlement of some farmers in one of the Louisiana areas scouted.

From Granada a young man had gone out to scout the Sebastopol area north of San Francisco. The man encountered threats as well as assistance from neighbors. He came back with a report that decided the evacuees from Sebastopol to proceed very slowly. Their decision was to send another person out in "February or March" and then await developments before planning any further.

At Heart Mountain a man returned from San Jose with a good report concerning his own property and chances and immediately got ready to return permanently himself. However, he reported unfavorably for other farmers in his area and discouraged a few from taking the course he was taking. He also brought back stories of danger from Filipinos.

At Minidoka a number of business men who had gone out to scout were not yet back. Rumors however preceded them to the effect that they had found business prospects very unfavorable.

From Rohwer came the statement by a spokesman of the Rohwer Federated Christian Church that what was most needed in the center were accurate accounts by relocated people themselves as to what they had found and how they had been received. Information from resettlers themselves would be regarded as the most reliable obtainable.

Other Outside Contacts

An important influence from outside was indicated in the form of the Rocky Shimpo, which last week published an article in the Japanese section called "Why the Relocation Program has Failed." This article stressed the losses of evacuation and held that complete relocation can be accomplished only with more assistance. The article was widely discussed at Heart Mountain during the preparation of the agenda for the All Center Conference.

At Granada "relocation received a setback" when the agent who had been managing the holdings for the Livingston-Cortez group came to the center to discuss the leases. The evacuee group made the decision to renew the leases to the present holders until November, 1945, thus pushing themselves out of their holdings for the next 10 months.

At Minidoka it was reported that missionaries from coastal areas were generally bringing back favorable pictures, while the accounts of other "Caucasians" were to the effect that conditions were bad in the rural areas and both good and bad in the urban areas.

At Heart Mountain letters to evacuees from friends on the coast continued to be reported as generally discouraging relocation there for the time being.

Rumor

Rumor seemed less vicious this week, or at least less in terms of big and ugly rumors and more in terms of small ones, such as that schools were discriminating and that relocated persons on the coast were not able to buy food and other essentials. At Rohwer it was rumored that trial indefinite leave would shortly be resumed. There and elsewhere the rumor that Gila and Poston would remain open for the duration was still circulating.

At Tule Lake there was a wholly different world of rumor. It was rumored widely there that martial law had been declared in the relocation centers - Minidoka, Topaz, and Manzanar being mentioned particularly. This grew from and stimulated the belief that relocation was not working at all at other centers and that martial law was declared in order to force the people out. It was rumored along the same line that at Granada and Poston only two meals a day were being served. Rumor had it also that Tuleans would be sent out of the center to work like prisoners of war, and that "reparations" were being granted to certain groups of evacuees.

The rumors of atrocities against relocating evacuees on the west coast were not present in Tule Lake. Their rumor world was in terms of their own special outlook which did not yet generally include relocation as an element.

The Future

From Rohwer came the prediction (by a spokesman for the Federated Christian Churches) that of the Rohwer population:

- 5% would relocate to California in the next three months;
- 34% would relocate to California after high school graduation;
- 25% would wait to see how others fare on coast;
- 34% had no relocation plans.

The centers had changed slightly over the preceding week, but there was not equal change in all. Thus there was reported community response in terms of the crystallizing of public opinion around the issues of more assistance and retention of centers at only three centers -- Heart Mountain, Topaz, and Minidoka.

On the other hand rumor seemed not so wild this week. A factor in

this seemed to be the establishment of contact with the outside world, especially through returning scouts. Individuals were being influenced in their plans and thinking by these first-hand reports. There was indication that scouts reports would be the most important influence in relocation planning in the coming weeks.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 5

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers
January 15 - 21, 1945

The emergence of constructive criticism of relocation policies and procedures as opposed to complete rejection of relocation for the duration of the war is more evident now. The latter is still an important factor in community thinking, but is slowly becoming associated with a minority group. Discussions and action taken by community organizations during the week reflected this trend toward considering relocation if WRA is willing to reshape its program more in line with their needs, or "if certain conditions are met."

Plans for Relocation

In spite of the general public reaction against relocation under present conditions, individuals at all centers were planning to go out within the framework of the present relocation policy. But relocation westward was small and the period of waiting for more information and watching what happens to returned evacuees continued. There was some planning by locality groups at Gila, Minidoka, Heart Mountain, and Granada. Scouts returned to Minidoka and Gila; other centers were still waiting for reports.

Gila led the other centers in interest in relocation to California. Between December 17 and January 23, twenty-seven people left for California on terminal leave and 85 were approved for terminal leave in the near future. Twenty-five went west on short term leave. Indications (partly from interviews in 6 blocks) were that several hundred have pretty definite plans for departure in the next few months.

Relocation to the midwest and east at Gila has not accelerated, although there is a tendency for the Nisei to favor these areas over California in contrast to Issei preference for their former homes. This is also evident at Granada.

Locality feeling at Gila indicates that Central California (particularly Sacramento, Fresno and Florin) are preferred relocation areas; the Bay area and Los Angeles are doubtful, in some measure due to housing difficulties; Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties are bad possibilities, partly because of opposition from competing vegetable growers in Santa Barbara; Pasadena is considered good, and people from there seem to possess more confidence.

At Topaz group pressure against those considering relocating relaxed, and people seemed less timid about discussing relocation plans openly. The Evacuee Property office was a center of activity of people discussing the possibility of terminating leases on their property, although none took action. A relocation information committee of 7 evacuees was formed out of the representative group of 68 (See Weekly Summary No. 3),

CM-2115

with 3 members indicating they intend to resign if they see any signs of WRA pressure to relocate.

At Minidoka two scouts returned from Seattle with reports of good reception but a bad housing situation. A third scout reported fairly good reception from the Hood River and Kent area. These reports were effectively combating rumors of bad reception.

Certain business and farm groups at Minidoka showed interest in relocation westward. A meeting of former hotel association workers to discuss hotel possibilities in Seattle was planned.

It seemed evident this week that the Livingston group of Granada would be unable to return to their farms until November, 1945, at least. However, plans were made for 9 or 10 men to return in the spring, erect a building on one of the farms to live in, and get work in the vicinity.

The first westward bound group from Heart Mountain left for Los Angeles, the San Jose area, and Hood River. For two weeks former Hood River residents had been discussing and corresponding with Hood River people at Minidoka about sending scouts to that area. This led to four Heart Mountaineers, as agreed in a locality group meeting there, taking short term leave to look the situation over. Other locality groups seem to have taken few steps in this direction, although there may be some such developments among San Jose people.

The Conditional Relocation Position

A slight increase in willingness to leave the security of the centers if the government will modify its policies to meet certain needs more adequately was noticeable during the week, and some constructive criticism of the relocation program occurred. The trend seemed away from the categorical refusal-to-move point of view, and was evidenced by expressions of anxiety about specific problems at all centers, and both organized and unorganized pressure for WRA to increase assistance to relocating evacuees. This attitude includes the positive kind of statement "we will relocate if certain measures are taken" and the negative statement "we cannot relocate under present conditions." Both imply a willingness, although to different degrees, to consider relocation possibilities; both emphasize problems facing the relocating evacuee. The main problems are financial security, public acceptance, and housing.

At Granada even the older Issei were more concerned over "how" to relocate, than whether to relocate. Their attitude is not a pre-determined negative one, but is a negative reaction related to what they feel are the inadequacies of the WRA program. They say the most important elements in resettlement are housing, jobs, finances, and public sentiment. With reference to the first three, they believe that WRA does not accept responsibility; and with reference to public sentiment that WRA is trying to create favorable opinion, but this may be beyond WRA's ability. "If", they say, "WRA comes out with a positive program of help we could go. If the present

program is all they have to offer, we will have to wait until the war is over and our boys come back from the army, and anti-Japanese feeling dies down." They feel that the government is responsible for them, but they do not feel they have tangible proof that the government is going to discharge this responsibility.

Rumors at Rohwer during the week reflected anxiety about financial security. One false rumor was that the Federal land banks were refusing to lend to persons of Japanese descent, whether citizen or alien, and another was that the rules governing subsistence and relocation grants had/changed to the evacuees' detriment.
been

At Gila and Topaz as well talk was of larger relocation grants, and many people at Gila seemed to be putting off relocating, hoping that the grants would be increased if they stayed long enough.

At the Butte Block Managers' meeting it was suggested that each individual be given the amount allotted for their subsistence for the remainder of the year. For example, if they leave on March 31, they would each receive what it would cost to feed them for 9 months (\$123.75).

The conditional relocation point of view is best illustrated at Heart Mountain. The program statement of the Study Committee includes the request that the same kind of protection (and maintenance) as that afforded by WRA continue to be provided for "the majority of the people who find themselves in a situation which makes it impossible for them to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered (by the lifting of the ban)." The major portion of the statement, however, is a series of requests stating conditions under which they feel evacuees would or could leave the centers.

These include special protection through Federal agencies for the life and property of returned evacuees; an increase in the relocation cash grant or other guarantee of a living for those who go out until they can firmly re-establish themselves; a counseling service in local WRA offices to be maintained for the duration; government extension of loans for agricultural or other enterprises and to individuals in case of emergency; housing facilities to be provided (including hostels, small "disassembly" centers, FHA loans); the continuance of property service for the duration for those who need it; establishment of a public relations agency; that the government grant a sickness and injury insurance policy to each evacuee for the duration, and that the government exert its influence so that evacuees can buy life, fire, auto, and other insurance policies.

Heart Mountain Councilmen feel that this statement has eased people's anxieties a good deal. They also think it has weakened the categorical resistance to the closing of the centers. The document represents the victory of the majority, which was willing to specify conditions that would induce (or permit) people to relocate, over a stubborn minority that

insisted that the only point to be stressed was that some centers should be retained. There has been some indication that the suggestion will be made that Heart Mountain's delegates to an evacuee conference would not be instructed to urge that the centers be kept open, except as an alternative in case requests for "adequate" aid are rejected. As of January 17, only one man of the Study Committee still held that their appeal to the government should be made through the Spanish Embassy.

There are more residents now than previously, then, at Heart Mountain who say they may relocate, provided the government can be induced to offer help along the lines the Study Committee proposes. People are waiting for developments.

"It is a wavering line that is shifting all the time", one Councilman said. The line referred to is that between conditional willingness to relocate and resistance to the whole idea. "Just now it has moved over in the direction of relocation, if reasonable assistance can be obtained."

The Opposition

The negative reaction to relocation is still a major attitude in the centers; it cannot be completely separated from the conditional relocation point of view because many believe WRA will make no effort to meet their "conditions."

Older Issei at Topaz expressed themselves as sure that all the centers would not close because the United States government, committed to fighting for the protection of the rights of the common man, would hardly resort to ruthless methods in emptying the relocation center of thousands of aged enemy aliens without adequate means of support. Some point out that such a step would afford ideal propaganda for the Japanese government, which has at its mercy both American prisoners of war and American civilians. Gila Issei have also advanced the "international complications" of closing the centers.

At Minidoka block meetings throughout the center have all been oriented toward the impossibility of closing the center, under present conditions. Those considering relocation do not air their plans for fear of public criticism or, having made their own relocation plans, no longer concern themselves with any phase of center life.

The groups opposing the closing at Gila include repatriates and parolees who have been cleared but do not want to leave the center, some pro-Japanese evacuees who did not apply for repatriation but plan to go to Japan and in the meantime think it advantageous to remain in a center, most of the old bachelors who are exceedingly resistant to leaving, and welfare cases.

At Tule Lake where residents have lost contact with the outside to the extent of letting their American horizon dwindle to the perspective of

facilities and watchtowers while preparing for a future abroad, relocation interest is limited. Relocation at Tule promises to be of an extremely minor sort until the war news is incontrovertible, residents' fear of the outside diminishes, and their emotionalized distrust of the government subsides.

Reaction to Exclusion Notices

At Heart Mountain most of those who had received exclusion notices appeared to accept their status calmly. They generally say that they never intend to make an appeal; they have had all the hearings they want, ever. A Heart Mountaineer suggests that they will not be disposed to relocate unless or until they are forced to do so.

However, at Granada a Kibei excludee with a large family who had never even discussed relocation before, now desires to resettle. Four other families wish to go out with him and he is trying to get information about the limitations on his resettlement, and on opportunities for the five families.

Reaction to the Doi Case

At Rohwer and Minidoka the burning and attempted dynamiting of a building on the ranch of Sumio Doi gave impetus to rumors about violence toward evacuees returned to the west coast. At Granada, where the Doi family had lived, there was a less violent reaction to the facts of the actual incident than there was to groundless rumors about harm done the Dois two weeks ago. Fears were reinforced and return to California delayed, but residents were encouraged by the way in which the civil authorities handled the case.

The All Evacuee Conference

Plans for the All Evacuee Conference seemed to be at a standstill. At Heart Mountain the Study Committee marked time after making their program statement public, waiting for word from other centers. The Rohwer Council discussed the conference, but at most of the other centers there was little reaction. Public opinion at Poston seemed to be crystallizing against the conference as an effective method of opposition to the closing. The idea of a mass refusal to move had more popular appeal.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 8

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers February 4 - February 10, 1945

During the week interest in relocation remained about the same or decreased. At some centers residents were waiting for the outcome of the All Center Conference before making any further plans. By the end of the week, interested centers had selected their delegates, made financial arrangements, and mapped out agendas for the Conference.

Interest in Relocation

A small group of Issei at Poston, anxious to establish or reestablish businesses or to engage in farming operations have been thinking seriously about the problem of obtaining credit. One man from Camp III, trying to solve the problem of the ineligibility of Issei for loans from the various government agencies, made suggestions for the creation of an evacuee reconstruction finance corporation, an evacuee rehabilitation organization, and an organization called the "Evacuee Group Insurance Rehabilitation Corporation" which would establish farming and marketing enterprises on a cooperative basis.

Relocation interest continued to decrease at Toiyaz. There was some evidence that people were waiting for the results of the All Center Conference so that they might make plans accordingly. Perhaps an indirect indication of relocation planning is increased evacuee use of clinical services, presumably in preparation for going out.

At Rohwer the relocation rate has been running fairly evenly. During the week there was a net relocation gain of 21; during the previous week there had also been a gain of 21, in the week before that, 9, and in the week before, 34. Many residents believe that those relocating now are really the "cream" and that when the present spurt is over relocation will drop, after June, to an extremely low figure. They say that people going out now were planning to do so before the lifting of the exclusion orders.

In spite of prevailing public opinion against relocation at Minidoka, the trek out continues on a small scale and organized pressure against relocation has not developed. Since January 1, 29 persons have returned to the West Coast and 182 relocated outside the evacuated area.

At Heart Mountain residents have a strong conviction that large numbers simply cannot go out under the announced conditions. As at Minidoka, there is no organized resistance to relocation, a factor being that people do not organize to resist something they think there is a good chance may not happen. Evacuees believe that just because WRA says a certain course will be followed is no sign that it will be, and cite as an example an announcement distributed in assembly centers which said that the relocation centers would be maintained for the duration of the war.

The belief that WRA's present program cannot be carried out is evidenced at Grenada, where the following attitude was expressed:

WRA has a blue print for liquidation of the center which it has not been expedient to announce as yet. Because we don't see how, under the present program, the centers can possibly be closed in a year.

On the Eve of the Conference

As the Conference is about to be convened, the points of view of the delegates and the way the residents of the various centers regard the Conference, probably line up as follows:

Poston: Most of the five delegates will represent the more negative sentiment of the center. Many residents and some Councilmen feel the Conference is futile, and that any important changes in WRA policy are unlikely.

Gila: The four delegates will stick pretty close to presenting the wishes of approximately two-thirds of the residents, that the center remain open.

Granada: The three delegates, all from the Council, will continue to follow the Granada Council's policy of constructive criticism of the relocation policy.

Heart Mountain: Five delegates, the majority of whom represent the moderates, will discuss center problems in terms of aid to resettlers. Many people at the center expect that the Conference will result in important changes in WRA's program.

Popaz: The five delegates are going to the Conference with the idea of representing the range of attitudes at their center, and presenting problems of all groups. Conference arrangements have been pretty much Council-contained.

Minidoka: Four delegates will present a program concerned mainly with problems centering around the inability of the residents to relocate under the present conditions.

Lower: The three delegates include one man who is going unwillingly because he does not believe much good will result; his lack of enthusiasm is evident in the rest of the center. The vast majority are apathetic about the Conference. They think WRA has already done about all it is going to do, and that they must decide whether to relocate or stay in the center on that basis. The Council estimates that half the population cannot relocate now for one reason or another.

The Spanish Consul Visits Poston

Captain Martin of the Spanish Consulate in San Francisco visited the project February 5. Very little aside from the people's opposition to the closing was pressed in meetings of evacuees with the Consul. In contrast to the numerous complaints which he received during his semi-annual visits in the past, Captain Martin reported that the residents had no fault to find with WRA except that it was closing.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 9

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers
February 11-February 17, 1945

Thinking about Relocation

Thinking about relocation at most of the centers remained much the same as last week, with many residents awaiting the outcome of the Conference before making plans. Negative thinking increased slightly at Gila and Topaz, and was evident at Minidoka. Most hopeful signs of interest in relocation were at Granada. Poston had settled down in a polite agreement to disagree between the residents and Administration as to the possibility of the center closing by January, 1946.

Evidences of negative thinking: Opposition to relocation was vocalized at Gila by some repatriates and others intending to return to Japan. In more than one block the statement was made that no one loyal to Japan should relocate, and in one block persons proposing to relocate were threatened with physical violence. However, the opposition group maintains its influence only because a large number of residents are also reluctant to leave the center.

At Topaz thinking about relocation continued at a low ebb during the week. Although completion of some relocation plans was being held up until Conference results were known, residents in general were little interested in relocation, the Conference, or the scheduled visit of the Director.

Relocation westward continued at a slow pace from Minidoka, as the impending Conference and visit by the Director occupied the center of the stage. The Council and the Relocation Planning Commission declined to sponsor a mass meeting at which the Director was to speak. They felt that since WRA policy was so unpopular they did not want to be associated with it by sponsoring such a meeting.

Although there was no sign of organized opposition at Rohwer, the results of a relocation survey made by the Council and Relocation Planning Commission illustrate the lack of resident relocation planning there. Of the 4,262 answers to the survey:

- 412 indicated they plan to return to the West Coast according to present WRA procedure
- 288 planned to relocate elsewhere
- 3,562 had no plan nor intention of relocating anywhere

Some of the latter group are no doubt planning to relocate if or when increased assistance can be obtained from the government, and if or when they are convinced they will be accepted socially and economically in Caucasian communities.

A relocation survey was also made at Heart Mountain. The delegates to the Conference, who sponsored the questionnaire, knew that WRA really intends to close the centers, but they felt quite sure it could not and certainly should not be done according to the provisions that had been announced. They tried to raise some questions about relocation plans and get some honest answers. The returns, however, were very incomplete; many seemed to take the view that it was taboo even to admit the possibility that the centers would be closed by such a small act as filling out the questionnaires. Some plainly said that it was nobody's business what they intended doing.

Encouraging signs: At all the centers even though public opinion is antagonistic to relocation, many individuals, including some of those advocating maintenance of the centers, are making their relocation plans. Many families have two plans, one involving relocation (with maximum financial aid) and the other involving staying in the center, to use as circumstances seem to indicate.

The Old Men's Club of one of the blocks at Heart Mountain used to be vigorous in its anti-relocation stand. There were two leaders. Now one is already in Los Angeles on terminal leave, and the other will depart for the East next week. The Club is disintegrating.

The Director's visit to Granada resulted in an increasing awareness there of the real situation which evacuees face, and of the need to think about their future status in America. Mr. Myer's speeches reinforced the Council's stand that there is no advantage to be gained in questioning the fact of the centers' closing, and that the important problems are those connected with means of resettlement. Although the three delegates left for the Conference, the Council members felt a less urgent need for such a meeting in the light of the clarification of the WRA program by Mr. Myer.

During the week at Tule Lake, an average of 20 persons applied daily to the relocation officers on detail there for specific information. This doubles the number of daily inquiries in preceding weeks.

News from "Outside"

Reports from evacuees already on the Coast continue to give rise to long discussions about the possibility of going back. Adverse news confirms existing fears and spreads rapidly, underlining the importance of successful individual relocation to the relocation program as a whole.

An evacuee from Gila who had relocated to his old home in Florin wrote a letter to his church congregation in the center. In commenting on welfare and resettlement assistance he said: "The WRA inside and the WRA outside are two different things. If you require any assistance, stay in camp as long as you can; assistance is tough outside." This letter had wide circulation.

Both bad and good reports continued to come in to all the centers. With the increasing number of scouts going out, varying or even conflicting reports about the same place are beginning to come in. These reflect the scouts' own personalities as well as the locality situation.

For example, Los Angeles is getting a bad reputation at Gila ("I could feel the hostility as I walked along the streets," said one man). At Poston, however, Los Angeles is considered favorable and many are planning on relocating there.

The Importance of Being Housed

All of the centers have stressed housing problems as being serious obstacles to relocation. During the week this problem was emphasized by its inclusion in Conference agenda, reports from scouts returning to the centers, and the beginning of a hostel program on the West Coast.

At Topaz reports from the San Francisco Bay area indicate that housing there is the crux of the relocation problem so far as that center is concerned. Jobs are reported to be plentiful, community sentiment better than anticipated by far, old friends happy to see returned evacuees, former business associates welcoming them back - but housing almost impossible to get. One Nisei scout wrote back to the center:

Some churches are talking about opening hostels soon. But I cannot reconcile the hiatus between the desire of WRA to close the center within a year and the lack of housing on the Coast... The Federal Government must do something quite adequate if the WRA centers are going to close on schedule.

A JACL representative came to Topaz trying to arrange for the rental of a large Buddhist church building in San Francisco, to be operated as a hostel by the American Friends' Service Committee. This fell through because the building was being used for storage of evacuee property. Also some Buddhist leaders did not think it advisable to use the church for this purpose because it put them in the unpopular position of fostering relocation. They explained that some would like to stay in the center for the duration and leave their goods in this building.

Closing the Mess Halls

One of the first physical signs of center dissolution is the closing of mess halls serving less than 125 people. At Poston, Heart Mountain, Topaz and Mithoko, announcements of mess hall consolidations have been met with strong protests, especially from mess hall workers.

Mess hall workers cannot easily be transferred to other jobs. They tend to be Japanese-speaking and to have family responsibilities which make it difficult for them to go far from their own blocks. Often they are too old or infirm to do other kinds of work off the block.

Last week, in spite of organized pressure against it, four block mess halls at Poston were closed without incident. Two blocks which had insisted that their residents could not get along with one another if their mess halls were consolidated, were eating in the same hall -- although on different sides of the room. At Heart Mountain one hall closed.

At Minidoka, where half-block residents were facing closure of their mess halls, preparations were made to fight the action. The Council planned to appeal to the Director during his visit, residents of the affected blocks prepared petitions, the school half-block enlisted the support of the PTA, and the mess hall workers hinted at the possibility of a center-wide walk-out.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 10

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers
February 18 - 24, 1945

While the conference was in session at Salt Lake City, the center picture shifted slightly. During the week there was a slight increase in actual relocation at Heart Mountain, Minidoka, Topaz, Poston, and Granada and some decrease at Gila, Manzanar, and Rohwer; more people became convinced that WRA means to close the centers; and more people began thinking in terms of relocation. Evacuees continued to point out the obstacles to relocation, hostel plans went ahead, and opinions about the west coast continued to be formed and reformed by scouts' reports, letters from the outside, and news stories. There was some criticism in this regard of WRA's information program.

Belief in Center Closure

Realization is breaking on an increasing number of center residents that WRA is really serious about closing — or about trying to close — the centers by next year. Some who had thought that it could not be done began to think, privately if not publicly, that it might be possible. This increased conviction is in part due to both the cumulative and individual effect of the Director's tour of the centers.

During the week Mr. Myer visited Minidoka, Topaz, and Heart Mountain, leaving a variety of impressions behind him. But at each of these centers he left a substantial number of people believing that WRA is not just trying to bluff the residents out of the centers by its post-exclusion program.

At Minidoka this growing belief was evidenced by lessening opposition to the closing of the half block mess halls as an inevitable step in closure, and a swing of emphasis from an "if I relocate" to a "when I relocate" attitude. Tentative relocation plans were being made. A few who had previously refused to discuss relocation plans, voluntarily came to the Welfare office to talk over their particular problems.

Also at Heart Mountain, Topaz, Poston, and probably most of the other centers evacuees who had been talking in terms of sitting tight are now talking in terms of possible relocation.

Relocation Problems

Although there was a slight increase in actual relocation during the week, and interest was gradually piling up, the majority of the evacuees are still holding back because of economic problems and a fear of physical violence, or bad reception at least.

Relocation continued at Minidoka at about the same rate as last year at this time. Farm groups are not showing much interest in group relocation,

partly because of the discouraging factor of anti-Japanese propaganda in rural Washington and Oregon areas. And the housing shortage in the Northwest cities is hindering the relocation plans of the urban people.

The fear of physical injury is still strong among Minidokans. It is commonly believed there that WRA is publicizing only the good features on the west coast and is trying to "sugar-coat" the real situation. Evacuees point to various instances of bad reception to show that everything is not as rosy as WRA officials indicate.

At Topaz a group of poultry workers expressed considerable fear of physical violence should they resettle. They appealed to WRA in a written statement not to close the center within the year, saying that they had tasted the bitter tea of evacuation and now pled with WRA not to make them drink the bitter tea of forced resettlement.

A large number of leaders and others well known to the administration at Poston are considering relocating within the next few months, most of them to California. Many of them are continuing to insist — and probably will up to the time of their departure — that the center should stay open for the duration. They insist that their own situation, which permits or necessitates relocation, is not typical, that a large number of evacuees not only do not want to leave the center, but cannot.

Due to the complicated nature of Tule Lake as both a segregation and relocation center, relocation plans have been forming only very slowly and among a small group. Recently interest in relocation among this group has increased somewhat. The main relocation job at Tule seems to be contacting those who both want to resettle and can resettle.

About the Conference

Centers received air mailed and telegraphed reports which were read with a great deal of interest by many evacuee leaders. Other leaders and many residents seemed to have lost interest in the conference, partly because they felt increasingly that any effort to modify WRA policies would fail. This feeling was accentuated by the Director's visits to centers before and during the conference, and indicated by some increase in relocation planning even before the conference adjourned. A large group at Heart Mountain, however, was still pinning a lot of hope on the outcome of the conference.

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 11

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers February 25 - March 3, 1945

The trend toward believing that WRA really means to close the centers at the end of the year continued, and consequently so did interest in making relocation plans. Counter influences were also at work, however, particularly at Gila. With the possible exception of Granada, public opinion was opposed to relocating and even to admitting the possibility of closing the centers before the end of the war. Beneath this surface of public opinion, however, most people were making relocation plans to use if they had to and if they could receive more assistance.

Actual Relocation

Relocation appreciably increased only at Gila this week; at the other centers relocation remained approximately the same or decreased substantially. Relocation to the east and middle west continued far above relocation to the west coast, suggesting that a large number of those going out now had made their plans before the rescission of the exclusion orders. Also supporting this are the facts that relocation plans take a long time to mature, and the fact that Gila is the center of greatest relocation as well as, at least momentarily, greatest resistance to relocation.

Public Opinion and Private Planning

Public opinion on the centers was somewhat modified by the Director's presentation of WRA's policies and points of view during the conference and on his visits to the centers, but it remained predominantly against closing the centers by the end of the year. The trend toward increased individual relocation planning in spite of publicly expressed disapproval of the program was indicated in previous summaries, where it was pointed out that many people have two plans, one involving relocating and the other staying in the center. This development of individual relocation plans has continued, although not always openly because of antagonistic public opinion. Illustration are:

The Heart Mountain family which relocated from an antagonistic block almost secretly, as if they had done something wrong.

The Topaz property owners who are planning to return to their homes soon, but are telling only a few trusted friends about their plans because they do not want them generally known in the blocks where they live.

Public opinion has also restrained political activities which might seem to be encouraging relocation.

For example, at Heart Mountain the council has avoided reestablishing a Relocation Planning Commission, although many individual councilmen

are willing to cooperate to further relocation. As politicians the councilmen try to avoid doing things that annoy or antagonize their constituents, the great majority of whom think WRA's program is unjust, unfair, and inadvisable. Even many who are considering relocation because they think they have to would resent a councilman who encouraged them to relocate.

Private planning increased considerably at Granada where evacuees who in January had refused to even consider relocation are now asking for relocation information or making final plans. And at Granada, as at Topaz previously, the hospital reported an increase in patients, which was interpreted to show that residents were getting medical and dental service in preparation for leaving the center.

At Topaz evacuee leaders "admitted" that 75% to 90% of the residents are playing with the idea of relocation. They are waiting, however, for the "right" relocation opportunity, and for WRA to take more initiative in facilitating their resettlement by increased assistance and other services. Some are still waiting to see if WRA is bluffing.

Acceptance of the closing as an inevitable fact and thinking about relocation at Heart Mountain increased, but counter trends of resistance are also evident. Sentiments which might be organized into a resistance movement are present in abundance, but two things are lacking: leadership in that direction, and any obvious immediate pressure from WRA to leave the center.

While the same trend of individual planning has been apparent at Gila, also, resistance to relocation and the closing of the center strengthened there during the week. Public opinion against resettlement (shared by the great majority of the Block Managers) was bulwarked by suspicion of some of the new policies. Evacuees feel that many of the new rules are simply "to make things tough" and thus encourage relocation. They believe that the Resettlement Assistance Program is not all it was heralded as being.

Some residents at Gila, where the Director had not yet visited, saw in the conference signs that they could win out in the end. Although one of the four delegates was saying that the centers could be closed, the others were saying they believe that not all the centers will be. Centers may not be operated by WRA, they say, but they will be by some government agency, so people need not feel that they will be forced to leave. The delegates interpreted the Director's attitude at the conference as follows:

A policy has been announced, and all attempts will be made to implement it; but, if it proves impossible, attempts will be made to adjust to that impossibility.

One of the delegates made some remarks in a Block Manager's meeting which were interpreted as meaning that:

At the conference we laid the basis for united resistance to the

policy of closing the centers; if we continue organized and united, we can get the government to do what we want, which is to maintain us in camps for the duration of the war.

At other centers, the Gila interpretation, if present, has not become evident. At Minidoka and Topaz residents seemed neither optimistic nor anxious for news from the conference. Heart Mountain critically and impatiently awaited its delegates' report.

"Nisei Action, Today and Tomorrow"

This was the title of a Nisei conference at Rohwer, convened to consider the exact nature of Nisei relocation problems and perhaps decide on a course of action which would relocate them successfully in the coming year. The Rohwer conference was called by a small group of responsible, adult Nisei who felt that it was time to enlarge WRA's attention beyond the peculiar problems of Issei resettlement to their own. They complained that the Issei were doing all the talking and running the "whole evacuee show", and that the relocation program at Rohwer seemed to be organized around and adjusted to the problems of the Issei alone. Estimating that there were at least 1,000 adult Nisei in the center, the need for a focusing of their problems by a conference seemed obvious. However, attendance at well-planned meetings was largely Nisei just beyond high school age, whose relocation plans still depend on their Issei parents' decisions.

Scouts to San Mateo Report Back

Eighty Issei, former residents of San Mateo, California, gathered one night during the week at Topaz to hear two young Issei report on a visit to their home. Although the audience showed interest in the news about their home town, none openly admitted he was considering going back at the present time.

The scouts told them that jobs were numerous, -- mostly their old jobs of gardening and domestic work -- wage rates high, and public acceptance good. The scouts had interviewed outstanding business, religious and professional men of San Mateo, and the large majority of these assured returning evacuees of welcome. Home laundry businesses were suggested to the audience as sure money-makers.

The Issei audience was glad to hear this news, but they were not convinced of community acceptance. They pointed out that most of those interviewed were the wealthier San Mateans, and that they wanted the Japanese back primarily because they cannot find other hard-working and reliable domestic help. How about the poorer people, some of whose homes and perhaps jobs returning evacuees would be taking? Besides, even those interviewed had advised against Japanese going into business at this time.

One of the speakers, a former day domestic, told of his welcome home. Upon arriving in San Mateo, he telephoned his former employer, and the following conversation took place:

"Hello, Mrs. X, I have just come back to San Mateo....."

Before he could finish his sentence the woman said excitedly,

"Oh, I'm so glad you came back.....be sure and start working from next Monday morning at the usual time!"

COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

Weekly Summary No. 12

Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion and Closing of Centers
March 4 - 10, 1945

Total relocation from all centers increased slightly during the week, with about half the centers showing an increase and half a decrease in people going out. Terminal departures increased substantially only at Minidoka. Thinking and planning about relocation continued; although there was some group planning and sharing of information by localities, planning is predominantly on an individual and family basis. Relocation thinking is largely in terms of problems which some consider difficult and others almost insurmountable. Signs of community disintegration were evident.

"Worrying and Thinking and Planning"

As at Heart Mountain residents at all the centers are hoping and praying that somehow something will happen to change the announced closing program. Meanwhile, they are worrying and thinking and planning about relocation. Individual planning - undercover when necessary because of public opinion - continued at all centers. There is general acceptance at Granada of the fact that the centers will close within the year, and plans for going east or west are being made openly.

Former opposition Issei at Granada are now saying, "Our friends are going out or are planning to go out. We don't want to be left here alone, we had better find some place to go, too." The general attitude at present, however, is "Wait a little while longer. It will work out, but don't be in too much of a hurry."

At Topaz the main topic of conversation is relocation, and this interest is reflected in activity in the Welfare, Relocation and Evacuee Property offices. The analyst's office there asked the Block Managers how many people in their respective blocks had told them "off the record" that they intended relocating very soon. The Managers knew of 114 families (312 persons) who had definitely decided to relocate but who were "not talking"; even to the Relocation Office. Since it is not popular there for residents to speak openly of their resettlement plans, many families undoubtedly have not told their Block Managers of their intentions, especially since some Managers are opposed to relocation.

At Heart Mountain a lot of residents are doing more worrying than anything else. Right now they really see no way out. They are stumped, scared of the West Coast. Most residents, however, are preoccupied with how they can move out of the center under tolerable conditions, instead of how they can stay in the center as they were two months ago. People are looking toward the outside rather than toward the center as offering better - or less bad - chances of security. But so far as they look outward, most see little or nothing that gives them hope or confidence.

The number of those planning to relocate has materially increased at Gila since last week, due primarily to the Director's visit and publicizing of Conference results. The response to Mr. Myer's visit was overwhelmingly favorable, especially among the young Nisei.

A Nisei father commented gloomily that "the high school kids will become pressure groups inside their families."

A good many residents, however, still argue that they can't go and so won't be made to go, that if closing is resisted some form of shelter and subsistence will be provided.

There has been a slight rise in relocation interest and planning at Tule Lake. Some of the younger people thinking in terms of relocation are no longer afraid to talk about it, and relocation is no longer necessarily a hasty and highly secretive exit.

For example, a relocatee member of the Community Analysis staff is being given a send-off dinner by another staff member, a citizenship renunciant, who plans to decorate his apartment for the event with a paper model of New York's skyline and numerous signs of "Welcome to Gotham."

Center appraisal of public acceptance: An outstanding worry of evacuees thinking about relocation is public acceptance. Evacuees size up the situation in the community where they are considering going by putting together information from various sources. This information is seized upon, circulated - distorted or not - and largely shapes center opinion.

The more that residents accept the closing of the centers and relocation as certainties, the more frightened many of them become. Talk of difficulties and dangers is incessant; incidents are told and retold. At Rohwer relocation to the New Orleans area was hurt by adverse newspaper publicity, resulting in a rumor that Louisiana is closed to resettlement. Negative reactions at Gila are being given impetus by bad news from California. At Heart Mountain letters and scouts reports are predominantly unfavorable.

For example, housing is impossible. There is no land for rent. Jobs are abundant - but not for Japanese. Other laborers refuse to work for them. A friendly grocer calls a Japanese customer of long standing, apologizes, and says he can no longer sell to him; two other stores tell him they cannot accept his fruit. It is said that a large fertilizer company refuses to make deliveries to Japanese. Two girls write back that they are glad they have jobs as domestics so that they rarely need to be on the street. They are uncomfortable and unhappy. Especially they dread seeing wounded service men. A man is warned by his friends not to venture out after dark and to keep a sharp lookout. He remains fully dressed night and day, gradually becomes exhausted with anxiety and pulls out. These are the worries confronting evacuees contained in the words "public acceptance."

Many evacuees are distrustful of WRA appraisals of public acceptance. In contrast to statements by WRA officials that public opinion on the West Coast is better now than before evacuation, evacuees commonly state that opinion is worse, because of evacuation.

At Heart Mountain the Director's statements about public acceptance have been rather fully discounted by evacuees. They say he has done a noble work, he has made real progress. But he has touched only church people and the more intelligent and educated social level. "The lower social strata, with whom we have to live and work, have not been reached." What the Director said was the truth as he understood it, they say. He just doesn't know how "the other half" on the Coast feels and acts toward the Japanese. Much the same opinion has been expressed at Minidoka and probably other centers.

Other problems: In spite of its importance, public acceptance is far from being the only problem worrying prospective relocatees. A block was surveyed at Topaz for reactions to relocation. The following things which loomed large as deterrents to relocation are true of other blocks and at other centers, as well. Shortage of housing heads the list (it is hindering relocation in the San Francisco area where Topazians believe acceptance to be good). Lack of confidence in outside welfare agencies is still pronounced. Evacuees fear physical violence, economic boycott and property damage. Issei talk much about travel restrictions they would have to endure. Why is it necessary, they ask, after a person's character has been X-rayed, his family history run through the laundry wringer over and over again by the FBI, by WRA, and by the Army, that an Issei's travel privileges should be snarled in miles of red tape? Most of those who remain in this one block can think of at least one reason why relocation is a difficult step - and some feel it an impossible step no matter how much pressure the government may bring to bear on them.

Community Solidarity Weakens

During the week early signs of community disintegration were evident in the lack of solidarity among evacuees. At Gila, for instance, there was a decrease of interest in community and even block affairs, a reluctance to assume leadership, a lack of concern about internal matters, and a weakening of cooperation for the achievement of agreed common ends. This trend has also been evident at Minidoka where resistance to the closing of half block mess halls folded abruptly, and at all centers where the Conference requests are no longer the topic of conversation or subject of much interest. The beginning of community disintegration is complementary to the trend noted previously of increased planning on an individual basis. Locality groups still get together, but most actual planning is done by individuals and families.

Although group action did take place in the holding of the Conference, center reactions to delegates' reports indicate the general lack of solidarity:

At Granada there was little noticeable reaction to the delegates' reports. People in general are not thinking on a group basis, but are thinking and planning resettlement on an individual family basis, which is continuing at an accelerated rate.

Most Minidoka residents think the Conference was a waste of money, time and energy. Reaction can be summed up in two words - indifferent and indefinite.

At Topaz most evacuees' reactions to such things as the Conference and the Director's visit are indifferent.

Even at Heart Mountain, where there was considerable interest in hearing the delegates report, reaction was not strong. The analyst feels that in face of center dissolution the community is pulling apart rather than together.

Locality Group Meetings

Some group planning is going on, or at least the pooling of information by meetings for that purpose. During the week such groups met at Topaz and Minidoka to hear returning scouts report and to exchange information and ideas.

People from Sacramento Valley in California, Hood River in Oregon, and Fife and Bainbridge in Washington, met in Minidoka to discuss possible relocation. The Sacramento group combined all their letters from Caucasian friends and relocated or scouting evacuees, and read and discussed them. They did not decide definitely what move to make, but the majority seemed to think that they should all return at once and live in the Japanese school or church. Neither did the other groups come to any definite conclusion. They have not made up their minds when to move or how to do it, but they are seriously considering it. The Minidokans are advising with members of their locality groups in Heart Mountain and Topaz in making their plans.

Ex-Berkeley residents at Topaz held a meeting to discuss their mutual problems and to listen to a scout report on their home town. In general, his report as well as letters written from other evacuees in Berkeley are extremely favorable - even housing is not quite as bad as elsewhere, although still bad. A "hospitality group" there has been helpful in finding temporary quarters at least. At the meeting evacuees talked of establishing a Co-op for the Japanese who would return to Berkeley, mainly to handle Japanese products. There was some doubt about the feasibility of forming one in Berkeley, although all felt there was a need for it.

Information

At Gila ignorance and uncertainty as to the provisions of the post exclusion program are almost universal. Even most of the Block Managers say that they do not understand the program, so feel that they cannot adequately explain it to the other residents.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 13

March 29, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
MARCH 11-17, 1945

On the surface all the centers were quiet this week. There was little change in relocation interest, and family planning continued. Many, however, especially at Gila, were still talking of staying in the centers for the duration. Relocation slumped during the week, with the large drops at Gila and Minidoka. In spite of this, Minidoka continued to lead the other centers in actual numbers taking terminal leave, while Granada led according to proportion of population. Manzanar continued to be the lowest on both counts.

Interest in Relocation

Individual and family thinking about relocation possibilities and consideration of particular relocation offers went on at all centers. Some locality groups went ahead planning together.

Thinking about relocation: There is a growing acceptance at Rohwer that the centers really will close on the expiration date, and that residents will have to resettle. A great many Issei still frankly shake their heads and say the center simply cannot close, and that they are not really worried about being forced out -- but even they are not so sure as they were last January. As at other centers, most Issei and many Nisei are ready to support public opinion against relocation but at the same time are thinking in terms of leaving the center while jobs are still plentiful.

At Topaz interest in relocation continues on a somewhat higher level than two weeks ago. People are increasingly talking in terms of going out "if we can get the right set up." Residents discuss and take action on internal affairs at the center as if closing were a foregone conclusion. In spite of this, there is not a corresponding increase in definite relocation planning.

For example, residents have taken little or no cognizance of the advent of new relocation advisers. Those who have noticed them comment that they don't see what practical use they can be.

Many Gila residents who had formerly hesitated are now saying "we're wasting time here", "the sooner we get out the better", "we're leaving when school closes" -- or when it gets warmer east, or when California settles down.

At Poston Block Managers are relocating in appreciable numbers, creating an employment problem. Blocks are successfully putting pressure on valuable workers in the administrative offices to leave their jobs and accept positions as Block Managers.

Interest in special offers: There is considerable interest at Rohwer in a relocation offer from the Wilson Company plantation in northeastern Arkansas. The Company has 60,000 cultivable acres, most of which is available for evacuee resettlement. It contains good houses, the land is good for vegetable growing, and the Company will set up dryers and canneries as soon as production demands them. The Company agrees to advance needed capital to each resettler as long as he wishes it, to allow him to operate his bit of land on a share crop basis for the first year or two, and to sell him as much land as he wants when he is ready to buy it. Community acceptance is believed good, and the Company agrees to help in this regard. This offer, then, takes care of four main problems: housing, financing, initial acquisition of land and eventual ownership of it, and community acceptance. Nine evacuees went on an investigating trip to the plantation and were highly impressed. The only adverse criticism was that the offer is "too good to be true".

At Granada plans are going ahead for resettlement of a large group at a grape ranch in Fresno County, in spite of disagreement about Fresno sentiment by the two evacuees who went on an investigating trip.

Locality interest: Hood River people at Heart Mountain and Minidoka are taking the first steps back. An Issei scout returned to Heart Mountain reporting that "Hood River looked wonderful", that public sentiment was bad but not impossible, and that he plans on going back to stay. Two or three other families are also leaving for their old home, and probably about four families from Minidoka.

One Heart Mountaineer was worried about getting labor and supplies, and marketing his fruit in Hood River. When it was suggested that he recruit his labor from the center, he replied:

"No, that would make it harder for us. It will not be easy for those who were there before to go back. But maybe if only we go, the anti-Japanese sentiment will quiet down. If we hired Japanese, the Hood River people would be afraid that they would stay and start farming for themselves after they had worked for us awhile. It is better for us to hire Mexicans or somebody like that who will be sure to leave after the season is over."

The Hollywood locality group at Heart Mountain is also laying plans for its return. Several gardeners think the demand for their services will be sufficient to counteract hostility to their return. Those in other fields figure that if the gardeners can get by, maybe they can make a go of it, too.

The president of the Gardener's Association already has his home available and his daughter is there waiting for him. He intends to leave by the end of March for the dual purpose of getting re-established himself and of looking into the possibilities for others. He is trying to get all the information he can on the needs and desires of the Hollywood evacuees.

Opposition to Relocation

There is no organized group resistance to the post exclusion program, but individuals everywhere are still protesting the closing and declaring they will not relocate. The trend toward belief in center closing and relocation interest is continuing, but it is far from completed.

There is still a firm belief at Gila that some centers will be kept open after the end of the year. The bitter-enders seem willing to take what comes rather than to risk relocation.

There is a tendency at Gila toward dependence on Japan. In some blocks a memorandum to the Spanish Consul is being circulated in which everyone is asked to state his losses resulting from evacuation. The implication is that people cannot relocate because of these losses, and the support of the Spanish Embassy is expected in any move to keep the centers open. Every day more people state their intention of returning to Japan after the war. Feeling that they are being placed in an impossible position by this Government's policy, they are taking refuge in the possibility that being Japanese will help them.

The question of whether the Japanese government wishes its aliens to relocate came up at Topaz during a meeting of an evacuee group with the Spanish Consul. Captain Martin answered that the Japanese Government demands full protection of its nationals' lives and property, but it is up to the individual whether he wishes to relocate. A Topazean who has contended since the lifting of the exclusion order that Japan wishes all its nationals to remain in relocation centers, took issue with the Consul. He questioned him closely as to whether he was apprised of the real wishes of the Japanese government on this point. According to the spokesman's information this was not the official position of Japan. He talked belligerently and at length and finally persuaded the group as a whole to write to the Spanish Embassy directly for the exact wording of the Japanese government's statement on relocation. The group also resolved that the Consul's version should not be disseminated to the residents until it was checked with the Spanish Embassy.

Many people at Poston are still planning to stay in the center for the duration and are quite frank about their intentions. Relocation is neither popular nor unpopular at Poston. During the time when relocation is being planned, no pressure is put on people to change their minds. Although influential evacuees are not anxious to sponsor meetings in which relocation is being presented favorably, meetings in which relocation is opposed are rare or non-existent.

When the Schools Close

All of the centers are concerned about the projected closing of the schools. Residents are protesting the closing and at some centers evacuees are making plans in the event that the schools do close.

For example, the Poston PTA held a meeting during the week at which schooling for the rest of the year was discussed. It was decided to continue protests against the closing of the schools, but also to

make plans for evacuee-run schools if the regular ones are closed. The Arizona State Department of Education had already been unsuccessfully contacted about the State's taking over the center schools.

Information

Most information about the "outside" continues to come to the centers from relocated evacuees or old friends on the Coast. Countless letters are sent back and forth. Evacuees at Topaz feel they have more reliable information on job opportunities and other aspects of relocation possibilities than do advisers most of whom, if not all, have never lived in the San Francisco area. Many feel that they can get better information from evacuees who have already returned or from Caucasian friends in California. Residents at all centers feel that information about the West Coast from WRA paints "too rosy" a picture.

On the other hand, project personnel feel evacuees are too willing to believe the unfavorable things they hear and too unwilling to believe the favorable reports.

Resettlement Assistance

Stories of people applying for resettlement assistance on the outside and being referred from place to place without receiving help circulate extensively in Granada with increasingly harmful effect.

When the resettlement assistance program was first announced Granada residents objected, feeling that WRA was a known, and outside welfare agencies an unknown, quantity. This attitude was later followed, after repeated explanations by the appointed personnel, by an acceptance of the Social Security Board as the agent for resettlement assistance. But in explaining the work of the Board and in developing assurance in the evacuees that the Board would function to his advantage, the dependence which could be placed on the Board and the range of services it makes available were over-emphasized. The limitations of the local welfare boards are becoming evident to many evacuees.

Criticism of resettlement assistance has been widespread at Gila, also.

A Point of View

An editorial in a high school paper at Tule Lake explaining delay in its publication offered the following analogy:

The reason for the delay is because the mimeograph machine is out of order. The mimeograph machine is just like an old man. By that we mean that it just wants to be stubborn. Since it is an old machine, it feels that it has done enough work already and deserves a rest. Even cleaning and repairing it doesn't seem to do any good.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 16
April 19, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
April 1 - 7, 1945

Departures from the centers dropped slightly during the week, but relocation planning did not decrease correspondingly, except at Topaz. Although a special railroad coach left Poston with 54 residents returning to Sacramento, the number of people relocating from that center was far below the number last week. Both good and bad reports of community acceptance continue to reach the centers, and fear of physical violence and discrimination are still strong deterrents to resettlement. Stories of discrimination in the favorable Bay Area are beginning to seep back to Topaz. Evacuees in all the centers are willing to risk community acceptance if their housing difficulties are solved.

Evacuee Organization

The weakening of community solidarity in the centers as a result of the post exclusion program was apparent a month ago (Weekly Summary No. 12.) Since then this process has continued as seen in the importance of individual planning, and the disappearance of organized efforts to keep the centers open (although new developments in this area are possible after WRA's answer to the Conference requests is received.) Counter-trends in evacuee organization are developing, however, which change this picture. First, cooperative efforts concerned with relocation continue; and second, organized action concerned with how to live in a closing center is appearing.

1) At Heart Mountain tentative Council plans are afoot to revive the defunct Relocation Planning Commission. Many Councilmen accept the need for a Commission, primarily because they feel it is desirable to have an Administration recognized body to formulate and transmit objections to the present WRA program, and recommendations for its improvement. Other less important reasons are to give the Administration a token of the Council's reasonableness and willingness to cooperate and to do a few jobs with the Administration to encourage relocation.

The Council at Granada is trying to reorganize the Evacuee Information Bureau to facilitate the dissemination of relocation information. The Council is gradually assuming a more active leadership in resettlement planning. Councilmen, however, recognize the necessity of carrying public opinion along with them and are adapting their leadership to the tempo of resident feeling. They are bidding for public support of the Bureau reorganization by holding meetings at which Dr. Ichihashi, well respected as a professor and scholar, leads discussions about the need for

streamlining the Bureau and for resettlement planning in general. These meetings will bring into the open opinion favoring cooperation with WRA in resettlement. Their success or failure will affect the position of the sit-tight groups in Granada who are opposed to relocation and the closing of the center.

2) The newest development in community organization is around the problems involved in living in the closing centers. Three examples of this kind of organized action occurred during the week.

A new kind of block organization has appeared at Heart Mountain. The women of one block, at the suggestion of their Councilman, organized into a "Women's Committee Looking to the Future." This group plans to deal with block problems involved in the closing of the centers, such as mess hall consolidations, children's leisure time when the schools close, and so on.

At Gila two mess halls agreed to consolidation, with the mess crews recruited from members of both messes. Each block parted reluctantly with its old mess. Final arrangements were made only after negotiation by the Butte Council Chairman, the Central Block Manager, the Senior Steward, and the block people.

At Poston one of the evacuee doctors, considering taking a position in a Los Angeles hospital, met with an organized community effort to retain his services until the closing. A group of center leaders visited him and discussed the feelings of the people about his relocation, and petitions were circulated in every block thanking him for his services and requesting that he stay.

Rohwer Relocation Estimates

The analyst at Rohwer consulted fifteen or sixteen Issei to arrive at the following estimates of relocation. The Issei estimates are that about 65% of the residents expect to stay at Rohwer as long as possible for one reason or another. These reasons include preference for the Japanese cultural and social life of the center to living in a Caucasian community, plans to return to Japan after the war, "nothing to resettle to, with, or for," fear of not making a success outside, and difficulties of professional workers who depend on a large Japanese community.

The remaining one-third of the present population are said to be making serious relocation plans and are expected to go out soon after the expiration of the school term. After that, the Issei informants believe the relocation rate will slump, since only the 65% wanting to remain will be left. Between June and November they expect that almost one-half of these will have found it possible to relocate. This will leave at the end of

the year a residue of between 30% and 40% who, the informants say, will constitute the absolutely unrelocatable element. The relocation thinking of these people follows this line:

The Government forced us to evacuate and to come here, and it has no right to make us leave if we want to stay. We like it here, or at least prefer life here to life outside as long as the war lasts. And right or not right, if we just sit tight and refuse to leave the Government either won't or can't make us leave anyway.

A "residue of between 30% and 40%" is not emptying the center by January, 1946. Nevertheless, if deadlines are disregarded momentarily, and these figures are compared with relocation estimates made by Rohwer residents two and three months ago, the trend is encouraging. In January a resident guessed that 59% either had no relocation plans at all or intended waiting to see how others fared on the Coast, and in February a survey made by the Council indicated that 84% had neither plans nor intentions of relocating. This suggests that in two months relocation planning has considerably increased.

The Voice of the Nisei

The columns of the Heart Mountain Sentinel, like those of the Rohwer Outpost, have been carrying articles heckling the Issei on the Council for their conservative attitude toward relocation. As at Rohwer, Issei responded angrily, and for awhile Councilmen talked of an anti-Sentinel campaign. They decided instead to write an answer to the Sentinel's accusations, stating that as representatives of the people Councilmen could not support WRA's present policy. They feel it is their duty to work for improved relocation conditions and maintenance of the center the duration.

The Why of Box-Making

Evacuees at several centers are busy making boxes and crates. Puzzled as to how to reconcile the low relocation rate and widespread attitude that residents cannot relocate under present circumstances with the flurry of box-making, the analysis staff at Topaz investigated. By simply asking people why they were making the boxes, they received answers which fell into two categories:

- 1) We are making boxes now because we cannot trust the Government to provide us with enough boxes or the material to make them when we need them.
- 2) We are not thinking in terms of relocating but we are concerned about the closing of the camp. We have accepted as fact the announcement that the camp will close, but at the same time we are convinced that the Government will not throw us out if we can't get any governmental assistance to relocate. So we are making preparations to be ready to move to another camp under another agency.

The Spirit.

Red Summer of
continues to decrease
is quite the right
turn of affairs.

BB

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 17
April 26, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
April 8 - 14, 1945

Terminal departures continued to decrease slightly. Departures from most of the centers dropped, at Topaz and Gila remained much the same, and at Manzanar jumped from 33 the previous week to 130 this week. Many of the relocating Manzanarites went to Seabrook Farms, New Jersey, drawn there by its already sizeable Manzanar population. The packing fever raged at Heart Mountain, and continued at Topaz. Rumors are cropping up predicting various dates of closure for specific centers -- all in the near future except at Manzanar where the current rumor has that center staying open for several months after the announced closing date.

Attitudes Toward the West Coast

Two weeks ago evacuee reports at most centers seemed to be increasingly favorable to the West Coast, and special California-bound railroad coaches from Rohwer and Poston reflected this. This week, with no California specials leaving, few from those centers went westward, and there were indications at other centers that attitudes toward the West Coast are still fear-laden.

The analyst at Heart Mountain feels that more evacuees think relocation is impossible now than was the case a month ago because of deterioration of attitudes toward the Coast. People really are scared of physical violence, are convinced that housing is impossible, that job security is improbable, and that WRA field offices on the Coast don't do much to help relocatees.

Every issue of the Japanese newspapers carries stories that reaffirm the fears people have. They carry favorable reports, too, but the unfavorable ones attract more notice. Letters from Caucasian friends often recommend that evacuees not return just yet. (The analyst comments that most of the unqualified invitations to return he has seen or heard are from former employers to their domestic help.)

Of the 37 Heart Mountain residents who left for the evacuated area on short-term leave during January and February, one converted and six relocated soon after they came back to the center. Three of these went east, and three returned to the Coast. Last week there were 29 persons in the center who had visited the West Coast. These have been in the center a month or longer. Some of them plan on going back permanently when school is out.

Others sit there, presenting a convincing picture of discouragement to their friends and neighbors.

The news carried in Time last week that an anti-Japanese association is being organized on a paying basis alarmed many Gila residents already in dread of West Coast reception.

At Minidoka the relocation trend seems to be away from the West Coast. Persons planning on returning to their old homes usually have property there; the property-free are planning to go elsewhere -- but not necessarily in the near future. There is considerable movement now to eastern Oregon and Washington, and western Idaho.

The Minidoka Hood River group is taking a slightly more encouraging view of return there because of good reports brought back by evacuees who have visited there. The Gresham group is still skeptical about acceptance in that area. The Sumner, Auburn, Kent and Orting groups are very much worried about community acceptance and possible difficulties in selling their produce should they return.

At Manzanar stories brought back by scouts to California in general tell of fair if not good community acceptance. Bad news, usually via letter, still spreads, but gradually such news is becoming the exception rather than the rule.

Influence of the Opposition

Those unalterably opposed to relocation and the closing are nowhere conducting an organized campaign to keep the centers open, and they have clearly become a minority in the last two or three months. They still exert considerable pressure, however. At Topaz, for example, although there is more open discussion of relocation plans among the Issei than formerly, many still feel apologetic about actually relocating.

When one Issei left Topaz recently for Berkeley other Issei approached him and criticized him for leaving. They said, in effect, that he was letting down those who want to remain in the center for the duration.

Another Issei planning to take short term leave confided in a friend that as a matter of fact he was never coming back even though he was announcing to most of his friends that he was merely going out to take a look at his property. He plans to convert to terminal leave once outside.

The negative group at Topaz also still has sufficient influence to keep any Issei from making a statement in a public meeting advocating that all residents relocate before the end of the year. (Contrast this with the mass meeting held at Granada two weeks ago addressed by prominent Issei urging just that.)

At Gila the methods and influence of opposition residents differ in the two communities. In Butte resistance to the post exclusion program is present, but is slowly weakening as more people announce relocation plans. Opposition leaders there advise people to simply sit tight and the Government will look after them in some way. Not all people planning to stay to the end share these hopes; they are waiting desperately because, from their viewpoint, there is nothing else to do.

In Canal opposition is more marked and open. Some of the most recognized leaders are oppositionists. They reiterate that some Government agency must care for all who remain. Old feelings of resentment flare up to support this belief: "They put us here against our will, now they can't let us starve." A "survey" made in Canal recently indicates that 80% of the residents will not relocate -- a conclusion at which the analyst feels the surveyors wanted to arrive, and which they may use as ammunition for anti-relocation pressure.

"Forced Relocation"

Accusations against WRA of forcing evacuees to relocate are general in the centers, and lately have referred specifically to the planned closing of the schools. This week the suicide of a woman at Minidoka, recently released from the hospital after an illness of almost a year, was the focus of "forced relocation" stories. Rumors attributed her death to factors involved in the center closing. Some say that the hospital administration is trying to force as many people as possible out in order to stimulate relocation by not giving hospital service. They say the woman in question was "kicked" out of the hospital and that she believed her being at home and ill was a burden on her family and was hindering their relocation. Other rumors claim that she committed suicide because she could not face the closing and the outside world.

This case is reminiscent of two suicides earlier in the year at Gila, attributed by other evacuees either wholly or in part to these individuals' despair of the future. Evacuee leaders at Gila said they expected more such cases.

Community Organization

During the week the Heart Mountain Council balked anew at the re-establishment of the Relocation Planning Commission. The remarks of the Councilman leading the opposition to the Commission illustrates the Council's point of view:

We don't want to sponsor a Commission to help give information to people and advise them to relocate. If WRA wants it done, let WRA do it. We were elected to work for the evacuees, not for the Administration.

One Councilman, however, argued in favor of the Commission. He explained that it could be a weapon in the hands of the evacuees, a recognized body that could consider WRA regulations and recommend changes for the benefit of the evacuees. He said that it would not concern itself with the big things which the Study Committee and the Conference had, but with little things such as signing under penalty in order to get the grant (the Topaz Council is also working on this) and the strict short term leave regulations. This slant on the Commission swung the Council, opposition group and all, over in favor of its re-establishment. It seems likely that the new Commission will conceive its chief task to be to work on WRA, not on the evacuees.

Not all evacuee organizations concerned with relocation are formal or official. Locality group meetings to pool information on conditions outside are important at most centers. At Manzanar, however, such groups play little part. That center is so close to the former homes of its residents that people tend to get their information directly. An informal evacuee group of from 15 to 20 people which meets occasionally to discuss relocation problems has developed there in the last nine months, however. Relocation is not encouraged by this group, and they feel it is better if the Administration takes no part in their informal gatherings.

Originally the group was composed of some farmers called together by the relocation officer and asked what sort of information they would like to have on farming conditions in Nebraska and Louisiana. A report was later made to this group on farm conditions in those areas and, although no relocation there resulted, the group felt that they should be better informed on conditions outside. Independently they continued to meet to hear reports brought back by evacuee scouts. Gradually others than farmers were drawn in.

Two Plans for Every Family

The two plans for every family pattern (one for sitting tight if the centers remain open, and one for relocation if they don't) extends at Topaz to some of the potentially dependent. These people are letting the Welfare Section go ahead with re-settlement plans for them based on public assistance. They say that they want to stay in the center as long as possible, or until it closes. Their friends are there, hospital services are good, the question of community acceptance is non-existent, and and housing is not a problem. However, they do not want to be wholly unprepared if and when the center closes. Once their plans are approved they are ready to face the outside world, but only if they have to. Actual departure is postponed as long as possible.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 18
May 3, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
April 15 - 21, 1945

The General Picture

This week terminal departures* almost recovered the slight loss of the previous two weeks. A special California-bound coach from Rohwer was responsible for much of the increase. Individual relocation planning is widespread at all centers except Tule Lake, but many evacuees continue to believe or hope that some kind of center will be left open to take care of them. No organized opposition to relocation has developed anywhere. WRA's reply to the Conference recommendations arrived at the centers during the week but as yet there has been little reaction to it.

Current center attitudes toward relocation and center liquidation seem to shape up as follows:

Gila: Residents increasingly accept as fact that the centers will close, but the trend still has a long way to go. An appreciable number are not thinking in terms of relocation. Many are still optimistic about the possibility of WRA changing its closing policy, although the reply to the Conference requests disheartened some leaders in this respect. Opposition to relocation is fairly strong in Canal, and less so in Butte.

Topaz: Evacuees are in general "relocation-minded", but to date this tendency hasn't gotten much beyond the talking stage. The majority still speak in terms of not seeing how they can resettle under present conditions. Housing in the crowded Bay Area is probably the most important relocation bottleneck. There is a small negative group at Topaz with a core of evacuees on the Army's excludee list. Some Issei are still embarrassed about admitting relocation plans in public.

Manzanar: Relocation to Los Angeles is being slowed down by reports about a bad housing and employment situation in that area. Little information comes from Manzanar throwing light on evacuee attitudes there.

Rohwer: Residents are gradually accepting the necessity of relocation planning. They are thinking less in terms of group resettlement (Rohwer is the home of the "colony plan" of relocation), and more in terms of individual problems and chances. Special railroad coaches are taking people back to California, another is planned for Scabrook Farms in New Jersey, and at last relocation southward has a small start. Five or more families are accepting the Wilson Plantation offer and eight families are buying farms in Louisiana.

*"Terminal departures" in the Weekly Summaries, as in the Weekly Report from the Statistical Section, include conversions to terminal leave outside the centers as well as departures from them.

Poston: Although few evacuee leaders believe the center ought to close by the end of the year, many are cooperating with WRA in the relocation program. The polite agreement between residents and appointed personnel to disagree as to the possibility of relocating everyone successfully and within the time limit continues. The general outlook about the closing is almost placid; Postonites have not yet faced some of their major problems.

Heart Mountain: Unlike evacuees at Poston, Heart Mountaineers are anxiety-ridden. Belief that the centers will actually close has gone deep. While this has resulted in a positive attitude toward relocation for many, for others it means hopeless resignation, the unhappy acceptance of a harsh and inevitable fact. About the only people who doubt that the center will close are those who feel so helpless and defeated that they think it can't be true, and a few who persist in believing that the tide of war in the Pacific will turn. Relocation thinking is oriented toward the West Coast and many, if thwarted by housing considerations, may choose to stay in Heart Mountain and see what is involved in "closing the center."

Granada: On the whole evacuees both understand and accept the post exclusion program, although some individuals and small groups do not. Leaders have succeeded in developing general interest in resettlement. Some people who talked long and loudly against relocation in the past are continuing to do so in order not to lose face.

Minidoka: Relocation at Minidoka is higher than at other centers, and evacuee leaders expect the figures to soar. Sentiment in Washington and Oregon is discouraging some, and the revised alien land laws are making property owners hesitate. The Army's expanding list of detainees is causing more insecurity and checking some relocation plans.

Tule Lake: Evacuees are concerned more with their own peculiar local problems than with relocation, although there is a constant small trickle out. The Director's visit of three days quieted fears about forced mass relocation, and spurred individual interest in resettling particularly in Nisei ranks.

Information

Information about the outside is becoming more and more general as reports from scouts and relocated friends continue to flow back to the centers. Evacuees in general trust their own sources of information about the outside more than WRA material, which they often think of as "propaganda." An exception to this is the Daily News Digest issued by the Reports Office. It does not have a wide circulation among evacuees, but at Granada it is available in the Evacuee Information Office. The Digest carries a great deal of weight with residents because of its objective summaries of all the news - good, bad, or indifferent. They feel it is reliable and unbiased information on which they can make their own evaluation of conditions outside.

Family Conflicts

Relocation plans and problems are the source of struggles within families at Miniidoka, with the Issei wanting to stay in the center longer and their teen-age children exerting pressure to relocate as soon as school is out. This difference of opinion about relocation is responsible for many stormy family scenes. Some Nisei boys are avoiding their homes because of this conflict. One such boy explained:

The old man won't let us alone. We always get into a fight over what we are going to do. The best thing is to stay away as much as possible.

Family differences are also occurring at most of the centers about whether to relocate east or west. Nisei tend to favor the east, and this is reflected in relocation statistics (to date 2,108 persons have relocated to the West Coast since December 31, 1944, and 4,421 have gone elsewhere). Many of the Issei and older Nisei, however, will not think of relocating anywhere except back to the West Coast. A Nisei Block Manager at Heart Mountain gave expression to this feeling:

My kids want me to go east. I finally put a stop to the talk. I want to go back where I came from. I know the situation there and have a lot of friends. All these incidents don't scare me. I'm sure my old friends are still my friends. Besides my parents won't hear of going anywhere except California.

"Visitors"

Several pregnant wives of Nisei servicemen entered Rohwer as visitors and now wish to assume the status of residents. They want to stay in the center with their parents until their children are born, and most of them have stopped paying the sixty cents a day visitor's charge. The Administration is trying to get the girls to leave the center, and succeeded in making further relocation plans for some of them. At least five refused to go, and their friends and relatives and the Chairman of the Community Council are arguing their cases with the Administration. They say that it is only natural for a young pregnant woman whose husband is away to come "back home", that hospital care is difficult to get outside, and that community acceptance complicates the situation. The Administration takes the position that the center is not their "home" and that if the girls want to be with their families the latter should join them outside. By the end of the week the girls were still in the center.

An Opinion

A Councilman relocating from Heart Mountain made the following final prediction and judgment:

I am afraid WRA is going to succeed. Awhile ago I was sure it couldn't be done by the way WRA was trying to do it. I still think it is unjust, unfair, and unworthy of this country to demand the kind of sacrifices WRA intends to exact from the evacuees. But the Japanese are patient and long suffering. They have been kicked around for fifty years. It seems that they have now become resigned to the fact that the center is going to close and that WRA will cease to exist.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 19
May 10, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
April 22 - 28, 1945

Relocation Opinion

More and more people are leaving the centers as plans mature, but the climate of relocation opinion has not changed significantly within the last several weeks. Granada represents the most optimistic end of the range of evacuee opinion about the closing and relocation. Responsible leaders there estimate that three-fourths of the center residents are making positive plans for relocation. Resettlement meetings of various kinds are well-attended, and people are increasingly seeking information on jobs, housing, and locality sentiment.

At the other end is Gila. The Analyst's Office made a survey of several blocks in Butte recently and discovered that 40 percent of the block people are definitely adverse to relocation, and just under 50 percent are favorable to it. Thirty percent are doubtful, hesitating, or their plans are unknown.

The other centers seems to fall between these two situations. The following description of Heart Mountain is typical of most centers: A fair number of people are going out, and more are planning to go after school is out. However, a substantial segment of the population is staying in the center and worrying, hoping for a miracle that will either save them from relocation or make it a less difficult undertaking. Some continue to express a determination not to move, and try to discourage others from moving. They make sinister illusions to the Japanese Criminal Code, predict bombings of American cities, manufacture short-wave news from Japan, and blow up incidents on the Coast to terrifying proportions. They have some influence on others, but most residents heavily discount what they say.

Community Organization

The WRA comments on the Conference recommendations have still stirred almost no response. Delegates from Heart Mountain feel the Conference accomplished some good, but most other residents seem to feel the requests failed. At Rohwer interested Issei feel that the answer was an unequivocal "no" to the most important recommendations, and that even though WRA did compromise and yield on a few points it in no way retreated from its basic policies. This belief that the Conference failed dealt the final blow to the hopes of those who had pinned their faith on organized opposition to WRA. If a conference of all the centers can't sway WRA, they say, then what could be expected of any smaller organized effort?

In spite of general lack of interest or hope in Conference results, the coordinating office at Topaz is carrying on its work. It is sending Conference minutes and letters to the other centers, and forwarding more resolutions and recommendations to the Director. Center Councils are contributing to office expenses.

Most of the evacuee organization that is developing is oriented around relocation problems. Center Councils are keeping each other abreast of relocation trends and statistics in their particular centers. A group at Granada is suggesting that an evacuee Relocation Assistance Association be organized. A meeting to discuss this will be held next week, and Block Managers will attend, as individuals rather than officially.

Less pioneering efforts are being made at other centers. Recently at Poston, where there has been neither a relocation planning commission nor a study group, evacuees have been expressing a desire to give more help to those wanting to relocate. Each camp, with help from the Administration, is planning on forming an organization with such a purpose. Delegates from these three bodies would form an over-all planning group which would meet occasionally with members of the appointed personnel.

At Minidoka the suggestion came from the Administration that informal bimonthly meetings be held with the Council and Block Commissioners to discuss "mutual and current problems." It is hoped to pin down rumors about relocation and WRA policy and stimulate the dissemination of reliable information. The Council Chairman indicated that he is in favor of such meetings, and the Council and Commissioners will discuss the idea at a joint meeting.

Heart Mountain plans for the Relocation Planning Commission drag on. The council decided to rename it the Evacuee Relocation Planning Board, and determined the general form of organization. The Council shied away from the Administration's suggestion that board members give information and advice to residents. A Councilman explained:

If members of the Board let it be known that evacuees can come to them for personal consultation, they will be too busy. People would be calling on them all of the time. It is the job of the Relocation Office to give out relocation advice, not of unpaid evacuees. The Board should concern itself with more general matters.

The Buddhist Church and Relocation

Buddhist Church leaders at Topaz met with the Project Director during the week about the particular relocation problems of Buddhists. They explained why so few of their church members, in proportion to Christians, had relocated, and discussed possible measures to take.

One difficulty has been that there is no special assistance

available to relocating Buddhists, as to the Christians, from outside church groups. The plan of the Buddhist Churches of America is to move its headquarters from Topaz to Denver; open six hostels in church buildings on the West Coast, each to be operated by a Buddhist minister; and to establish churches in four more cities. In this way the drawing power of the Buddhist church will be outside, rather than in the center where it is now.

An important obstacle to this program is that many Buddhist ministers are on the Army's "Black List." Of six at Topaz, one is a segregee and three are excludées; the Bishop and one minister are cleared. An evacuee recruiter of railroad workers at Heart Mountain reported a change he observed in the feelings of two Buddhist ministers there toward relocation. Whereas they used to oppose resettlement they are now very anxious to go out, but they, also, are restrained by Army orders.

These leaders decrease the drawing power of the Church out of the centers as long as they remain in them. The Topaz group feels that the Army is confused about the difference between Buddhism and Shintoism, and does not realize that the Buddhist Churches of America is absolutely separated from Japan. They believe if this were explained, the Buddhist ministers would be cleared.

Problems of Parolees

The relocation problems of parolees were aired recently at Granada in a Council sponsored meeting of 60 parolees. These men have not been active in center life, partly due to fear of being involved in center politics which might lead to suspicion and further difficulty, but their problems are important because many are pre-evacuation leaders and have a great deal of influence.

The parolees are most concerned about being released from their parolee status before they relocate. Their status gives them a feeling of insecurity, and information has gotten back to the center about difficulty they would have in getting and holding jobs.

One man found while in Chicago on indefinite leave that his sponsor was very much worried about his responsibility, so he checked up on the parolee every week, which made his employers and others suspicious. He also found that employers were unwilling to hire him because of his status. He is now back in the center anxious to relocate permanently but feeling that it is useless to do so until he is released from parole. He applied for a release several weeks ago, and is waiting impatiently for a reply.

The parolees feel that outside, and in California in particular, a stigma would be attached to them difficult to live down, and that they would have more trouble even than other Issei

in getting licenses for business enterprises and credit to operate on. They are also concerned about their funds still being frozen, which limits them to a certain amount for living expenses. Further uncertainty is expressed regarding possible future restraining action by the Department of Justice after they have resettled and established their businesses.

A few who have applied for release from parole have received identical replies, which leads them to believe that their applications, suggested in WRA's answer to Conference recommendation No. 17, were not given careful consideration by the Department of Justice.

White River Valley

Locality group meetings continue to take place at almost all centers. Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa is trying to stimulate the White River, Washington, evacuees in Heart Mountain and Minidoka to relocate by discussing their problems with them and reporting on conditions in the White River area. At Minidoka he did not hold group meetings about relocation, but talked with individuals. At Heart Mountain, however, he met during the week with White River family heads and reported on his visit to the valley. He said that the majority of the "substantial people" were not hostile, but that there is a noisy and determined opposition to the return of the evacuees. Friends feel it is "too soon" to return, although some are beginning to think that waiting is not good strategy, either. Rev. Kitagawa summarized this thinking:

It is easier to maintain sentiment in support of excluding Japanese in the abstract than it is to exclude this family and that. In an abstract argument, the anti-Japanese element always wins.

The concensus of White River evacuees, almost all renters, is that it looks pretty hopeless. They believe the only thing to do is to stay in the center until it closes; then they will have to do "something," they suppose. There is no feeling of resistance to relocation, just hopelessness. Rev. Kitagawa announced that he is going to White River to help resettlers there, and one family agreed to return, too. A few other families may go back within the next six months. About 50 families, however, are left without plans. They do not want to go east, and they feel they cannot go to White River right now.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 20
May 19, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
April 29 - May 5, 1945

The relocation situation at the centers changed little during the week, except at Tule Lake, where there was a sudden spurt in relocation interest and a decided increase in relocation planning.

Evacuees Look at the West Coast

Southern California: 345 evacuees have returned to southern California* and the great bulk of these have gone to Los Angeles and environs. Good reports from scouts to Los Angeles have come back to Poston and Granada. Postonites are consistently more interested in returning to Los Angeles than to any other area, and if they receive help in the initial expenses of getting established, the Los Angeles blocks may be empty by the end of the summer. Los Angeles is the home of the majority of the Manzanar residents, who have made many short term visits there since rescission. Reported housing and employment difficulties are holding up terminal departures.

Return to Hollywood is the aim of a large group at Heart Mountain, organized around a nucleus of gardeners who felt that demand for their services in their home town would help break the ice for other evacuees, too. A month ago the Hollywoodites met and elected a committee of five to take leadership in opening hostels and doing other things to facilitate their return. Since then scouts have reported that although old friends welcome them back, they still say it is "too early" to return, and that it is hard for the gardeners to get work contracts. Their old customers do not like to break their present contracts. The Hollywoodites are not discouraged, however. A leader said, "We know it won't be easy. But we are going back to Hollywood, almost all of us." So far, six have returned.

Pasadena is fairly favorably regarded by Gila residents. Their past relations with Caucasians there seem to have been good, which is reflected in a certain amount of self-confidence concerning relocation. Although the ex-Pasadenans will probably begin to move out soon, housing and employment problems are delaying them.. 27 evacuees have already returned to Pasadena.

Gilans from Oxnard, in Ventura County, have also been talking about going back home.

The majority of people from Orange and San Diego Counties are at Poston. Mostly renters, they feel that public sentiment in that area would make re-establishing themselves difficult. Only a few are beginning to go back. Evacuees from Brawley and other Imperial Valley towns have little hope of returning because of anti-Japanese sentiment there.

*All statistics given here on return to the West Coast are as of May 1, 1945.

Central Coast: Practically no evacuees have returned to the central coastal area. Poston residents have believed sentiment there to be bad, but recently some good reports have encouraged them. Salinas in Monterey County is still looked on without favor; evacuees find it hard to get work there. But Watsonville in Santa Cruz County is supposed to be improving by both Postonites and Rohwer residents. Some tension still exists, reportedly with Filipinos there. San Juan and Hollister in San Benito County are described as "bad"; one Issei scout from Poston explained that people there "are afraid to hire us." This same scout was not allowed to ride in a bus between the two towns. He explains the sentiment there as follows:

In the Watsonville, San Juan, and Hollister areas the big ranchers were able to make a lot of money when the Japanese left. They rented the farms the Japanese had and worked them with local people and Mexican "nationals". They now need men, but will not hire Japanese from relocation centers. The money these ranchers have been making is the cause of the hard feelings in the area. They are all working behind the scenes to keep the Japanese from returning... It's just a bluff, but a successful one.

Monterey is believed to be the best town for relocation in the general central coast area. Pre-evacuation relations were pretty good, partly because of the work of the Christian churches there and partly because the whole population was made up of "minorities", and the evacuees have kept up their old friendships. Chamber of Commerce leaders, Union officials and City officials have said they would welcome evacuees back, but so far only one person has returned.

Heart Mountain residents from Santa Clara at first regarded their home locality favorably, but recently stories about bad sentiment toward evacuees, usually involving Filipinos, have been drifting back to the center.

San Joaquin Valley: (Includes Fresno, Kern, Kings, Madera, Marced, San Joaquin, Stanislaus and Tulare Counties). Towns in Fresno County have been most popular at Rohwer, Poston and Bila, and good reports have also reached Granada. 51 persons have returned to the town of Fresno, 54 to Selma, and 60 to Parlier. Reedley, Sanger and Clovis have also been popular with returned evacuees, and have good reputations in Poston.

Several weeks ago former residents of Modesto at Granada felt that sentiment there was not favorable to their return; no change in this attitude has been noted. A good number have returned to Madera and Tulare Counties.

Rohwer residents have been talking about going back to the Stockton area in San Joaquin County. It is mostly the farmers who are planning on going back. Operators of two large farms near Stockton employed evacuee recruiters who worked in Rohwer last month with a fair measure of success. Up to April there had been very little relocation in that area. Urban Stocktonites are still afraid of violence in their home town, which has been considered a hotspot ever since evacuation, partly because of the Filipino population there. Only two persons have returned to the city.

Postonites in general have been talking favorably of the San Joaquin Valley, but some are considering relocation to Arizona (Phoenix especially) as a substitute for California. This trend of thinking is also present at Gila.

Sacramento Valley: (Includes Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Sacramento, Shasta, Solano, Sutter, Tehama, Yolo, and Yuba Counties). 101 evacuees have already returned to the city of Sacramento and many more to neighboring areas. Many Granada evacuees are favorably disposed toward the Sacramento area, and a group at Minidoka have been talking about going back and holding locality meetings for some time now. The Minidokans are worried, however, about housing, labor problems, and the fact that the farming season is already well under way.

Sacramento Valley people in Poston at first were slow in making plans to return. Those who had returned were reported to be having a hard time, although gradually making a better adjustment. Later Postonites became increasingly interested in the Sacramento area, and a special railroad car took one group back.

At Rohwer evacuees felt at first that Lodi and Sacramento were hot-spots, but as some good reports got back to the center they regarded those towns with more favor. 14 evacuees have returned to Lodi.

San Francisco Bay Area: 63 evacuees have gone back to San Francisco, 41 to Berkeley, 7 to Oakland, and in San Mateo County, 8 to Redwood City and 6 to Menlo Park. Most of the evacuees from the Bay region are at Topaz. Ever since rescission the situation in that area has been described in almost glowing terms, except for one important factor — housing. Community acceptance is thought to be fairly good ("Nobody pays any attention to us"), although some stories of discrimination there have circulated recently. There has been some concern among Nisei about a reported unemployment situation in San Francisco.

Berkeley is particularly well thought of by ex-residents, and housing is not supposed to be quite as tight as in neighboring cities. A hospitality group there has been effective in helping evacuees find temporary quarters. Most Berkeleyans who own homes there are planning on going back.

The San Mateo group of evacuees at Topaz were given assurance of good acceptance by leading citizens there (via evacuee scouts), but the Topazeans were not convinced that the picture is as rosy as painted. They feel that these people mostly want them back as domestics, and that poorer people will resent their competition.

Oregon: In spite of organized pressure to keep evacuees from returning, 105 have returned to the coastal area of Oregon. 44 have gone back to Portland, but housing difficulties as well as fear of public sentiment and economic boycott are keeping others away. Recently Minidoka

residents have been encouraged by reports of Portland groups working on their behalf.

Hood River Valley evacuees are slowly leaving Minidoka and Heart Mountain to return home. The movement has been delayed because the residents, although mostly property owners and financially able to return, have been scared by the organized campaign against their return. Fear of physical violence and economic boycott has been strong. Some went back however, and their reports to the centers were encouraging. They described public sentiment as bad, but not impossible. Now at least 24 persons are back in Hood River County, and more are ready to go.

Minidokans are very skeptical of possible reception in Gresham, which with Hood River organized to keep evacuees away. 3 have returned so far.

Washington: 94 evacuees have returned to Seattle and only a few more to other towns on the coast. Sentiment at Minidoka is rather positive about Seattle, although as in other large urban areas housing is a major problem. The work of Seattle groups in favor of the evacuees has had good repercussions in the center.

An evacuee recently returned to Minidoka from Tacoma felt that employment would be difficult there.

Minidokans from Bainbridge Island are "up in the air" about returning to their former home. Stories have been brought back about the poor condition of their property, and about how "the Filipinos have taken over our homes."

Heart Mountain and Minidoka residents from the White River Valley (Kent, Auburn, Sumner and Orting) are extremely discouraged about returning. One or two families only are planning to go back in the near future. As at Hood River, the organized campaign of the local people against the evacuees is the main difficulty, but unlike the Hood River evacuees, the White River people are mostly renters and not property owners so cannot so easily return. They gave up their leases and many disposed of their equipment at evacuation. Rev. Kitagawa, a Christian minister from White River, is returning there to help other evacuees go back.

A group of ex-residents of Yakima Valley met at Heart Mountain during the week to hear a Relocation Officer who had been there talk about the situation in the Valley. Their nostalgia for "home" was evident. This locality group has been as discouraged as any in the center. No one has gone back to the Valley, although one or two families have seriously considered it. Residents, most of whom leased Indian lands in the Valley which have since been taken over by others, felt they were in danger of physical injury and economic boycott should they return. As a result of the talk by the Relocation Officer, the Yakima people feel a little better, although still rather discouraged. They are not as frightened as they were, and two or three of the few property owners will probably go back fairly

soon, at least on short term. Their reports will influence the others.

About the Doi Case

Reaction to acquittal of the Doi defendants was deep disappointment on the centers, but not surprise. Some concluded that the time was not yet ripe to return home. Others wondered what the Government would do about it. At Granada, however, some men in the Co-op Office decided to do something about it themselves. These men, most of whom are property owners, were inspired by the acquittal to try to organize the people in all the centers into an organization to resist discriminatory treatment (referred to lastweek as the Relocation Assistance Association). They want to provide funds to carry cases like the Doi one to higher courts, and proposed that \$10,000 of the Co-op surplus funds be set aside for that purpose. They feel that if the Co-ops in all the centers set aside a similar amount and an organization is developed to handle it, evacuees could effectively protect themselves against discrimination.

This group did not want the Council to take over their plan, but they did want both Council and Block Manager support. They also asked the Council to begin negotiations with the other centers to arrange another joint conference. The Council decided not to support the proposal officially for a number of reasons, but mainly because members felt it to be an impractical plan. Individual Council members may work with the group unofficially, however.

Signs of Liquidation

For Topaz it is the scheduled closing of three mess halls, and for Minidoka it is the planned closing of the schools and the cuts in project labor forces. At both centers residents are resisting these steps toward liquidation. Minidokans feel that closing the schools and the labor cuts ("forced unemployment") are part of a pressure approach to bring about relocation. The Council and its Education Committee presented to the Project Director an analysis of the education problem which they had been working on, with the help of the PTA, for a month. The report points out the responsibility of WRA for the education of the evacuee children until such time as the center closes, and asks that the present school system be maintained.

Evacuee leaders at Topaz are fighting the closing of the mess halls. The strongest opposition is from the mess workers in the blocks to which the residents of the three blocks are to be assigned for their meals. The Council, Block Managers and Chefs held a meeting to discuss ways of preventing the closing which lasted far into the night. Residents as a whole, however, are not as concerned about the matter as are their leaders.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section
Weekly Summary No. 21
May 23, 1945

REACTIONS TO THE LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
MAY 6 - 12, 1945

Relocation

Relocation slumped from the 808 who took terminal leave the previous week to the 665 who left this week. There was a decrease in departures from all centers but Minidoka and Manzanar. The fluctuation from the high point of the previous week seems to be connected more with the scheduling of cars for departure than with any other one factor.

Evacuee Leadership: For some time leading evacuees and persons having contact with the appointed personnel have been relocating or planning to relocate. For example, at Topaz during the week the Chairman of the Community Council, the Chairman of the Block Managers, the chief of the resident physicians, and one or two other leading Topazeans, left on short term for Los Angeles and San Francisco to investigate relocation possibilities. This trend is apparent at most of the centers, and as it progresses local administrations will more and more have to depend on new personalities for contact with the resident group.

Group Relocation Plans: Organized groups at Poston are for the first time beginning to make relocation plans. Representatives of groups of families from Imperial Valley and other farming areas in California which are not considered favorable for relocation, are planning to visit promising sites in Arkansas and Texas, and have asked for financial assistance in making exploratory trips.

At Minidoka the Sacramento group has finally decided to send at least 3 persons back to that area to study conditions and report to the residents.

Closings within Closings

Heart Mountain, Minidoka, Poston and Gila closed their first block mess halls in March and April, but others are still facing their first closings. At Topaz this week two halls were shut down, and the closing order for one other rescinded, after a series of meetings and negotiations between evacuee representatives (Councilmen, Block Managers, Chefs) and the Administration, during which plans and counter plans were presented. Evacuee plans revolved around the idea of reducing messpersonnel in proportion to the reduction of project population instead of closing mess halls one by one, but the Administration felt this to be impractical. Evacuee leaders then asked for a delay of at least two months before effecting the closing, promising in return resident cooperation in the closing of the halls at that time.

This, too, was turned down and the two halls were closed against the protests of the residents. Block people affected took their disappointment out on their leaders, blaming them for not having worked out an acceptable counter plan, and there was some talk of asking for Block Manager and Council resignations.

Poston is working out its mess hall closing problems more smoothly. Two mess halls were combined during the week without previous discussion with the residents of the blocks involved. Evacuees disliked this procedure, and are now making advance preparations for future closings, as had been done in March when 2 mess halls were closed. Meetings have been held in two quads in Camp II at which the mess halls that can best be closed have been decided upon, and this information given to the Administration. When the anticipated drop in population occurs in certain blocks, suggestions as to which mess halls to be closed or combined will already have been made and the people prepared for the change.

As the end of the school term draws near the closing of the schools is becoming an important issue in the centers and is likely to remain so for some time. At Poston, where residents have been discussing ways to keep the schools open for about two months, a group of 20 Christian and Buddhist ministers (of the Federation of Religious Organizations in Poston) wrote to the National Director asking that the schools be kept open. They stated that they were in back of WRA's program, but in view of the fact that there will still be people in the center next fall, the schools should be kept open until the center is actually closed.

At Minidoka the Council continued to discuss the school problem. Although it arrived at no new program of action, the rumor got out in the center that the Council was suggesting that residents having school children refuse to relocate because of what they felt to be pressure to force them out. Minidokans think that the issue of the schools may be one on which they can get support from people outside of WRA.

A Heart Mountain Issei leader has the following philosophy of how to respond to WRA's closing notices, big or little:

If someone wants to relocate, that is all right. But when people come to me and say "I can't relocate" or "I don't want to relocate," I tell them they don't have to; nobody has said they have to. I tell them to stay here until they are ordered out. I tell them that the Government will have to take care of them. When they worry about no school for their children, I say to them not to worry. When the time comes there will be school. Compulsory education through the grades is a principle of this country. High school may be different.

Although other factors are important, it is interesting to note

that the relocation rate of this block is the lowest in the center.

The Merger

The merger of Welfare and Relocation Offices at Topaz, Tule Lake, and Poston has not as yet had any noticeable effect on evacuee thinking. At Poston few evacuees are very well informed on the merger. Several resident leaders, however, who are informed, seem amused by the change. They think it may be a good idea, but that in the long run it is not a very fundamental change. At Topaz the Community Council, possibly at the instigation of some of the evacuee Welfare personnel, appealed to the Project Director not to go through with the merger, although actually it had already taken place.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 22
May 30, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
MAY 13 - 19, 1945

Terminal departures swung upward again this week. A special relocation railroad coach left Heart Mountain, and was given a send-off by a festive crowd of around 1500 evacuees. Relocation from Heart Mountain, Granada, Gila, Poston and Tule Lake increased substantially, while the numbers leaving from Topaz, Rohwer, and Mindidoka remained about the same. Relocation from Manzanar fell off.

Summer Relocation Estimates

After the center schools close, it is expected that relocation will climb considerably. Many residents at all the centers have been speaking in terms of relocating during the summer months, before school terms start outside in September, and some plans to leave have been definite for a long time. Two of the analysts have attempted to make some estimate of summer relocation prospects.

At Topaz, where relocation planning has become widespread recently, the analyst estimates that 25% to 35% of the evacuees now have definite plans to resettle by the first of September. In two blocks where residents have shown the greatest reluctance to relocate, only about 10% or 15% have made plans so far. People who used to counsel against relocation at Topaz are less and less inclined to do so. One group, however, which is not yet convinced of its ability to relocate, is that consisting of large families with small children who have no capital to tide them over the resettlement period.

At Heart Mountain an Issei woman, with the help of the analyst, surveyed 31 families, involving 72 children, for relocation planning. She discovered that 18 families, with 33 children, expected to leave the center before September; 5 families, with 25 children expected still to be in the center after September; and that 8 families, with 14 children, did not have plans. From what she knew of the families in the last category, the Issei woman guessed that of the 31 families, 23 or 74% would relocate before September and 8 or 26% would still be in the center after September. The analyst believes that this may be roughly indicative of what can be expected for the whole center.

An elder Nisei at Heart Mountain summed up his feelings about the effect of the schools closing on relocation as follows:

When it comes right down to it, almost all parents will leave here rather than have their children without school. But a lot of them will move into slums and other places where the environment is worse than this. Some of these people who have already gone are those who think more of making money than of the welfare of their children. Maybe they are living in two rooms in Chicago, maybe the mother is working too while the children spend their time with bad companions. Some of us who have stayed here have been hoping and planning that, when we did leave, we could establish the right kind of home in the kind of place we would want to continue to live in. To us, this is more important than making money right now. We need more time than WRA is giving us.

Informing and Advising

As the post exclusion program has gone on it has become more and more evident that next to actual experience outside a center, personal contacts with people who have been outside are the most important influences for relocation. Returned scouts and visitors are not only channels for information about the outside, but are sources of advice. Letters from relocated friends are the next most effective in shaping decisions, and printed material from an informal source is least effective.

This is true to such an extent at Minidoka that much relocation planning is carried on there independently of either the Relocation Division or the Welfare Section. The burden of giving relocation information and advice falls on other evacuees. Returned scouts are proving a very potent force in helping residents to "make up their minds."

Some Minidokans assert that they do not want to discuss their problems with administrative personnel because they do not trust them to keep the information confidential, because "it takes too long to find out anything," and because they feel their own thinking has not yet gone far enough to officially seek advice. Information sent out by WRA to the mess halls is discussed and often even read, but it is still considered as propaganda and therefore of questionable value.

The analyst at Heart Mountain feels that there has been a big increase in purposeful writing back and forth between residents

and relocatees which is contributing a lot to the solution of practical relocation problems. He suspects that some of the more substantial and influential resettlers on the West Coast will begin to find their correspondence with friends in the centers somewhat burdensome.

The evacuee information and advisory function has recently been formalized at Poston, with the development of the Relocation Advisory Board. The four evacuee members of the Board are called Relocation Planning Executives, are furnished with offices and secretarial help, and paid \$19 a month. The stated functions of the Board are to advise the Administration about evacuee problems; and residents about planning for their future; to make relocation information available; to make policy recommendations to both local and national WRA offices; to consider evacuee complaints about the handling of their relocation problems; and to recommend approval of group relocation plans.

West Coast Incidents

Evacuee fear of violence or serious discrimination has lessened recently, especially for some areas, and countless favorable reports on conditions outside are constantly reaching center residents. Even the tenor of news and comment in Japanese language newspapers has become more encouraging. The mounting list of shootings in California, however, reinforces still existing fears of physical violence should relocation westward be attempted, and adds grist to the rumor mills.

At Poston last week the terror shootings really struck home with the firing into the Fresno home of a prominent ex-resident of Camp II. This caused considerable discussion because the man involved had recently given a definitely favorable report on conditions in Fresno -- a report his serving as target did much to counteract. The incident resulted in the rumor this week that the man had actually been hit, and it was necessary to call the Fresno Relocation Officer for denial of the story.

Minidoka residents discuss at length incidents, real or imagined, involving relocated evacuees, and are now keeping track of the shootings and burnings by number. Most residents are interpreting these incidents as evidence that the West Coast is an unhealthy area for evacuees. They criticize WRA, citizens committees, the Army, and law enforcement officers on the Coast for not being more active in combating the groups they feel are responsible for attacks on evacuees and their property. They also feel that WRA in presenting relocation information to the

centers is sidestepping the significance of the incidents.

Evacuees at some of the centers are saying that now that victory has been won in Europe and the United States war effort will be concentrated on the Pacific, there will be an intensification of anti-Japanese propaganda which will increase sentiment against the evacuees and the danger of physical violence. From Heart Mountain comes the suggestion that relocated ex-residents share this apprehension to some extent.

Loss of Interest in Center Affairs

Increasing resident interest in the outside is paralleled by a decreasing interest in the centers and center affairs. At Heart Mountain people are too preoccupied with their personal and family problems in relation to relocation to be much concerned with community affairs. One woman, remarking on her lack of interest in Business Enterprises' plans for liquidation commented "...I'm glad I'm getting out. This will be a sad place before long." Residents at Rohwer were uninterested in recent Council and Block Manager elections; they saw no reason for bothering with such things now. There was a reluctance to run for the Block Manager office for the same reason, as well as because the job is supposed to be more trying now than formerly. With the closing of the center Block Managers expect to be called upon to help make unwelcome changes, such as closing mess halls; and consequently to become unpopular.

Shrinking Blocks

During the week Granada announced the closing of two mess halls and made public a tentative schedule for the closing of others. The Administration also announced that the closing of entire blocks will probably follow shortly after the closing of school. The first block closure is to be June 11. People in depopulated blocks are being urged to fill in vacancies in others.

Five blocks at Poston now have a population of 100 or below, and others are approaching that figure. Those left have the most difficult relocation problems, but their lonesomeness in the emptying blocks makes center life less attractive to them. Recently there has been a great deal of relocation from the sparsely populated northwest quad of Camp I.

Correction: Weekly Summary No. 21 (May 6-12, 1945) mistakenly reported that the Relocation and Welfare offices at Tule Lake had been merged. No such merger took place.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No.23
June 6, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
MAY 20-26, 1945

Terminal departures continued to mount during the week. The general climate of relocation opinion remained much as it has been for the last several weeks. More definite relocation planning is going on chiefly at Topaz, Minidoka, and Rohwer. Heart Mountain is looking forward to its largest single movement to date on June 4, when four railroad specials will leave the center.

Attitudes toward Relocation

Topaz residents are gradually shaping their relocation thinking into definite plans, quietly and without fanfare. Leaders in one block believe that the quietness is no longer out of embarrassment, but because resettlers are sorry for those who feel they are unable to re-establish themselves outside without considerable hardship. Interest in Berkeley at Topaz is reaching a new high. The sizeable group of resettlers already there, very favorable acceptance, comparatively good housing, and the fact that influential Caucasian groups are trying to smooth the road for the evacuees' return, all contribute to Berkeley's popularity.

At Poston another group relocation project got underway during the week. A group of men, representing 16 families, discussed the possibilities of resettlement in the Dos Palos-Firebaugh rural area, in the San Joaquin Valley, with the Relocation Division. These families are all from the Salinas-Watsonville area, and have given up hope of returning there immediately because of bad sentiment. They do not want to go east, partly because they may want to return to their old homes some day. The substitute district is close enough to permit this, and the group is planning to send three representatives there soon to investigate it.

On the other hand, Postonites who have been planning to go back to Fresno are becoming less self-assured as the news of more incidents in that vicinity reach the center. Issei who were intending to relocate in June are now saying that perhaps they should wait three months or so to see if the situation improves. Nisei are not so worried and rather than stay in the center because of the incidents will tend to relocate eastward.

A large group of high school students and their parents at Minidoka are ready to leave as soon as they can after school closes. Some of the parents are reluctant to go, but the young people in many instances are pushing the subject. The children's demand to relocate seems to be snowballing, and gaining momentum. Only a few of the younger people at that center are not yet completely sold on the idea of leaving the centers.

Appointed personnel and evacuee leaders alike at Rohwer are commenting on the residents' more favorable and positive attitude toward relocation;

evacuees are more willing to cooperate with the Relocation and Welfare offices, and many are making resettlement plans. The analyst comments that this current evacuee outlook is not so much a genuine change of heart about the merits of resettlement, as it is resignation to the inevitable. Some believe that it is best for them and for their children to leave the center, but the majority of the present population are still thinking of relocation as something forced on them. The "more favorable and positive" attitude, the analyst believes, is simply a growing realization that they have to accept relocation whether they like it or not. The attitude remains basically negative, since it reflects no change of opinion about the advisability of relocation from the purely evacuee viewpoint. Most of the Rohwer residents would not choose to leave the center either now or in the near future, but would prefer to stay on indefinitely, until conditions outside improved for them, or until WRA offered more relocation assistance.

Block Composition and Block Relocation

Population composition of any one center or any one block has an important effect on its relocation rate. This is illustrated by data on some Topaz blocks.

There is a big difference between blocks at Topaz on the percentage of residents with definite plans to resettle during the summer months. In one block of 165 persons, only 3 families and several bachelors have definite plans to resettle -- 18 persons in all, or about 12% of the block population. This low figure can be partly explained by family composition. 43 of the block members, for example, are bachelors and 28 of them are over 60 years old and thus poor relocation prospects. Moreover, only ^{one} of the families owns property.

In contrast to this, another block that reported two weeks ago that about 33% of its residents had definite relocation plans, now estimates that more than 50% have plans, and that some barracks will be entirely emptied in a few weeks. This block is made up of a large percentage of the more easily relocatable people -- property owners, persons with cash resources, and some who were domestics before evacuation and are now returning to their old employment in the San Francisco Bay Area.

In another block, which has made great strides in relocation planning, the family composition of the residue without plans is significant. Three months ago the analyst at Topaz surveyed this particular block for relocation interest. At that time the 171 residents fell into the following classification:

Definitely relocating	21
Probably relocating by summer	27
Undecided about relocation	28
Admitting no relocation plans	95

Since then relocation thinking and planning have gained noticeably. 17 people have left the center, and one additional person has come to live in the block. The following classification is now true:

Definitely relocating by late summer	42
Admitting relocation plans	65
Admitting no relocation plans	48

The last group, admitting no relocation plans, includes 3 families of 7 persons each, and another family of 5. The children in these families are all small. This accounts for 26 of the 48 people, and also included are 5 single persons, all well advanced in years.

Closings

Mess halls have been successfully closed at most of the centers, two others closed at Poston and Granada this week with little reverberation, and Rohwer residents are bracing themselves for their first closure. Closing regular block mess halls is no longer an issue at the centers, although the procedures involved may be so. The closing of the midnight mess for night workers and the announced closing of two blocks at Granada are different; they became important center issues during the week.

Police and firemen on night duty were told that midnight mess operations were being discontinued, and to bring lunches from their own mess halls. The police agreed to this arrangement, but the firemen protested it, and went out on strike. At week's end the Public Relations Committee of the Council and the Law and Order Committee of the Block Managers were negotiating with the firemen and the Administration.

While the announcement of the plan for block closings raised no stir in most blocks, it was vigorously protested by the two low population blocks immediately affected. Some people began to make plans for moving into other blocks, but block meetings were held and representatives sent to the Community Council to urge that the Administration extend the date of block closings. Block residents pointed out that many of their family heads were already outside completing plans to relocate the rest of them, and that the majority of the population were leaving the center within the next three months. An additional move within the center before that time promised to inconvenience and aggravate.

The Council presented the request of the protesting blocks to the Administration. It also asked the two blocks to poll their residents for the stage of relocation planning they had reached. Polling showed that one-fourth of the population of each block still had no relocation plans. All others were planning to leave in some particular month from now to January, 1946, with the greatest number going out during July and August.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 24
June 14, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
MAY 27 - JUNE 2, 1945

The trend upward in terminal departures is continuing. Although attitudes toward relocation remain about the same, the closing of the schools was the signal for many families to complete resettlement plans. Evacuees at all centers were making relocation estimates (along with the appointed personnel), discussing their problems, reiterating their requests for more financial assistance from WRA. As important as they consider this last point, the housing problem still looms even larger. Many would agree with the Postonite who stated:

If WRA solves the housing problem, large numbers will leave in the next two or three months. If the problem is not solved, the relocation program will not succeed this year.

Relocation Geography

Of the 11,244 terminal departures from December 31, 1944 to date, 33% have gone back to one of the four evacuated states and 67% to other states. A large number of the evacuees relocating eastward are Nisei, who are not so strongly attached to their pre-evacuation homes as are their parents. The Poston analyst estimates that about half of the young people trekking eastward from that center plan to stay there, and that the other half are undecided. The latter may return to the West Coast later after having seen some of the rest of the country and earned some money.

The pattern of relocating somewhere else now and planning to go back later to old homes seems pretty well established. For example, Minidoka people have relocated extensively in the intermountain area in which their center is located. Reports are now reaching the center that these resettlers feel there are too many persons of Japanese ancestry around Boise, Ontario, Vale, and Spokane, nearby cities, and that local sentiment against them is growing. Some resettlers think that sentiment will force them to leave the area sooner or later but they are staying until they get a "nest egg" and until Caucasian friends on the Northwest Coast write that the time is ripe to come back.

Relocation to southeastern areas has been very sketchy -- .7% of all relocations to date -- although that area has been played up particularly at two or three centers. The promising Wilson Plantation offer fell through at Rohwer, and has been completely forgotten about there. However, during the week the heads of five families took short term leave and temporarily established themselves on a plantation near Little Rock, Arkansas. The farm is rented by one of the men, who also bought the farming equipment; the other four families will work out some arrangement with him. They plan to change production from cotton to vegetables. Since one or two other Arkansas farm offers are in the air, developments concerning local sentiment are important.

Local Caucasians, hearing that the five families were taking over the plantation, held a meeting to discuss the "Japanese infiltration," one subject being whether evacuee children should be permitted to attend the local white school. At the meeting the general consensus was that the evacuees should be welcomed; and not hindered in their resettlement in any way. One wealthy and influential farmer reminded the others that they had been trying for years to make a success of truck farming, and were still not too good at it, and that Japanese farmers very likely would have a great deal to teach them. The five family heads are still moving cautiously, however, not sure that this acceptance is deep-rooted.

Within the Centers

The Left-Behind Feeling: The activities of those getting ready to leave the centers now the schools are closed and as relocation plans make headway are giving evacuees at Heart Mountain and Topaz an uneasy feeling. Those with no plans don't like the idea of being left behind, nor the constant discussion of relocation plans in the face of their desire or determination to stay in the centers. However, some are just waiting until what they believe is the summer relocation peak is over, and they can sit in the center more tranquilly. They express it as follows:

Yes, a lot of people who can go and want to go will leave during the summer. Then, the rest of us can settle down. Almost nobody will leave after September. When the closing date comes, the Government will see that it has to continue the center or transfer us somewhere else.

Mess Hall and Block Closings: Poston, which since February has closed ten mess halls, closed its eleventh during the week. The consolidation of two mess halls which had been planned in advance by the residents took place without incident. Plans were being made with full evacuee participation for the closing of the next hall.

The people in Block 39 were scheduled to begin eating in Block 42 on June 5. However, a delegation from the two blocks approached the Project Director and pointed out that the combined populations of the blocks totaled 289. Since 15 people from Block 39 were leaving by the middle of June, and 15 from Block 42 by the end of June, the delegation asked for a postponement of the consolidation until July 1. After some discussion, June 19 was decided upon as the most suitable date for consolidation.

The mess hall and block closing situation at Granada cleared up during the week. The firemen who were striking in protest of the discontinuation of midnight mess operations returned to work with the provision that food would be supplied them from which the midnight crew could prepare their own lunch. The Granada plan of closing blocks as the center population decreases was dropped for the time being. The Council requested that both block and mess hall closings be delayed indefinitely, but the Administration refused. The Council then indicated that it would resign if the program went ahead as scheduled. In order to avert this, the Administration agreed that no plans would be made to close blocks before August 1, and

negotiations would be effected before any such action taken. Closing of mess halls will continue.

Disinterest in Center Affairs: Community interest and, to a lesser extent, community action has focused recently on such center affairs as closing the schools, the mess halls, and so on. Otherwise, center affairs draw little attention. For example, current labor problems at Minidoka are receiving much less community attention than earlier ones, as residents become more and more relocation conscious. The philosophy of "Why should we be bothered? We'll be out soon" has spread considerably. The analyst at Heart Mountain describes what is happening at that center as follows:

Increasingly Heart Mountain is a collection of disparate individuals, families, larger kinship groups, other groups to some degree - locality, religious. As long as the center had an indefinite future, various problems of center life were important problems to the individual residents. Moreover they were common problems; they affected the welfare and security of everybody in about the same way.

The concrete and detailed problems faced in accomplishing relocation are primarily individual problems and family problems, to a less degree problems of larger but still relatively small groups. The problems are varied. Relocation means many different things to different people...Relocation is not a common experience to the degree that living in the center is.

Relocation at Tule Lake

37 evacuees relocated from Tule Lake in May, and the number is expected to snowball during June. Relocation officers are now handling over 30 interviews a day. The old arguments between parents and children are being resumed as many Nisei plan to resettle and their parents plan to remain at Tule.

Sunday, May 27, four boys, 14, 15, 13, and 16 years old, left Tule Lake via a dry irrigation canal, and with lunches, bedrolls, a First Aid kit, and one with three pairs of hiking shoes, got seven miles down the road before a game warden found them. They were relocating, they said, going south toward Reno. All were from families on the Army free-list, who were planning to go out sometime, but the boys couldn't wait. The Army "re-inducted" them in a decidedly dewy-eyed state.

All week long residents have been talking about this story, and Nisei desires in general. Evacuees say that it has made some parents think that they have to choose between going back to Japan and their children.

The first group scouting trip from Tule took place during the week when the evacuee property officer accompanied several people to Sacramento to look into property matters there. Their report back will be very important, since so many Tuleans are from Sacramento. Already the version in the center is that Sacramento city is not so bad and that the farming area is definitely good.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 25
June 21, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
JUNE 3 - 9, 1945

The maturation of resettlement plans and the end of the school term were reflected in the terminal departure of over 1300 evacuees from the centers during the week. Relocation from all centers except Gila and Rohwer was far above last week's record. The centers seem to be on the move, and relocation in the air. At Poston, evacuees with serious relocation problems and people who have never before indicated any interest in relocation were getting ready to go out in July. At Topaz, and probably at the other centers too, residents seemed to be dividing into two groups -- those relocating and planning to relocate, and those who, although worried about their future, still maintain they cannot relocate. Definite plans may not be made in all cases, but few are undecided as to whether to go or stay. The former group is the large majority.

The "Bitter-Enders"

The week belonged to the relocation-minded; more and more relocation plans were completed, more and more people left the centers. Even so, the people who feel they cannot yet leave the centers had their say. At Heart Mountain a large crowd waved goodbye to relocatees leaving on four special cars, and many were stimulated in their own wishes to relocate by the dramatic departure. Not all were so affected however. After the cars had pulled out one woman looked at the broad stream of people going back to the center and said:

"Only two hundred left on the special; see the many hundreds who are returning to the camp. We who stay shall not be lonesome. There are lots of us."

At Topaz rumors that Poston and Granada were closing depopulated blocks is having a disquieting effect and giving anti-relocation residents ammunition. Blocks where relocation is taking a heavy toll are particularly disturbed about the news, and the "I-told-you-so" group are arguing that block closings are a part of WRA's pressure on evacuees to move out whether they like it or not. School closing, mess hall closing, pressure here and pressure there, and now they will close up the blocks, one by one -- so runs the gossip at Topaz.

Although mounting restlessness may be helping convince Topazeans already thinking in terms of relocation of the urgency of completing plans, it seems to be making those who feel they cannot go out under present circumstances more determined than ever to stay to the "bitter end." Large families with small children and little resources, the aged and the sick who do not want to be institutionalized, and the few who are pro-Japan, still say they will wait and see what the Government will do with them.

Residents at Minidoka are talking now about the possibility of their center closing early, because of the increased activity of people getting ready

to go out soon. They are speculating about what will happen to the people they say will be left in the center on the closing date, be it next January or earlier. The current idea is that they will be moved to Tule Lake or Poston and that after January they will be under Department of Justice supervision.

Evacuation in Reverse

Many evacuees have felt that they should return to the West Coast as they left it, in groups. The scheduling of special railroad coaches for resettlers has proven very popular and done much to allay fears involved in facing the "outside" again.

The analyst at Minidoka knows of at least two residents who did not make up their minds definitely to leave the center until they discovered they could go out with a group, did not have to face the world alone.

Others, however, have preferred to go out alone, not wishing to call attention to themselves as belonging to a special group. The question came up recently at Topaz, where the family heads of Placer County residents met to discuss relocation back to their homes.

Placer County is thought at Topaz to be one of the most "anti-Japanese" spots on the West Coast, and reports of treatment of returned evacuees there have kept the Topazians from going back. Recently, however, one of the most influential former Japanese leaders of Placer County decided to "take a chance" and go back. He called an informal meeting of fellow Placer County residents also interested in going back, and they discussed plans to return. Some felt that it would be wise to go back as individuals or single families, that returning in a large group would further antagonize white residents. But the majority favored returning in a body, feeling that in numbers there was safety. So it was agreed to make the trip back home as soon as enough Placer County residents are ready to go and a train coach can be chartered.

At Rohwer partisanship of evacuation in reverse fosters a persistent rumor that WRA will establish a "dis-assembly" center in California to house returning evacuees until they can find houses and jobs on the West Coast. During the week many expected the Project Director to officially make such an announcement.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 26
June 27, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
JUNE 10 - 16, 1945

The steady stream out of the centers continued although this week it did not reach the proportions of last. The closing of the schools is not resulting in any wholesale exodus. While the majority of the residents plan to leave later in the year, many still have no intention of relocating. Meanwhile, preparations at the centers for closing are going ahead. During the week Rohwer instituted a locally developed plan for officially "closing" mess halls but actually keeping them open with volunteer help and food assigned to other halls. The local administration has approved the plan and it has been referred to Washington.

Evacuee Acceptance of Center Closing

Throughout the spring evacuee acceptance of center closure spread and deepened. Now, however, as the most relocation-minded are actually leaving the centers, there are indications that anti-relocation residents will soon become more vocal.

For example, at Minidoka the tendency to systematically discourage relocation is greater than previously. This has led to exaggerated stories in the blocks about groups trying to intimidate prospective relocatees into staying in the center, and about the goal of the "sit-tighters" of keeping at least 4,000 people in the center to guarantee its continuation.

The Poston analyst believes that almost all residents over 40 years old at that center still feel that those who can't relocate by the end of the year will be taken care of in some sort of camp. Even evacuees who accept the closing as fact have their skeptical moments. Rumor at Poston, as at Minidoka, has Tule Lake and Poston remaining open after the end of the year. Some evacuees also say that the Indian Service will resume administration of Poston. Belief in these stories about the center remaining open is strongest in the Imperial Valley blocks where pessimism about relocation is also highest. However, the number in the whole project who act on the assumption that the center will close is still steadily increasing.

An average block at Heart Mountain: Statistics on a block at Heart Mountain may throw some light on evacuee conviction of closure. Relocation from this block from January through May was just a little below that of the average for the center. At the end of May the block population was 426. The following percentages, however, refer only to a sample of 386 residents:

OM-2931

EDWARD H. SPICER
PAPERS - MS 5

WRA
COMMUNITY
SUMMARIES
No. 1-30
ANALYSIS
SECTION
MAY-1946
WEEKLY

Will relocate by July 15	17 %
Will probably relocate by July 15	6
Will relocate July 15 - Sept. 1	7
Will probably relocate July 15 - Sept. 1	23
Will relocate between Sept. 1 and the closing date	22
Those with no present intention of relocating	25

Those in the last group say they will stay in the center to the end. They are sure there will be another camp or that the Government will take care of them in some way. Most of them have no plan other than staying. A few do have a relocation plan to be used at the last minute if absolutely necessary.

The issue of the schools: Most center residents hope and many believe that the schools will re-open in the fall. Evacuee groups are meeting and discussing steps to insure schooling for the children. The Council at Heart Mountain has been considering the problem, and some Topaz families are making out affidavits that they are not in a position to relocate and that therefore WRA should continue to provide school facilities for their children. Topazans also looked into the possibility of sending children to the county school, but with negative results. The Poston PTA again appealed to the Director to re-open the schools. The request pointed out that there would be a great number of people in the center during the last months of the year, and stressed the importance of the continued education of the Nisei. It suggested that, if financing of the schools is a problem, some arrangement be made for assistance from private and civic organizations.

The Problems

The permanent Conference Committee at Topaz, after contacting Center Community Councils, is planning to send a letter to the Director expressing disappointment in WRA's answers to the All Center Conference recommendations, and asked for a reconsideration. The Committee feels that the old problems have not been solved. Many evacuees still believe they cannot relocate because they lack financial resources, because of housing, and because they fear public acceptance in their home localities. They feel that WRA has not done enough.

Resettlement assistance: The new arrangement that resettlement assistance is granted in the centers instead of outside has not drawn a great deal of attention as yet. At Heart Mountain inquiries at the Relocation Office about the aid are numerous, but most soon learn they are ineligible for it and are disappointed with WRA again. A Councilman remarked that the assistance won't help very much since hardly anyone will be able to get it. He was much more interested in the idea of WRA paying door-to-door transportation on freight because, he said, that would help out everybody.

There is a persistent rumor at Heart Mountain that the relocation grant has been increased to \$50. The analyst believes it may have arisen from comment that the maximum allowance for household furnishings amounts to \$50 per family member up to six.

Since the majority of the people feel deeply and sincerely that they are entitled to more assistance than the relocation grant provides, a great deal of resentment and accusations of favoritism will probably develop as resettlement assistance is granted to a limited number.

An evacuee point of view: The analyst at Granada offers the following evacuee interpretation of the relocation program:

It seems to the evacuee that WRA's thinking regarding resettlement is directed toward the residents in the center to propagandize them or persuade them to action, when they feel that WRA's role should be directed toward localities in California to insure acceptance, protection, and in general to pave the way for their return. In other words, the evacuee feels that the problem does not lie in the center but does lie in the outside community, especially the West Coast.

Co-operative Plans

The Cooperative Enterprises at Poston received a letter from the relocated Acting Executive Secretary of the Federation of Center Business Enterprises suggesting a meeting of Cooperative officials from all centers to form a permanent cooperative organization. The Poston Board of Directors decided to send five delegates to such a convention and suggested Salt Lake City as the locale. Most of the support for this movement is coming from the Nisei.

Correction: Weekly Summary No. 20 quoted relocation statistics from the May 1 "Reported Relocation by States." This report is incomplete since it includes only persons who report change of address. Between the first of the year and May 1, 1945, all change of address cards postmarked in the four western states amounted to approximately 50% of the number of persons who left centers for that area. Total relocation figures for destination by any more detailed breakdown than states are not available.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Mr. Edward D. Spicer

Weekly Summary No. 27
July 6, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
June 17 - 23, 1945

There was little change in the relocation rate this week, and in spite of new administrative developments, little change in attitudes toward relocation.

Early Closure Dates

The news that Units II and III at Poston and Canal at Gila River are slated to close October 1, reached the centers during the week. The message from the National Director stated that this step was necessary because of the large number of persons relocating and administrative difficulties in keeping those units open. In the same message the local administrations were asked to consult with evacuee leadership about the possibility of earlier closing dates for the centers.

Reactions at Poston: For the past three weeks rumors had been circulating Poston that Units II and III were scheduled to be closed. August 1 was usually cited as the closing date. In spite of this preparation, when the announcement was made to a group of evacuee leaders reactions were surprised and angry. The evacuees pointed out that the WRA relocation program was inadequate, particularly in regard to housing and financial assistance, and resentment of the closing order was evident. Although the approach of the evacuee leaders was critical, it was also constructive. They were saying, in essence:

We are trying to relocate and trying to help others relocate. The process is difficult for those who do leave and impossible for many of the people within the time limit set by the WRA. We will continue to try to relocate as many as possible, but we can't say that it is practical or fair to close Units II and III on October 1. It might be done if the assistance given by the WRA were extended.

There was resentment and talk of being unable to relocate in both Unit II and Unit III, but people in III seemed more disturbed by the proposed closing. They felt that they had cooperated more with the relocation program than had people in Unit I and that WRA was showing no appreciation of this. Some speculated that those who had been planning to leave might stay to support those who could not leave. By the end of the week relocation figures showed no evidence of such a result.

Now, after the first reaction to the news, people are adjusted to the new situation, thinking over what to do, considering some method of protest to the WRA.

In Unit I reactions varied considerably. Evacuees alternated between concern because there was now further evidence that WRA "means business" in its closing plans, and an attitude of indifference. Some talked of the possibility of another all center conference. A few families speeded up their relocation plans. There was relatively little resentment in Unit I.

Very few of the leaders in any of the camps at Poston believe that all of the people will be able to leave by October 1, or for that matter, by January 1. They are convinced that camps contain an unrelatable "residue" that will need continued Government shelter. This belief of the leaders, however, is not in conflict with the constructive, often aggressive, aid that they are giving in relocating the families who feel able to leave.

Reactions at other centers: The planned closings seemed to provoke relatively little interest at most centers. At Heart Mountain the news was first thought to be rumor. Later, under Council leadership, representatives of various evacuee groups met to discuss the Director's message. They agreed that no date for an earlier closing for Heart Mountain could be recommended. Later during a meeting with the Project Director they so advised the Administration, explaining that they stood by the requests and recommendations made at the All Center Conference.

One Councilman who often talks quite freely sat through the meeting in silence. Afterwards he commented:

What was the idea of having that meeting? We don't want the center to close for the duration of the war. We don't think the Government has offered us decent relocation aid and protection on the outside. The Government doesn't care what we think. It will do what it wants to. So why ask us. Calling us together and asking us what we think when what we think doesn't count is a kind of insult. It belittles us.

This seems to be the general attitude at Heart Mountain: the Government will do what it wants.

The Director's message caused a flurry of rumors at Minidoka, including one that plans for closing Area B there and moving everyone into Area A were under discussion. The Minidoka Council felt that asking them to consider an early closing date was asking them to make a decision for the people which the people would not trust them to make. Even if they recommended an early date for closing it would mean nothing, because they would not have the residents' support in such a decision.

Meetings of evacuee leaders with local administration members were being planned at other centers.

Old Problems and Old Recommendations

In accordance with directions from councils at most of the centers, the All Center Conference Committee at Topaz addressed a request to the Director this week to reconsider the recommendations decided upon at the Conference held last February. The Committee stated that it saw little or no change in the relocation program resulting from the recommendations. In particular, it pointed to the recommendations regarding loans, financing of relocation investigating trips, the housing problem, door-to-door deliverance of property, and law enforcement on the West Coast. Concerning schools, the Committee wrote:

We are assuming that relocation is forced upon those with children still in the primary and secondary school ages...

This seems like an underhanded method employed to oust people from their respective centers.

The school issue: Evacuees in the centers are still trying to figure out some way to keep children of those not relocating before next fall in school. Heart Mountain residents decided to request that WRA send evacuee children at WRA expense to schools in nearby towns. Realizing that other centers had made the same attempt with no success, they have little hope that WRA will accede to this request. They further decided to develop a strong Community Activities program which in September could be expanded to include some kind of schooling. Most residents have little confidence that anything will really be done about the school situation.

Resettlement assistance: Temporary resettlement assistance has been impeding the immediate relocation of some people at most centers, while they put in applications for assistance. Most are not qualified for the assistance, however, and resent being turned down. At Granada a few are saying that they will not be able to leave as they had planned because of being refused assistance.

Housing: Housing still ranks high in evacuees' minds as an obstacle to successful resettlement. Recently residents at Topaz were invited through the Block Managers and the center newspaper to make applications for some of 500 new housing units to be constructed in the Bay Area by the Federal Housing Administration. Unexpectedly, not one Topazean submitted an application. The analyst believes that this is the product of a series of shattered hopes based on what residents characterize as WRA's broken promises. Now evacuees are wary of any offer WRA makes them; in their opinion WRA has cried "wolf" once too often. In defence of the residents' attitude, one Issci told a relocation officer:

The announcement of resettlement assistance, splashed all over the local paper and on the pamphlets distributed to the residents, has proved a dud to 90 % of the residents who applied for it in good faith. And even if 500 units were built through the F.H.A. it is problematical if the returning evacuees can get more than four or five of its houses. Too, the proposition must be more concrete. How certain are they of getting any of those houses? The residents will be interested if they are sure to get even three or four houses but otherwise they are tending to use the well-worn Topaz slogan, "Waste time!"

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 28
July 17, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
JUNE 24 - 30, 1945

The relocation rate this week remained much as during the previous week. Interest in the announced closing of units at Poston and Gila is at a minimum in most centers. Some block meetings were held at Poston about the closings, but it was decided to defer action. Evacuee leaders at other centers are continuing to recommend increased assistance and housing aid to help the resettlement of residents.

What Will WRA Do?

The question coloring most relocation thinking by center residents is, "What will WRA do with the people left in the centers at the time of the announced closing date?" There is little doubt in residents' minds that there will be people left, although the estimates of how many vary. As the announced date draws closer the question of what WRA will do is assuming more importance and evacuees are pressing for an answer. Council, Block Manager, and Resettlement Planning Commission representatives at Rohwer recommended to the Administration that no closing date for that center be broadcast until WRA makes public its plans for caring for those who would not or could not leave the centers. "Talk" at Minidoka follows this pattern:

"Why does WRA refuse to be fair with us and tell us exactly what will be done after the closing dates with persons who for various reasons cannot get out of the center? The statements made by Mr. Myer and others (to the effect that no one will be left in the centers) are not realistic, yet Mr. Myer asks us to be realistic. Why doesn't he be realistic? Everyone knows there will be some persons left after the various dates for closing."

At Minidoka and Heart Mountain residents believe that WRA will dissolve but that the centers and the residue populations will be turned over to the Indian Service, or Justice, or the Army, or to some new agency.

Minidokans feel that mention of finances as a reason for closing the centers is a bluff, that it is always possible for the Government to give new appropriations in times of emergency. They also believe that WRA is not serious about the closing of the Gila and Poston units, but that the Administration considers it an experiment to see what will happen and how it will happen. Interest at Topaz in the announced closing of those units also centers around the question of what WRA will do with their residue population. Topazcans believe the answer will indicate whether WRA will keep a center open for the duration of the war for those who do not wish to or cannot relocate.

Attitudes toward Relocation

The "sit-tighters": At Rohwer the majority still do not accept as

EDWARD H. SPICER
PAPERS - MS 5

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION
SUMMARIES
NO. 1-30
MAY 1946

fact center closure by the end of the year. A survey conducted by the Community Analyst with the help of the Block Managers reached 3383 adults above school age. Of these:

36 %	are opposed to relocation
37 %	have no relocation plans as yet
19 %	expect to relocate by September 30
8 %	expect to relocate by December 31

Evacuee leaders predict that there will be 20,000 people in all the centers who will not resettle.

Topaz estimates of those who intend to remain in the center vary. An older Nisei revised a former guess of 4500 down to 3000. A group of Block Managers, mostly from blocks that have relatively high relocation rates, predict that 1000 will remain. On the basis of information from a cross section of the blocks, the Community Analysis Office at Topaz believes that from 1500 to 2000 are still thinking in terms of "sitting tight." These people feel that arguing any further with WRA about closing the centers is comparable to shouting at a stone wall. Instead, they mean to sit until they find out what WRA will do.

While Heart Mountain residents still feel that closing the centers is totally unjustified, no organized opposition is brewing. As at Topaz, evacuees feel that it is useless to argue with WRA. If protest develops it will be in the form of passive resistance, with little or no organization or leadership. Heart Mountaineers are little interested in the early closing dates announced for Poston and Gila camps, and the Analyst believes that announcing an early date for Heart Mountain would not appreciably affect those with ripe relocation plans, or those who now do not expect to leave the center. It might possibly speed up some with plans already underway. Perhaps only 1000 or 1500 but conceivably more still plan to stay in the center. They will not be affected by an early closing date, but by news of conditions "outside."

Relocation at Minidoka seems to have reached a plateau. Although this was evident earlier, it is now common knowledge in the center. Evacuees say that there will be at least 2000 people left in the center who cannot leave because of illness, economic conditions, and age. One Minidokan described the attitude of the "sit-tighters" as being:

"The 'ketos' put us in here so it's their problem to care and watch over us till the end of the war. We lost hundreds of thousands of dollars by getting shoved into these centers, and what the hell's a \$25 grant going to do--make up for all our losses? We are 40; 50, 60, 70 years old, can we go and take up the load of young men, and again go through what we did in 1900-1920? Can we stand to get low wages, be the first fired and last hired because of our race and color? We can't protect ourselves, and law enforcement people won't give a damn about us."

The Minidokan further said:

"Once the WRA releases a final and decisive order, I think the

majority of the people might pack up and leave. After all the whites put us in here without a hearing, and our rights were taken right out from under our feet. If they can put us in here, they can almost do anything. That is how a lot of them feel."

Effect of war news: The war news is having a double effect. At Minidoka Issei feel that the worst is yet to come in casualty lists, and that when it does, feeling against them will run high. Minidokans are now using the argument of "protective custody" for remaining in the security of a center.

Some Issei at Heart Mountain also dread relocation because they feel it would expose them to persecution and gloating. A few however feel that perhaps with the war going so well for the United States the Japanese in this country would not be noticed so much. Some Issei who had been hanging back awaiting the outcome of the war are now deciding to relocate and try to re-establish themselves in America.

Center population composition: The centers are becoming more and more communities of the old and the very young. At Minidoka the population of older persons is now made up largely of non-farmers. Business and professional people are predominant, and lack of opportunity in their specific lines makes them hesitant to relocate. Some of the old people are waiting for recently relocated children to find them jobs and housing.

Schools

Efforts by the residents are still being made, at least at Heart Mountain, to see that children in the center next fall are provided with some kind of schooling. At Rohwer the public schools have been replaced to some extent by several Japanese language schools established by the Issei.

WPA
COMMUNITY
SUMMARIES
No. 1-30
1944-1946

EDWARD H. SPICER
PAPERS - MS 5

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Weekly Summary No. 29
July 21, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
JULY 1 - 7, 1945

Relocation dropped sharply during the week, with only approximately 780 people taking terminal leave or converting from short term in the field. Heart Mountain and Gila River are the only centers from which people left in substantial numbers.

The centers are quiet now. At Poston an evacuee committee from Units II and III made a formal protest to the Project Director against the October 1 closing of those two camps. No other overt opposition has occurred, however. Evacuee leaders in the two communities are bending all efforts toward relocation planning, and during the week they initiated two group relocation plans. The Canal Council at Gila has been bringing various relocation problems to the attention of the Administration, and is now stressing the importance of considering the problems of large families. The Administration is consequently taking a census of the larger families and analyzing their needs, with the intention of asking the field offices for special assistance in obtaining housing and jobs for this group.

At the other centers eyes are on the Arizona camps to see what WRA intends to do about "sit-tighters." The evacuee research assistant in the Topaz Analysis Office believes that terminal departures will be fewer in August than in July because many have decided to stay in the center to see what will happen at Gila and Poston. They say that a few months now will not make much difference in their relocation plans and that if they can stay in the center they would rather do so than take a chance outside now.

Meanwhile, many are still going out, regarding as acceptable now relocation opportunities that would have been rejected a year or six months ago. The picture at Heart Mountain is also true of the other centers: Residents wish the center could continue but they know the Government intends to close it. They accept this intention as a fact. But they are skeptical that there are places to live and work for everyone. Many believe that closing the center will be a practical impossibility.

WRA
COMMUNITY
SUMMARY
ANALYSIS SECTION
NO. 1-30
MAY - 1946

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Community Analysis Section

Qm. 519

Weekly Summary No. 30
July 27, 1945

REACTIONS TO LIFTING OF EXCLUSION AND CLOSING OF CENTERS
JULY 8 - 14, 1945

Closing Dates Announced

At the end of the week the closing dates for all of the centers were announced. They are:

Granada -	October 15
Topaz -	November 1
Minidoka -	November 1
Heart Mountain -	November 15
Butte at Gila -	November 15
Poston I -	December 1
Manzanar -	December 1
Rohwer -	December 15

This news reached the centers by teletype, along with a message from the Director explaining that the staggered schedule is to assure consideration of the needs of resettlers and to prevent a relocation bottleneck. The information was immediately channeled to the community through evacuee leaders and mimeographed notices.

The first reaction to the announcement was very mild.

"Many residents were sitting in the cool of the evening breeze, many were gossiping or discussing the events of the day; the older men were engaged in games of goh or shogi. Into this quiet atmosphere, the Block Manager Chairman brought the significant news. Yet, very few evinced any interest; the games went on, the gossiping did not stop, and people just stayed in the shade enjoying the cooling wind."

This description of the reception of the news in some blocks at Topaz by the evacuee research assistant is typical of what happened at other centers. The announcement was met with calm and apparent lack of interest at probably all of the centers.

The edge had already been taken off the news. Center residents had been expecting some such announcement, and speculation as to possible closing dates had been fairly wide. News of the actual date spread rapidly at Heart Mountain. Typically, one resident would ask another if he had heard about it. If he hadn't, the item would be communicated. There might be a little casual discussion, a few remarks regarding the housing shortage, a question about what would happen to those who didn't go, a crack or two at WRA, or only a shrug. People at Poston also had little to say about the closing announcement. Instead, they discussed the problems involved in relocating -- housing, financial needs, public sentiment, and so on.

OM-3388

EDWARD H. SPICER
PAPERS - MS 5

WRA
COMMUNITY
SUMMARIES
ANALYSIS SECTION
No 1-30
MAY-1946
WEBER

Immediately after the announcement was made there was little expression of resentment and little talk of active opposition. Although not liking it, people seemed to accept the announcement as inevitable. At Poston there is a group largely made up of repatriates and their families who, although free to leave, believes that the Government should continue to keep them in its charge. The Administration believes that this group may influence residents in Unit III toward opposition.

Evacuee leaders at Heart Mountain and Minidoka, feeling that joint participation in the planning for closing had been promised, reproached WRA for asking for their opinion when, they said, WRA already knew what it was going to do. There was talk of "sham democracy" and "broken faith." Minidoka leaders, when reminded that recommendations from them had not been given WRA within the time limit set felt that the time had not been enough.

There was not much recrimination, however. One man at Heart Mountain, although more bitter than most, reflected the attitude of a large number of evacuees when he asked:

"Is it an order? If it is an order, we must obey. When the Government orders, it can be right or wrong, but the people have to do what it says."

Those with relocation plans already made did not seem to be disturbed by the announcement, except for some who had made definite arrangements to relocate later than the date given for their particular centers. On the surface, those without plans were also undisturbed, saying that the next step is the Government's. At Topaz the sentiment was, let WRA do its worst, if there are two thousand or so left by November 1st, the Government must do something about it. At Gila some evacuees guess that about 1,000 will be left in Canal on October 1st, when that camp is scheduled to close, because of difficult housing and other relocation problems. Some are also saying that there will be a number of suicides by people who believe they cannot re-establish themselves on the outside. In general, however, residents who are not planning to relocate simply say:

"Well, it's WRA's responsibility to see that we are moved out and we are not going to worry about it."

The analyst at Minidoka noted that while in group discussions the tendency is to say that closing the center is WRA's responsibility, people individually are worried and trying to make plans. In group discussions, many who have been anti-relocation still take the attitude that they will "stick it out," that "we were put here for the duration, we are going to stay," but when some of them are approached individually they show real concern over their plans and the future of their children. They realize now that the schools are closed that various types of services will be curtailed, that the Co-op will cease to exist, and are consequently worried about their situation. There is also an increasing feeling that anti-relocation leaders cannot be trusted since in many instances they are themselves relocating.

A few persons are planning to send their families out to Seattle, and then stay in the center until the last few days

to "see what happens." The factor of saving face probably enters into such decisions.

It is too early to tell what effect the announcement will have on relocation. After the news was out the Rohwer relocation office was particularly busy, but this was probably largely because of a scheduled special train. An increasing interest at Minidoka in relocating to the northwest was intensified by the announcement, and the general relocation trend there seemed to be positive.

Not all of the people relocating will be going to the coastal area. Because of problems of housing, termination of leases and rentals on coastal property, many will take a "step relocation" by stopping over in western Idaho, eastern Oregon and eastern Washington where they will work for a few months or weeks to make a "nest egg" and await housing arrangements.

At Gila and Poston and probably most other centers many evacuees are doing all they can to further relocation planning. The Topaz research assistant notes that in the first couple of days after the announcement there seemed to be no appreciable change in relocation thinking and predicts that "the next two weeks will see some stepping up in the relocation program but the number going out will cause no particular heart failures among the relocation officers"

NOTE: This issue concludes the Weekly Summaries.