December 31, 1942

MEMO TO: Moris Burge, Administrator Poston 3

SUBJECT: Central Utah Relocation Center, Topaz Utah Report of Observations Made During Period of November 29th to December 20, 1942

FROM: Henry Nakaji

In conjunction with my visit to Topaz on a sick visit, I had the opportunity in making these observations of the various phases of the camp.

The camp itself loomed up very impressively upon my approach, the white buildings of the administration area standing out apart from the background of residential barracks laid out in a rectangular plot with terra cotta chimneys giving out little puffs of black and white smoke not unlike a group of little factory buildings. Upon entering the camp itself, I found the center laid out in a very efficient and compact manner with little thought to beauty.

The north end of the site is occupied by the warehouse, on the northwest with white walled hospitals with its various wings on the northeast, and the center with the different administration buildings.

Starting about a hundred yard from these buildings to the south, the residential blocks are laid out seven blocks running east to west and six blocks running north to south with the exception of the center area which would normally be occupied by four blocks left unbuilt. These area, I understand, is to be used for the high school site and one block left out on each end in the third row of blocks running east and west which is to be used for grammar school, leaving thirty six complete blocks.

The blocks are composed of six buildings on each side with two community buildings in the center and a recreation hall at one end of the six residential buildings. One of the community buildings is the mess hall and the other building in the shape of letter "H" houses the men's and women's latrines and the laundry room. All community buildings are insulated with sheet rock and painted white with concrete flooring. Throughout the camp men's washrooms are equipped as follows: 12 showers, 12 toilet bowls, 10 porcelain wash stands with mirrors, 6 porcelain urinal bowls, and 2 twenty-four hour duty coal burning heaters. The women's washrooms are equipped as follows: 8 showers, 4 porcelain bath tubs, 10 porcelain wash stands with mirrors, and 2 twenty-four duty coal burning heaters. The showers and wash stands in both men's and women's latrines are always supplied with ivory soap. Laundry soap is supplied periodically to each unit and found no shortage of this type of soap.
The residential buildings are 120 feet by 20 feet and houses six units. Two 16 x 20 feet units at each end, two 20 x 20 feet units in the center, and two 20 x 24 feet units between the smaller and larger units of each end. The largest units have five windows, the medium units have four windows, and the smallest units have three windows. All units have sheet rock insulation throughout, masonite flooring, 60 x 30 inches closet, and a pot bellied coal stove.

There are three entrances to these buildings. Each entrance opens into a five by six foot hallway which has doors on either side for entry into the two units on each side. These doors are factory made and the outside main door has a combination screen and interchangeable window built into it. Over each of the main entrances there are lights with switch in the hallway. Each hallway is supplied with two mops, two buckets, and two brooms. All outside window frames, doors, and door frames are painted white. Regular sanded roofing paper are used to line the walls on the outside of all the buildings and heavy graveled paper is used on the roofs or most of the buildings. The outside lining is held on by both vertical and horizontal lathes which form approximate thirty inch squares, or others just vertical strips are used.

All recreation halls are insulated and equipped with various numbers of stoves depending on use. Differing from the housing units these halls have single doors at each end and a double door on one side opening directly to the outside though some of the halls are being equipped with storm porches. All recreation halls that are being used for offices are equipped with telephones. A total of eighteen telephones are placed strategically throughout the blocks of which twelve are for general public emergency use.

Although the evacuees did not enter the project until late September everyone had been paid their clothing allowance for three months, August to October inclusive. All the members of the work corps had receive their November pay checks before I had left the center.

In the short time of the center’s existence it naturally surprised me with its rapid strides of improvements and installation of the minimum convenience and comforts it has made in spite of the shortage of material and priority which any project of its size had to contend with.

Henry Nakaji (Signed)
CENTRAL Utah

Oct. 31, 1942  John Baker

Contractor's work finished Nov. 1. Evacuee crews, 500, winterizing.

"Evacuees arrived so fast in Sept. & Oct., that one or two nights new arrivals had to stay up all night—huddled around stoves in rec halls. Another night—no bedding, mattresses or blankets until after midnight when army trucks arrived with ample supply.

SOIL shortage. Ordered carloads didn't arrive. 15 trucks went to mine 150 miles away for supply.

Most of AP live in center. Center pop, 3200 so space available. 1 block for AP, one for schools.

SCHOOLS: trouble starting, no stoves, can't keep regular school hours; teacher morale poor due to no pay checks, some quitting.

PUBLIC RELATIONS: Delta, good, shopping, ride in with AP. AP-evacuee relations very close. Mormons and church members generally friendly. Delta Lions Club entertained tempo council, Lions had biggest turnout on record; Council invited Lions to Topaz Nov. 4. Editor Beckwith who is Mayor of Delta & Church Bishop has done much. Hull, Mormon, has done much. Rev. Goto has spoken several times. "Goto is Israel, came to U. S. as child and is strongly pro-American; cousin of Mike Masaoka; was first train monitor, served as Chairman of welcoming committee for each delegation, chairman of Inter-Faith Council, good speaker and one of most active and influential residents of center, acc. to Hull."

INTER-Faith Council includes Buddhist, Protestant, and Catholic ministers. Protestants have combined into 1 church—6 denominations, with ministers and congregations from 13 different churches. No Catholic priest in center. Natl head of Buddhist Church & Natl secy are Topazean; applied for leaves to set up headquarters in Salt Lake City.

EMPLOYMENT. 600 in outside harvest. "Sugar companies yell for more—considerable ill will seems to have developed because no larger numbers have volunteered. However, those who have gone out seem to have done so with realization that they have a responsibility to represent their fellow evacuees. Wages apparently have not been as high as hoped for—but general attitude reflected in reports I heard and two letters I saw is "we'll stick it out." Most of workers are younger men but some women accompany husbands. Most working in area of Cedar City, Utah.

CONTROVERSY in Salt Lake Tribune Forum column on evacuees. Demand for hotel, restaurant workers. Turkey growers asked for 75 workers, women preferred. About 45 went. Operator of alfalfa grinding mill wants to get complete staff of evacuees to operate his mill 50 mi. from Topaz. County Scrap Committee asked for 100 men to help in drive. Contractor held picnic for volunteer workers who helped him. Topaz-hunting trips are approved or disregarded by public opinion.

Topaz Times established in late Sept., 2x week. Evacuee staff discuss over-all WHA magazine. Rev. Goto makes some translations, checks others. Drs. don't cooperate with newspaper. DR Ramsey told Ernst, staff bothered patients, attempting to get interviews with BEATING VICTIM ... ????

Paper has news from other centers. "Some developments are farther along elsewhere and Head of Community Services felt many items should not be published because Topaz residents would say 'why can't we have this too?'—causing administrative complications. Director Ernst backed up C. Services head's position & exchange news items are submitted to him for approval or disapproval. Community Council also has asked to approve items carried in paper. This reflects lack of confidence in staff of the paper, prob. some mistrust of the press in general & a disregard for the responsibilities to the community which the press generally is conceded to have.
a responsibility to print all the news of interest to its readers. I did not argue the issue with Director Ernst, but I feel he should give the matter further consideration & attempt to establish a system by which the paper and its staff can become a positive force in the community working with the administration, rather than operating under what seems to be rather strict censorship. The staff of the paper are fearful that restrictions under the co-op assn would be more severe than those imposed by the RA staff at the present time.

Desert News wants to hire correspondent & circulation man in Topaz.

Best work of developing historical record seen thus far at any of projects. Narrative of all sig. events; complete file Topaz Times, file of notes & original copy of reporters; minutes of CC and Inter-faith Council & other evac. groups. Hill is secry of Ad staff & Ad Council and has complete minutes. Mori is historian; has supplemented historical documents with impressionistic sketches typifying life in center. Shortcoming is record on evacuee opinion "mental climate." Talk of getting doc. material from schools.

HEALTH SERVICE IS A SOURCE OF POTENTIAL TROUBLE. Head Phys. doesn't have confidence of 5-6 evac. doctors under him; conversely, he feels they are all too young & inexp. to be fully competent. Talk going thru the center that one death a couple of weeks ago was the result of misdiagnosis by head phys, whereas the evac. drs had made a correct diag. Similar incident Oct. 30-31, the condition of the patient is not known but some of the evacs are said to have threatened trouble if death should occur. One Guac. nurse who was leaving expressed disgust with working conds. & staff. Dr. Ramsey's statement--she is not registred nurse, etc.
Advance contingent arrived September 11, rest of population since September 17. Much progress in physical facilities since then. Contractor was leaving—his contract completed—on November 1. Evacuees crews—totaling 500—engaged in "winterizing" quarters, by lining inner walls and putting in ceilings of wall board.

Temperature around freezing night of October 31—week earlier temperature dropped to 10°. This was before all stoves installed. Almost all stoves in now.

Evacuees arrived so fast in September and October that one or two nights new arrivals had to stay up all night—huddled around stoves in recreation halls. Another night—no bedding, mattresses or blankets until after midnight when army trucks arrived with ample supply.

Shortage of coal serious problem now. Carloads ordered but not yet arrived. Caravan of 15 trucks drove to mine 150 miles away and returned Sunday morning with a "tide-over" supply. One of drivers (evacuees) arrested in distant town for reckless driving. His release arranged. Rowalt and I provided excellent quarters—Empire hotel furniture—but coal brought in had dust mixed with it—as though scraped up from ground around empty coal bin.

Administrative staff—with few exceptions—live in quarters in center. Center population thus far 8200—so space is available since plans called for accommodations for 10,000 evacuees. One block taken over for staff quarters; one for schools.

Schools very slow getting under way—operating under many handicaps—mostly lack of stoves. Forced to abandon regular school hours for elementary grades and try to hold classes during warm portions of day—11-3 o'clock—somedays have been too cold to permit even this. High School classes meeting more regularly. One of educational supervisory staff expressed anxiety over morale of teachers—none paid since coming on job, apparently because someone neglected to follow proper employment procedure. So all are discouraged. Man with whom I talked said he had obligations coming due next day which would cause embarrassment if not trouble and he knew others were in a similar situation. Said he would not be surprised if several teachers—referring to specific individuals—quit as soon as paid up to date.

Nursery schools operating with apparent success. Stoves provided for nursery school rooms.

High School boy, 15 years old, laying plans for a high school newspaper, to be called "The Scorpion".
Attitude of public in Delta, railhead 15 miles away, generally very favorable. Many evacuees granted passes to shop in Delta, attend movies, etc. Usually ride with staff members. Rapport between some of members and some of evacuees very close. In other instances, of course, relationships are distant and formal. No indications that friendly relationships are being abused.

Staff members say Mormons in near-by areas and the Church members in general are sympathetic and understanding because they too have experienced oppression and evacuation.

Members of Council (temporary) were guests of Delta Lions Club week ago. Lions had biggest turnout on record. Council extended invitation to Lions to visit Topaz next Wednesday, November 4, for dinner and entertainment. Lions will come.

Editor Beckwith and Mayor of Delta, who is also Bishop of that ward of the Church, have visited Topaz and have done much to foster good will.

Hull, who is member of Mormon Church, has made many contacts over area surrounding Topaz and on several occasions has arranged for Rev. Taro Goto to speak before church and civic groups. Goto is Issei, came to United States as child and is strongly pro-American; cousin of Mike Masaoka; was first train monitor, served as Chairman of welcoming committee for each delegation, chairman of Inter-Faith Council, good speaker and one of most active and influential residents of center, according to Hull.

Inter-Faith Council includes Buddhist, Protestant, and Catholic ministers. Protestants have combined into one church—6 denominations with ministers and congregations from 13 different churches. No Catholic priest in center—so, outside priest visits center almost every week to hold services.

National head of Buddhist church and national secretary are residents of Topaz. Was told they have applied for leave so as to set up headquarters in Salt Lake City and direct affairs of all Buddhist Churches—most of which are in centers. Christians outnumber Buddhists in Topaz, according to Rev. Goto, but Buddhist church is of great influence among Issei.

Work is order of the day in Topaz. Some 600 have gone out of center to work in beet fields or to harvest vegetables. Sugar companies yell for more—considerable ill will seems to have been developed because no larger numbers have volunteered. However, those who have gone out seem to have done so with realization that they have a responsibility to represent their fellow evacuees. Wages apparently have not
been as high as hoped for—but general attitude reflected in reports I heard and two letters I saw is "we'll stick it out." Most of workers are young men but some women accompany their husbands. Most working in area of Cedar City, Utah.

Staff reports most of men who might have been beet workers were not desirous of leaving Topaz while their families were cold, quarters were without stoves and not prepared for winter.

Controversy concerning Japanese as beet workers started in Salt Lake Tribune "Forum" column—letter from woman objecting to term "Japs" as applied to evacuees; another woman retorted that she'd call them Japs if she wanted to—and furthermore why didn't Japanese get out in beet fields and help save the crop? This was followed on Saturday, October 31 by an editorial which said, in effect, "these unfortunate people can't be expected to have the same incentive to work for this country which other women do—for after all they are enemy aliens, locked up in a concentration camp." Hull has these clippings and will send copies to Washington, just in case our clipping service misses them. In considering whether any steps should be taken to reply—Ernst, Hull, Rowalt, and I agreed that WRA should give it no official recognition. I suggested that an evacuee might logically write a calm letter correcting the misstatements of fact in the editorial; none of the others thought highly of this so it may not be done. Hull and Ernst will attempt to meet some of editorial staff casually next week (Nov. 9 or 10). Hull has already met with managing editor, city editor who seems to be personally friendly.

More about work. Demand for workers in hotels and restaurants is such that 30 or more probably could be placed in Salt Lake City immediately. Demand for domestic workers there and in Ogden is strong; one girl quit and is returning to Topaz because of unsatisfactory working conditions in the home. Others have gone out on short term leave and seem to be getting along very well.

Turkey growers asked for 75 workers, women preferred, to pick turkeys. About 45 went to work and are in turkey growing area—several weeks' work ahead.

Operator of alfalfa grinding mill wants to get complete staff of evacuees to operate his mill in town 50 miles or so from Topaz. No decision rendered on this.

Scrap committee of Millard County asked for 100 evacuee men to help in scrap collecting drive next week. They will be available and presumably will work with Caucasian volunteer workers from all parts of county.
Several evacuees worked on volunteer basis with contractor helping in completion of construction. Contractor requested that these workers be permitted to go to nearby town for a day's outing and picnic as his guests. Request was granted by project staff. Picnic held Nov. 1.

Several staff members and their families went to nearby mountain to hunt for topaz. Two staff members took two evacuees in their car. This is another concession which public opinion in vicinity of Topaz seems to approve or disregard. Isolation, of course, makes more concessions possible.

Topaz Times established in late September—twice a week issue. Staff working under Hall's supervision now making plans to put out more issues, with proposed schedule as follows: Monday—special feature issue to include art work and feature articles, including news from outside, material gathered from OWI, etc. This will be produced on multilith machine. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, mimeographed news sheet. Saturday—church issue. Bob Tsuda, editor, and feature editor, Jimmy Tamado, after outlining their hopes for a feature issue, expressed the feeling that the staff generally was so busy with the daily issues that there was not time to do as good a job as they'd like on the feature material—so—wouldn't it be possible to have a central magazine type publication, put out either in Washington or in one of the centers, carrying general information on the WRA program, world news, rationing and contributions from various centers. I raised these questions with them: wouldn't such a publication put out by the government be suspect by many of the evacuees? Wouldn't news interpretations be too old to be of interest by the time they were published at a central point and sent by rail to all centers? Wouldn't the Topaz staff miss some valuable experience if the publication were issued elsewhere? Could such a publication, with limited news gathering facilities, meet interests of people in all the centers as well as a locally produced sheet? In general, I left a generally negative impression.

Staff has several artists and one excellent cartoon-feature "Jankee"—which appears once a week. Mimeographed issues are decorated with thumbnail sketches. Japanese language section usually produced by multilith, since better reproductions can be made by this process than by mimeographing. Wife of a minister does most of translating into Japanese. Unusually skilled in small size ideography. Her translations are not well received, however, because done by a woman. Rev. Goto makes some translations and checks other translations.

Staff reported lack of cooperation on part of doctors, and said they now are barred from hospital. Dr. Ramsey gave as his reason to Director Ernst fact that paper staff had been bothersome to patients and hospital staff, attempting to get bedside interviews with beating victim, etc.
Paper had been using news from other center papers. Some developments are farther along elsewhere and head of community services felt many items should not be published because Topaz residents would say "Why can't we have this too?"—thus causing administrative complications. Director Ernst backed up Community Services head's position and exchange news items are submitted to him for approval or disapproval. Community Council also has asked to approve items carried in paper. This reflects lack of confidence in staff of the paper, probably some mistrust of the press in general and a disregard for the responsibilities to the community which the press generally is conceded to have a responsibility to print all the news of interest to its readers. I did not argue the issue with Director Ernst, but I feel he should give the matter further consideration and attempt to establish a system by which the paper and its staff can become a positive force in the community working with the administration, rather than operating under what seems to be rather strict censorship.

Strangely enough, however, the staff of the paper are fearful that restrictions under the co-op association would be more severe than those imposed by the WRA staff at the present time. They would like a printed paper and the editor of a nearby paper is interested in making some sort of deal whereby evacuees would operate his print shop—at least to the extent of printing their own paper. (Two printers have left Topaz to take jobs with Utah papers.)

Residents of the center buy about 700 copies of Salt Lake Tribune daily at community store, according to Hull. Desert News would like to hire correspondent and circulation man in Topaz, establish regular column of Topaz news and build up circulation. This is an evening paper and transportation is problem since best connection is early morning train which gets to Delta at 5:10 and carries Tribune. Hull will discuss matter with Deseret News people next week.

Under Hull's direction, evacuees staff has done some of best work of developing historical record seen thus far at any of projects. Narrative of all significant events since arrival of first evacuees—complete file of Topaz Times plus file of notes and original copy turned in by reporters—minutes of Community Council and Inter-Faith Council and other evacuee groups. Hull serves as secretary of Administrative staff and Administrative Council and has their minutes complete. An author in Topaz—Mori—serves as historian and has supplemented the historical documents with impressionistic sketches of a few hundred words each—typifying life in the center—food, baths, fences, "borrowing" lumber, etc. A shortcoming in documentation is a set of records on evacuee opinion—Ernst calls it "mental climate". Ernst and Hull are in agreement that this should and can be obtained and probably Hull will add one or two members to his staff for this purpose and will get on paper reports of evacuee sentiment which have been coming to him.
verbally from several sources. We also discussed the possibility of getting valuable documentary material from children in school. This will be discussed with Dr. Carlyle, Supt. of schools, who already has expressed an interest in making studies of this type.

From comments made to me or in my hearing, I believe that the health service is a source of potential trouble. The head physician, I'm told, does not have the confidence of the 5 or 6 evacuee doctors under him; conversely, he feels they are all too young and inexperienced to be fully competent. There seems to be talk going through the center that one death a couple of weeks ago was the result of mis-diagnosis by the head physician, whereas the evacuee doctors had made a correct diagnosis. A similar incident occurred October 30 or 31—the condition of the patient is not known— but some of the evacuees are said to have threatened trouble if death should occur.

One of the Caucasian nurses who was leaving expressed disgust with working conditions and with the staff. Dr. Ramsay's statement was that she had been employed on the basis of misinformation—she was not a registered Nurse in the United States but had been registered in Norway after a few months' training; under these circumstances she could not qualify for the position she had been filling.

Hull had completed weekly report and said monthly report was almost complete—should be ready by Nov. 2. The system of records he instituted early in development of the project made this possible.
Local Government

Robert Iki, who is acting as Executive Secretary (paid) of the local government, outlined to me the steps taken so far. (1) Block managers were appointed. (2) An election committee of five was named by voice vote in each block. In some cases they were designated by the block manager. Their job was to (a) conduct nomination meetings; (b) conduct election of temporary council; (c) build block interest in the election. A majority of members of these election committees were Issei. Iki worked with each election committee, teaching them parliamentary procedure and grooming them for the work laid out for them. Each committee picked its own chairman.

General Opinions of Iki

Iki feels that Topaz is under the thumb of the Issei who dominate the younger residents. A reason for this is that youth in the city (San Francisco) were not so self-sufficient as youth in the country, and are consequently more under the parental thumb. This influence is reflected in the make-up of the council in that the Nisei members in Iki's opinion are Issei dominated.

Temporary Council

All business of the council is conducted in English. Minutes of each meeting are mimeographed and distributed with a Japanese language supplement. On the temporary council are three "technical" Kibei. In one of the blocks a woman ran for the temporary council,
but did not win. The temporary council has picked a constitutional committee - all Nisei - to draft the charter for city government. Average attendance at nomination meetings was about 55 per block. Election voting ran from 65 to 96% of the eligible voters in a given block.

Iki Recommends

Iki gave me the names of several of the Japanese at other centers that he felt would be worth contacting because of their liberal outlook. (As Iki himself is very anti-JACL, it is likely that these people are also anti-JACL.)

Manzanar - Tom Yamazaki and Karl Yoneda
Minidoka - Dyke Miyagawa
Poston - Isamu Noguchi
Gila - Charles Kikuchi (He has done work for Louis Adamic and also wrote the survey of Nisei in San Francisco which is in the WRA library - 1940.)
Topaz - Roy Ikeda, Ernest Iyama, Robert Iki.
Tule Lake - Haruo Najima (He is doing some work for Dorothy Thomas.)

Iki on Sugar Beets

According to Iki the council is sore because so many of the project ne'er-do-wells are out picking sugar beets. They write back about their beer drinking and general hell-raising, and return to the center with little or no money for the work they have done.

Some of the more responsible council members feel that it is important
for this group to build up the center first.

Loyalty of Issei

Iki feels that 90% of the Issei are pro-Japan, but at the same time 90% of the Issei are not anti-American. Two factors account for this: (1) Their familiarity with the country of birth, sentimental attachments, and some pride in the fact that Japan is doing so well. (2) Their resentment of evacuation takes the form of a defense mechanism; also, their concern for their children.

Recreation

There are five neighborhood centers on the project. Each is manned by five instructors and chairmen. Each of the five can instruct a particular activity, and each of them goes to each of the centers every day. The following meet with Mr. Koda, the recreation leader:

Athletic director
Arts and crafts
Social activities (city-wide)
Adult activities for residents over 18
Procurement and clearance
Religion
Inter-group relations (Kibei, Nisei, Issei)
Public relations
Information and statistics
Library

Division heads of each of these meet with Koda once a week.

The inter-group relationship is a committee consisting of one older
Nisei, chairman, one Kibei, one Issei, and one young Nisei. They satisfy themselves that all groups in the population are being served by the community activities program.

At the present time each center serves a "ward" of several blocks. The chairman at each center names a lay-committee consisting of three men and two women living in the areas covered by the center. The lay-committee has a subcommittee of all representative groups, so that in this way requests for activities can be forwarded up from the community to the people responsible for the community activities program. The lay-committee serves on a voluntary basis. It is useful in strengthening the recreation leader's hand, and in obtaining more space, equipment, etc., for recreational work.

Community Enterprises

Two movies now operate at Utah seven nights a week. They are held in recreation buildings otherwise used for church purposes. The cost of 16 mm. films they are renting is $45 per film per week. Admission is 10¢, but it is on a voluntary basis, so that amusement tax need not be paid. At present the Co-op Board of Directors has fifteen members. Each department is operated by a Japanese resident.

Admission of Aliens to Project

As of Friday, October 30, Japanese aliens are no longer permitted to visit relocation centers. This will affect a number of relatives of Topaz residents who live in Salt Lake City,
Conversation with Bell:

Research: Bell hopes to carry on informal research for social planning within community services division, although not in any way conflicting with documentary set-up, operated by Reports Division.

Education: Need elementary school teachers. Working out arrangements with University of Utah for supervision of teacher training. Superintendent of Schools Carlisle and others have been aggrieved because personnel approval machinery has been so slow. Carlisle himself just received wire of appointment after some weeks on the project. Topaz is getting good service out of Salt Lake office of Civil Service, but very delayed service out of San Francisco.

Schools are open from 1:00 - 5:00 because it is too cold in the morning.

Physical conditions: Topaz is fairly well set up with small porches and other refinements seemingly lacking at the other projects. However, they are short on stoves and a crew of 650 men is now installing winterizing. Project staff is living in a regular block of barracks.

General: Utah is long on verbalization. WRA employees are appointive staff; evacuees are residents; blocks are neighborhoods or squares; messhalls are dining halls; recreation buildings are neighborhood centers; streets are to be named for minerals and trees; everything new is dedicated.

They have ambitious recreational plans taking in skating, clock golf, tennis, etc.

Landscaping has been planned and zoning regulations are also being considered.

Religion: There is an inter-faith ministerial association consisting of protestant and Buddhist representatives, Seventh Day Adventists, etc.

Decentralization: Actual operation of departments, at least in the Community Services Division, is in the hands of the evacuees as much as possible. The appointive staff sits in the administrative building in the role of consultants while the evacuee offices spread throughout the project handle the welfare, community activities, police, fire, and other programs.

Community activities: An art production section working in community activities does the poster making for this section and in fact for all other project needs. They have taken Sun Valley posters and deftly substituted the word "Topaz".

Community activities is cooperating with private outside organizations. Scouting has actually been given a semi-official status.
Education: No school construction has been started as yet.

Nursery School: Two trained and talented Mills College graduates are cooperatively handling the nursery school set up. They have some materials from Tanforan to work with. Two schools are open at the present time.

Recreation buildings: Here are present uses of recreation buildings by blocks: 2-personnel; 3-agriculture office; 4-recreation; 5-schools (adult education, nurses' training); 6-recreation; 7-adult education (art school); 8-elementary school; 9-nursery school; 10-recreation office, art production section; 11-public safety (this is their word for internal security); 12-community enterprises, office and barber shop; 13-nursery school; 14-Catholic group; 15-open lot (community center); 16-library; 17-open lot (community center); 18-open lot (community center); 19-community enterprises - store; 20-recreation; 21-open lot for elementary school; 22-protestant services; 23-recreation; 24-open lot (community center); 25-half placement, half block managers office; 27-nursery school; 28-Buddhist church; 29-adult education (sewing school); 30-welfare office; 31-nursery school; 32-high school administration; 33-inter-faith church office; 34-recreation; 35-adult education (music school); 36-recreation; 37-recreation; 38-housing office; 39-recreation; 40-not in use; 41-elementary school; 42-not in use.

Housing: Housing has already been transferred at Utah from Employment to Community Services where it is under George LaFabregue, Community Welfare Consultant. Under LaFabregue, Arthur Eaton, formerly executive secretary of the housing administration of San Francisco, also worked with the Tolan Committee. Bell thinks he is not quite stable enough for the responsibility he has been given.

Local government: Temporary community council and block managers are widely separated at Utah. Former employees report to Bell and latter to Assistant Project Director. Temporary council was selected by vote of electors in each block. These electors were chosen by voice vote and were mostly issei. They were taught the elements of parliamentary procedure by Robert Iki, evacuee, who is acting as a sort of paid executive secretary of the community government. The issei put up one or more candidates for the community council. Elections were held recently. The question of whether the council should be paid or not has come up since they devote many hours to their legislative function. It is suggested that time off be given with pay for one or two afternoons a week when the council deliberates. Bell feels (and others seem to have the same opinion) that it is a mistake to have representatives from each block, and that the council would be much more workable with nine or 10 members.

Employment: A number of workers at Utah, probably 60 all told, have been paid prevailing wages for working for the contractor on the project. This is similar to the arrangement made by Lindley at Granada,
except that Ernst has insisted that these workers pay £20 a month for their own subsistence and £16 a month for that of their dependents.

**Attorney:** They are not certain at Utah whether they will have an attorney full time or not. Apparently the present plan is to have one divide his time between Minidoka and Utah.

**Community Enterprises:** They plunged in this stream at Utah. Instead of proceeding to the election of a temporary cooperative congress by an educational program, they went right to the selection of the group without preliminaries, on the theory that the men would learn as they went along. Bell reports that evacuees are running the co-op increasingly. However, it appeared to me that Hurdrich and Sekerak have about the same supervisory role that exists in other communities.

**Community activities:** In order to get YMCA's started, Bell has arranged for an evacuee receiving a cash advance to serve as the secretary for a period of three months. This is justified as "on detail". At the end of that time Bell hopes that the Y will be in a position to pay their own clerical help.

**Religion:** According to Bell, religious leaders will be paid $19 a month by their denominations, plus a clothing allowance and a salary to the wife to keep her from working. This is not definite, but is to be reviewed. This sum would be in addition to the cost of retirement insurance and college tuition for the ministers' children.

**Industry:** Bell wanted to know if there was a general slow down on WRA industrial plans. At Utah there is no staff and he is wondering if capitalization and lack of critical materials have been deterrents.

**Housing:** Among the organizations pressing for more space at Utah are the newspaper, placement, nurses' training, community enterprises, recreation, welfare, and community government.

**Welfare:** LeFabreque does not have trained social workers available for assistance as does Mrs. Ramsland at Minidoka, but he is getting satisfactory help from several nisei with A.B. degrees in sociology etc. and a few enlightened issei who are helping particularly with the older people.

**Census:** A special meeting was held to explain the need for the employment census (copy of minutes attached). This was handled by Robert Iki and a staff of about 50 interviewers.

**Vocational training:** Although they are lacking in equipment they are hoping to work out an arrangement with the Utah State vocational head. Do not believe the vocational jobs have been filled as yet.
WRA employees: At the present time WRA employees are being charged 35¢ per meal and $5 per room per month rent. In case of teachers who are making $1440 or $1620 and who may have wives and children at the project, this is a rather high figure. It is hoped that some kind of provision can be made for cooking or Bell fears they will lose some of the staff.

Local government: A strict, almost arbitrary, stand is taken on the communication of one evacuee group with another. For example, the block members have no access to the community council except through the project director. The former are in effect hotel managers. Also no appointed personnel negotiate with the council except Ernst or his designate, Bell. Both are of the opinion that this avoids conflict.

Medical: Medical set up needs a public health nurse with particular regard to work in the school system.

Education: Quiz Ade on arrangements made at other centers for "Director of School Attendance" or truant officer. Is this post being filled by WRA or evacuee employees and what relation does it have to internal security?

Children: They are really taking steps at Utah to view the child as a whole. I think this is a very sound approach. They plan to bring in those responsible for schooling, health, recreation, diet, family welfare, etc. and really get thinking about the life of the child at relocation centers and how it can be improved. Incidentally, a Parent-Teacher Association is already in process of formation.

Education: Bell told of an evacuee teacher who saw little purpose in talking about community life at the relocation center, but would consider it only in terms of the community outside and the past.

Mental hygiene: The Mental Hygiene Society of Northern California Advisory Council is interested in sending a representative to visit the project at their own expense, to make an appraisal of the situation in their particular field.

Issei, nisei, kibei: Every effort is being made to place no outward stress on kibei, but to consider them as an integral part of the nisei community.

Medical: Dr. Ramsey has six evacuee M.D.'s, including one surgeon, and 5 R.N.'s including 2 caucasians. He has had difficulty in getting Japanese to assume responsibility. A housekeeper service seems in order as at Granada. A plan is considered for moving the old people and some of the chronically ill to one block at the present time. A number of the latter are in the hospital who do not otherwise require this type of care. Ramsey would be interested to know if a
medical social worker will be available.

Another difficulty is transportation. There is only one old Army ambulance at the present time and this cannot serve hospital, baby formula, and other needs. It is also difficult for certain outpatients to walk to the clinic, and bus service is needed. At the present time mothers are bringing their bottles to the messhalls where they are being picked up and returned with the formula.

Diet: It is Ernst's idea that people with diet problems should be put in one block so that special arrangements for their care can be made in that kitchen. This he believes will also have the effect of breaking away issei from nisei in time so that young people might lead their own lives in their own section of the project instead of being thrown in with their in-laws.

Education: 358 students are enrolled in highschool industrial arts in 22 shop work sections. There are no hammers or saws, no work benches, at the present time. Four "cadet" teachers are assigned to different periods.

Actual high school registration figures as follows: 7th -139, 8th-140, 9th-164, 10th-176, 11th-182, 12th-196, total 997, plus 5 special students. Of the elementary grades, the largest is the kindergarten with 106 children. Although there are about 1700, instead of 2400. While I was at the project it was decided not to hold school until adequate stoves and heat were forthcoming.

Project make-up: All of Tanforan is at Utah and a group from Santa Anita. The Tanforan people are lively and are considered by some the elite of the evacuee group, coming as they do from the Bay region in and near San Francisco. The Santa Anita group have been something of a problem, reflecting to some degree the very unfortunate conditions which must have prevailed at that center.

Adult education: Enrollments thus far as follows: Music-300, art-350, sewing and knitting-400, English-220, mathematics-20. English classes in beginning, low intermediate, intermediate, and advanced grades. Classes are small and informal and make use of contemporary materials. They meet three times a week for two hours each session. Other adult education courses considered are popular science and social science. Nurses' aid course also planned. Classes are publicized through dining hall announcements, church meetings, Topaz Times. Any course is given if 10 or more students enroll. Interesting to note that English classes contain approximate ratio of 12 women to 1 man.

No use of films as yet for educational work except in fire prevention drive.
Vocational training: Instructors are available for electric welding, gas welding, accounting, and other subjects within the evacuee group. However, welding outfits are expensive.

Conversation with Hull:

Leave policy: According to Hull, older Japanese, especially church people, are offering passive resistance to individual resettlement out of relocation centers, because it seems to promise dissolution of Japanese community as it was. To some extent Caucasian staff also are passive to values in resettlement.

Employment: About 25 Topaz workers are now out to hotels and restaurants, including some of the biggest in Salt Lake City. Others are in domestic service. Hull believes the fact that Mormons are tolerant toward minorities will aid in resettlement work locally. If there is any difficulty it will be on the question of land acquisition. According to Hull the Japanese acquired substantial land parcels during voluntary evacuation on a lease or purchase basis. Land consciousness is high, and this may obstruct the program.

Conversation with Ernst:

Isssei, nisei, kibei: Hull believes there is a certain amount of witch hunting on this issue and that if properly handled it should not present any real difficulty.

Conscientious objectors: When Ernst was in San Francisco he went over records and selected six C.O.'s he was desirous of taking on. Fryer vetoed this plan. However, Ernst says Sekerak is working out extremely well and he would be glad to have others.

Housing: Ernst is very anxious to separate out the older generation from the younger in terms of where they live, the food they eat, etc. etc. At present they are planning to alter their barracks to make eight rooms where there were previously six. This additional space, he believes, will relieve the present housing shortage somewhat.

Administration: Ernst maintains with the WRA staff the rather rigid lines as he lays down for evacuee communication. He concerns himself only with planning and gives his assistant director full responsibility for operations once a policy decision has been reached.

The captain of the Military Police unit on the grounds regularly attends WRA staff sessions. Incidentally he is an M.D. There are two types of meetings—planning and operations staff meetings.

Employment: When it was decided to charge subsistence for dependents in the case of Utah residents working for the contractor at prevailing wages, the question of who is a dependent came up rather sharply. The same question is likely to hit us if we prescribe this kind of payment, for example, on the part of beet workers.
Example: A grandmother may be living with a family in the same apartment, but a grandson may be unwilling to recognize her as any sort of dependent. This cannot be resolved entirely by using the formula of "head of the family".

Voluntary Service: As I understand it, they are not paying nurses' aides and student teachers at the present time at Utah while they are receiving training for which credit is given.

Meeting in Ernst's office

Education: Carlisle asked staff members if they would object violently to having students working on various study projects come to them for information. He felt that while this would be time consuming, it could be controlled by a regular appointment system, and that it would have incalculable value in enabling the students to get their information first hand from the hospital, the agriculture set-up, the chief steward, etc. etc. A school census is required by the State of Utah on the health condition of pupils. Discuss implications with Ade.

Transportation: In addition to shortage of vehicles, it is difficult at Utah and other projects to secure necessary Caucasian drivers for trips to town, escorts, etc. Often responsible staff members are away from the project when needed because no one else is available for these assignments. Feasible ways of obtaining passes for evacuees to relieve this condition were discussed.

Home for aged: Lorne Bell presented plan in this connection. Copy attached.

Layettes: A supply is needed. Does WRA furnish? Can local Red Cross do anything about it?

Leave policy: Is there likely to be a leave officer appointed or will Employment man have responsibility for issuing all leaves? In latter case will he have to familiarize himself with all aspects, for example, student leaves, leaves to attend funerals, personal business, etc. Many of these concern the Welfare Division. Should Employment approve these automatically on Welfare's say so?

Use of evacuees: Apparently a number of W.R.A. employees have left or are intending to leave because of quarters and other gripes. What is the extent to which evacuees can be used on administrative jobs? Need for more specific guidance on this. Note: At Utah wives of WRA staff employees are called the "auxiliary."

Employment: When it was necessary one day the temporary council hauled coal on a voluntary basis. The block managers hauled for three days. At present there are 650 evacuees in beet fields, 800 winterizing (including volunteers), 1100 in the kitchens, 115 in the police force.
Community Enterprises: There is an order desk to supplement with Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward what is not available in stores. Sekerak hopes that certain items can be made available on a pool basis. For example, that ice skates will not be sold but rented.

Conscientious objectors: It should be understood that C.O.'s assigned to project receive board (administrative) plus room, plus $5 per month. Some arrangement should be worked out, if possible, whereby the C.O. assigned would pay for his room and meals in the same way as any other project employees, but would receive a monthly stipend sufficient to include the cost of those items which he must bear.

Community enterprises: Sekerak does not believe a central buying office will be of much advantage on acquisition of standard items such as popular cigarette brands, etc. However, it will be of inestimable value in locating sources of supply and making purchases on items which it is now difficult to obtain.

Student relocation: How rigid is the Student Relocation Council's present requirement that the student have xx money of $1000. If employment at the campus seems a reasonable possibility, can't this amount be reduced accordingly. Consider sending out letter to main approved schools asking them to send catalogs to the ten projects. Check with SRC.

Transfers: Who initiates requests for transfer, or should it come from both projects simultaneously to a given point?

Policies: Can the people at the project level be given some idea of policies in the making, especially where there is no person in the regional office who can serve to interpret their needs? Direct contact between the responsible consultant at the project and the Washington levels in such cases would seem desirable. It is especially important when the physical conditions at the project are inadequate or are unfavorable to have evacuees receive through the WRA staff at the project some understanding of what we are trying to do in the matter of clothing distribution, welfare grants, etc.

Repatriation: Many indignant people. Advise them instruction is on the way.

Internment camps: What procedure should be followed in obtaining permission for center residents to visit their relatives in internment camps?

Visits: Various interpretations are placed upon the term "involuntarily separated." The fiscal view of this is much more restrictive than the humanitarian. Guidance necessary. Example—separate units of the same family living in adjoining counties. One branch was sent to one center, the other to another center. The brother at one
center is now quite ill and his sister would like to move so that she could be with him, but does not have the expenses. Fiscal has ruled that this is a family which was not "involuntarily separated." This is literally true, but certain exceptions would seem in order. In one case this was decided at Utah by having the man sign a loan for the trip he was about to take signifying he would repay the WRA out of cash advances. In another instance it was stated that a brother could not attend his brother's funeral at Fort Snelling. Establishment of a credit union will help in this, but some direction is needed.

**Insurance:** Evacuees several times raised the question whether WRA would not undertake the insurance of their property a) in barracks b) in warehouses. Also, what compensation would they receive for injuries? There is one instance at Utah where a woman's face was rather seriously burned by hot tar which fell from the roof of the barracks being repaired to the bed on which she was lying. The evacuees are eager to know whether WRA will assume any responsibility in instances of this kind.

**Housing:** In some instances families of seven are still occupying one room. There are many cases where 6 occupy one room. Bachelors in general are housed by themselves in "skid row". The winterizing has been an evidence of cooperation between blocks on a community basis with the more able helping their neighbors to nail down the celotex in individual apartments. In the average barrack of six apartments at Utah, there are the following at present: 16 x 20, 24 x 20, 20 x 20, 20 x 20, 24 x 20, 16 x 20.

Nothing has been done as yet about the control of electrical appliances, although at one point it was threatened that they would all have to be turned in if the load on electric current was not relieved. This was bruited around the camp and within 24 hours almost half the appliances in use were voluntarily withdrawn by their owners. The only serious disturbance of the peace was occasioned by a housing problem, largely because a man refused to shut off the radio in his apartment. He was beaten up and a retaliation gang-up took place.

**Internal security:** The internal security man, Fridley, said it was not possible to fill the second job at CAP-7. The evacuee force has performed satisfactorily, although the turnover has been large. A number of the policemen have gone out to the beet fields. Others have resigned because they do not like night work. Fridley has been waiting until the force simmered down to the most desirable group before starting formal training. He does not pack a gun and there are no jails on the project. He has worked out what seemed to me a very excellent series of forms for police work. He did not have copies but could arrange to provide some if desired. When I was at Central Utah (approximately October 30,) the scheduling of police officers for the various shifts was as follows: 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. - 5 officers, 39 patrolmen; 4:00 p.m. to 12 midnight - 3 officers, 30 patrolmen; 12 midnight to 8:00 a.m. - 1 officer, 20 patrolmen.
214 volunteers arrived Friday, Sept. 11, 1942, advance contingent to Topaz, soon to be fifth largest city in Utah. Welcomed by a clomp of thunder, a sudden shower, a gorgeous rainbow, Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Ernst, director of the C. U. Relocation Project and his administrative staff.

1st mass meeting of residents and ap held that evening at community hall with Dr. Carl Hirota presiding, Rev. Taro Coto giving invocation, also acted as Bl. Mgr of Bl 3. Reference to "city of Topaz," "Topaz, Our City."

42 city blocks; 32 for living quarters; area is one mile square, nearly 9,000 residents to be housed; hospital large enuf for 100 patients; in the center of the city will be built a civic center, consisting of a high school, auditorium, gymnasium, stores, and other bldgs. 300-360 persons per block, consisting of 12 bldgs, dining hall, lavery & laundry, community hall; 6 rooms to a bldg. "WORDS. You are now in Topaz, Utah. Here we say Dining Hall and not Mess Hall, Safety Council, not Internal Police; Residents, not Evacuees; and last but not least, Mental Climate, not Morale."

SCRAP LUMBER, enough for everyone, even latecomers. "Since sufficient wood is available, there will be no necessity for hoarding or nocturnal commando raids."

2. Sept. 26, 1942

"The vision of establishing Topaz into a model city move another step nearer to its realization as the machinery for self-government was being rapidly set up..."

"Topaz, youngest city in Utah, has burgeoned into a teeming city of 4,248. Starting on J7th, new people came in in groups of 500; first group reached T. in suffocating cloud of dust which hovered all day over the entire city. Especially touching was the improvised drum and bugle corp which greeted every bus-load of new arrivals from day to day.

Construction behind schedule. Nightly mass meetings of ap and residents; twice daily meetings of block leaders. Religious groups meet in joint service. In 2 weeks, 1 appendectomy, first baby, widespread attack of intestinal flu. "These & many other factors have made Topaz, fastest growing city in Utah, a busy little metropolis, complete with joys, trials and tribulations."

Rumor that Koji Urabe had died of scorpion bite airculated in Tanforan.

First meeting of election committee for CG, consisting of 5 members from each block, heled under chairmanship of Robert S. Iki, junior ad. asst to Lorne W. Bell, Chief of CServices. Block 7 elected house captains for each of 12 bldgs in block and they in turn at direction of Bl Mgr recommended 5 members of the election committee from their block.

3. Sept. 30, 1942

7 members of Co. Council elected and inducted Sept. 30: Vernon Ichisaka, Bl.3; Shigeru Kosakura, 5; Ernest Iiyama, 6; Kay Nishida, 7; Dr. C. Hirota, 13; Sam Yagyu, 13; Shinji Yamamoto, 14.

Watson reassured newcomers...that the food was not to blame for the abdominal ailments now common among the residents here. He pointed out that this condition was prevalent among construction workers & ad. officials even before the City's dining halls were open.
Categories of married couples of families of 3 members has created housing problem as only the A and F apts (2 out of every 6 units) have been designed for such small families. Discussion of dividing 24 apt bldgs into 12 units for occupancy by married couples.

Delay of mattresses and blankets.


Public Safety: stay within area limits in interest of construction, not to limit residents; no need to hoard lumber, rationing system.

FARM: crops will differ from general produce of Central Utah; 18,000 acres with 10,000 irrigated; 7,000 to be planted first year; city beautification

WATER safe for drinking; various factors contributing to current dysentery.

New Councilmen: V. Ichisaka, 3; A. Kosakura, 5; E. Iiyama, 6; K. Nishida, 7; Hirota, 12; Yagyu, 13; S. Yamamoto, 14; Fujii, 16. Hirota, chmn; Iiyama secretary. Report that outside agr. workers do not have to pay dependency, but industrial workers outside do.

Employment control; selection of best workers on work crews for outside offers.

**EXX:** "We in Topaz cannot permit men who do not demonstrate their good character as workers to represent us in other communities. Our rep. is at stake."

W.W. I. veterans being given preference.

Myer hopes residents will relocate before armistice. "The WRA pledges itself to the task of bringing to the public-at-large the realization that the majority of you now in T. expect to continue to live in this country and that you are citizens...I cannot promise that you can stay here after the war; I do not think you should. I hope you will scatter out to every community in the U. S. so we can learn to understand you. I hope you don't gather in large communities after the war. Then there won't be a problem."

Santa Anita group arrives; Tanforan contingent delayed.

New resident, woman, 61, from Santa Anita: "Since I considered Santa Anita my home, more or less, I regretted the uprooting. To start a new life is so trying for one so aged as myself, but with the help and comfort of friends, I intend to adjust myself.

1st Nisei soldier permitted to enter WRA center; had been turned away at gates until other orders came from S. F. office.
TOPAZ TIMES

8. Oct. 16, 1942

Last contingent of Tenforans arrived; tale of confusion that reigned during last days at Tenforan, also rumors that they were not going to Topaz after all.

9. Oct. 21

2827 residents employed in city (2199 men, 628 women)

First plowing.


VOL. 1, NO. 1, Oct. 27, 1942

Lack of coal due to transportation

2. Oct. 28, 1942

Labor shortage in City. Suggestion at Council that commuter workers and WRA workers getting more than $16 a month contribute to community fund; those receiving $19 would contribute the $3.

CONSTITUTION Committee: Mas Maruyama, Shig Kosakura, J. Nishimura, V. Ichisaka. Committee to look into food shortage in dining halls.

Councilmen helping to unload coal, ditto block managers

Victor Abe:...more freedom in govt in the relocation projects than the residents had in their former communities...non-citizen has been given the right to vote as well as the citizen. The citizen has been given the opportunity to run for public office...also has representation without taxation.

Present list of councilmen.

3. Oct. 29

First snowfall. No stoves, no school.

More Santa Anitans including "well-known Fujita sisters"-key positions at S. Anita

4. Oct. 30

Receptions between Topaz and Delta.

More new councilmen including Tsune Baba, Hl. 36. Baba on Const. committee.

Schools opening; 21 Caucasian teachers. Interviews with teachers; salary, do-good, intrigued by challenge and adventure of abnormal situation.

5. Oct. 31

Inter-Faith Ministerial Association.

6. Nov. 3

Nisei loss of citizenship rumors due to Holman bill introduced in Senate.

Council investigating labor, coal, food shortages; basic clothing allowances. Local heroes moving coal with hands from train to trucks.

7. Nov. 4


Captain H.T. Takaki, division of Public Safety, says residents should not fraternize with MP, serious complications are liable to result.

8. Nov. 5

150 residents in dining hall management section, reps. of Council and BMgrs. Assn participated in an informal hearing on City food situation with Watson presiding...Manpower shortage for unloading food; no report on cost accounting; menus planned 48 hrs ahead (Charles Crawford, assst. project steward), requests for more protein and better balanced meals; Assst PD Hughes recommends healthy interest in food operations, denied foot shortage of future.
9. Nov. 6
Lions guests of Topaz CC.

11. Nov. 10
Lt. Nail reports posting of Project boundaries. Ernst: now can relax restriction of movement of residents except when traveling on official gaps. Armistice Day to mark day of new freedom; use identif. card to go from center into outer Project.

12. Nov. 11
MIS Lang. School at Savage recruiting. Major Gould: "first step in re-appraising the status of Nisei under the Selective Service."

Celeb Foote says Topaz library and recreation projects are far retarded compared with Manzanar, TL, HM, and Granada. Mt. Mt. and Topaz food superior to other cs.

STREET NAMES: Malachite, Tourmaline, Topaz, Jasper, Agate, Opal, Cinnabar; Greasewood, Elm, Sage, Tamarisk, Juniper, Poplar, Willow, Cottonwood; Alexandria Ave, Crystal Avenue, Obsidian Ave, Zircon Avenue, Cactus Rd., Ponderosa Rd., Lotus Rd.

14. Nov. 13
Hearing on labor problems, sponsored by labor committee of CC with Dr. Geo. Oshikubo, chmn. Ray Kaneko says labor shortage "artificial" due to non-work turnout; Cornwall said 400 sugar beet workers would be returning soon and supply labor.

15. Nov. 14
Editorial, George Aso: Stop Complaining (sugar, coal, food)

16. Nov. 17
19. Nov. 20
2 delegates to JACL convention not representing City but selected by JACL. No names one is Alex Yorichi, on Topaz Times.

22. Nov. 25,1942
16th regular session of City Council. Constitution presented. Nishimura, Com. head.

23. Nov. 26
Col. Rasmussen visits Topaz looking for MIS men. U. Colo seeks lang. teachers. City Ball to be decorated Thanksgiving Day.

Nov. 28
10 Caucasian children in Topaz schools (3 children of Lt. & Mrs. Nail)

Basic English Classes: 243 enrolled, 185 are Issei women, 44 Kibei and 14 Issei men.

500 women enrolled in Sewing and knitting school.

26. Dec. 1
Applicant's work record reviewed when he asks for privileges.

27. Dec. 2
Constitution ratified by Council, submitted to P. D., then to Judiciary Commission then to residents.

29. Dec. 4
WRA Employment offices to be opened.

30. Dec. 5
WRA has decided emphasis will be on private employment. FD meeting. Paradox of community building and relocation is definitely slanted toward latter course.

34. Dec. 10
VOTE ON CONSTITUTION, Dec. 15......Town Hall forums to be started. Supplement has CHARTER.

36. Dec. 12
MERIT RATING BOARD of evacuees selected by Council chairmen in re resettlement.

40. Dec. 17
2591 for charter so far; 3434 votes cast. Bl. 22 not yet in. 76% vote.

41. Dec. 18
WRA statement on Manzanar riot.
Sept. 1942:

September 16, 1942: break between Stewards and kitchen workers.
1. Workers willing to work starting at any time on any type of work throughout the night if necessary.
2. Do not want to cause trouble or be tagged "troublemakers."
3. Difficult to return to work under present state of affairs; the residents will suffer if they don't.
4. Everyone will accept decision or judgment of Mr. Ernst. Will do whatever is good for whole center.
5. Attitude of Watson and Allen, lack of coordination, way they speak to us makes it very hard for us to work under them harmoniously.
6. Wish to come to agreement.

Workers felt they were being pushed around, no system to way the Stewards were handling the work assignments. Allan told them he would take off half-day wages because they decided to clean DH 4 instead of toilets. Workers ired because no great stakes in the pay anyway and they were advance contingent to get ready for others. Workers felt pushed around, treated like kids. Allan told Kimura after suggestions that "that's my worry, not your business). Complaint over conflicting orders from Watson and Allen. Allan says: "I'm the boss, you guys got to take my orders. I'M hired by Uncle Sam and you fellows are put here by the government. Who started this war—I didn't!" Yas Nakahiro: We're not discussing who started the war. We're talking about opening the dining halls. Allan: If you don't want to work under me, go to the ENM. Office and tell them that you don't want to work under Mr. AllenY.N. How are you going to feed the 500 odd people who are coming. Allan: I'll worry about thatThe workers realizing that the residents will suffer if they stay away, can't very well go back to work as things now stand.
Nov. 12, 1942, Acting Chief Ball of I.S. tension in division results from the fact that Japanese people are jealous of one another.

Nov. 20, 1942. IS Chief: Certain sarcastic & sly remarks have been passed around Topaz regarding the inefficiency of the I.S.B. to cope with the lumber situation. It would be very helpful to this Div. if the Bld默r would begin immediately to recover stolen lbr & equipment.

Nov. 20. Week of trouble in DH 20 settled by chef stewards, which should meet with satisf. of majority of residents end bld mer and I hope with head of the minority? click, Mr. Yamate.

Dec. 18, 1942.

The theoretical social barrier between the people who formerly came from different assembly centers is becoming a serious social problem. One of the outstanding causes for this social clash is the lack of good employment for some groups due to their late arrival in this community. With this thot in mind, we have paid serious attention to job applications who formerly came with the latter group.

......residents becoming less apprehensive and insecure about their life here—large supply of coal, completion of winterization, distrib. of clothing allowances, improvement of gen. physical conditions. The primary concern of the ygr people is resettlement, naturally, with the recent announcement of the WRA policy leading to a certain ant of anxiety among the older people, but in all probability this problem will become a more normal, "routine" one in the near future, and less of a disturbing element.

Disappearance of materials, etc., window breaking. Tardiness, early leaving.
Student Relocation: (Oct. 25, 1942) "There are advantages in living in Topaz...Back in Topaz, all I heard was that so-and-so thinks it is so much better outside. Everyone talked about how fine it would be to be back in a city and how terrible it was to have to live in a place like a WRA camp for the duration...I'm glad I'm here, but it makes me wonder if, in the long run, everyone who departs from camp will be better off, so much that it justifies their departure and, in many cases, the depletion of their families' earnings...the primary consideration for anyone is financial. The question should be, 'Is it worth it to use up money now in the vague possibility that future post-graduate remunerations will make it up? Or is it wiser to stay put, and save what you have, in preparation for the Day of Judgment when all Japanese will be kicked out of WRA camps at the termination of the war?'...don't send any kid out merely on the chauvinistic grounds that the mere fact of being "outside" will solve all problems. Tain't so.

Answer to Col. Bendetsen's offer of repatriation, Nov. 9, 1942 by Mr. Togasaki

Feb. 25, 1943, C. Activities Rept. by Tats Nakamoto: "An outstanding aspect of the general atmosphere in the project center is the apparent ebbing of Amer. influence accompanied with the inevitable resurgence of Japanese culture as exemplified by the increased use of the J lang., the interest shown in various J phases of life, & the predominant demonstration of the J way of thinking. This slow transition was not welcomed by all of the groups in the community, esp. with the second generation...The Niseis have never taken part or assimilated themselves into Amer. community life & were not able to absorb traditions or identify themselves with Amer. culture, except vicariously thru lit., hearsay, and motion pictures..."

Director of Tanforan recreation sent 4 members of his headquarters staff as part of advance work contingent, arriving Topaz, Sept. 11, 1942, to investigate ways and means of estab. community activities...Bob Iki was one. Some equipment brought with them....First contingent had 200 workers...on 3rd day of arrival, informal dance; next day, church services & softball game. Temporary CA staff aided in induction, formed drum & bugle corp which greeted arrivals; mass meetings for each new contingent to get them acquainted with AP and relocation program; Big Game rally; 3 weeks Xmas program; Dance band played at Delta HS in Feb. and county War Bond drives. Boy Scout groups org. on center communities basis to break up old locality affiliations; games with outside towns; ice rink opened on Jan. 4; community-wide forum in Dec. to discuss Coop, student relocation, resettlement.

Jan. 19, 1943: Petitions to Spanish Consul: fair & adequate clothing distribution; assurance of sufficient supply of food; distribution of food and clothing to those whom they are intended; adjust abnormal housing conditions so that not more than 1 couple and no single men or women are housed in same room; hospital facilities & medical care, inadequate; doctor, ambulance, supply shortage; special diets unsatis. handled; inadequate school equipment, teachers ditto; teach Japanese & German; increase pay; accident indemnity; "vigorous protest be made for the conduct of the m. p. stationed at this project regarding incidents involving acts of violence beyond the scope of their duty; discourage use of project citizens by politicians and others to curry political & personal favor; forced relocation or transfer; Calif. property, insure protection; moratorium on insurance premiums; reasons for FBI invest. of repatriates; confirmation of whether or not Japan has requested rep. of certain nationals and US cits.
Jan. 15, 1943: Adult Ed. evacuees: semi-org. campaign to disrupt Amer. program by calling them "red" and anti-Japs and by tearing up some of announcements posted in shower rooms; certain definite route in which pro-Axis rumors spread in center. Pearl Harbor Patriots—"those who prior to the outbreak of the war were among the worst exploiters of labor and even supporters of Japan's war aims (I can produce at least one affidavit to show that certain leading nisei—not so many kibei, since the most prominent kibei leaders were and are definitely anti-fascist—were engaged in collection drives for the J. army). Our conclusion was that as far as we could gather from newspaper reports, the cause of disturbances at Manzanar and Poston must be something more, if not other, than the issue of pro-Americanism vs. pro-Japanism, but rather a friction between ordinary, nonpolitical residents, esp. the older ones, and those who might be described as "the administration" stooges...who would further restrict the already limited freedom enjoyed by their parents and elders, such friction enlarged and magnified by conscious fascist sympathizers.

Mr. Bell: AP should try to help evacuees in ad. offices maintain their integrity with the residents as a whole. Bishop Smith of J. Methodist-Episcopal Church of Bay area and West Coast Japanese missionaries—influential in aiding some of the more or less pro-fascist residents...example, prominent pro-militarist propagandist, Takashi Suzuki, member of above-mentioned church, who had been...released from internment camp but...given first chance in leaving the Center to take up a job as a long. teacher in the Navy Lang. School, along with another member of the same church.

Adm. desire to see no clique control any activity...."a red-baiting whispering campaign is being conducted by at least one member of the ministerial group, namely Reverend Goto of the S. F. Japanese Methodist Church. Also by Mr. Hamada, who works in the C. Welfare office. Mr. H. has been trying to organ. kibei along fascist lines. He has said that Mr. Bell entrusted him with t is work. He is opposed to our ed. activities & to the liquidation of dual cit. among kibei...Another red-baiter is Chiura Obata, pro-militarist, demagogue, cynical egoist, who is opposed to the resettlement program which resettlement would automatically liquidate his art school and leave him without a dictatorial position. Such persons as mentioned here have been utilizing their positions to carry on their not-so-subtle intrigues, I warned Mr. Ernst twice regarding Rev. Goto and asked that he confer with me, but have been completely ignored...E. reluctant to meet with me & other anti-fascists.... plan for J. language activities....recommended issue of Wallace speech and no emphasis in Topaz Times on Victory program. "It would appear that officials in certain key positions are so afraid of losing their jobs that they dare not do anything aggressive to win this war, not realizing perhaps that it is just such an attitude which the Axis counts on...Bane...seems to think that the issue of democracy vs. Axis fascism debatable, saying, "We don't want to bring up fascism or democracy, because, after all, it's not so easy to define what these terms mean, and we dont want to start any name calling—leave it up to the FBI. Said, when proposal made to do something definite to help defeat the fascist axis, that such proposals might be welcomed by the Daily Worker or New Masses—a deplorably cynical attitude for a war worker to take, if not a clear case of red-baiting....has repeatedly expressed his fear of getting "it in the neck" in case anything should happen. when officials with an attitude such as this work with persons of a dictatorial personality, with no intervention from those who have been risking their lives for years to combat fascism and to serve the cause of democracy, it is quite possible for disturbances to take place...

Another fact which may lead to a disturbance is the attitude of certain Caucasians on the project who seem to want to segregate themselves from the rest of the community on a racial basis....sign with Mr. Ernst's signature was conspicuously posted in front of the shower rooms in the Caucasian block barring the rest
of the residents...removed after a vigorous protest from the Com. Council.
I have been told that a sign "No Japs Allowed" is to be seen in front of a store for Caucasians, and an official told some of us that an officer in the adjoining military village had said to him, in commenting on the Manzanar incident, "Too bad they killed only one. I'd have gotten a dozen," or something to that effect. Lately there was a little but serious incident between ag. workers & sentries, due to a confusion in ad. instructions......many residents feel that certain ad. officials are working with outside employers to supply them with cheap labor, and you have an ideal setup for a possible disturbance. Is it possible that an Americanization program should first be instituted for the Caucasians?.....Roy Ikeda.
Central Utah

Sept. 11, 1942. 214 volunteers arrive from Tanforan
12. Rev. Goto, first block manager
13. Rev. Goto addressed first congregation; first mail delivered.
14. First entertainment
15. Topaz Times starts
Arrivals continued to come. Search for lumber; residents fell into open water main ditches, on 19th, people had to sleep on straw ticks, weather frosty.
25. First group left to work on nearby ranch
Oct. 1, more new arrivals. No mattresses and blankets
2. First group of sugar beet workers left
7. First coop meeting; 1st students left
8. Santa Anita people arrived.
9. Fence started
15. Last contingent arrived
18. Hosp. dedicated. HS started also grammar school
26. Post office opened
28. first snow
29. Coal shortage at height
Nov. 2, Topaz constitution drafted
Dec. 1, U. S. Army Lang. School recruitment
9. Dry goods store opened.$2,700 first day sales
16. Constitution ratified
24. Skating rink finished
Jan. 22. Draft registration
Feb. 8 Lt. Wm. L. Tracy announced War Dept policy on Nisei combat unit, etc.
March 14, Hawaiians came. April 11, Wakasa incident.

February, 1943, Trek: Women who have always been busy keeping house & looking after their children, are now limited to one room and to eating in Dining Halls. They can now send their offspring to school when they are two and a half years old and find that they have more leisure-time than ever before....are chief enrolless in sewing & needlecraft classes, etc.

Start of the Community**"Asked what the infant city was like, those first residents might have, with some justice, summed it up with one word—dust. For dust was the principal, the most ubiquitous, ingredient of community existence at the beginning. 2000 of the 17500 acres cultivated. Remained inhabited. City finished except for hospital boiler house & laundry, water towers. WRA will build schools, ad bldgs, etc. All project structures except laundry rooms are prepared for midwinter; ample supply of coal. Surfacing of roads and streets; planting of trees inTopaz' 35 blocks Shortage of doctors, but an excess of dentists, pharmacists, optometrists; c. enterprises operating; insufficient manpower for garbage disposal & sanitation.

Employment: Dec., 1942,—3 & 79 workers on project (40% of total population, 7880 on Dec. 22) and about 77% of total able bodied of working age (4,800). Largest number, 1124, in mess halls. 510 are in $19 category; rest in $16; one is $12. 400 are outside, of them 300 group agric. employment
School: full schedule inc. elementary, secondary, pre-school, adult. Shortage of supplies, equipment, permanent bldgs, Caucasian personnel. 43.2% of nursery school age are in nursery school.............

Government: general election of regular c. c. on Dec. 29 in Project's 9 electoral districts for 33 council posts. Candidates nominated at district meetings, Dec. 22.Temporary council has functioned as fact-finding and recommending function. Constitution recently ratified. 4 months on tempo basis. Preponderantly older generation participation.

"To characterize the prevailing general mood of Topaz's population, we might begin by using such terms as "quietness" and "settledness." For this has always been, and still is, a "Quiet" project, without any of the outbursts of violence which has sporadically cropped up in some of the other rel. area. There have been no open clashes of politically or ideologically opposed groups, tho...such div. into factions exist.
Dec., 1942. "As for the 'settledness,' this is perhaps to be equated with a general attitude of acquiescence to the dictates of the present rather than with any popular misconception of the permanence of Project life. As such, this is also possibly just another manifestation of the seemingly inherent temperateness of the people's reactive mechanism. Relocation possibilities are borne about on the Topaz air but there is no great excitement, no disruption of city operations. Project employment figures still maintain an even keel, as replacements quickly fill in any gaps left by departures to the outside. It is as if the city, confronted by the cold winter months ahead, had assumed a deliberate stability, determined to leave until spring any necessary stir about the outer world and the future."

"This mood seems to emanate particularly from the older generation, since relocation to them is less shining a hope, less a source of excitement than to their offspring. There seems to be less inclination on the part of the people to shift about even within the Project itself. Applications on file for housing adjustments have fallen to a mere 65 from the several hundred which were outstanding at one time not so long ago. And, if teachers' testimony is to be accepted, even the younger element appears to be settling down to a more serious application to studies."
Central Utah Oct. 27-29, 1942 (Marks)

Block mgrs. appointed; election committee of five was named by voice vote in each block, some designated by bl mgr. Conducted nomination meetings, election of tempo council, block interest in election cultivated. Majority of election committee, Issei.

Iki: Topaz is under Issei thumb because S.F. youth not so self-sufficient as those in country. Nisei members of Council dominated by Issei.

Temp Council: English. J. language supplement to mimeo notes. On council are three Kibei; woman ran for tempo council but did not win. Nisei constitutional committee.

Council sore because so many n'er-do-wells out on sugar beets; little money to show for work. "SOME OF THE MORE RESPONSIBLE COUNCIL MEMBERS FEEL THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THIS GROUP TO BUILD UP THE CENTER FIRST."

Iki: 90% of Issei are pro-Japan, but 90% are not anti-American: sentimental attachments, pride in J success, familiarity with country; resentment of evacuation; concern for children.

5 naborhood rec. centers...2 movies 7 nights a week. Coop bd. of directors. Bell hopes to carry on informal research for social planning within c. services division.

Ed: elementary teacher shortage; schools open 1 to 5 because of cold. Topaz, short on stoves; small porches, etc. 650 men are winterizing.

"Utah is long on verbalization... streets are to be named for minerals and trees; everything new is dedicated.

Interfaith ministerial assn.

Actual operation of depts. at least in C. Services is in evacuee hands; appt. staff acts as consultants.

Most of rec. halls used for other things.

Temp c. council and b. m. are widely separated at Utah. Former report to Bell; latter to Asst. P.D. Question whether council should be paid or not, compensatory time suggested; Bell thinks council of 9-10 members more workable.

60 evacuees get prevailing wages from contractors. Ernst charges $20 a month for subsistence and $16 a month for dependents.

Question if have full time atty or not.

CE-elected committee first, educated as they go along.

No industries under way....Activities of various kinds press for space. No trained welfare workers available has nisei sociologists and interested Issei.

Difficulty maintaining AP at 351 per meal, $5 a month room rent.

"A strict, almost arbitrary, stand is taken on the communication of one evacuee group with another. For example, the block members have no access to the p. d. The former are in effect hotel managers. Also no a. p. negotiate with the conbl except Ernst or his designate, Bell. Both are of the opinion that this avoids conflict.

Need public health nurse. PTA being formed; Mental Hygiene Soc. of N. Calif. wants to appraise situation. No outward stress on kibei, regarded as part of Nisei community....Dr. Ramsey has had difficulty in getting J to assume responsibility." Housekeeper service needed. Only one old ambulance.... Ernst—people with diet problems should be put in one block...this he believes will also have the effect of breaking away issei from nisei in time so that mg people might lead their own lives in their own section of the project instead of being thrown in with in-laws.
Central Utah.

Marks:

All of Tanforan is at Utah and a group from Santa Anita. The Tanforan people are lively and are considered by some the elite of the evacuee group, coming as they do from the Bay region in and near S. F. The S. Anita group have been something of a problem, reflecting to some degree the very unfortunate conditions which must have prevailed at that center.

Adult Ed: 400 in sewing and knitting; 300 in art; 300 in music, etc. English classes contain approx. ratio of 12 women to 1 man.

Report from Hull: older J, esp. church people, are offering passive resistance to ind. resettlement out of rel. centers, because it seems to promise dissolution of J. community as it was. To some extent C staff also are passive to values in resettlement.

25 Topaz workers out now in Salt Lake City; Mormons tolerant toward minorities, may help resettlement. J. acquired substantial land parcels during vol. evac. on lease or purchase basis. Land consciousness is high, & this may obstruct the program.

Ernst: witch hunting on Issei, nisei, kibe, "if properly handled, it should not present any real difficulty." Wants 6 C.O.'s; Fryer vetoed plan.

"Ernst is very anxious to separate out the older generation from the yr in terms of where they live, the food they eat, etc. etc. At present they are planning to alter their barracks to make 8 rooms where therewere previously six.

E maintains with the WRA staff the rather rigid lines he lays down for evacuee communication. He concerns himself only with planning and gives his asst director full resp. for operations once a policy decision has been reached. Capt. of MP reg. attends WRA staff sessions, is an MD. Two types of meetings—planning & operations staff.

Difficulty in deciding who is dependent in charging subsistence.

" in getting escort service to town

Is there likely to a leave officer appointed or will Employment man have resp. for issuing all leave, etc. relation to Welfare.

Tempo council hauled coal on voluntary basis one day. B. M. hauled for 3 days.

Can the people at the project level be given some idea of policies in the making, esp. where there is no person in the regional office who can serve to interpret their needs?...It is esp. imp when the physical conditions at the project are inadequate or are unfavorable to have evacuees receive thru WRA staff at the project some understanding of what we are trying to do in the matter of clothing distrib., welfare grants, etc.

Compensation for injuries; insurance on prop in barracks, warehouses.

Housing still serious.
During the period covering evacuation, assembly centers, removal into relocation centers

The period of time stretching from evacuation to segregation (including assembly centers, removal to relocation centers, registration) was apparently an exciting period in the lives of the Japanese. Events were catastrophic, crucial, bewildering. The whole period was marked by what has been termed "collective behavior." The people were participants in the passing of rumors, in crowd behavior, in excitable and exciting events. Committees were formed and acted. Issues which confronted the centers were issues that concerned the whole center; and lines of cleavage among the population clustered around these large-scale issues: such as registration, segregation, loyalty, volunteering. (As occupants of Tule Lake, who have since relocated, say: there was always something doing at Tule, and sometimes it was dangerous.)

The most significant observation that one can make about Topaz today, perhaps, is that Topaz life is not marked by the presence of "collective behavior." There are a series of indices suggesting that this is so. The remark is common that center life is boring, there's "nothing-doing," that there's no excitement. Center life is on the whole thought to be quite "orderly." The grapevine is still fast— but no terrifically exciting rumors. There are still rumors but they don't seem to have the intensely exciting character that they did when they came into being around issues that were a real preoccupation of the entire camp.

As a consequence of a series of events the center has settled down to a settled sort of existence. The crystallized attitude that the administration always wins, that you can't do anything to budge the administration on anything important—this attitude is probably intimately involved in the lack of excitement and striving on the part of inhabitants. Persons I have talked to indicate that people feel that since there is nothing they can do to change things one might just as well sit tight and do nothing. This "doing nothing" is pretty much what is going on. Council is looked upon as useless, a tool of the administration, and responsible leaders steer clear of it. They steer pretty clear of any action. The younger Nisei of course are concerned with the draft or have left the center. The collective "spirit" with which Topaz apparently tackled the building of the center has evaporated. People are handling problems in a personal, individual, or family way. "Relocation is a private affair." This is different from registration days when it was a group affair—as was volunteering, evacuation, and so on.

The issues which stir the camp are internal ones. What one thinks of the council, of the Credit Union. The old powerful lines of allegiance which formed around group issues have largely...
The "May Festival" was a series of exhibits—flower, sewing etc—there was no push from the residents for a parade or a demonstration, or anything community-wide. Similarly with the pipeline situation, men are volunteering not out of any exaltation of spirit or emotion but because it has to be done since it has to be done. The administration is putting them in a spot where the buck has been passed to the people.
ceased to mean very much as far as group action is concerned (this is frankly a guess). Lines of cleavage, of opposition, tend to cluster around internal Topaz interests. Shall there be a fishmarket; who's right the coop or the credit-union; etc? There are still potential resident sore-spots: food, pipeline, and so on; but as the situation now stands issues are not so much a center-wide affair, with everybody being very excited and roused for action, they are more matters of politics, of personalities.

This isn't to say that there can't be spots of collective behavior again. If they come they will erupt around "sore spots" or about some critical outside event. But in general one ought to approach what is happening in camp in terms of some sort of settled, orderly existence. To understand community activities, movements to relocation, attitudes; you have to take into account this general overall situation. I've heard people say that to understand what's happening you have to remember the people are Japanese (culture). And that in order to understand them you have to remember "what they've gone thru". Obviously both those things enter in; but you have to take into account too the prevailing state or mood that seems today to be a genuine part of evacuee life.
In Province

John,

There is by Anselm Strauss, a social psychologist trained by Herbert Blumer at U. of Chi. He is looking for relocation. He wants a job as analyst.

I disagree with this view. I believe he is limiting "collective behavior" to riot and demonstration types of behavior. Sol and I think that he has seen a lack of euphoria at Yerba. What he really means is that there is little evidence of euphoria. Note the telecopying of the past by a newcomer. Yed.
Subject: Housing Occupancy for which payroll deduction is to be made.

This is to advise that the following employee(s) occupied housing at this project on the date(s) indicated, and deductions at the monthly rate as stated should be made by payroll process until advised that housing has been vacated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period of Occupancy</th>
<th>Nights' Occupancy</th>
<th>Monthly Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From: (date) To: (date) (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Red Green

How Strouse could write this after work with Bleumner seems incredible to me. He must have missed any work with Park and have failed to get Park's insights through Bleumner. I doubt his ability as an analyst, since he does not as you say, seem to recognize the difference between "collective" and "organized."

6/9/44
These notes on a visit to Topaz were written by a man who has spent many years in Japan and who now lives in California. Originally he came from Russia.

As can be seen from the notes, he was able to detect in a remarkably short time many of the delicate social problems.
TOPAZ, UTAH

(In Impressions and Observations)

I.

Barren desert -- vast stretch of brownish clay -- not a tree, not a grass, only gray crumbling sagebrush -- when the wind blows, clouds of dust turn the day into a gloomy twilight -- and then snow begins to fall, and the dusty ground turns into impassable quagmire... -- and above this forlorn gloomy landscape, behind far distant snow-covered mountains the sun sets in an unearthly glory of flame....... and people who have been brought here -- men, women, children -- eight thousand of them -- turn away from the desert and follow the setting sun....

"These flaming skies", told me one of the Niseis, "remind us that in spite of trials and hardships, in spite of fences and restrictions there is always Beauty -- and where there is Beauty, there must be Love"...

II.

... From the railway station in Delta to the Relocation Camp is a distance of approximately 40 minutes by car -- that is, if transportation has been kindly provided by the Management -- otherwise, to get to the camp would be impossible. -- Evidently, the site has been chosen so as to prevent any contact of the inhabitants of the new city with the outer world.

Mr. X, an engineer of the camp, met me at the Delta station and took me for a refreshment to a drugstore on the main (and I believe the only) street in Delta. We encountered there a young man, Mr. I., a Japanese-American, a student of political science of both the University of California and Columbia University. He was in a state of great excitement -- from his story it seemed that, having been taken to Delta on a picnic by an official of WRA and on a legal permit, he was ordered out of the drugstore where he was having a drink by an M.P., who told him that "No Jap can sit and have a drink in this place --" and it required the interference of the accompanying official to save him further unpleasantness and difficulties. -- He was trembling with indignation -- "Imagine", he said, "I am an American -- and a college graduate".

Nearing the camp later on in Mr. X's car, I noticed a whole squad of M.P.'s drilling in front of their barracks.
"Why are so many soldiers here", I innocently asked --
"To protect the Japanese in the Camp" was the answer.
"But," I stammered, "is such protection really needed?" --
Mr. X turned his head and looked at me. "I don't think so", he said slowly, "but they do"......

III.

... "The change from the Assembly Centers to the Relocation Centers may make many an evacuee feel like the ancient Israelites when they advanced from the wilderness to the Promised Land", hopefully wrote Dr. Galen M. Fisher in his article The Drama of Japanese Evacuation -- adding further on, cautiously, "...if the paper plans are carried out..." I wonder if they are, or will be, or can be carried out... "It's the same thing all over again", told me a young girl who had just spent six months in an Assembly Center. "Still", she continued, "keep an eye on us -- we are determined to build a city out of this waste." --

Against the background of the glaring inadequacy of preparations and the crudeness of facilities in the camp, the unbelievable tenacity with which the evacuees are trying, against all odds, to create living conditions, impresses one as almost pathetic...

The gray, uniform barracks which house the evacuees were not completed when the first batch arrived -- they were not completed when the last batch arrived -- and now, after nearly two months, they are still not completed. -- Most of them had neither ceilings nor inside walls -- with the result that people had to sleep with their faces covered by towels to protect themselves from swirling dust. When I say "dust", I mean the dust of the Utah desert -- no one who has not seen it can imagine its ill effects. -- It penetrates everything -- it fills your mouth, nostrils, the pores of your skin, your clothing -- and all efforts to keep yourself or your room clean are just futile efforts... On the second day of my stay in the camp I witnessed a dust storm... out of the window of a barrack, at a distance of about two or three yards, I could not see the opposite barrack... I wonder what will happen to many of these people -- especially children -- who came here from a place with the best climate on earth... "We are ready to stand against any odds", several of them told me, "but how shall we fight the elements?"...

Men and women, young and old, volunteered to "winterize" the barracks, i.e. to put in ceilings and inside walls - a very difficult job, which they did splendidly -- in fact better than a similar job done by professional workmen in a block reserved for Caucasian teachers. "Well," remarked one of the volunteers, "we are a source of cheap labor, aren't we?"...
A little informal concert that I had been asked to
give for the benefit of students and music-lovers in the camp,
could not take place -- because the director of the music
school (where I would have played), with the assistance of
his teaching staff, was "winterizing" the barrack of the
school...

I have been told that furniture was promised for the
barracks -- standard G.I. furniture. With the exception of
army beds, none of the furniture ever arrived -- and the
people had to fall back on their ingenuity. -- I have seen
a reclining chair made by a newspaper man, a writing-table
made by a college boy, and a cabinet made by the wife of a
cleaner... how, with primitive tools and out of only scraps
of lumber, they succeeded in fashioning these pieces, will
forever remain incomprehensible to me...

IV.

During the three days of my stay in Topaz, I was
having my meals with the evacuees in their mess-halls.
Some of the meals were fairly good -- others rather scrambled-
up affairs. The food, as I heard from dozens of people, was
at first both inadequate and insufficient -- complaints
voiced chiefly about the lack of foods containing proteins.
But there has been a marked improvement very recently. --
Menus, as planned by the W.R.A., cannot be adhered to,
because products, sent by the Quartermaster in San Francisco,
do not always contain all the ingredients necessary to serve
properly balanced meals. The result is that menus have to be
made locally, and that the responsibility rests with the
Japanese cooks of the mess-halls, who must strain all their
skill, must save, calculate, balance, and look ahead -- so
as to insure for their community meals digestible and somewhat
varied. -- Topaz as yet produces nothing -- everything has
to come from the outside -- and with difficulties of trans-
portation and the eventual shortage of products, there is
never a guarantee that necessary products will come through
regularly. (At the moment when this is being written, there
is an acute shortage, in San Francisco, of butter, eggs, meat,
milk products, etc. -- I wonder how it has affected the diet
of the Topaz population... -- Out of its meager funds Topaz
buys vegetables from the Tule Lake Relocation Center, which
with its rich fertile soil - produces not only enough vegetables
for its own use, but indulges in the luxury of "exports". --
I have been told by a member of the Administration that chicken
and hog farming has already started in Topaz. In the future
barter-trade may be establishec between different Relocation
Centers...
"My children cannot yet get accustomed to this diet", a barber from San Francisco told me, "we have to buy some food for them from the outside." ...

V.

The general unpreparedness of camp accommodations finds its correlate in the insufficiency of both educational and recreational facilities. -- The latter - which for the mass of people are of next or equal importance to food and housing - seem practically non-existent... "No funds available" was the discouraging explanation of several Nisei, "we have a recreation department -- also we were told that each block of barracks was to have its recreation hall - well, there are neither halls nor recreation -- also we lack any sports equipment".... -- The demoralizing effects of this situation can hardly be underestimated...

In the field of educational possibilities the prospects, at least, are more hopeful. -- The Japanese and Japanese-Americans are probably among the most education-minded people in the world -- and one feels how the inhabitants of the camp - especially the younger element - in the midst of many immediate and pressing problems, are making incessant efforts to start a broad educational program. -- They are greatly handicapped in these efforts -- "many things that "were promised and looked so nice on paper" are not yet available in reality. "This will be the high school", a Nisei guide told me, pointing out a stretch of waste land... Still, classes have been started -- the music school has an enrollment of 500 students (how, by the way, this mass of students can receive any musical education, having been provided with just a few junk pianos, remains a mystery to me...) -- also I have seen a barrack with the inscription "Public Library -- will open soon"... Last but not least I met a Caucasian teacher in dramatics who, at my question as to what he thinks about this place, enthusiastically exclaimed, "This is the best town in the United States... where else will you meet so many intellectuals in one spot, so much talent, and such zeal for learning?..." --

I interviewed another teacher right after. - "I am quitting," he said gloomily, "...this place has got me -- it's too tragic..." -- But then he was not teaching dramatics...

VI.

The impression one gathers from talking to evacuees of various ages, professions and backgrounds is generally the same: - on the surface -- a quiet determination "to carry on" under all circumstances -- a certain amount of enthusiasm as
revealed by younger people (especially those with a college background and employed in administrative or cultural work) -- or a patient stoicism and silent resignation of the elder people. -- It would be a mistake, though, to take this "front" for a sign of high morale... on the contrary -- the morale is very low, and - from what I have been told - is becoming lower all the time. -- Underneath the brave decision to "make the best out of the worst" there is bewilderment, bitterness and resentment... people feel disillusioned and betrayed in their beliefs and hopes. -- It is a sad fact that our general public - to whom press, radio and other sources of information have been representing all the Japanese in Relocation Camps as an enemy element and a dangerous bunch of potential saboteurs - does not know how many loyal American citizens, deeply imbued with faith in and devotion to the ideals of democracy, have been placed behind barbed wire -- and continue, in spite of the injustice inflicted upon them, to persist in this devotion. -- They were willing to believe that their removal from the coast was their patriotic contribution toward the war effort, and they "took the rap" gracefully -- although for many of them it meant complete ruin. -- They stood bravely all the hardships, physical and moral, of the Assembly Centers and looked forward to what they have been promised by word of mouth and in print: a new life in the Relocation Centers -- a life as a free community, life restoring to them the self-respect which has been so sorely wounded... They were badly disappointed. -- "We feel how, slowly but steadily, the atmosphere of a concentration camp is again being created around us... When we came it was just desert, but open desert -- now a barbed wire fence is being built around the camp and searchlights are placed at vantage points... why?!..." The complaint is justified -- an observer, who has seen the geographical position of the camp, realizes that no one could or would run away, and no one could or would sneak in from outside, because the vast stretches of surrounding desert provides in itself a formidable "fence"...

People's movements are unnecessarily restricted. -- When a former student of mine - a young lady, highly educated and a fine artist - asked, in my presence, the manager of the camp, whether she could see me off at the train in Delta - she received the answer, that regulations would not permit it unless a Caucasian escorted her both ways (!)... Why?!... She is an American citizen -- and it was in a trembling voice and with tears in her eyes that she said, "I did not know that Americans are divided into Caucasians and non-Caucasians"... It is an ever growing conviction of the people that the case against them was construed on the basis of purely racial discrimination -- and they point out, in support of this statement, that both aliens and citizens of German and Italian parentage have been treated differently...
VII.

The feeling of being prisoners is not the sole detrimental factor to the people's morale -- no less contributing to their doubts and fears is another pressing problem - the economic problem. -- Most of the people had very little, and salvaged even less in the process of evacuation. I have met several of them who now actually have not a cent to their credit. -- Even with housing, food and G.I. clothing provided, the official salaries of $9.00, $12.00 and $16.00 monthly do not carry enough to supply the little humble necessities of life: extra food for children, a haircut, cigarettes, candies, etc. -- with the result that those who had saved a little money of their own have to spend it -- people feel that they are becoming "pauperized", and they are assailed by fears of a gloomy future in a none-too-friendly world. "I am dying a thousand deaths every time", a man told me, "when I look at my children standing in line in the mess-halls for their food, and think of the years in store for them". -- Fears of future financial insecurity are driving people to take up any normally paid work outside the camp. -- Nearly 700 men, at the time of my visit in the camp, were working outside, and this number was making 75¢ to 85¢ an hour - up to $35.00 a week. -- People in the camp get $16.00 a month - for harder work sometimes. -- This creates a sense of inequality - it makes people feel that some are working for the community - others only for themselves... It also creates a labor shortage problem. -- "More and more men are going for outside work", a Nisei told me - "we understand it: they have to think of the future of their families - also for the sake of an illusion of freedom one would take any opportunity for outside work... but next spring, with a labor shortage, what will happen to the camp?"... A vicious circle!... -- There is a feeling among the evacuees that something should be done to make those who work outside but still live in the camp, contribute in some way to the camp - perhaps in the form of some taxation of their earnings -- but they admit that it would be a very ticklish problem. -- A far better solution, of course, would be to increase the wages of evacuees to a decent and just level... By the way, the people are aware of the normal and even high salaries paid to the members of the camp Administration -- and this obviously tends to emphasize the gap, that - as they say - exists between the Administration and the populace of the camp...

VIII.

... A truck took me down to Delta. -- The truck driver, a young Nisei boy, who formerly owned a fruit-stand in Oakland,
said, ... "If they only would leave us alone..."

... "If they could be left alone"... it doesn't require imagination or understanding to realize that this might have been the only solution of otherwise hardly surmountable problems... As I have said before, beneath all the activity, excitement and "much ado" of camp life, there is an atmosphere of futility, hopelessness, even despair...

Accounts have been written and told, presenting the life in the Assembly and Relocation Centers in a falsified, optimistically-rosy way - omitting entirely the tragic aspect of the evacuation and the hardships experienced by the evacuees. -- The truth is - these people are tired and disgusted. They had their lives uprooted, their property discarded at a loss, their liberty curtailed without any actual charges having been brought against them... a stamp of contempt and suspicion has been attached to them, accusations have been hurled at them, and they were not given a chance to defend themselves or present their cause in a proper light. "If you open your mouth, you may already be called an agitator..." they say bitterly. -- Endless restrictions and regulations, of which many seem to be so unnecessary, contribute to the nervous tension which one feels in the camp -- this tension, I believe, easily breeds an atmosphere in which "incidents", similar to those that unfortunately took place in Santa Anita, in Poston, and recently in Manzanar, are possible... "For months and months", a college boy told me - "we have been pushed like cattle -- pushed here, pushed there -- forbidden this, forbidden that -- and we never know what new restrictions will be imposed upon us tomorrow... we are tired of it"...

The evacuees realize that - since relocation - they deal with an administration composed of many fine and well-meaning persons - but, quoting a Nisei, "We feel," he said, "there is a helpful hand coming from the Administration - but we also feel that there is another hand, which grabs this helpful hand and prevents it from reaching us"... -- There was a rumor in the camp that the Manager of Community Services is about to resign, feeling unable to perform his duties properly between the pressure of the people's expectations and the opposing pressure of this "preventing hand"... If true, it is a sad symptom. - They are undoubtedly fine people and idealists - many of those who now comprise the Administration of the W.R.A. - Should they go, others will come, and again others - less understanding, less interested - making the solution of relocation problems ever more complicated...

... "Leave them alone" -- these evacuees are imbued with cooperative spirit and have sufficient capacity for social engineering -- they are also an unusually disciplined and law-abiding community... Give them tools and materials -- restore
to them as much freedom and respect as possible -- and let them build their own life, solve their own problems and go their own way... -- also dispel their fears concerning their future reincorporation into American life... You will save for America many good sons and loyal citizens! -- Under such conditions there still would be a faint chance of some success of the Relocation Project -- otherwise this project will unavoidably become a repetition of the sad experience with isolated Indian reservations...

IX.

... The train from Salt Lake City was late -- I went for a stroll through Delta... On the main street two M.P.'s watched two Japanese boys go out of a store -- and, after a hurried consultation, started determinedly after them... I turned back to the station... The train finally came. A group of boys descended, boys in uniform, Japanese-Americans -- soldiers of the United States Army -- evidently on a visit to their families in the camp... The train left... the sun was setting over the desert... over vast, endless spaces...

Visions, thoughts -- whirling through my mind... I was thinking of this great country -- of the people who made it -- of all those who came here from every corner of the globe to make it a home for a nation of nations...

"... that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness..."
NOTES ON SOME RELIGIOUS CULTS AT TOPAZ

Main Religious Groups

Blocks 36 and 37 are the most concentrated Buddhist blocks. It is estimated that 40% of Topaz is Buddhist, 40% Protestant, 20% Catholic, Seventh Day Adventists and no religion. Even this last minority has a Buddhist background culturally. There are five Buddhist priests here now who alternate on Sunday services to congregations of 400-500 and more; a mid-week service takes care of the overflow. Block 28 is the most concentratedly Protestant group. The Catholic group is small, consisting exclusively of a limited number of families and their children who had been sent to a parochial school in San Francisco. The Seventh Day Adventists, who share a "church" here with the Catholics, consist in 25 families; they are the sum total of the Bay region believers, and all of them, it is said, are here at Topaz.

Splinter Cults

In addition to the major religious groups, Topaz has a large number of small splintered cults. The largest (estimated at several hundred only) is the Seicho no iye (lit. "sacred Possessive house," i.e. "the house of sacredness"). This is a Christian Science-like group with a kind of faith healing of all illnesses. Another group, apparently affiliated in Japan with the Kagawa Christians, is called (after the founder) the "Nishi System of Health Engineering". They take special exercises, based on an elaborate physiological theory to the effect that
circulation is not only via the vascular system, but also by osmosis, similar to the circulation in plants. The Moxa faith-healing cult operates by burning pieces of punk on selected regions of the skin, with the theory that this stimulates the malfunctioning nerves relevant to the illness concerned. Another splinter-cult pricks the skin with needles in order to cure diseases; it is said to have a very elaborate philosophy and dogma. Another faith cure uses gold needles to touch the skin in order to stimulate the nerves whose malfunctioning causes specific diseases. This is a kind auropractics or chiropractics, but based on a theory of neurology instead of osteology.

Administrative Relevance

In times of dislocation, anxiety and distress, people are seeking for psychological security in all sorts of ways here. The multiplication of splinter groups is an expression of this quest for security. There are probably newer ones growing out of evacuation which were not present even in California earlier. Another point, the aggressions of the very polite, threatened Japanese-American group are increasingly turned inward, and there is a very obvious concern with health here as an expression of this hypochondriasis. It is abundantly clear that the issues involving the hospital at Topaz were emotionally very significant to the entire population. The issue even now is still a live one. We need to be aware of how Japanese-American culture and personality in meeting the experiences of evacuation has taken these particular new turns. Our cue here from the administrative point of view is to be sensitive to the enormous emotional
significance of health and hospital facilities. It explains some of the unexpectedly great pother over what was essentially a personality-conflict in the hospital administration.

Another minor point of medical significance. It was apparently the custom in California for families to take care of any mental cases quietly within the family. Under new conditions of housing, these cases are more conspicuous publically, and especially so under mass eating conditions in the dining halls. One observing informant told of an unpleasant incident involving an epileptic in the mess hall at Tanforan. There is a deaf-mute in one of the warehouses who is possibly psychotic. It is of course a matter for competent medical judgment to decide whether he is best used in this job which makes little demand on him, or whether the case is serious enough for institutionalizing. However, it seems that for purposes of project morale it would be wise to segregate any mental cases as quickly as they become apparent, not merely to remove the burden from the family concerned, but because of potential troublemaking that these psychotic individuals might cause.

Community Analysis Section
Central Utah Project
TOPAZ, UTAH

(Impressions and Observations)

I.

Barren desert -- vast stretch of brownish clay -- not a tree, not a grass, only gray crumbling sagebrush -- when the wind blows, clouds of dust turn the day into a gloomy twilight -- and then snow begins to fall, and the dusty ground turns into impassable quagmire . . . -- and above this forlorn gloomy landscape, behind far distant snow-covered mountains, the sun sets in an unearthly glory of flame . . . . and people who have been brought here -- men, women, children -- eight thousand of them -- turn away from the desert and follow the setting sun . .

"These flaming skies," told me one of the Niseis, "remind us that in spite of trials and hardships, in spite of fences and restrictions, there is always Beauty -- and where there is Beauty, there must be Love. . . ."

II.

. . . From the railway station in Delta to the Relocation Camp is a distance of approximately 40 minutes by car -- that is, if transportation has been kindly provided by the Management -- otherwise, to get to the camp would be impossible. -- Evidently, the site has been chosen so as to prevent any contact of the inhabitants of the new city with the outer world.

Mr. W., an engineer of the camp, met me at the Delta station and took me for a refreshment to a drugstore on the main (and, I believe, the only) street in Delta. We encountered there a young man, Mr. I., a Japanese-American, a student of political science of both the University of California and Columbia University. He was in a state of great excitement -- from his story it seemed
that, having been taken to Delta on a picnic by an official of WRA (a certain Mr. J.) and on a legal permit, he was ordered out of the drugstore where he was having a drink by an M. P., who told him that "No Jap can sit and have a drink in this place --" and it required the interference of the accompanying official to save him further unpleasantness and difficulties. -- He was trembling with indignation -- "Imagine," he said, "I am an American -- and a college graduate."

Nearing the camp later on in Mr. W.'s ear, I noticed a whole squad of M. P.'s drilling in front of their barracks. "Why are so many soldiers here?" I innocently asked. --"To protect the Japanese in the camp," was the answer. "But," I stammered, "is such protection really needed?" -- Mr. W. turned his head and looked at me. "I don't think so," he said slowly, "but they do . . ."

III.

. . . "The change from the Assembly Centers to the Relocation Centers may make many an evacuee feel like the ancient Israelites when they advanced from the wilderness to the Promised Land," hopefully wrote Dr. Galen M. Fisher in his article, The Drama of Japanese Evacuation -- adding further on, cautiously, " . . . if the paper plans are carried out. . . " I wonder if they are, or will be, or can be carried out. . . "It's the same thing all over again," told me a young girl who had just spent six months in an Assembly Center. . . "Still," she continued, "keep an eye on us -- we are determined to build a city out of this waste." -- Against the background of the glaring inadequacy of preparations and the crudeness of facilities in the camp, the unbelievable tenacity with which the evacuees are trying, against all odds, to create living conditions, impresses one as almost pathetic . . .

The gray, uniform barracks which house the evacuees were not completed when the first batch arrived -- they were not completed when the last batch arrived -- and now, after nearly two months, they are still not completed. -- Most of them
had neither ceilings nor inside walls — with the result that people had to sleep with their faces covered by towels to protect themselves from swirling dust. When I say "dust," I mean the dust of the Utah desert — no one who has not seen it can imagine its ill effects. — It penetrates everything — it fills your mouth, nostrils, the pores of your skin, your clothing — and all efforts to keep yourself or your room clean are just futile efforts . . . On the second day of my stay in the camp I witnessed a dust storm . . . out of the window of a barrack, at a distance of about two or three yards, I could not see the opposite barrack . . . I wonder what will happen to many of these people — especially the children — who came here from a place with the best climate on earth. . . "We are ready to stand against any odds," several of them told me, "but how shall we fight the elements?" . . .

Men and women, young and old, volunteered to "winterize" the barracks, i.e., to put in ceilings and inside walls — a very difficult job, which they did splendidly — in fact better than a similar job done by professional workmen in a block reserved for Caucasian teachers. "Well," remarked one of the volunteers, "we are a source of cheap labor, aren't we?" . . .

A little informal concert that I had been asked to give for the benefit of students and music-lovers in the camp, could not take place — because the director of the music school, (where I would have played), with the assistance of his teaching staff, was "winterizing" the barrack of the school . . .

I have been told that furniture was promised for the barracks — standard G. I. furniture. With the exception of army beds, none of the furniture ever arrived — and the people had to fall back on their ingenuity. — I have seen a reclining chair made by a newspaper man, a writing-table made by a college boy, and a cabinet made by the wife of a cleaner . . . how, with primitive tools and out of only scraps of lumber, they succeeded in fashioning these pieces, will forever remain incomprehensible to me . . .
IV.

During the three days of my stay in Topaz, I was having my meals with the evacuees in their mess-halls. Some of the meals were fairly good -- others rather scrambled-up affairs. The food, as I heard from dozens of people, was at first both inadequate and insufficient -- complaints voiced chiefly about the lack of foods containing proteins. But there has been a marked improvement very recently. -- Menus, as planned by the W.R.A., cannot be adhered to, because products, sent by the Quartermaster in San Francisco, do not always contain all the ingredients necessary to serve properly balanced meals. The result is that menus have to be made locally, and that the responsibility rests with the Japanese cooks of the mess-halls, who must strain all their skill, must save, calculate, balance, and look ahead -- so as to insure for their community meals digestible and somewhat varied. -- Topaz as yet produces nothing -- everything has to come from the outside -- and with difficulties of transportation and the eventual shortage of products, there is never a guarantee that necessary products will come through regularly. (At the moment when this is being written, there is an acute shortage, in San Francisco, of butter, eggs, meat, milk products, etc. -- I wonder how it has affected the diet of the Topaz population . . .). -- Out of its meager funds Topaz buys vegetables from the Tule Lake Relocation Center, which, with its rich fertile soil, produces not only enough vegetables for its own use, but indulges in the luxury of "exports." -- I have been told by a member of the Administration that chicken and hog farming has already started in Topaz. In the future barter-trade may be established between different Relocation Centers . . .

"My children cannot yet get accustomed to this diet," a barber from San Francisco told me, "we have to buy some food for them from the outside." . . .
V.

The general unpreparedness of camp accommodations finds its correlate in
the insufficiency of both educational and recreational facilities. — The latter —
which for the mass of people are of next or equal importance to food and housing —
seem practically non-existent. . . "No funds available" was the discouraging
explanation of several Nisei, "we have a recreation department — also we were
told that each block of barracks was to have its recreation hall — well, there
are neither halls nor recreation — also we lack any sports equipment. . . " --
The demoralizing effects of this situation can hardly be underestimated. . .

In the field of educational possibilities the prospects, at least, are more
hopeful. — The Japanese and Japanese-Americans are probably among the most edu-
cation-minded people in the world — and one feels how the inhabitants of the
camp — especially the younger element — in the midst of many immediate and
pressing problems, are making incessant efforts to start a broad educational
program. — They are greatly handicapped in these efforts — "many things that
were promised and looked so nice on paper" are not yet available in reality.
"This will be the high school" a Nisei guide told me, pointing out a stretch of
waste land. . . Still, classes have been started — the music school has an en-
rollment of 500 students (how, by the way, this mass of students can receive
any musical education, having been provided with just a few junk pianos, remains
a mystery to me. . . ) — Also I have seen a barrack with the inscription "Pub-
lic Library — will open soon" . . . Last but not least I met a Caucasian teacher
in dramatics who, at my question as to what he thinks about this place, enthu-
siastically exclaimed, "This is the best town in the United States . . . where
else will you meet so many intellectuals in one spot, so much talent, and such
zeal for learning?" . . .

I interviewed another teacher right after, "I am quitting," he said gloomily,
". . This place has got me — it's too tragic . . . " — But then he was not
teaching dramatics. . .
VI.

The impression one gathers from talking to evacuees of various ages, professions and backgrounds is generally the same: on the surface, a quiet determination "to carry on" under all circumstances—a certain amount of enthusiasm as revealed by younger people (especially those with a college background and employed in administrative or cultural work)—or a patient stoicism and silent resignation of the elder people. — It would be a mistake, though, to take this "front" for a sign of high morale... on the contrary — the morale is very low, and from what I have been told, is becoming lower all the time. Underneath the brave decision to "make the best out of the worst" there is bewilderment, bitterness and resentment... People feel disillusioned and betrayed in their beliefs and hopes. It is a sad fact that our general public, to whom press, radio, and other sources of information have been representing all the Japanese in Relocation Camps as an enemy element and a dangerous bunch of potential saboteurs, does not know how many loyal American citizens, deeply imbued with faith in and devotion to the ideals of democracy, have been placed behind barbed wire — and continue, in spite of the injustice inflicted upon them, to persist in this devotion. — They were willing to believe that their removal from the coast was their patriotic contribution toward the war effort, and they "took the rap" gracefully, although for many of them it meant complete ruin. They stood bravely all the hardships, physical and moral, of the Assembly Centers and looked forward to what they have been promised by word of mouth and in print: a new life in the Relocation Centers — a life as a free community, life restoring to them the self-respect which has been so sorely wounded... They were badly disappointed. "We feel how, slowly but steadily, the atmosphere of a concentration camp is again being created around us... When we came it was just desert, but a open desert -- now/barbed wire fence is being built around the camp and searchlights are placed at vantage points... why?!..." The complaint is justified — an observer, who has seen the geographical position of the camp, realizes
that no one could or would run away, and no one could or would sneak in from outside, because the vast stretches of surrounding desert provides in itself a formidable "fence."... People’s movements are unnecessarily restricted. When a former student of mine, a young lady, highly educated and a fine artist, asked in my presence the manager of the camp, whether she could see me off at the train in Delta, she received the answer, that regulations would not permit it unless a Caucasian escorted her both ways (1). Why?!! She is an American citizen, and it was in a trembling voice and with tears in her eyes that she said, "I did not know that Americans are divided into Caucasians and non-Caucasians."... It is an ever growing conviction of the people that the case against them was construed on the basis of purely racial discrimination -- and they point out, in support of this statement, that both aliens and citizens of German and Italian parentage have been treated differently... VII.

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"... that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness..."
Sept. 7
Ernst: "A welfare policy will be pursued as far as possible under the restrictions of military demands."

Sept. 11 - 214 Deacon volunteers

Sept. 14 - Vernon Johnson: "We will try to set an example and make Topaz a model city.

Sept. 15 - Kitchen Controversy: Actual cleavage between kitchen workers and stewards in Sept. 15. Kitchen workers were bluntly and commandingly told to clean toilets by Mr. Allen. Under their system, Mr. G. told them he would take 12 workers and 120 men, but because they decided to clean 100, first a half day wages because they were not sure in first place. Workers not because pay was little enough. It was for good of people. One, we advanced contingent working for good of people. Two, we advanced contingent working for good of people. We kept them by keeping well treated. We kept them pushed around. Allen is short of munitions and Allen Kimura's suggestion: Conflict between Watson & Allen Kimura's suggestion.

Directives: "We don't know which one to follow.

Allen: "In the line, you guys got to take my orders. I'm hired by Uncle Sam & you fellows are just here for the good. Who started this war - I didn't." Tell them to get jobs elsewhere. They go, learned about feeding people, have captains meet to talk to P. O. whose decision they will accept. Among were advance contingent. Rep. better cook & agents from San Francisco.

Sept. 17 - December. Jean J. Walter. No mattresses
9-24. "Only under neg. mediated by common sense
I'm sure I slept. At Topaz. Ernst"
Oct. 9. - Fence posts being left by Army.
Oct. 10. - Of 36 rec halls, only 8 are used.
Oct. 11. - Rain made barracks uninhabitable, very incomplete. A. Eaton investigated use of ten paper to cover roofs, yelled at nurses to take down ends, etc. Somebody got mad and told him to come up and do it himself.

Memorial celebrations for Santa Anitas on Block 34 on Oct. 11. They had slept 2 nights under unfinished roof and rain one night. Meanwhile a block with finished houses stood vacant (for $8); groups of men protested.

Oct. 15. - 308 Texasans, last contingent, departed delayed by Army. Newman & Ross to be housed at 7. Floor pullman but Army couldn't let them make upper berth. 10th to 10th floor.

10-15 Great H.
10-19 School rego. 1651 students.
10-18 Hard effenweins & fuel backers.
10-19 Ernst writes residents to make fee under 90.
10-20 Ad blinggo 90% ready; resident 95%; C. Newman 95;
          hof 1010, MP 997, Newman room 100 90 (Sept 30),
          streets 3 5 70, branchmen 99, water, dentich 98, O.
          Strake 10 70
10-25 Resident legman visits me.
10-26 700 franks; 850 sheetrocking barracks.
10-26 Town, house rent for others, dub radius of outside
       branches. 1,700.
10-26 Corp Set Clothes 10-28 last Demits arrive
          Snow; 700 still school
Oct. 2, 1942 - lack of bedding, housing shortage.

Oct. 2 - first contingent of men hired for sugar beets.
    - first entertainment.

Dust storms; newly occupied hedges had only
    wooden walls & tar paper, wooden roof & no tar paper.
    Chimney hole & no chimney.

Rumors of scorpion bite.

Sanford death due to diphtheria epidemic.
    (Mrs. M. Goto) From which left Sanford.
    San. route had to stop in Santa because of the
    numerous diphtheria cases on board.

Oct. 4 - Music school to be opened with Frank
    Prinz, jr. of Sanford music school &

Oct. 4 - Woman burned by hot tar from roof, perhaps
    perf. defacement.

Oct. 4 - Myel N evitar. Dr. Paul Horota, Chmn Council.
    Talks of relocation before war over.

Oct. 5 - Agric. "Seminar" - Roco Bells

Oct. 5 - 2882 employed.

Oct. 7 - Coop Census meeting, Los Almendro.

Oct. 8 - 570 Santa Antonio from S. F. "to assess in the
    bed of the river, a new bag city in the desert." With lies
E. Mark Letter 10-30-42

C. Utah. the best organized Center. 600 out on sugar beet labor problem but to lesser degree than elsewhere. Volunteer winterizing & coal banking. Resentment against younger element out on leave. "Tajay is really making an effort to have the leading "resident" in any field be the chief of the Section while WEA staff acts mainly on the role of consultant. Is a point anyway. Tajay is the most "genteel" project. Need for policy on transfers between projects, repatriate letters. Very strict in keeping on the spot to other projects. Letter on clothing allowance allocation. Fewer influence in Center in allowance allocation. Ernest has strong behind the scenes at least. Ernest has strong plan for opening wedge in giving Nisei & their children relief from their elders. It would start by rehousing 1ST & 2ND blocks near the hospital. Older people who are less ambulatory need special help. He sees slow Japanization in allowing housing to continue as at present with Nisei life as little onerous than maederment."
Makase, Yoichi
mo. 59  b. 20
resettled-b 27

Guadalupe

Father general merchandise. Father passed away some years ago, family kept store going. Probably a little money. Planning to go to California. Yoichi planning to go to Illinois.
11-5-42

House Bill to remove citizenship causing anxiety

Dec.

12-17
13 for Camp Savage

12-15
Vote on charter 75 20 15

Jan 1943

1-7
Team Beta, chairman of Council

1-15
Induction of Council. Gov't. Mrs. Mars There

1-16
Visit of Massachusetts - Relocate

1-25
57 weeks regard for Selective Service. T. Beta is Chairman of Committee on registration

1-30
True record of statistics person adopted as Tops

Symbol.
Well illustrated on the county and community levels are the effects, for or against facilitating the return, of various organized groups such as the ministerial.
Topaz

17, 483. 51 A. 1000 = farm
340,428 Be as living files.
Uranium pop. 248 farmers.
Sept. 11, 1942, Anfaran arrives
8,156 pop peak.
12 bananas to a block
250 - 300 per block.

at Topaz most of the prisoners were held by force
than condition is prevailing in the camp.

Later Trouble in Topaz - Nov 2, 43, "AD ING. Empl."
Com. Gov. holder
Mayeda, Minoru
w. 52
army - so. 18, 25

Gardena
small leased farm
Son was doing well before evacuation as jeweller.
Family may have means, not certain.
Will join elder boy in California if and when he gets out of Army. He was a volunteer. Now, just waiting.
Topaz

Dr. James Yots
former resident head at Manzanar
head Surgeon 7 F. A. Co. Hospital
K.K. Harada, Kondo Y. Nakahara (and Juhnna) are at hospital present
Hiroto, Fred Rhachi
w. 52  d. 32  so. 15, 12
resettled- so. 23  d. 22
married-d. 31
army- so. 18

S. Pasadena
Business-retail grocery fruit and vegetable
Fairly well-to-do.
Plan to go back to Pasadena. Mr. Hiroto has already made trip there.
"I for one would like to see group-competitive games like baseball encouraged even more. It's interesting, from the point of view of these theories, that the residents are such super-fanatic baseball fans. It's good stuff, we need more of it. But I don't know about physical contact sports like football. My impression about such physical contact competitions in Japan as wrestling is that they are largely spectator sports, and not the great participator sport that baseball is. Too bad we can't have cock-fighting here! That fits the mild southeastern Asiatics to a T. But we could have kite-flying contests and all the rest, lots of competitive exhibitions. Particularly personal handicrafts. The trouble is, we don't have to worry much about the nisei; they have plenty of outs. What we have to get at are the issei. The community co-op is a valuable forum for them; maybe the new issei Council will be a great help here."
Behind the decision of army authorities to move all Japanese out of coastal areas along the Pacific Coast were a number of important factors. Allegations of critics of the policy that it was actuated by economic and patriotic pressure groups, self-seeking politicians, scare mongers of the radio and press, and war hysteria on the part of the people generally, all contain a measure of truth, yet they fail to give us a comprehensive picture of the situation as a whole.

The available evidence shows that not all pressure groups were in favor of mass evacuation. While some farmers' organizations, business, and labor groups favored it, others did not. The State Chamber of Commerce at its meeting on February 16th in San Francisco went on record as opposing precipitate action in removing the Japanese. Church groups and religious leaders were practically unanimous against indiscriminate evacuation. Labor representatives stated before the Tolan Committee at the San Francisco hearings that they were opposed to evacuation of all Japanese, viewing it as a move by business interests to secure a form of forced labor. Even the newspapers, while not opposing wholesale evacuation, nevertheless, for the most part, did not agitate for it.

Assertions of Professor Bellquist of the University of California and Carey McWilliams to the effect that the entire movement to force mass evacuation of the Japanese was the work of anti-Japanese pressure groups and agitators of the radio and press greatly oversimplifies the psychology of the situation as well. The Japanese have never been popular on the Pacific Coast. The many attempts over a period of more than half a century to discourage their migration to this country and to exclude them if possible gives evidence of this feeling. Nor can this prejudice be said to be the sole possession of a few hostile groups. The overwhelming popular vote in favor of the alien land law of 1920 demonstrates all too clearly the widespread character of the anti-Japanese attitude.

The treacherous attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor brought home to the people here the wholly alien moral standards of the Japanese-in-Asia and confirmed many of them in their belief that the Japanese-in-America are unassailable. In addition, the success of the foray evidenced the possibility of attacks by sea and air on our coastal cities, a possibility made probable by the extensive losses suffered by our military and naval forces in Hawaii, and the all too obvious inadequacy of our preparations for defense.

Hitler's amazing success in Europe through the use of Fifth Column made perfectly clear the impending danger from enemy aliens, especially Japanese, in the event of a Japanese armed invasion of the West Coast. A large proportion of Japanese were concentrated in our industrial areas, close to many installations of military importance.

Activities of the F. B. I. resulted in the arrest of a large number of hostile aliens, the majority of whom were Japanese. Out of 888 violators of military regulations seized by the FBI, 498 were Japanese. Many of them were illegally in possession of firearms and ammunition, dynamite, short-wave radios, and other articles useful to fifth columnists.
Evidence in the case of Williams and Ryder, two San Francisco publicity men hired as propagandists by the Japanese, indicated that there was a widespread Japanese propaganda network spread over the coast. K. Takahashi, San Francisco manager of the Nippon Yosen Kaisha and others were implicated in this Japanese propaganda machine. They acted through the Japan Committee on Trade and Information, operating in coastal cities, which, the evidence indicates, spent over $200,000.00 between 1933-1940.

Current assertions by some writers quoting official statements from Hawaii to the effect that there was little evidence of sabotage in the Islands by Japanese and that this is conclusive proof that such fears are groundless, are entirely too sweeping. Lack of evidence of overt acts of sabotage does not establish that no espionage or fifth column activities have been going on in the Islands. On the contrary indications are all too obvious of the existence of such subversive tendencies.

At any rate, in the popular belief of the time, the Hawaiian-Japanese had much to do with the success of the Pearl Harbor attack, and by analogy, in their view, West Coast Japanese would act the same in similar circumstances. That this belief is not too far-detached is shown by behavior of the Japanese settlers of Davao in Mindanao when the Japanese army invaded that island.

The theory advanced by some that the people of the coast were entirely passive under these circumstances until their fears were worked on by agitators is an exaggeration. On the contrary, existing popular hostility to the Japanese on the coast was roused by the threat to their security and, in view of the imminent danger, the bulk of the people were supported extreme measures even at the cost of injustice to some.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE JAPANESE

The two most frequent criticisms of wholesale evacuation of the Japanese from coastal areas are that (1) only the Japanese were singled out for this treatment, while other enemy aliens were allowed to remain in all but the most critical areas; and (2) that forced removal and detention of American citizens is an unconstitutional invasion of the rights of citizens, a policy wrong in itself and one which sets a most dangerous precedent.

That mass evacuation of the Japanese was discriminatory and, to a degree, based on racial prejudice, is incontrovertible. Reasons advanced in favor of it are that it is harder to check on Japanese activities because they "look so much alike" and "stick together so closely"; that they were threatened with mob violence and needed protection; that many native-born Japanese have been educated either in Japan or in Japanese language schools and are supporters of Imperial Japan; and that national safety required their removal because of the danger of their cooperation with Japanese forces in event of an invasion.
In rebuttal, it is contended that most of these arguments are merely excuses on the part of various hostile groups to get rid of the Japanese if possible. Critics of the policy assert that the FBI is perfectly capable of handling subversive activities among the Japanese as well as other enemy aliens, that the local police can handle cases of assault on Japanese, and that the great majority of Japanese-Americans are loyal to the United States.

Dissenters point out that if it was not necessary to stage mass evacuations of Japanese in Hawaii, which is in a much more exposed position, why should it be necessary to do so on the Coast? Reports from Hawaii seem to indicate that wholesale evacuation in Hawaii was opposed by business interests because of its crippling effect on economic pursuits on the Islands, forty per cent of whose inhabitants are Japanese. Other maintain that the Army's present policy there is weak; that the Japanese in Hawaii, a large proportion of whom are loyal to the Mikado, should also be completely evacuated from that military outpost.

In any case, the present provisions in regard to the two areas are obviously inconsistent and seem to justify the criticism that racial prejudice has played too large a part in the relocation of Japanese on the Coast. Yet here, too, the psychology of the situation plays a part in that the whites are in the minority in the Islands and intermarriage among the racial stocks is a commonplace there, while in the Pacific Coast states the white population is overwhelmingly dominant, and racial inter-mixture — especially between Caucasians and Orientals — is taboo.

The second charge that compulsory removal and detention of American citizens is illegal is now being tested in the federal courts in the case of Mitsuyo Endo, an American-born Japanese and former state civil service employee. The contention of the defense in this case is that the power to exclude does not include the power to detain; that is, though the government may force a citizen to leave a zone declared to be of military significance, this does not give it authority to set up camps where citizens may be confined against their wills without a legal hearing. If this contention were upheld by the courts, all native-born Japanese would have to be released from the camps.

The legal issue is a complicated one involving the question of martial law; under what conditions it may be applied, and how extensive the territory it may cover, whether in fact the powers now being used are justified by military necessity, and if so, to what extent civil rights may be suspended. Critics of the army's policy cite the case of ex parts Hilligan decided shortly after the Civil War. If a recent case involving a Japanese in Seattle who sought release from the curfew law is to be taken as a precedent, however, the courts will uphold the war powers of the President even if civil rights are to some degree suspended.

As for the question of expediency, the current opinion among observers is quite overwhelming that it was a mistake to evacuate American-born Japanese. Here again, however, the question is more complicated than at first appears evident. Many native-born Japanese have
been educated in Japan (Kibei) and are loyal to that country. Others in America have shown pro-Japanese sentiments. Loyalty to the United States cannot be determined wholly by reason of birth in this country. Some Japanese aliens, also, are loyal. To separate the sheep from the goats, the recommendations of the Tolan Committee that all Japanese be given the same opportunity as other enemy aliens to prove their loyalty before hearing boards, would seem to be the best and most just procedure. Detention of loyal Americans whose talents are now being wasted in the comparative idleness of relocation centers is a stupid and futile policy.

During the height of the movement to evacuate the Japanese, a number of acts of petty persecution were perpetrated which on sober second thought, no doubt, will be rectified as contrary to American ideals of fair play. Among these may be mentioned the suspension of 235 Japanese State Civil Service employees and their later removal from the rolls on the grounds that, because they were in detention camps, they were not performing their duties. This action, according to newspaper accounts, was taken over the objection of attorneys for the state employees. According to reports, suits are now being instituted to determine the rights of this group under the Civil Service Law.

The State Board of Equalization is said to have issued orders to file complaints against all Japanese controlled corporations holding liquor licenses in the state.

U. S. Webb, former attorney general of the state, is reported to have proposed before the sixty-fifth annual grand-parol of the Native Sons of the Golden West that the federal Constitution should be interpreted or amended so as to deny citizenship to all Japanese, regardless of place of birth. Webb is said to have stated that our policy of conciliation, appeasement and apology towards the Japanese is responsible for the present situation. Following this statement, a favorable resolution was passed, and a suit instituted in the federal courts by J. T. Regan, grand secretary of the Native Sons of the Golden West, to force registrars of voters to eliminate the names of persons of Japanese blood from the voting lists. The suit was dismissed by Judge S. Sure on the grounds that the Supreme Court had already definitely decided on that issue.

The Japanese question was thrown into the gubernatorial campaign when Governor Olsen's action approving proposals to use Japanese evacuees for work in the harvest fields in the unrestricted areas of the state, if approved by local authorities, was condemned by Republican newspapers as endangering the safety of the state. This agitation has died down now that federal authorities have begun to use the system of "furloughs" on a wide scale.

Rumors that Japanese evacuees were compelled to sell their property at sacrifice prices may have had some basis in fact but more careful procedures have now been instituted by federal authorities to protect property rights of the Japanese. Much complaint has been made about the hardships suffered by evacuees in the camps. Though, no doubt, conditions are far from perfect, it is possible to sentimentalize to
much over this matter. When we think of what our drafted men in the
 camps have had to endure and the agonies they went through on Bateman
 and at Midway, the temporary inconveniences of the detention camps
 become of minor importance.

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT REASONS WHY COMPELLARY EVACUATION WAS NEEDED WAS THE UNIVERSAL REFUSAL OF OTHER STATE AUTHORITIES TO RECEIVE JAPANESE EMIGRANTS WHO LEFT THE COAST VOLUNTARILY. CONSENT OF THE GOVERNORS OF WESTERN STATES TO IMPORTATION OF JAPANESE INTO THEIR TERRITORY WAS OBTAINED ONLY AFTER THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES HAD PROMISED THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD BE UNDER FEDERAL SUPERVISION AND WOULD AND WOULD BE RETURNED TO PACIFIC COAST STATES AFTER THE WAR. PROPOSALS TO ALLOW JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS TO ENROLL IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN OTHER STATES WERE, WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, MET WITH REFUSALS BY THE AUTHORITIES OF THIS INSTITUTIONS. FEARS WERE EXPRESSED THAT CALIFORNIA WAS TRYING TO SHIFT AN UNPLEASANT PROBLEM TO OTHER STATES.

THE GENERAL HOSTILITY DISPLAYED TOWARDS THE JAPANESE DOES NOT AUGUR WELL FOR THE FUTURE. PROBABLY THE BEST THAT CAN BE HOPED FOR THE EVACUATED JAPANESE IS THAT THEY WILL BE RESTORED TO THEIR HOMES AND PROPERTIES IN CALIFORNIA AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR WITHOUT TOO GREAT INJURY TO THEMSELVES.


THAT THIS SENTIMENT IS DISCRIMINATORY AND RACIAL IN CHARACTER IS TRUE ENOUGH BUT IT EXISTS JUST AS TRULY AS RACIAL PREJUDICE AGAINST THE NEGROES HAS EXISTED FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS. THE IDEAL SOLUTION WOULD BE TOLERANCE FOR THE JAPANESE GROUP AND ITS CULTURE AND COMPLETE FAIR PLAY FOR ITS REPRESENTATIVES ON OUR SHORES. PRACTICALLY, HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM MAY SOLVE ITSELF THROUGH THE FACT THAT OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS HAVE STOPPED IMMIGRATION FROM JAPAN ENTIRELY, THE OLDER GENERATION OF JAPANESE HERE (ISEI) ARE DYING OUT, AND THE NATIVE-BORN JAPANESE (A SMALL ELEMENT IN THE WEST COAST POPULATION) WILL EVENTUALLY BE ABSORBED.

IN THE MEANTIME THE SCHOOLS, THE CHURCHES, AND OTHER CULTURAL GROUPS MAY DO MUCH TO PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, APPRECIATION AND TOLERANCE FOR ASIATICS WHOSE RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS DIFFER FROM OURS BUT WHOSE THOUGHTS AND IDEALS ARE ALL AMERICAN.
A City of Twenty Thousand

Suppose Santa Rosa were leveled by a quake. All of its people (and some of the neighbors) were left unharmed — except for certain understandable psychological traumas. But where the Court House, the High School, the business blocks, the old houses and the FHA dream-traps had stood, now was dust, and hot wine; and the flat unheeding earth.

Here then are twenty thousand people, and no city. Now they have to build the city, anew. They, farmers and tradesmen and stenographers, and old people with anxious voices herding the children or, knotted in little groups, exchanging long thoughts with only a half-sentence and a wag of the head.

They have to build a city anew.

To start with, there is the land, and water. The Army comes, and with its eye sternly fixed upon the military horizon that bounds its field of vision, raises on the dust an emergency city: Theatre of Operations Field Plan 146B. For every person, 500 cubic feet of sleeping space; eight feet in each dimension. For every 500 persons, one recreation barracks containing 16,000 cubic feet of usable air; fifty-three and a third cubic feet per person; a coffin of space, eight feet high and three and a third feet wide and two feet deep. Recreation space: space in which to do one’s work, sell one’s wares, buy one’s necessities, perform one’s rites of education, play, and worship, and get one’s hair cut.

Nevertheless, on this land, in these barracks, we have to make a city, and teach it to govern itself, and let it find productive work to do; and let grow “all the normal community functions and services of a city.”

But there is another side too. Here are no slums. Here are no areas of commercial and protected vice from which gang and policemen and bankers may derive their joint share of power and profit. Not only the buildings; the very civic organizations and institutions of Santa Rosa have blown into dust. Franchise and taxes are vanished. Politics is stilled. Twenty-thousand people; they are all that’s left. And they have to build a city. They have to remake themselves into a collective civic entity, into a society. For the first time in man’s history, twenty-thousand people are free to choose what manner of citizens they shall make themselves, by what manner of city they choose to make.

Because this is Emergency, one or two other conditions are given. There is a hospital, and public health. There is food, as well as the flimsy shelter whistling in the wind. There are even those who give advice, and represent the authority of those who gave the food and the shelter, but these people too are committed to one premise: that the twenty-thousand shall make their own city in their own image.
Now is the time when all good social planners, dreamers, advocates, and idealists come to the aid of the party. We who give advice, who sanction action, who represent the sources of consent; we, the Administrative Staff: what shall we advise? What manner of city do we envisage?

First, like all who have tried to rebuild, we try to put the old picture back on its familiar hinges. The framers of the American Constitution had grown to manhood and success under a system of government by divided houses, with a separate judiciary. Therefore that was Nature's Plan. We likewise grew to be Administrators in cities that had schools with graded classrooms and textbooks and curricula; accredited teachers; social workers to knit up the raw edge of society's machine-knit garment; organized recreational patterns that rested on the separation of the age-groups; police to dramatize in ceremonial clothes the conscience that respects Private Property; private enterprise in the creation and accumulation of that property, and laws and lawyers to secure the titles of proprietorship. And in our schools, we took for granted, children should learn the arts of production, computation, communication, and respect for law. Oh, and churches too, we assumed were essential to the practice of worship, to the partaking of brothers in the fatherhood of One when they had themselves created in order to symbolize their deep sense of being brothers. And churches as we were familiar with them; were also enterprises, things of property and title and the law.

In the cities we had known, many services had come to be performed by people who made those services their full-time (and variously remunerative) occupations. In old Santa Rosa there were a dozen kinds of Social Worker — and an organization which usually expressed the relationship between them. There were also clubs, and things called Parent-Teacher Associations, where the teachers reluctantly appeared among the parents who conscientiously appeared among the teachers, and both found in traditional ceremonies dear to women's clubs a surcease from the embarrassment that afflicted them when they thought of each other in terms of children.

Oh yes, and there was a Chamber of Commerce, whatever it did.

Our new city, by Advice and Consent, has agreed that all production for internal use, and all internal exchange, shall be done by Cooperative Monopolies. This is a historic First. Even Health has become a public utility, and not a commodity to be bid for in the open market. What will these aspects of life do to those others, the Chamber of Commerce, for one? For another, what would a Medical Society do here?

But not all branches of public organization have been so fortunate. Here, where Government might have grown out of the parents and the young people and the philosophers, it has become the sad prey of lawyers, for them
there was no other excuse. As the health of the body physiological may be gauged by the presence or absence of doctors, so the health of the body political may be measured absolutely by the number of lawyers and the amount of lawing they find to do. To let them first construct the constitution for a commonwealth (for that is what our city is) and then to worry it into its component logical shreds again is not only a sorry hold-over from the past; it is a sac of poison in the teeth of the future.

Why should we not restrain our lawyers to useful labor, as prostitutes were rehabilitated by the Soviets?

Would you put the City Hall back where it was in Santa Rosa? In the life, as well as the geography, of the town? Or is there some other way to focus and interpret the will of a community? Some way, we should say — not some other way. How shall the General Will be enlightened (this is Education) and expressed (this is Government) and made understandable to the citizen who is also the subject of that Will, which is his will too (this is Law, and it is the business not of lawyers but of philosophers)?

Shall we assume that nothing was wrong with our institutionalized churches, and merely reduplicate them in our new city? Authority has said there may be one temple, in all the city, for worship, and that it shall be up to the competing faiths to decide at what hour God shall be a Presbyterian, and at what hour a shoutin' Methodist, and when he shall step down to make room for the Santa Buddha. Will this suffice to make the wealth of human reverence, the wealth of our worship of that in man which is worth worshiping, into a commonwealth?

Shall we assume that history had reached her zenith in our graded schools? What did we think of those complacent texts, those teachers gilded or apayed by the mixed aura of reverence and contempt with which our cities surrounded them? How successfully did the Home and the School combine to supplement each other's efforts toward the creation of — what was that word, again? — Character, that was it.

Character is the way one learns to do what he does and be what he is, by the contagion of the people and circumstance among which he grows up. Only the total community is accountable for education. But we had set the School apart from the Community, and could not solve the hard problem of their relationship thereafter. We had set the classroom hours apart from the child's life, and had worked endlessly to try to find a sound relationship between his classroom, his play, and his work (and his Home and his Church, and his Scout master officer and his social worker and his recreation director and his Scout master and the Council of Social Agencies and the Community Chest — now, where did that child disappear to?)
Here in Dresher, we may invent. Consider it well: we are free to make what we will. Oh, we want the child to retain his continuity with life before and after this episode; but shall we sacrifice to mere continuity all possibilities of making him into someone with the freedom and the power to help heal the things we thought were wrong in that continent?

Why should not Education for a child consist in his father's taking him to where the father works, and explaining what it is that he is making, or making grows; and then another's taking the child to see what becomes of what is made, or grown; and letting him follow the processes of distribution and preparation for consumption, and the consuming too? Why is not the policeman, the fireman, the nurse, the Worker who does a city's service, the teacher? What shall the Teacher be, more than a guide and an interpreter — an interlocutor of persons and events, forcing them to answer the child's questions? What teachers schooled the child of the tribe in the skills by which the tribe survived? What education is there, in essence, away from and cut off from the living of the child's people, his community? May we not re-invent the communal education of the tribal child, upon our higher level of interpretation? What continuity of copyrighted textbooks is higher than that of the rich texture of our working life?

Not that we should have books play a smaller role. They should play a larger one, so that we could expect every child of our schooling to grow into a student, a man who knew what books were for, who knew their place in life, and knew his place in them. That and our textish education has never reached. Shall Dresher march down that same path, from primer to grammar to Caesar to Superman?

Where lies the heart of education? For the child, its test is that his curiosity leads him on and outward into the patterns of his own, his family's, and his tribe's living process, and inward into the mysteries of each kind of thing and each refinement of procedure. If his curiosity flags, his education as a child is over. For the youth, its test is that he sits all night arguing with his fellows, or opens his fellow emotions to the seed of poetry and dramatic literature and music, and raises a new crop of thoughts to keep him up all night among his friends. Curiosity has become exploration, and the child's conquest of activity has become a testing of oneself against all real and imagined experience.

(hes wanted to live in all the houses, sleep with all the girls in that city, he was engineer physician poet streetsweeper streetwalker policeman burglar a thousand lives in him hungered to be lived, he was without limit)

and a testing of all experience against what one's friends thought about it all. All books of life, work, emotion, action, experience, are his texts, not ECONOMICS FOR THE SIMPLEMINDED
For the grown-up, the heart of education is in his wish to know himself in terms of what he does, and of what other people do to him, and of what they are, he and they both. When a man has stopped wondering, you cannot educate him; for there is no man there. If you can help him wonder, he will educate himself.

How many institutional practices of the old city were developed in an effort to overcome, or deny, or heal, the results of practices familiar to that city — but not to ours?

Group work? An antidote for the over-atomized individualism and loneliness of those in cities like Santa Rosa, Hoboken? An attempt to escape from the meaninglessness which we had imposed upon man's jobs, Labor unions? The voice of machine-tenders protesting that they were not machines — but a collective voice, in which the single notes relinquished their individuality that they might be heard at all.

Last the Press. Who determined that the Press should be a business? What man in his senses would have predicted the gathering and dissemination of the information by which a people lives would be classes as Enterprises, blackmailing the people on pain of cutting off their news if they did not pay enough to show a profit? Who would not have supposed that the press is a profession, like health, and part of education? Do we now propose that Breschen shall have no news unless it pays a price, and buys advertising space? Or may we claim the Press as an arm of the schooling of the whole people?

We in America have let the law — the interpretation of the agreements under which we live together — become a commercial enterprise. Yet we do not often think of letting a private concession to a company of police, or call for bids on the contracting of selling for military duty. One would as logically let a contract to a Congress Company to make the laws, as to a publishing company to enlighten the people. Let Breschen set another precedent of social logic, and claim the press as the public's business.

"But we have special problems with the Japanese. Look at the deep cleavage between the generations. Look at the dangers of popular American opinion. Look it, look it!"

We have a cleavage of language, and of the modes of thought that language rests on and creates in a man's mind. Let us teach English with all speed, and not simply as a language but profoundly. Adult education for the Issel could be built on the great American state documents: the Declaration (even the Mayflower Compact), the first and second Constitutions, the great Decisions, Lincoln's thoughts. Those have been among the words that made our American language and modes of thought. Let us try to teach the great working of the American mind, which is in its great documents the greatest mind that collective man has yet achieved. We could do worse than teach these documents with the young men too, and the young women. And with the American thoughts, these
of all other peoples from which they are derived; Greeks and French and Germans and English and Scots and Irishmen and Italians and Russians and Swedes.

The contest between the generations is not Japanese. It is American, without the superficial language differences. It is in all immigrant peoples whose young have learned the American pace and emphasis and the negative values, and so are at loggerheads with the positive values and moralities of the land from which they are emancipating themselves. In every immigrant family the Civil War is being fought—Greek, Italian, German—it seems to me we just went through such a list . . . .

The Japanese elders live in another page of the calendar. The mothers' fear of dancing, their scorn of Theatrical People, is my Methodist forebears' fear and scorn — circa 1880. The family cohesion is that of an earlier America, a rural one, before the city and the professional services spun the family into its centrifugal vortex. Here in Brehon we are violently 1942—izing this old cultural complex; shall we faint at the thought of the contest for power going on in the midst of revolution? Most of what our Brehonians do is none of our business, and nothing we could step into and affect. These are not wards of government. They are the folk of a city . . . their city . . . a city of twenty thousand. It will be neither Japanese nor . . . what shall we call the alternative? For, as I understand what America means to be, no city we have yet known has been American. Suppose we say only that Brehon will be a new kind of city. To us, the representatives of Sanction and Consent, that means two things: that we shall be modest about determining what manner of city these people may make; but bold in inventing the new forms through which they can make it. Men make themselves as they make the forms of their society. They, and we, will be made either new, or old, in the making of this city.

John W. Powell    July 1942.
January 10, 1944

WHAT ARE WE THINKING ABOUT

On the matter of relocation and the future welfare of the camp, there has been held many discussions. As a result, I am taking this liberty to break down the ideas and to offer my suggestion to help the WRA as well as the residents.

I. Isseis Viewpoint on Relocation

A. The majority of isseis are definitely not receptive to relocation. They are either in advanced age where their chances of earning a livelihood are remote; or they have too many dependents and their chances of making ends meet are remote; or their fear of the outside is so great that for the duration they want to remain in the center.

B. About the only ones considering relocation, are those with sons or daughters who have relocated and they wish to be together, or those with farming experience with a chance to continue in the raising of similar crops in a suitable locality. Of course, there are some who are willing to relocate provided WRA provides a sum large enough to see them through the next five or ten years or sufficient capital to set up business. Those isseis who consider that for their childrens' sake, they want to relocate, wish to go out on group relocation. That is for WRA to set up a camp similar to a center but in a smaller scale near some farming area or large city and be given egress or ingress to the camp, but strictly under WRA administration. They would work nearby, but their safety will be guaranteed, and this will be a stepping stone to permanent relocation.

II. Niseis Viewpoint on Relocation

A. Foremost in the minds of niseis is a greater financial assistance. Up to now the plan of WRA might have been sufficient for single persons of workable age. But in order for the more stable, mature family group to relocate, there will be needed a sum sufficient to set up housekeeping. One must understand that the majority of relocators are going out to reestablish themselves and to earn a decent living. Their financial status has been greatly strained due to evacuation and the consequent camp living. Their decision
is either to remain here and restrict their spending to actual income and thus live like paupers, or to go out and try to earn enough for a decent living. It is a simple matter for a single person to save enough from their earnings to plan for the future. But for a family it is different. Let us take for example my own case. I have a wife and three children. First and foremost concern is the housing and school. If I can find a decent house and be provided with sufficient money to set up housekeeping, then the rest can be worked out. But if I am only provided with a job plus train and meal fare and maybe enough to live for a week at a hotel or hostel, it will not encourage me to relocate. I will have to think of the money required for rent, food, utilities, furniture, clothing, medical care, and transportation. I know that no matter how much I may earn, that I will not be able to save enough to meet the initial expense. What I earn will be just enough to keep me going after I have set up housekeeping. So I feel that financial help to the extent of one year's money spent on me here should be granted to me.

B. DRAFT STATUS - Many citizens thinking of relocation are discouraged by the uncertain draft status. Having relocated and established themselves, and to have the draft status changed is a great worry. In case of draft the family and dependents should be allowed to come back to camp.

C. CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS - One of the greatest encouragement to the citizens will be the restoration of the constitutional rights. Now that there no longer is the danger of invasion and the military situation has improved to such an extent that we are now entering the final phase of the war, there should be no need to further incarcerate the citizens. Those citizens and aliens who are eligible for relocation have all been classified as loyal to America, as such there should be no danger of sabotage from this group. Instead if we are given equal privilege as any other citizens then we can all unite in bringing a quicker end to the war. There should be the restoration and guarantee of our constitutional rights.

D. SAME CONSIDERATION IN CASE OF INDEMNITY - Many people are thinking that after the war there will be some form of indemnity paid to those remaining in camp. Most of us know that this is remote, but to some this is enough to discourage relocation. If some definite assurance can be given that there will be equal treatment after the war whether we be in the center or on the outside it would tend to discourage this thinking.
E. HOSPITALIZATION - Many relocators are quite concerned about hospitalization fee for the first year or so. If some arrangement can be made with some agency to take care of this, it will be another step to encourage relocation.

F. OLD AGE PENSION - Japanese people put great emphasis on family relation. The children are especially attached to their parents. Because their parents cannot relocate and they do not want to be separated, the sons and daughters are remaining in camp. To correct this, I would suggest that some form of old age pension be paid to the aged like any other citizens. If a monthly pension of $50 or $60 can be paid to all over 60 years, then the whole family can relocate together and the aged will not be a burden on the younger member. When you consider that the majority of these isseis have been in this country from 30 to 40 years, having faithfully paid taxes and in general having lived like an average citizen, there should be no reason why under the circumstances that special consideration should not be given to them.

G. RETURN PRIVILEGE - The last matter under consideration is the granting of return privilege without a lot of red tape. Up to now it has been practically impossible for a relocator to return to camp. This has made the relocator kind of hesitant of leaving the center. Although they want to relocate, yet after being in here for nearly two years they don't know how things are on the outside. If a broader return privilege can be granted them, that is, say after one year that they decide that they cannot make a go of it that they may come back to the center, then people would not hesitate to go out. After a year stay outside, I believe that 95 per cent will have made a success of relocation and would not consider returning. From what I hear from people who have relocated the first two months are the hardest. After that things begin to look brighter and they will have gotten used to the surrounding.

If the WRA can give consideration to the above matter and favorable action taken on them, then there is no reason why people will not be receptive to the encouragement of WRA in matter of relocation. But there will always be some who are unable to relocate no matter what the WRA does for these people. For these people special consideration must be given by WRA. Their monthly income is not sufficient to take care of their need. They have been dipping into their reserves to live like other people here, but they cannot long keep this up. There either must be increased income for them either by larger cash allowance.
or by other means.

H. CASH ALLOWANCE - When we were evacuated in here there was talk that we would get a monthly wage of $50 and $90. But due to the public pressure and due to the fact that the privates in the Army were only getting $21 they decided that our pay will not be more than $19. Now that the Army pay has been raised to $50 there should be like adjustment in our pay.

I. CLOTHING ALLOWANCE - Our monthly clothing allowance of $3.75, $2.75, and $2.25 is insufficient to meet our needs. With prices going up and commodities of inferior qualities on the market, there should be an increase in the clothing allowance. The allowance of children should be just as much as for adults, for we all know that children outgrow and outwear clothes and shoes faster than adults.

J. NEED FOR LIBERAL CASH AND CLOTHING GRANT - The present policy of WRA is to economize and limit the cash and clothing grant to those unable to work. WRA should feel that it has a certain duty to provide money for these people, and as such make it as liberal as possible in quantity of allowance.

K. TRAINING PROGRAM - WRA should undertake an intensive training program to encourage relocation. What training as has been available has been very meager and not sufficient to prepare for occupation on the outside. More competent instructors and a diploma that will be accepted by the firms on the outside should be given out.

L. HOME INDUSTRY - WRA should encourage instead of discouraging home industry in order to raise sufficient income to meet everyday needs. There are great number of women in the center who must stay home to look after their children. These are the families which can use additional income. These people want to work, but no work is provided for them. WRA should send representatives out to various cities to contact the department stores, the mail order houses, and five and ten cent stores and various manufacturing plants to contract work to be done in the center.

In this way without the WRA spending additional money it can increase the revenue of the residents.

In conclusion I wish to say that more aggressive steps by taken by WRA. As it is now although it has a set goal, yet to reach that goal it detours and is pushed around. The WRA
has the backing of the President of the United States. It should not be discouraged by what propaganda inflamed citizens might say, but take long firm steps in achieving its goal. Such is my humble opinion and it can be taken for what it is worth.
If thou desirest to achieve success of treatment, earn wealth, acquire celebrity, and win heaven hereafter, thou shouldst reverence Kine and Bramanar above all, always seek, whether sitting or standing, the good of all living creatures. Thou shouldst with thy whole heart strive to bring about the cure of those that are ill. Even for the sake of thy life thou shouldst not drain those that are ill. Thou shouldst not even in imagination know another man's wife. Thou shouldst not similarly appropriate other people's possessions. Thou shouldst not keep any connection with publicans or sinful men, or with those who are abettors of sinful behavior. Thou shouldst never give to other the practices of the patients house. Thou shouldst speak words that are soft, stained by impurity, fraught with righteousness, incapable of giving pain to others, worthy of praise, truthful, beneficial and properly weighed and measured. While entering the dwelling of the patient thou shouldst do so with due notice of the inmates and with their permission. With thy wits about thee thou shouldst with understanding and mind properly fixed observe all things. Having entered thou shouldst devote thy words, mind, understanding, and the senses to doing good to the patient and not to any other subject. There is no end to Medical Science, hence heedfully shouldst thou devote thyself to it. Unto men possessed of intelligence the entire world acts as a preceptor. Unto men destitute of intelligence the entire world occupies the position of an enemy.

Charaka Sahmita.
As Evacuee’s Hopes

A third generation Japanese-American, Miss Mine Okubo is an art graduate of the University of California and a young woman with a healthy sense of humor. As an artist she needs no introduction to the Bay Area. Her debut as a writer was accidental—her explanatory notes with her sketches were so much more THIS WORLD simply incorporated them into an article.

By Mine Okubo

FOLLOWING THE ATTACK on Pearl Harbor, evacuation of civilians and aliens of Japanese descent from the West Coast area was authorized by the Government. One hundred and ten thousand people were evacuated. Twelve assembly centers and ten relocation centers were established.

In all of them the situation has been worse or just the same, as I find in going to Tanforan Assembly Center and the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz). I am expressing the whole.

Relocation centers were not intended as concentration camps or prisons. They were established primarily as an expedient. . . .

Approximately 7500 people, former residents of the San Francisco Bay area were interned at Tanforan Center for a period of six months. All were later transferred to Topaz Center. Former residents in the Bay region who were at the Santa Anita Assembly Center placed this group along with some Hawaiian evacuees. The maximum population was 8,779, making Topaz the fifth largest community in Utah.

Bewilderment was expressed by most of the evacuees who had been living in cities and had to face a public that seems predominantly hostile. Although a few were friendly, there were no signs of good will until the famous Tanforan Band was formed. We were given canvas bags for mattresses. We were given lunch at a cost of 34 to 42 cents per person per day. All rationing restrictions applicable had begun forming two hours before mess time. It was a blessing when the trains arrived and saw the familiar faces of our families.

On moving day each person and every single piece of baggage had to be checked through FBI.

The W. R. A. . . . carried out a vast registration program of all evacuees at every camp in the nation. When everyone had registered, they were classified according to their age and sex. The first train trip for most of us that would take us to our new homes. Mother hung up the children’s clothing on a line, and the neighbors came and helped make the packing easier. The children were not only assured of good care but good training in the schools.

The train trip from Tanforan to Topaz was a nightmare. It was a hot and dusty trip for most of us and we were excited, but many were so tired we didn’t even have the energy to eat. Many times I would greet someone from San Francisco to move to Topaz.

“...In the barracks there is no running water, no cooking facilities, no bath or toilettes. However, each block of 12 or 16 barracks—accommodating between 250 and 300 people—is provided with a main hall and a bath and laundry building.”

During the winter trees and shrubs were transported from the distant mountains and grafted into camp. Many times we dreamed about them during the suppression of the trees that were green started to appear. Right now Topaz looks a little green in spots and it is a treat. The typical Topaz scene is the watch tower, barbed wire, low tar-covered barracks and the distant mountains.

We believe it is possible to distinguish between the loyal and disloyal people of Japanese ancestry to a degree that will safeguard the national security. We believe that loyalty grows and sustains itself £...