

7.20

Iakeuchi, Jack

draft longitudinal history

83/115

Tsuruda, Feb. 2, 1944 September, 1943

BOB TSURUDA AND FAMILY

With  
During my visits ~~to~~ Bob Tsuruda in Tul e Lake, some member or members of his family were almost always present and usually they joined in the ~~xxx~~ conversation. I have therefore titled <sup>this</sup> the longitudinal oral history "Bob Tsuruda and family". ~~I have also seen many of his children and grandchildren.~~  
~~talked to Bob's wife, his sisters, Noriko and Noriko, his sons, Noriko and Mrs. Sato.~~ The participants include Bob's wife, his two sisters, ~~Noriko~~ Noriko and Mrs. Sato, his ~~sister~~ brother Jack, <sup>wife</sup> and Jack's ~~wife~~, Mr. Sato, and, on a few ~~xxx~~ occasions, Bob's five or six year old son.

Bob relocated in September of 1944 and, his wife ~~relocated~~ <sup>in November</sup> ~~relocated~~. ~~RE~~ was sent to the Rower Center <sup>his</sup> ~~in November~~. But I continued to visit ~~the~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~twice~~ sisters and in-laws until May of 1945.

Tsuruda, Feb 2, 1944

September, 1943

B 21

~~BOB TSURUDA~~ ~~INGILA-1943~~

[ ~~A~~ Bob Tsuruda was ~~xxxxx~~ a cocky, shrewd, ~~and~~ loquacious Nisei, born in Sacramento, California, in 1914. He was married ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ <sup>one child.</sup> and ~~had five children.~~ He had graduated from Junior College and, at the time of the evacuation, he was employed ~~xx~~ in a ~~xxxxxx~~ drugstore.

In ~~the spring of 1943~~ February of 1943 he had answered the military questionnaire in the negative, ~~and~~ When I ~~first~~ met him in September of that year, he was ~~xxxxxxx~~ scheduled to be segregated <sup>to</sup> ~~at Tule Lake~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ at Tule lake in about a month. ] At ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ our first meeting <sup>Bob</sup> he told me frankly: ~~that he~~

"You know, what I'd really like to see <sup>war</sup> Japan win the ~~xx~~ and then call it a draw. Just so that the Caucasians get knocked out of them that they're ~~xx~~ not so damned superior as they think they are." Accustomed to talking to the cautious and circumspect "loyal" evacuees, I looked somewhat surprised at this ~~xxxxxx~~ bold statement. ~~xx~~ Bob noticed this, laughed, and said, "What the hell. I'm going to Tule Lake. I can speak my mind. What have I got to be afraid of?" (Fieldnotes, Sept. 2, 1943, ~~Thesis p. 91~~)

He ~~explained~~ that he ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ <sup>then changed his tone and</sup> was the sole support of his aged parents, ~~his~~ wife, and ~~his~~ child, and, <sup>children</sup> after the unfair way he and the other Japanese Americans had been treated, he figured that the ~~xx~~ most sensible thing to do was to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and ~~keep out of the hands of the~~ avoid military service, ~~and~~ go to Tule Lake, and see what ~~happened~~ the future held. ←

He also suggested that I visit his sister, Mrs. Sato, who, though ~~XXXXXX~~  
"disloyal" was to remain in Gila for several months.<sup>1</sup> ~~XXXXX~~ I followed

1. For a case history of Mrs. Sato, see "Doing Fieldwork", pp. 84-87.  
I was told by another respondent that Mrs. Sato's Issei husband had  
been interned because he had been accused of singing the Japanese  
national anthem in the block mess hall.

this suggestion and ~~Mrs. Sato's XXXXX XXXXX XXXXX XXXXX XXXXX~~  
had a number of interesting visits with Mrs. Sato. She was a remarkably  
independent and outspoken person.

97 After the segregation in (October of 1943) I corresponded with Bob and with  
other segregants who had talked to me. ~~XXXXXX~~ I recall that in  
December ~~he~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~he~~ wrote me that the <sup>WRA</sup> had announced that  
the widow and son of the Japanese ~~American~~ <sup>who had been</sup> killed <sup>at Tule Lake</sup>  
in the farm accident of October 15, "are entitled to the grand sum of  
sixty per cent of whatever he is making in a month, namely, sixty per cent  
of the kingly wage of sixteen big dollars."

In February of 1944, BOB TSURUDA IN TULE LAKE-

~~XXXXX~~ I was permitted to make a two day visit to Tule Lake. I wrote to  
Bob Tsuruda, telling him when I was coming. When I arrived at Tule Lake  
I was told by Mr. Black and Mr. Best, that I would not be permitted to  
enter the "colony" unless I was accompanied by an armed soldier. ~~XXXXXX~~  
But, with Mr. Robertsen's assistance, I was able to get the military guard  
changed to a member of the Internal Security, who I asked to stay in  
his car while I visited ~~XXXXXX~~ my Japanese friends alone. He was  
agreeable. (See Fieldnotes, Feb. 1944, pp. 1-3.)

Sunday, Feb 2, 1944

3.

I had ~~written him that I was coming and~~ found <sup>Bob</sup> him living in a large barrack <sup>room</sup> with his wife, son, mother, an old partially paralysed man whom I took to be his father, ~~xxx~~ and a younger sister. He ~~had~~ <sup>and</sup> his family ~~had/defined~~ <sup>obviously</sup> my visit as a ~~social~~ <sup>social</sup> occasion, <sup>and</sup> his wife served us ~~with~~ excellent tea and/a delicious chocolate ~~xxxxx~~ cake which ~~they had~~ <sup>I</sup> somehow <sup>had</sup> procured from Klamath Falls. ~~His wife also sent out her little~~

1. At that time I ~~xxx~~ was not aware that this meant that ~~he had an in,~~ <sup>Bob had prevailed</sup> with some member of the administrative staff <sup>to pay a bribe</sup> for ~~no one else would have~~ to purchase and bring the cake to him. ~~bought the cake for him.~~

son with some tea and cake for my Internal Security ~~xxxxx~~ escort, who ~~had obligingly remained in the car when I explained that I preferred not to~~ <sup>by my escort</sup> ~~commit my xxxxxxxx~~ so that I could visit my evacuee friends alone. The little boy came back and showed Jim ~~Bob~~ four ~~xxxxxx~~ pennies ~~the guard had given him~~ Jim laughed.

Jim impressed me as having lost a good deal of his pre-segregation cockiness. He talked to me in a ~~xxx~~ soft half-whisper, whereas at Gila he had spoken boldly and in a loud voice.<sup>2</sup> He had also gained

2. I did not at this visit realize that my visit put him in danger of being called an inu.

about fifteen pounds, "from not working," he said.

After we had exchanged amenities, ~~xxxxxx~~ and gossiped about what was going on in the Gila Center, ~~xxxxxx~~ Bob asked me whether it was true that Gila was going to close soon. I said I did not know.

He told me that his sister, whom I had visited frequently, was soon coming to ~~Gila~~ <sup>Tule Lake</sup>. ~~(xxxxxx)~~ I then began to do my job as ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a field

3. ~~She did not arrive at Tule Lake until...~~

worker and ~~xxxxxx~~ told him that one of the chief points I would like to get straight was whether the first negotiating committee (of the ~~Daihyo~~ Daihyo Sha Kai) had been regarded by the people as their legitimate

4.

"That was one of the things that got the Japanese in an uproar. All of the respective people in the block elected them. When the Spanish Consul was here they went and made their requests. But there weren't any representatives who spoke real good English - their terminology sounded more like a demand. It made a misunderstanding. Some allowance should be made for this lack of education in the English language. The army flatly refused to recognize the representatives."

After every meeting the representatives always came back and at supper called for silence. They'd get up in front of the mess hall and give a brief summary of what went on before the meeting. They'd take Ayes and Nos for any question then. If there was no time in mess they'd call a special meeting at night."

"The only thing everybody in camp absolutely endorsed was the dismissal of Dr. Pedicord, and more care in placement of drivers and an improvement of food, and I think, the request for an investigation of grafting. Grafting started the whole works. It was asinine asking for porches."

from a fanatical Kibei being a representative."

"The requests might have been couched in dictatorial terms."

"Best said he'd stand pat until the people went to work. He just.

called them (the harvesters) with no warning.")

I asked about Dillon Myer's speech to the residents on November 1, and ~~xxx~~ whether some of the Japanese American enthusiasts had used force:

"When this came about, it so happened the goon-squad went on the war path. They took Dr. Pedicord in hand. He admits he struck one of the fellows."

"The people gathered in some blocks. In some blocks the representatives asked the people to come because Myer was going to give a speech. Then, when there wasn't enough people there, a few members of the goon-squad got cars. They said it wasn't safe to remain in the barracks and asked the people to head for the Administration area. I sat tight. I figured if I'm going to get shot I can get shot here in this barrack. They talked to the people trying to make them go, saying, 'Are you a Japanese or not?'"

"There was a very small minority group of young radicals. They took it upon themselves to do things for the people in camp, without the peoples' permission. It was this group who first went around demanding the removal of the American flag, and also demanded that the Co-op stop selling newspapers. They were all for Japanese stoicism. Nobody paid any attention to them. They were not real representatives. Quite a few were Hawaiians. There were many Hawaiians in the troublmaking group."

(I asked whether Myer and Best had made promises to the people when they gathered around the Administration Building. Bob related what he had heard from friends.)

"Then Myer and Best came out. Myer got up and talked to the people in public over the public address system. He promised the people the dismissal of Dr. Pedicord. As far as the dismissal of Best, Myer was against that. Myer said Best had done all right."

6.

~~Bill~~ then made a few remarks about the period of Army Control:

"The people hiding out had information that was vital for maintaining peace and normalcy in the center. But if they showed their face outside they would be put in the stockade. And, so, naturally, the only thing they could do was hide out.

"The Army had a house to house search. They said it was to get contraband. They were saying too much in the newspapers about weapons. Personally I think it was to locate these four boys." 1

### Later Developments during Strike

Bob then told me about a secret vote held on December 4. which no other respondent ever mentioned to me:<sup>2</sup>

"There was one vote that the Army wasn't supposed to know anything about. All the Japanese met in their representative blocks and voted whether to go back to normalcy or adopt the status quo permanently or call a general strike. All the time this status quo was on, the coal crew, the hospital bunch, the garbage and the mess halls were still working. At that time the vote came out that they should adopt the status quo instead of a general strike. They went against the return to normalcy because that would be an insult to the representatives barricaded in the stockade. All their work would be for nothing."

2. The account ~~of the anniversary~~ of ~~the~~ this event in <sup>"The Spriloge,"</sup> Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 166-7, comes from the minutes of the meeting of the Daihyo Sha Kai. Dec. 4. which were given to me later.

He added:

"Then also at that time they had a second negotiating committee that wanted us to go on a hunger strike. That didn't last long. Everybody ignored it altogether. They sent people to the block representatives to try to influence people. The blocks were to go on a hunger strike. The people ignored this second negotiating committee."

I asked Jim about the popular referendum vote of January 11, in which the residents had voted to abandon the strike or "status-quo".

Monday Feb. 2, 1944

7.

"This other referendum vote - (of January 11) the Army more or less called that one. They were supposed to have united the people for the psychological moment to spring that question; whether they wanted to discard the status quo or continue. To help out, the bunch who wanted to discard the status quo kept pulling the people right and left. They said that anybody who was inciting the Japanese to continue the status quo strike - and that more or less damned a large majority - were only hurting themselves."

"Anyway, people got wise that the longer they maintained the status quo they were going to yank them and stick them in the stockade. Besides their finances were petering out. Here - they're still paying off on the October checks. These fellows who were not working got no clothing allowance, no welfare, no income.

"Another point of view: the people here are supposed to be loyal to Japan now. Here's an argument some of the bright boys advanced. (These were members of the group who wished to abandon status quo.) They said, in returning to normalcy we'll be drawing salaries. Then on top of that the government will have to pay us clothing allowance. That's just that much less money that the U.S. government is going to have to manufacture armaments to beat Japan. I couldn't see it. I know myself that regardless if the Japanese draw this monthly stipend, they'd not make much difference to the U.S. treasury. But it sounds good on the surface and it swayed some of the stubborn people."

"They had a referendum vote. Two soldiers were present. They took a vote of all persons over eighteen. The soldiers with one Japanese present counted and tallied the votes. There was a majority over 400 [actually 473] voted to return to normalcy."

I remarked that a member of the administration had told me that the decision to return to work had been made on a majority of 800 votes.

Bob snorted:

"Eight hundred my foot! One block didn't even vote. There were quite a few blank ballots too."

"I spoke to a soldier here when they were making the house to house search. He was a sergeant from Idaho. He had a very low opinion of the WRA. WRA is always pulling boners. They got themselves in hot water and had to call the Army."

"A couple of days after that all those desiring of work could report to a place. The only trouble with this is they don't have enough work to go round. So many with large families have no way to get money. Under WRA arrangement, if you won't work, you can't get clothing allowance."

I asked about the rumors that I had heard that the Co-op ~~had~~ had influenced the selection of the Co-ordinating Committee:

Juntura, Feb. 2, 1944

8.

"I don't think the Co-op itself had much influence. I don't think the Co-op had anything to do with forming a committee to bring back normalcy. It was essentially an organization to serve the people in camp. There were no political officials in it at all."

"The first I heard of going back to normalcy, the heads and the former employees of some of the divisions called a meeting. That was the first trend toward normalcy. They held elections for this committee January 11. The committee - they are so called men with ability. Akitsuki was an official of the Co-op here. I don't think they want political power. They were elected by the wards. Each fellow was elected from a ward. There are seven wards each with ten blocks."

1. [Jim is mistaken. The Coordinating <sup>Committee</sup> was not elected.]

I asked Bob what he expected would happen in the near future:

"I look forward to the end of the war. That's me. There's no future until I see what happens after it ends."

"In camp here, I believe I can truthfully say there will be one of two things."

"One" they'll either continue going back to normal and naturally, eventually the Army will relinquish control - or there's only 400 people difference for status quo than against.

#### The Draft

"When I say something's liable to pop, I mean the newspaper account of the War Department Release saying that Nisei are again eligible for selective service. And that report called for ten centers. That includes this one. But, if and when they start to draft the avowedly disloyal group in camp that is going to be the psychological moment for the next riot. That really is going to be a riot if it ever happens."

"The majority of the people want to be left alone till after the war. They want to be left alone to be dealt with under any circumstances.:

"Another thing that gets my goat is the propaganda of the American Legion, especially in Klamath Falls. They want the Army to take over. The Army doesn't want it. The American Legion has practically terrorized the people of Klamath Falls, warning them to arm themselves to get ready for any emergency. If the people wanted to get out of this place they'd have done so by stating they were loyal and going outside."

"Putting up all these barbed wire fences and watch towers - that's all a lot of bunk. They're not going to go out and kill anybody. They want to go back to California and temporarily this is home."

"I came here to be left in peace. If they leave me alone I'll leave them alone."

## VISITS OF MARCH 1944

On this visit - from March 14 to March 24 I talked first with Mr. Assistant Project Director in charge of Operations Division. Robertson, ~~Head of~~ I asked him what progress

had been made in ~~evacuee administration~~ improving the relations between the evacuees and the administration. He said, "Not very much," and added that over 120 people were still in the stockade, which, ~~he~~ in his opinion, was 1200/ too many. He then asked me if I would do one thing ~~for him~~ for him -- try to find out what could possibly be done to ~~improve relations~~ <sup>[between the Administration and the evacuees and]</sup> to mitigate the present <sup>[atmosphere of]</sup> suspicion. I promised to do what I could, and ~~kept my promise~~.

On the whole, however, I found my Japanese Americans friends and acquaintances ~~more~~ somewhat ~~more~~ less anxious and tense than they had been ~~in~~ at my February visit.

TALK WITH BOB ~~TSURUDA~~ TSURUDA'S ~~BROTHER~~ YOUNGER BROTHER, Bill Tsuruda

When I called at the ~~TSURUDAS~~ Tsurudas' quarters his wife invited me in but told me that ~~Bob~~ Bob was away at work at the mess "as he has always wanted to do." She suggested that if I wanted to talk to Bob I might return that evening, or on Saturday or Sunday. I decided ~~not to return~~ on Saturday.

[ I decided on Saturday, because I knew that the Administration would probably not permit me to enter "the colony" at night, even with an armed escort. ] But Bob's younger brother clearly wanted to talk to me, so I went in and sat down. We

talked first about Gila and I remarked that Dr. ~~Pedicord~~ Pedicord had been transferred there. <sup>But</sup> ~~Jan's~~ brother responded, "Even the way he talks, curls his ~~lips~~ lips, I don't like. It's like he was snarling at you. He's sure going to get his bald head sunburnt in Gila."

I then asked what possible hope there was for bettering the conditions at Tule Lake:

1. Lieutenant Colonel Austin, Commanding Officer of the Army unit at Tule  
Lake. 7

Sumner, March 17, 1944.

"I don't see a single thing that could be done. The peoples' confidence is gone. You get one guy like that in WRA. It doesn't make people hate just him; it's a reflection on all WRA. (Referring to Best) The guys from Leuppe liked Best. They said he was understanding and would make a good Project Director. They said he was Best, the best. Now they say, "Best, my foot!"

#### Daihyo Sha Kai

At first there was a group that went up to see Mr. Best. They were refused; the Army told them they weren't representatives.

#### Public Funeral

That was the Kibei and the Hawaiian boys. I don't think that was the Representative Committee. They didn't go just to ask to be allowed to use the auditorium. They just demanded and rubbed Best the wrong way.

#### Representatives:

The representatives were elected for the block at the beginning of the year. They met together and talked things over. They went up to try to negotiate with the Army. But the Army wouldn't recognize them as block representatives. So the representatives made up a petition and had all of the people in the blocks, all 18 of them, to state that he was a real block representative. This was done after November 1.

Then they took the petition with all the names signed. Then they went to talk to Austin. But they didn't get any place. Some guys went and hollered louder. They got picked up. The loudest ones just got yanked, that's all.

After November 4 - that's when all the people started hollering about the Daihyo Sha and block representatives, etc. The funny part of it is, in January, right after New Year, they're going to elect new representatives. They had about six or seven nominees. Finally one was elected; he absolutely refused to be a representative in this block. He's really a stubborn man. Here it is March and he hasn't represented anything yet.

[I now asked this voluble young man how the Coordinating Committee was making out. The vehemence of his answer <sup>surprised</sup> ~~surprised~~ me, because ~~he and his family~~ <sup>he and his family</sup> were what I then <sup>considered</sup> ~~called~~ "conservative" rather than "radical" <sup>6/1/2</sup>]

Sasaki [Chairman]

That bunch is a bunch of inus, and Akitsuaki is the biggest inu of them all. He'll probably get his brains beat out one of these days. That Coordinating Committee - I don't know who elected them or not. Akitsuaki - people around here know about him. He used to head the Coop during the trouble. WRA took rice here - prior to the search Akitsuaki and the big shots got together and sold the WRA rice in the canteen to the people. They did this with rice and oranges. The money they got from that they divided among themselves.

Sasaki  
They send out pamphlets. It's just a lot of bolony.

I know of a group that has been trying to get a lawyer or a bookkeeper to audit the Co-op books and investigate into it. We know graft like that is going on. Akitsuaki probably got word of it. It was getting hot under the seat, so he quit the Co-op now.

Sasaki

Tsuruda, March 14, 1944 - 10.

I then asked whether ~~having~~ a genuine election for representatives (which the Coordinating Committee was now proposing) ~~would~~ might not improve the situation. ~~Bob's~~ <sup>Bill</sup> Bob's brother said:

I don't think an election would do any good anyhow. What do we want representatives for? They don't do any good. Let us roam around here and feed us three times a day. We'll wait until the war lasts. Nobody likes trouble. If they'll treat us like human beings and not like dogs, nobody starts kicking. If they had had enough brains to kick aside the unreasonable requests and settle the reasonable ones, everybody would have been satisfied.

He then gave me a copy of a statement ~~written~~ by Mr. ~~Akitsu~~ <sup>Sasaki</sup> Akitsuki welcoming the contingent of ~~segreg~~ 1,876 segregees from Manzanar who had ~~arrived~~ arrived at Tule Lake in late ~~February~~ February, 1 and said: That's the kind of thing an

1. For a copy of this statement, see p. 6 of March fieldnotes.

Inu would write. That's really soft-soaping the people."

Bob's wife and his brother's wife, who had said little during the young man's speech, now joined in:

<sup>Bob's</sup> Jim's wife: When Manzanar came in, gee, they were treated good.

<sup>Bill's</sup> ~~Jim's brother's~~ wife: They got everything!

<sup>Bob's</sup> Jim's wife: My sister tells me, "Gosh, they got treated so good they thought something was fishy."

<sup>Bill's</sup> ~~Jim's brother's~~ That paper ought to be signed, "Inu <sup>Sasaki</sup> ~~Akitsu~~ Akitsuki." 2

1. It is significant that on March 1, 1945, I learned that Bill Tsuruda had applied for ~~renunci~~ renunciation of citizenship and that he had joined the Hooshi dan. By March 1, however, I was told that he has resigned from the Hooshi dan.

Tsuruda

11.

MARCH 18, 1944

TALK WITH BOB TSURUDA

~~Since~~ On March 16 I had ~~had~~ a ~~long~~ talk with Mr. ~~Sasaki~~ Sasaki, Chairman of the Coordinating Committee ~~in~~ which he ~~hadn't accomplished anything whatever in the past month~~ appeared very ~~anxious~~ anxious and ~~depressed~~ depressed and told me that in the past month, the Committee had accomplished ~~nothing~~ "nothing whatever". I therefore opened ~~by~~ my talk with Bob by asking him what he thought of ~~Mr. Sasaki~~ Mr. Sasaki. Bob avoided my question and told me:

He's more or less the guiding hand in the Coordinating Committee business. William Mayeda is head of Civic Organization; he lives in 32 block and there's Frank Kawai here, of Housing. They're all placed in strategic positions here. They've always been here. All these fellows are not on the Coordinating Committee. But I'm absolutely positive they belong to that group. Joe Nakao, the one who is supposed to be the Senior Steward of the camp; Sej Mooroka, a sullen type of man - he seems to be Hawaiian born.

He then spontaneously ~~gave~~ gave me a detailed account of the ~~mess~~ ~~irregularities~~ irregularities he had discovered as a worker in the mess division. Most of these involved what he considered evidence that the WRA personnel ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> being fed far better and more expensive food than the Japanese Americans. ~~It's pretty disgusting to sit in that damn office and hear them talk about chicken and turkey and we walk back to work ten blocks and sit down to corned beef and salt pork.~~ "It's pretty disgusting to sit in that damn office and hear them talk about chicken and turkey and we walk back to work ten blocks and sit down to corned ~~beef~~ beef and salt ~~pork~~ pork." He had little use for most of the Caucasians employed in the mess division except for Joe Bellow, who was leaving ~~Tule Lake~~ Tule Lake and Mr. Hayward, Bob's boss.

"All the ~~rest~~ rest of them," he said "have very definite anti-Japanese feelings . . . They got ~~that~~ attitude here; we just hand out food because we can't starve them." He added:

The main reason I'm working where I am is I want to find out exactly what is going on in the food situation, what the Caucasians eat, where it comes from and what's paid for it. I want to compare that with the measly 20 cents the Japanese are getting in here.

Journal, March 18, 1944.

12.

He replied:

Personally, I think if Best (the Project Director) was kicked out and Robertson (Assistant Project Director in charge of Operations Division) got it, (Best's job), it would be

the best thing.

If they tear down the fence, not a person would wander away. This is home, such as it is. It's all we've known since evacuation.

Feeling toward the Administration hasn't changed at all. The only thing that has changed is that people in the center have more or less realized that to try to go against the Administration would be hurting themselves. They're getting smarter.

Since a number of other respondents had complained ~~about~~ about the "loyal" people who had refused to leave Tule Lake, I asked Bob about them. His response surprised me, because we had not been talking about inu :

100% of the inu are of the loyal bunch. I wouldn't be surprised if <sup>Sonaki</sup> Akitsuki and that bunch are all loyal. There is a girl who works at my office. She acts like an inu. This is how I suspect. I told her, "You know, there are a lot of inu in camp". And she said, "Is that so, but it's better not to say anything." That's how I know. Now the natural reaction would be, "Who are they?"

He then, like other respondents, complained about the favorable treatment given to the recent arrivals from the Manzanar Center:

The facilities in the new area, they have everything. Porcelain and mirrors over every porcelain fixture. In this area the men's latrine is nothing but a trough; they leak on the floor and the stench is terrific. The sinks are leaking. The plumbing is so bad they're always plugged up.

~~Since I still had so little information on the complex political activities~~

Since I still had so little information on the complex political activities

~~that took place~~ of October and November 1943, I asked Bob ~~about~~ about the

block representatives and the Daihyo Sha Kai. ~~He~~ He explained:

What you call block representatives always existed even previous to the trouble (that is, prior to the segregation)<sup>1/</sup>

1. See Thomas and Nishimoto, p.

1. ~~Bob was referring~~ referring to the block managers and, probably, to the members of the Community Council. (See Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 114) ]

*Sumner* March 18, 1944.

13.

Out of those that were representatives, a lot relocated and newcomers were elected to take their place. It's quite possible that at the time of the trouble men were elected. But there were quite a few old ones and that's one of the reasons why the people got so burnt up. The name Daihyo Sha Kai was first heard after the trouble (farm incident).

In the beginning the Daihyo Sha Kai was the literal Japanese translation of the Negotiating Committee which the representatives called themselves. I'm quite sure they took on the name immediately after the farm incident. Under that title they tried to carry on the first negotiations.

It was definitely decided by block consent to attend the funeral and make it a regular project-wide affair, by the Negotiating Committee. This was before the nine were selected. They were probably from the newly elected bunch from other centers. They might have been goon-squads but they were representatives.

#### Second Negotiating Committee:

They put in their bid after they yanked (arrested) the first representatives after November 4, but before the important four had given themselves up. They were very radical. That same group went to see the Tule Lake Co-op. By December 6, the original Daihyo Sha was just about shot.

#### Draft

#### Selective Service Notification

Bob then told me:

I got a notice from my selective service. They wanted to know my address and my present draft board. I filled it in. That's what all of us fellows are going to do. We'll fill in everything we get until they tell us to come for a physical. Then we won't report. I figure on staying here as long as I can. There are a few fellows in our camp (Gila) who were yanked during registration trouble. They were sent here. They actually didn't have time to register for repatriation until after the 20th of January.

A good ninety percent of the fellows I've talked to here, they say they'll string along with the Selective Service Board until they get their notice for physical examination. Then they won't appear. That's how I feel. If I'm going to get yanked I'm going to string it out as long as I can.

Apr. 15, 1944

[Bob talked a blue streak and I was able to ask only a few questions.]

Resignation of the Coordinating Committee:

"Personally, I think the resignation of the Coordinating Committee is just the result of the Life photographer being here. Now this center hasn't returned to any more normalcy than it had then. These poor saps got their faces in the magazine. There seemed to be quite an outcry about inu and stoolies. Then Life came out. I think that was the primary factor. I saw two by fours coming. It came to a head when the pictures came out in Life.<sup>1</sup>

The Petition:

The guys believe the petition is a radical goon-squad business. The group behind the petition was more or less responsible for the incident that happened in November.<sup>2</sup> They proposed the general strike and the hunger strike. They are just a minority who feel that they have to make a name for themselves so they'll be honored when they get back to the old country.

When this petition was circulated in this block, the first thing I looked for was official approval. Although Black's name was typewritten on the sheet, there was no signature. So personally, I ignored it. I haven't signed anything.

Personally, I think many people confused this petition with an announcement that came out through the Spanish embassy, which announced that all people who had applied for repatriation had to fill out a duplicate form.<sup>3</sup> It seems that the committee just picked the right moment to send out the petition just so people would be muddled up. If that hadn't been done, they wouldn't have gotten half the signatures they did.

The only segregation the colonists are in favor of is the segregation of the Yes-Yes from the No-Nos. The majority don't care if there's any distinction made at all between the No-Nos and the repatriates.

1. I doubt that the publicity given the Coordinating Committee by Life magazine had anything to do with the resignation. As my notes demonstrate, the members of the committee knew from the moment they took office that many residents would brand them as inu or stool pigeons./
3. I have found no other reference to such an announcement made by the Spanish consul at this time./

[2. ~~Jim Jones~~ Bob was mistaken here. The radicals of November and December were not responsible for the petition for resegregation.

OK

Mess Scandal:

They changed crews in Mess 9. It seems the new crew that moved in ate up or cleaned out everything in the mess including four pairs of shoes for the crew's use. Over a period of three weeks they had on hand 24 sacks of rice. (The population of block 9 is 127 people.) In three weeks this rice disappeared. Some poor guy (a Japanese warden) thought he'd be a detective and got in cahoots with the guilty party and since he held the respectable position of detective he was supposed to find the guilty culprits. So he reported people to Internal Security and Internal Security yanked five guys who didn't know what the score was. They are in the stockade now. They are just saints. They don't know anything.

Rationing in Mess:

Hayward gave us permission to institute rationing.<sup>1</sup> It was that damned moron Atsinger who fathered the blanket system (the former system) when all the mess halls got the same amount of food. It facilitated delivery, but it was not equal. He was against rationing; it was a little over his head. But he was back in this office three weeks after rationing was under way. He thought he'd run the works to suit himself. I explained everything to him and showed him it was a damned good system under which we would eliminate 85% of the menu changes which had been going on every day. He said condescendingly, "Well, ~~fine~~, we'll have to leave everything ride for a few weeks. Then we'll try to tear your system apart." I hit the ceiling but put on a blank stare - I went to see Hayward. I explained. By gosh, he hit the top. The next day Atsinger was moved out of my office to the warehouse. At the end of the month, Atsinger took a trip. Now he's friendly and willing to cooperate.

Troublemakers:

There's still a few people in this camp who don't seem to realize that things are on the upward trend and it might be a good thing if they let well enough alone. I ran into this guy (a Japanese) the other day, who works in the hospital. He said the children from two to ten were badly malnourished. He came to the mess and demanded that the kids get more fruit. We're issuing fruit three times a week. Eighty percent of the kids don't eat all the fruit they get. Yet he wanted us to increase it by two times. He demanded. I suggested he strike up the hospital for a big supply of vitamin pills, since I don't think just issuing more fruit would greatly assist the malnourishment.

I then asked what might happen if the men confined in the ~~stock~~ stockade were taken to the Leupp Isolation Center:

I couldn't say what would happen, if there would actually be any trouble. In a way, I think the large majority of the colonists would be glad that they weren't turned loose in camp again. On the other hand there are quite a few decent fellows in the stockade. If the Internal Security had a particle of intelligence, they should be able to sort out the innocent from the actual agitators. They could take out the innocent and throw out the agitators and send them to another camp. Personally I think it would be a damn poor thing to turn them back into the colony. It would start another ruckus. What do I care about Dai Nippon? I came here to lead a peaceful life until the war's over.

<sup>1</sup> Robertson informed me that the institution of this rationing system was the work of a new man, Mr. Wells; Hayward is probably getting credit for Well's action.

whom Bob likes very much.

Tsuruda - April 15, 1944

Physical Examination for Selective Service:

One of two things is going to happen. I think there are three groups. The gutless ones will be taken first. I still believe there's quite a few of them left. They'll show up at their physicals and for actual induction. Then there's another group who are going to try to take advantage of the new Supreme Court ruling. The gist of it is: if a potential inductee refuses to appear for his physical examination he can be classified as a draft evader, whereas, if he should appear for his examination and should be classified 1A and then at the time for actual induction refuses to comply, he could not be called a draft resister. Some will refuse to appear for their physicals and be draft resisters. But the other group is going to appear mainly for their physicals and then if they're accepted they'll kick them (the authorities) in the face.

I asked what Bob thought ~~about~~ about the prospects of electing representatives to ~~replace~~ the Coordinating Committee:

I don't think the people would go for an election right now. The minute you get a bunch of representatives, you're going to get in a few radicals. They're going to bring up proposals that are downright unreasonable. They will have to bring it up to the Administration and it will cause trouble. Why not let things ride and see what will come of it for a while. If things are let alone they might improve a little more.

I then asked Bob to tell me more about what had happened in October and November.

It will be noted that he told me a great deal more than in his first account.

Reactions to Farm Strike (October, 1943):

I felt that the people on the farm at that time were more or less unreasonable in striking, because they could have kept on working and watched a satisfactory negotiations to be put through before striking. They jumped the gun. It was brought on by high pressure speakers.

Bringing in Harvesters:

At that time I thought considering what Best had promised that he'd notify the colonists of any sudden decision. Then he brought in the farm workers from other centers - I thought it was kind of a dirty trick, putting it mildly.

Reaction to Funeral:

My opinion might be colored. I believe my disfavor to the stand taken by the Administration was because of their refusal to allow the people to use the gymnasium. It was generally publicised that it would be a camp-wide affair. The funeral was on a cloudy, windy day. Just the kind of a day that would put the people in mind for a little radical propaganda to be spread. Standing out in the cold, shivering, with the corpse in front and the goon squad patrolling behind - it was just right for propaganda.

The good squad was just a radical unit - young radicals from Jerome. The Administration made a mistake refusing the gymnasium to be used. Had they permitted the gym to be used, they could have put down a ruling and limited the number of people attending the funeral. Had that happened there would have been a lot less people infected with the spirit of to heck with the Administration, and what not.

#### Breakdown of Status Quo:

You'd be surprised how many people voted for status quo. They were still gluttonous for punishment - or they had voted for it in the beginning. It was my opinion that status quo wouldn't accomplish a darn thing but would only increase the peoples' sufferings. You can't have status quo and expect things to improve. It just means taking a stand-offish attitude, not negotiating, not having a darn thing to do with the Administration, just letting them do their worst.

I voted for the general strike! I went radical that once. I was against status quo the latter part of November. Inasmuch as status quo meant standing pat - they were still going on with the coal, crew, and garbage, mess and hospital, all the janitors and boiler men were working - well, under these conditions status quo could be maintained indefinitely but being very harmful to the colonists. For that reason I voted for the general strike to bring things to a head right away fast. I knew the status quo would be a lingering suffering for the whole damn colony. These elections and meetings were held behind locked doors. The general strike was defeated. Sixty-four mess halls voted and there was a majority of 13 mess halls for

status quo. So we had status quo. They got to thinking about the women and children, and that's why so many were in favor of status quo. They figured it would be awful to have to stand around and watch the kids cry.

#### Inu

And as I was preparing to leave, he remarked:

This last week there's been a lot of talk about dog (inu) hunting with baseball bats. If there's any trouble here in the next five or six months, it's going to be because of keeping the Yes-Yes in the camp.

May 13, Tsuruda

19.

TALK WITH ~~VISITS OF MAY 1944~~ 13/1944  
BOB TSURUDA

On May 13 I took up permanent residence at Tule Lake. It is indicative of my regard for Bob that he was the first Japanese American / on whom I called.

I found Jim having his Saturday afternoon snooze. He received me quite cordially considering the inconvenient interruption, and was soon speaking with his usual volubility.

#### Mess Trouble with Segregees:

We're just going crazy with the new segregees. Day before yesterday they told us a bunch were coming in Friday evening. Next they told us Saturday and then Monday. Everybody in mess got busy and figured out what they should send to the new blocks. Then the first thing that happened they said they were really coming in Saturday evening. That was at 11 a.m. Friday morning. So we started sending everything out. Then at 3:30 yesterday afternoon (Friday) another teletype came saying they weren't going to come in.

It was the same thing this morning. They claimed there would be a bunch in today. So we went to work. Then at 10:30 we got a teletype that they wouldn't be in till tomorrow morning.

#### New Identification Requirements:

This new business about getting off the colony is a pain in the back. First they give you a little piece of paper with your name, age, etc. on it. Now they picked these up and give you another paper with a number on it. On Monday everybody will have to go through a turnstile and they'll give you a little button which matches the number on your little piece of blue paper. They'll probably try to stop you and see if your button matches the number.

"It's just downright silly. If a man is going to swipe your button, he'll swipe the paper too. I could forge one of these in five minutes anyway."

(Jim showed me his paper and it did appear very easy to forge. However, I'm sure it would take more than five minutes.)

#### Possibility of "Trouble" on Draft:

I don't think there's going to be anyone here who'll be taken, providing he's a repatriate. Of course the Yes-Yes boys showed up. I think they sent out 82 notices and 17 boys, all Yes-Yes, showed up for their examinations. One No-No boy showed up too, but he knew his own physical condition and knew he'd be refused.

All they did was come around and pull you in for a couple of hours of routine questioning. Some boys had their suitcases all packed. They asked, "Where do we go from here?" They said, "You can go home now."

One of the kids is in our division: he got pulled in and asked the same questions as he was asked on his military questionnaire. He said, "I'm a Jap and a repatriate and disloyal." He signed a statement then to back up what he said and they turned him loose. He thought sure he'd be sent to Leuppe.

The only guys they are going to send to Leuppe are the guys in the stockade and I think they ought to go anyway.

Tsuruda May, <sup>13</sup>1944

20

I interrupted Bob's spontaneous speech by asking him whether he thought there might be an explosion if the men confined in the stockade were sent to Leupp.

There's no undercurrent of a coming explosion. They ought to know better than that. The Japanese don't work like that. When the Japanese get really started to boil over you don't see the warning signs.

Besides the food has really improved. We have 48,000 lbs. of cured ham sitting there in cold storage. (Here Jim suddenly changed his habitual somewhat cynical expression to one of playful ecstasy.) In the coming month we are going to average

8 eggs per person per week. That's an egg a day!

Private Enterprise Rule at Tule Lake:

*I haven't heard a thing about Private Enterprise here. They have had people working all the time.*

44 hr. Week at Tule:

They tried to enforce a 44 hr. week about the middle of March. Somebody got a bright idea and said we were to go to work at 8:30 and quit at 11:30 and also from 1:30 to 5:30. It lasted about two days. Then they went back from 8:00 to 12:00 and 1:15 to 5:30. It doesn't make a damn bit of difference to me as far as I'm concerned. Why should the Japanese work eight hours just to wind up with the magnificent salary of 16 dollars a month?

Rumor about Exchange Ship:

There's a rumor that there's another exchange ship on the way. I won't believe that till I hear it on the radio. If it were true, it would be good for the morale of both sides.

I interrupted again and asked what people were thinking about ~~the~~

resegregation. He answered in one sentence and immediately changed

the subject:

People feel just about the same on resegregation, but they figure the draft will take care of that pretty nicely (by automatically removing Yes-Yes people from camp.)

*Sasaki* Inu hate has died down. Things are quieting down. People are forgetting ~~Alibi~~. He stays in the background. As long as you don't keep floating something in front of peoples' faces, they forget about it.

Improvement in Food:

The food improvement is remarkable. Up until the end of March all we ever had was corned beef, salt pork and cabbage; and then repeat it. Besides that all we had was weiners, boloney and eggs. There was very little other vegetable except cabbage. But from the beginning of April, things have started to come in. Now we get lettuce, spinach, asparagus. We still get frankfurters and baloney, but we also get beef and veal occasionally, lamb and mutton more than beef though.

Our only squawk is our difficulty in getting pork. I think that's because the quartermaster refuses to send us pork because we have a big hog farm here. And they'll only kill the damn hogs when we're out of all other meat. We don't even get it once a week.

Prejudice of Tule Lake Town<sup>1</sup> against WRA Appointed Personnel:

The residents of Tule Lake seem to be holding the appointed personnel here in an unfavorable light. They suspect the feeling of the appointed personnel here is anti-American and pro-Japanese. So when some of the appointed personnel happen to wander out to Tule and get caught without gasoline, they just won't sell it to them. There has been talk of bringing a party here and having some Japanese citizens and people from Tule Lake there to impress upon them that the people here weren't so bad at all.

1. Mr. Takeuchi here refers to the small town of Tule Lake near which Tule Lake Segregation Center was constructed.

Concern over Crowding and Large Number of Segregants Yet to Come:

I wonder what's going to happen when all the rest get here. They've got just three blocks and then the vacancies. I think they're going to try to squeeze in 2,000 people. When they start putting them into Recreation Halls and start partitioning off, I wonder what's going to happen.

Much Complaint over Sanitary Facilities:

There are a lot of complaints over the sanitary facilities. There are lots of complaints over the duckboards in the shower room. They are very slippery and are dangerous. Also there is no place to wash out urinals. In any of the latrines there is no such place. They're squawking like everything.

It's not a very pleasant thing to be brushing your teeth in the morning and have somebody come along and wash out a urinal beside you.

There doesn't seem to be any such thing as a sanitation committee here. At least we ought to have something for the mess hall employees and things like that.

I interrupted again and asked Bob ~~what~~ how people would feel ~~about~~ now ~~having genuine representative~~ about voting for a genuine representative body.

Representative Body:

Nobody cares a thing about having a representative government. So far as I can see, nobody is going to break their neck trying to work up a few representatives for the block. They just don't care. Things are going along pretty good, so leave well enough alone.

We haven't any block representative now, just a ward representative. But he's always been in existence. I don't see any call for them (representatives) at all.

My idea is this: if there's a representative from each ward, that's eight people. Then, if any problem or complaint is important enough to merit bringing before the attention of the higher-ups, whoever was interested enough to do so could look up the ward representatives and present his case. But if there is a representative in every block it would be a simple matter to bring up minor items and cause confusion. I think they should leave it that way and save a lot of trouble, listening to minor complaints. Things will smooth themselves out. I think having a representative in each block makes it too damn easy for anybody to put up silly complaints.

Best's Activities:

Best has brought up a proposal to bring up the food costs. I had this from Hayward himself that Mr. Best called him in and suggested quietly that we have an allowance of 45 cents a meal and so wouldn't it be a good idea to keep the meal costs in the 40 bracket rather than the 30.

Maybe he feels like he's getting pretty stiff competition for his job. In WRA the way it seems to me, every man below is always trying to do something to get the job of the man above. That is one of the reasons the appointed personnel rarely gets to cooperating with each other. Black is trying to get Best's place; Hoover would like to get Hayward's job.

Hayward is trying to start a cooking and baking school. So if the mess hall personnel could attend schools it would contribute to the welfare of the whole block.

When they sent out 6,000 lbs. of ham, the other day, they had about every damn Caucasian in the place standing around watching the poor guys weighing out the stuff. I guess they were afraid somebody was going to walk off with it. (Jim described with relish how he had walked in and cut himself off a good-sized slice of ham and eaten it in the presence of the astonished Caucasians.)

MAY, 25, 1944

From May 13 to May 25 most of my respondents were ~~much~~ happier and more relaxed than I had ever seen them. ~~They xceptional~~ They felt that ~~their situation was improving, and they did not~~ they ~~sign~~ laughed, and they ~~expressed~~ expressed optimistic views. had significantly improved and they ~~hoped for better things. When, x x x x~~ By ~~May 18, 264~~ of the men ~~in the~~ detained in the stockade had been released, and, according to an administrative announcement, "releases of from 2 to 5 persons are being made almost daily." (Newell <sup>Star</sup> ~~Sept~~, May 18, 1944). ~~Then~~ Then the administration's ~~attempt~~ attempt to get the people to elect a committee to nominate candidates for a representative body ~~developed~~ developed into a ludicrous failure. Out of the 74 blocks in the center, only 15 nominated representatives. When I discussed this phenomenon with my friends, they smiled and ~~responded~~ ~~responded with expressions of~~ of oblique or ironic satisfaction. They seemed to feel that they had really put the administration down.

I tried to visit ~~Bob~~ Bob on May 25, the day of Mr. Okamoto's death, but found only his wife at home. She appeared angry ~~and~~ and upset.

The people are angry about it. But we heard over the radio that Secretary Ickes said that it was the soldier's fault, that he [the soldier] was going to hit him (the Japanese) on the head. That made the people feel better. (Ickes' statement)

(Lakes' statement)

Tsuruda May 25 and 27, 1944

24.

They were all angry around here but nobody knew what it was all about. Some were saying, "Well, maybe he got fresh." But now even Secretary Ickes blames the M.P.

xTtthKnWtTHx600xTSURUDApnMayn

MAY 27, 1944

TALK WITH BOB TSURUDA

[ In contrast to other respondents, Bob was even more ~~talkative~~ <sup>friendly</sup> friendly than at my previous visits ~~indeed~~ <sup>Sato</sup>. Indeed, he talked so fast and so much than I could do little but listen and write down what he said. His sister, Mrs. ~~Takeuchi~~ <sup>Sato</sup>, with whom I had become friendly at Gila, had just arrived at Tule Lake and our first exchanges were social.]

She said she had had a pleasant trip. The WRA escort, Mr. Martin and the soldiers had been very nice to her. The only difference I noted in ~~Takeuchi~~ <sup>Sato</sup> since the shooting was a tendency to make wry jokes and laugh loudly over them, laughter in which I, in my not entirely unnervous state, was glad to join.

Best has called a center-wide holiday on the day of the funeral (day not decided yet). They are also going to have a wake at the High School. That's a darn good idea. It would be more or less ironical to give the fellow a military burial - being as he's a repatriate and a No-No. (laughter)

A lot of how this goes is going to depend on how WRA handles it between now and the time the verdict is released. If WRA can prove to the people that they are sincere in their belief that the man who was shot was of no fault, and that they did their best to get justice, then things might quiet down. But if they exonerate the man completely, there's going to be a blow-off. They'll have to build a double fence around the Administration section.

The smartest thing that WRA could do is to start impressing the people now that the military is more concerned /responsible/ than WRA. After all, the man was a soldier. Under these conditions it comes under the jurisdiction of the War Department.

When the announcement was made in our mess everybody took it as a matter of course. Knowing the Military of Japan, they know how it was. The local and civilian authorities have to step into the background.

The smartest thing to do would be to give the man twenty years and send him to jail. Send him to jail anyway and pardon him after three or four years.

After all, he (the evacuee) was unarmed. If I were the sentry and had two rifles and automatic pistols I wouldn't shoot him. I'd bat him on the head with the rifle.

Best has learned a lot. He had to. He's more sensible with the people now. The Japanese people are appreciative of that (the center-wide holiday called for Mr. Okamoto's funeral) especially

Journal May 27, 1944.

24 a

when it is an order given by the Project Director. It will mean more than any 500 or 600 words he can say.

Other Popular Attitudes.

On the other hand, there are people who talk like this: Well, we can't expect justice from the Army here inasmuch as we are disloyal Japs and their enemies. If that's the case and the man is exonerated, all we can do is learn his name (the soldier's name) and remember it until after the war and see which side wins. They want to bring it up at the peace conference.

Another faction says, You won't hear anymore about this until after the war. By that time they hope the people will have forgotten about it. Personally, I think if they drag it out and hope people will forget --- I think there will be a lot less ruckus if they just come right out with it - even if he is exonerated.

You look at it this way. This is what affects the people now. If that can happen and the man is exonerated, that will give the M.P.'s the impression that the lives of the Japs in here are not worth a hell of a lot. That's just asking for more shooting. Heck, I might walk through that gate next morning and the guy will take a shot at me. I'm dead. That's not going to help me any.

25.  
MAY ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 27, 1944, Tsuruda

I feel this way. He's gone. I can't bring him back to life.

I heard that Austin had sent a special car to Heart Mountain to bring his (Okamoto's) relatives in for the funeral. That's the least they could do. It all depends on what the verdict is.

The newspaper stories try to give the impression that the man misinterpreted the sentry's orders.

There's one thing they're going to have to look out for. What will Japan do about this? They're liable to figure that 10 Americans are worth one Jap. Pretty soon each side will be seeing who can kill them off faster.

#### Meeting for Nomination of Representatives:

I didn't even go to the meeting. Everything just slid. Nobody was nominated.

*Sato, Bob's older sister [recently arrived from Osaka]*  
(Here Mrs. ~~Mizuno~~ interrupted violently: "What's that? senjin (representatives) - Hell, the senjin are good for nothing!")

~~Takenaka~~ continued: Here's what happens when you get representatives. They have to listen to a lot of small complaints from various people. Then when the representatives get called in on something big, they take it up before the board. Their English isn't so good as the people on the board and they get argued out of it. So they have to go back to the people and report a failure. They (the people) get hot and are liable to incite anything from a friendly feeling to a riot. Then people get stuck in the stockade.

The people are getting smart now. They've got a block manager appointed by the WRA as a liaison officer between the people and the Administration. Well, he's beyond being yanked into the stockade. You can't yank a liaison man for anything he reports. The people are starting to realize it would be a smart thing to have a good block manager and let them do all the representing because they can't be yanked.

With the Block Managers, there's less danger of filling the stockade. One thing didn't hit me right about this representative business. The suggestion came from the other end (WRA). Just that mere fact that the suggestion came from the WRA offices; it had a rank odor, that's all. It's too much for the WRA to try to be helpful.

The only way the WRA is going to be able to dispel the feeling (of hostility) is to show somehow that WRA is able to trust the people and to make it as easy as possible in here, which is what Best says he's trying to do but there's a lot of difference between what he says and what he does.

I'd like to see the damn fence torn down, and remove the damn guards from the gate. Nothing will happen. It's just human nature. If you know you're trusted you don't want to double-cross anybody. Let them go on picnics too.

#### On Schmidt, Head of Police:

*m.*  
I saw Schmidt for the first time today. He impressed me as a man of not too much intelligence. I got the impression he wasn't too bright in the head but he did have some knowledge in a limited field, that connected with physical prowess. If he picked anybody on his staff with much sense he wouldn't be able to handle him.

May 27, 1944, Tsuruda

I asked Bob how he felt about the men still confined in the stockade, in particular

Reverend <sup>Abe</sup>~~Kai~~ and George Kuratomi.

I don't think they should be let out of the stockade. Those fellows don't care whether they live or die. If they're let out they'll certainly start another ruckus. Especially if the fellows who were gone over /beaten/ are let out. Do you think they'll hesitate to get back?

by the WRA police

There's some guys in there I wouldn't like to see let out. You look at it my way, they're out of circulation.

As I left, Bob

remarked that the lid might blow off the camp in two hours and if that happened Mr. Robertson, Mr. Hayward and myself should come to his barrack, which would be the safest place for us.

Tsuruda, June 4

27  
JUNE 4, 1944

VISIT AT BOB ~~TAKEUCHI'S~~ TSURUDA'S HOUSE

*Sato*  
*Bob*  
~~Jim~~ was taking a nap when I arrived so I talked for about a half hour with his wife and her sister. The conversation for some reason turned to inus. They had thought that when they came to Tule Lake they would be through with inus, but had found here that there were more of them than ever. Every place you look you can see one. ~~Takeuchi's~~ sister-in-law remarked that you couldn't even have a small meeting anywhere but what some inu would go and report it to the Administration. Mrs. ~~Mizuno~~, ~~Takeuchi's~~ older sister came in. She made no bones about stressing how bored and disappointed she was in Tule Lake. She has been here 10 days. There is nothing at all doing here. She had thought that there were some people of backbone here, but now she finds they're all washrags. She talked wildly about getting herself put in the stockade "just so she could see what was going on there", a remark which embarrassed the other women. They kept glancing at me to see if I were taking it badly. Then she shifted to talking about going out to the free zone and keeping tabs on the "strange things" that Japanese were doing there. She was very well dressed, as usual, and said that she was planning to see some friends and find out if she could find anybody with backbone.<sup>1</sup> Mr. ~~Takeuchi~~ now woke up and came out of the other room to join us. He immediately gave with the latest Mess Division gossip.  
*Tsuruda*

Mr. Wells:

*Bob*  
~~Jim~~ Takeuchi asked me what I thought of Mr. Wells, the Assistant Project Director in charge of Project Management(?). I said I did not know him well enough to make up my mind. ~~Jim~~ didn't like him:  
*Bob*

*Wells* impressed me as a sort of weasley kind of fellow. Here's why. We're constructing a baking factory here. He has a grand vision of eliminating getting bread from the outside after this baking factory goes into action. When the bakery is under way they'll make two hundred loaves of bread a day. That ought to be sufficient for the needs of the project, he said. I said to myself, "Man, what kind of a brain has that guy got?" We're using 4,000 to 4,500 loaves of bread a day now. But I didn't say anything; let him try it.

*Those* present indulged in a little mental arithmetic and decided that if Wells' project were followed it would give each evacuee roughly 1/100 of a loaf of bread a day. Mrs. ~~Mizuno~~ said that if this happened she was going to start trouble. She couldn't eat rice and had to have bread. She would go to Social Welfare and demand bread. (I controlled a small impulse to ask her what she intended to do when she got to Japan.)

Mr. Hoover and the Spoiling Ham and Bacon:

"We have a fine hog farm here. They bring them up right, feed them well and

*Sato*  
<sup>1</sup> See R. Wax, DOING FIELDWORK, (84-87) for a case history of Mrs. ~~Mizuno~~. She was the first "liberated" Japanese woman I encountered.<sup>7</sup>

then slaughter them. Then they make bacon - but they don't know how. They put it in a little room and build a little fire there, made out of garbage for all I know, and all it does is just burn it black on the outside. Then Hoover has the boys hang it on hooks. Everybody knows that the protection bacon has is the rind on one side and the fat on the other. When it's hung on hooks it's open to contamination. There it hangs and it's so well smoked it just oozes. Then they put it in the icebox and it contaminates all the fresh beef.

I got hold of a major from the Army the other day. I got him to go and look at the smoke house. He went and looked at it. So they closed up the smoke house and the slaughter house too. I cut my own throat I guess. We won't get any pork now. But it'd be better to give us fresh pork than that lousy bacon.

<sup>Bat</sup>  
(Jim's sister-in-law added here that they had been served sour bacon in the mess and that everyone refused to eat it.)

Last month we had 3,500 lbs of pork. I knew it was about to go bad and suggested that we issue it. No, says Hoover, let's wait till we get a little more and make a complete issue. We waited and we had to dump 18,000 lbs. of pork.

<sup>Dr. The Community Analyst,</sup>  
(Later I asked Opler about this and he said that a great deal of pork had to be thrown out recently.)

I figure that Hoover must know somebody high up in the Administration. I've put the skids under him twice and each time nothing happened.

#### Best's Speech at Funeral of Mr. O. Kamoto

I will have to give the man credit. He really has done his best. I didn't go to the funeral myself. But he attended the funeral and called the half holiday. Reading the speech it didn't seem much different than the notice he sent to the mess halls. I thought it was a darn good idea as far as he is concerned. If that was the full text of his speech I think he's pretty smart. He said just enough, no more. He didn't lay it on too thick.

He's more popular now than he has been since the beginning of the camp.

Regardless of why he did it, the fact stands that he did do it. That's what you have to give the man credit for. It couldn't all have been prompted through selfishness. I don't believe a man who wrote that speech could be entirely selfish. He could have stayed at home and let one of his stooges come down.

#### Soldiers at the Gate:

We've got some nice boys at the gate now. There used to be some guys who'd make you step out, drive the truck through the gate and then get back in. They're getting pretty good now.

#### Stockade and Mess:

I got Hayward to crack down on the stockade boys the other day. They thought they were going to run Mess Operations. They wanted us to give them their ration daily instead of weekly. I'll be damned if I'll weight out 37 pounds of rice every day and 4½ pounds of sugar.

*Kagawa*

Sugimoto, one of the public agitators number 1, sent a letter to the Spanish Consul, telling him the boys in the stockade were getting only 14¢ a day for food. I told Hayward to tell Best that the stockade is getting food on the same scale as the colony. If the Spanish Consul thinks that's not food enough, have him come in and look at the books.

Confidentially, I've been giving those boys a break. I know the only pleasure they had was eating so I've even advanced them sugar on their next week ration. But not anymore. Since ~~Sugimoto~~ started to make trouble, I've not advanced, and they've been without sugar since Thursday and won't get any till Tuesday.

*Kagawa*

The Jam Agitator:

There's a guy in block 42 who's really a chest beating agitator. He keeps demanding more jam for his mess, when he knows damn well there's no more jam in the warehouse. He insists it's put on the menu. Then when the people don't get their jam, he makes speeches telling them all he's trying to do for them.

Trouble over Shooting:

*Bob*

~~Takeuchi~~ does not believe there is going to be any big trouble over the shooting. "All the goon-squad members are resting peacefully in the stockade. If the verdict is bad, things may change."

Tsuruda, June 10, 1944

XXX 30.

TALK WITH BOB TSURUDA

~~Jim~~ <sup>Bob</sup> was sleepy. Moreover, we gorged on so much cheese and bread which he had purloined from the mess that not much was said.

Hayward's New Policy for Stewards:

Hayward has started a policy of having the (Caucasian) stewards go in and have one meal a day in the colony mess halls. Hoover was skinned out of this by claiming that his stomach has been bothering him. Hayward says he's going to have to think up a better one than that next week. Naturally, Hoover knows he's unpopular in the colony. They have to eat lunch in the colony every day except Saturday or Sunday.

In the new mess office Hayward hasn't given any of them separate offices. He says he doesn't want to give them offices or they'll just be sitting around all day. He says the place for a steward is out in the colony where he can keep in contact with the colony mess.

Since several of my respondents had used the term giri to explain their support of the men detained in the stockade, I asked Bob how he would translate the term.

The best translation I can think of is: moral obligations, to men or to the committee. We sent them up there for an actual purpose and since they did that we feel we should give them our undivided support. It's 90% up here (here ~~Jim~~ <sup>Bob</sup> tapped his forehead).

WRA change in Policy:

I've been wondering how WRA has come to change so much. They've been at it for the last month and a half now. Always before it was the iron fist within the kid glove. If anything, instead of going back to the old "do what you like and let 'em take it," they better just pull on another pair of kid gloves.

Treatment at Gate:

In this respect they're becoming quite reasonable. In fact, they're lax. You'd be surprised how people appreciate it. It makes them feel half way decent. They don't feel like animals anymore.

<sup>Sato</sup> Mrs. ~~Mizuno~~ now came in and asked ~~Jim~~ <sup>Bob</sup> in Japanese whether he had gone to the meeting where the possibility of bringing the Okamoto case before the Spanish Consul was to be discussed. ~~Jim~~ <sup>Bob</sup> replied, "No, I don't go to any of those meetings." He then went on to explain that his block (34) was one of the strong status quo blocks - one of the genjoo-iji blocks. However, because of the baseball game this afternoon, very few people had attended the meeting. What made him laugh, said he, was that when the status quo broke, these genjoo-iji guys had been the first to go back to work. Returning to the topic of the gates he said:

[for pro-etnic]

"I think if it could be possible it might be a darned good idea to get the Army away from the gates entirely and put decent Internal Security men there, unarmed."

Wells' Idea on Mess:

Wells wants to have each block mess staffed only by people who live in the block. That's not a good idea. Whenever you have people in your own block in the mess halls it's very difficult to lodge a complaint. You can't complain about people when you come face to face with them every day. Another thing, when the mess halls are staffed by people in the block there's always a lot of food that doesn't get to the people in the block. It's too close to home. Especially they can sneak things out on the early morning crew when they get there at 4:30 a.m.



Isauro  
June 25, 1944

33

Attitude of People in Tule Lake - the Co-op:

But: I'm getting sick of the attitude of the people. They are always cutting each others throats. Take the "well organized Co-op" for instance. Heretofore there has been a rumor that quite a few of the boys high up in the Co-op very nicely relocated with a big wad of dough. That's a very nice thing to do to the poor Japs in here.

They claim it is the policy of all good Co-ops only to pay off when their working capital is tripled - then the dividend can be paid. But inasmuch as the people are stuck here for the duration, I don't think that's necessary. Instead of paying off, what do they do? Build a new soda water factory and other things, and you can't tell me they're going to be able to pay that off in one summer.

The Co-op also has from 180 to 200 cases of Troco Margarine. I'd like to know where they got it because that stuff is on the point list. (I heard another accusation of the Co-op getting produce on the black market yesterday, this time the items were hot plates.)

Noriko But  
Nakao: (Jim's sister-in-law) I was in the Co-op yesterday when Akitsuki came in. You know, we all turned the back to him. Every one of us. You could see how it was - public inu number 1.

Bob Murakami  
Jim: Yamatini, (ex-Coordinating Committee member) tried to gyp us out of about 100 cakes of tofu the other day. The tofu is sent to the messes in tubs of about 50 cakes each. Each mess called up and complained that they were from 5 to ten cakes short. I went to see Yamatini about it. He said, "Of course, it's possible that the fellows in the mess took them home with them." He finally promised that the Co-op would make the loss good.

Job for Mr. Best's Son

Did you know that in order to create a job for Best's son (as messenger), they fired four or five of the Japanese messengers?

Jim's Current Disgust with Camp:

When I came here I expected to find quite a different atmosphere. When the people realized they were here for the same reason, I expected that they would be willing to help a guy when he needed it. Instead, now if you've got five dollars they'll think of how they can get it away from you.

Some of the smartest people I know are getting disgusted. These are real intelligent people. They came here and expected to find a cooperative atmosphere and they're pretty well disgusted. Their remarks add up to something like this: "It's not a case now of whether I want to go back to the old country. It's a case of whether I can stay here long enough to go back to the old country and still retain my self-respect."

The trouble is they expect you to act like a damn radical and go out and kill every hakujin on the other side of the fence and when you don't act like that you are an inu.

[Concussion]

It is ambiguous because further

(8)

June 25, 1944 - 2

-34-

Bob

Jim is Considering Relocation:

The only reason I'd consider relocation is that I've got a pretty good thing coming up. As you should know by this time, the majority of Nisei came in here because they didn't want to go into the Army. That's one of the main reasons why the Nisei are here, 98% of them, myself included. I couldn't see fit to pack a gun for something I didn't see my way clear to. If they had treated us differently, I would have volunteered. Now, seeing as how they're deferring people over 26, I think I might take a chance.

You see, if the war lasts three more years, I'll be 33. Then I get deported to Japan. It'll take me ten years to get on my feet. It seems to me Germany is going to pull a flopperoo. I wouldn't want to be here when that happens. I don't care if Japan has 17 kinds of Yamato Damashii, she isn't going to be able to buck fighting three big nations.

Bob then

(Jim told me that he had been offered a pretty good job in the Washington office by Hayward. He figured that if he took this, even if he were drafted, the war would probably be over before he got sent overseas.)

Power of Colonists' belief in Japanese Victory:

Believe it or not a fellow told me the other day that Japan was going to have a decisive victory and that the war would be over in seven days! A girl told me the other day, "You're so thoroughly Americanized, I don't believe you belong here."

Bob

Jim's Self Analysis:

My coming here was in itself a defense mechanism. It was another retaliatory action to get even with the way I'd been treated previously. On the other hand, I feel that in retaliating I not only hurt the government, but eventually I'll hurt myself more.

The only people Japan actually wants are those she can use immediately after the war, diplomats and persons with Engineering degrees. I've been telling people, if Japan should lose the war, which there's a very good chance of her doing right now, and if we were to relocate and were placed on the same standard of living as the Negro in this country, we'd still be able to have a better standard of living than as poor people in Japan. Besides, when the Japanese went to the south, they were never treated as the Negroes were.

Demoralization of Old Men:

A lot of the old men are getting goofier and goofier. They stand around in the latrines and mutter to themselves. I think they're losing their minds.

I asked Bob what he thought might happen in the center if there were a Japanese victory in the Pacific.

I'd hate to see it happen. In spite of the fact that the Internal Security is on the lookout for short wave receivers, if the local broadcasts were to confirm the victory and the short wave broadcasts were to exaggerate it, I don't think there'd be no holding the pressure gang (Resegregation Group) in here.

I then asked about a decisive American victory.

A Decisive American Victory:

I've often wondered. If there were a very decisive victory, I think there'd be a great breakdown in morale. Especially among certain people who have decided

that Japan couldn't lose. With the breakdown in morale there would come a time when some of them would try in some way to avenge the defeat of Japan. When that happens, they'd better start building more fences.

New Police Commission: I asked about the new Police Commission being contemplated by the Administration.

I don't know. I don't think it's going to be such a hot idea. The people aren't going to like it, I think. It's giving the people the impression that they're putting them under additional surveillance.

Co-op:

It wouldn't surprise me a bit if Mr. Best wasn't getting a little from the Co-op. Inasmuch as there have been three dividends passed up for lack of funds. That starts to smell.

Appointed Personnel Misdeeds:

Private Sherwood is the vet here. He and the storekeeper for the butcher shop (Caucasian) got to feeling good one night. The private had a WRA car and WRA gas, which he was to turn in at six o'clock in the evening. But they decided to take a trip to Alturas. They got bottles, picked up some minor girls, all partook of the bottle, the little girl wanted to drive, 45, 50, 55 - CRASH - no car. The WRA was able to hush hush the local papers but it got into the Eastern papers and got to the ears of Dillon S. Myer. Myer, not being connected with the Army, couldn't do anything to the soldier, but the other guy got his throat cut from ear to ear (figuratively speaking). His name was George McKee.

About Muir, head of Procurement - it seems he and Mr. Hayward applied for gas rationing coupons at the same time. Hayward asked for 400 miles a month. Muir, thinking he's a pretty big shot, asked for 800 miles. Hayward got his gas, but they put a spotter on Muir to see why he needed so much gas. They followed Mrs. Muir out to Tule and Klamath, where she likes to go to get her hair fixed. So they said, "Sorry, no gas." Now he's got to appeal to Sacramento. And he's the guy who screamed like hell when mess operations went over the budget a couple of thousand dollars.

\*\*\*\*\*

[ After the <sup>u</sup>morder of Mr. Noma on July <sup>3</sup>10, I did not go into the "Japanese section to visit people until they invited me. (I made my first visit on July 18.) ~~MeannuilegnannumbannofnRan~~ I did, however, manage to have a short visit with Bob ~~at his workplace in the warehouse~~ on July 17, in a warehouse in the administrative section where he was employed. ]

July 17, 1944 - p-1

-12- 36.

JULY 17, 1944

*Bob Tsuruda*  
TALK WITH ~~JIM TAKEUCHI~~

Went to ~~Jim~~<sup>Bob</sup>'s workplace (in the Administrative section) today to give him the sausage he had asked me to get for him in Berkeley. He said he would like to have me come to see him, but says that since he has been seen a lot with Hayward, his boss, he fears he is developing some slight reputation as an inu. We will try to meet someplace this side of the fence and I anticipate a considerable amount of information. In hurried asides, Jim told me that what surprised him most of all in the last two weeks is the quiet way most people took the acquittal of the soldier. No protest was made. He had expected something. He added that "you never saw such a mess as the murder." He visited the scene later and found an enormous pool of blood. "The funny thing is," he continued "that the murder has split the camp into two parts. Half feel sorry for the guy and the other half are glad. Of course they say he was killed for embezzling Co-op funds, but that was just talk. Nobody could prove it." Jim is following out his plan as mentioned in previous notes and has asked for leave clearance. His hearing is on the 19th.  
*he told me in June*

He remarked that he thought that the Administration was deliberately not making serious efforts to find the murderer. "If the people think that the murderer is loose in camp, more of them will want to relocate. I was in Lechlitter's office the other day and saw a tremendous sheet of applications for leave clearance." (Personally, I think Jim is exaggerating a bit, but that some of the No. 1 inu want to get out of camp, cannot be doubted.)

\*\*\*\*\*

My notes for August, <sup>are</sup> ~~have been~~ lost. It may be that because of his ~~warnings~~<sup>Bob</sup> warnings about being ~~stigmatized~~ called an inu I did not visit ~~him~~ again until August 19. I have one <sup>statement</sup> ~~quotation~~ from him on that date, made ~~at the~~<sup>at the</sup> ~~time of the hunger strike in the stockade~~. a few days after the men in the ~~hunger~~ stockade had stopped their hunger strike.

~~Bob Tsuruda~~

BOB TSURUDA - August 19, 1944

#### Hunger Strike in Stockade

I don't see why they went on a hunger strike. They weren't doing the WRA any harm. They were just harming themselves. It made us sad though. I kind of pitied them.

x x x x x x

September 17, 1944 - ~~Bob~~ Journal

-37

VISIT WITH JIM TAMEUCHI

Bob Knowing that Jim is leaving Tule Lake within a few days to take up residence in Topaz preliminary to relocating, I thought it well to get a last interview. Having known Jim since before segregation and having received a long statement on his reasons for coming to Tule Lake and many statements on his reactions to Tule events, I was anxious to get his "last words."

Current Rumors:

I've heard from a Caucasian (Wells) that eventually, should some pronounced victory come in the South Pacific, they are going to close down all leave clearance here. Also I've heard that what with Best visiting Minidoka and Topaz, the rumor is they might try to concentrate one of those centers by making them into another center. It isn't very economical to keep them all open.

Non-  
Murder Investigation:

I haven't heard a thing about the murder investigation except that somebody has been picking up some of the stockade people.

Present Opinion of Daihyo Sha Kai:

My idea - the things they demanded for the residents in camp were a little far fetched, but I still think that on the whole they were a pretty decent lot.

(We now began to talk about the "big shot agitators" of the Manzanar section and the Black Tigers.)

[It is ~~unfortunate~~ unfortunate but significant that I did not record any part of this conversation. Bob did not tell me that he had been threatened, but he probably ~~told me~~ ~~made some remarks that might~~ told me something that might have caused trouble for either of us, had my notes been "confiscated" by some member of the administration.]

Bob (I then asked Jim for his opinion of the state of mind of the transferees when they entered Tule and was impressed by his insight.)

"When they came here they thought it was going to be a Japanese Utopia. The resentment that arose was brought on by their feeling of frustration."

Defense of the Nisei:

Bob (Perhaps because he knew that this was the last time we would probably talk together, Jim turned the conversation to the draft dodgers (he has told me he is one) and to an explanation of their action.)

In Japan, when a son is drafted into the Army he is considered as having made a success in his life so far. I admit it's a militaristic attitude, but that's how it is.

If you had been in Stockton before evacuation, you would not have heard anything about not wanting to go to war. The first generation in this country carried that viewpoint up till the very time of their evacuation.

I've seen fellows drafted in Stockton and practically the whole population of the town turned out to see them off at the train. There's a very deep feeling behind it.

In Japan when a man goes into the Army in war time, nobody expects him to come back. That's why there's such a large turnout of friends. When a soldier goes there's

no such word as "when you come back". That's something that a Caucasian never understands.

The Japanese feel that a soldier cannot do his best work if he has his mind on preserving his safety and getting back to his friends and family.

In Stockton when there were 20 or 25 people seeing off a Negro or a Caucasian there were 300 to 400 seeing off a Japanese. Every time a young fellow was drafted it was just a town affair.

When the people were feeling like that DeWitt should have left them alone. Because if he had, he'd have gotten as good a bunch of soldiers as he could have gotten any place else in the world.

*I asked about:*

Resegregation Rumors:

*Keep underline*

They have died down.

Number of Sincere Resegregationists:

Wells told me they had 3,000. But you must remember that that was when they had that petition when they asked them who wanted to go back (to Japan) on the first boat.

I think that there are about 1,000 now who really want to go back and there might not be that many.

*I asked about*

Present Feeling Toward New Co-op Board:

*Keep underline*

There is no feeling against the new Co-op Board. It seems as though the majority of the people feel that the present directors of the Co-op are making a sincere effort to do their best. Their viewpoint is substantiated by the fact that the Co-op paper is making very deep explanations as to how the stock is brought in, their sales, their rebates, etc. It seems to be they're trying to explain that. On the whole it makes a good impression. It gives the people the idea that the Co-op wants them to know what's going on instead of trying to keep everything a secret so they can snitch on the side.

*I asked about*

Attitudes Toward War News:

*Keep*

There are two schools of thought right now. One is that Japan is taking an awful beating and we better get out /of camp/ while the getting is good. And you'd be surprised how many of these there are!

The other is a more or less hard-headed view which is that all the losses and all the defeats that Japan is suffering is all military strategy. You'd be surprised how hard-headed some of these people are.

I had one fellow come out and tell me no matter how long the war lasts, Japan is bound to win. Of course, what I thought I didn't tell him.

(I asked Jim just about how many people he thought belonged to each group. He remarked on the unreliability of the statement he was about to make but took a stab at it.)

As far as I know, I would say that a good 70% are now having their doubts about a victorious country back home. The other 30% are the ones who insist that they're going to go back there regardless of which side is victorious.

And among that 70%, you'd be surprised how many are repatriates and expatriates.

A bunch of Kibeis were talking the other day about going back to Japan during the war. When you consider that they were all young fellows who came from back there within the last seven to ten years, and some more recently, ... (there were 7 or 8 of them talking) ... the question was, 'If they have to go back during the war and go into the



NOVEMBER 1, 1944

TALK WITH BOB TSURUDA'S WIFE, SISTER, AND SISTER-IN-LAW

During October and November a number of respected mature men ~~formed~~ developed informal group networks to combat the ~~political~~ pressure of the Resegregation Groups. ~~Some~~ Some independent and ~~Some~~ Some older men, I was told, ~~advised~~ advised the young men who consulted them not to join the ~~Resegregationists~~ Resegregationists and advised the young men whom they knew, not to join. On November 1, Mr. Noyes, the new Project Attorney, told me that a young man had ~~been~~ been ~~knifed~~ attacked with a knife by an Issei/ friends on Oct. 30. I was told later by several Japanese Americans, that the Issei who committed the assault was a zealous Resegregationist and that the father of the ~~man~~ young man who was knifed, had criticized the Regregationists. It is noteworthy that when I asked ~~the~~ the ladies about this knifing they ~~said~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ ~~did~~ ~~not~~ ~~seem~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~aware~~ ~~of~~ ~~any~~ ~~political~~ ~~implications.~~ ~~7/~~

[1. It is interesting that the only other account I have of this "baseball fight" comes from Mr. Kira, the reputed leader of the Manzanar gang.

~~xxx September 7, 1944, Mr. Kira was interviewed and furnished the following information:~~

On September 7, ~~he~~ asked me: "Have you heard about the fight they had after the baseball game on Saturday? Well, one of the boys here (in the Manzanar section) had been struck over the head with a chair or something and had to have seven stitches taken." I heard that the Internal Security said to notify Kira not to take revenge. One of the men hurt is in the hospital and they won't release (this man) from the hospital because they're afraid he'll be murdered by the Kira gang."

*a powerful  
repression in*

*Kira*

NOVEMBER 1, 1944

TALK WITH BOB TSURUDA'S WIFE AND WITH HER SISTER

Mrs. Tsurudaw~~as~~ was depressed, She is leaving Tule Lake on the 8th of November to go to <sup>R</sup> Tower (a Relocation Center in Arkansas), where she will ~~remain~~ remain until she is allowed to relocate and join Bob. Bob himself, she told me, is still in Topaz. He applied to the

Sioux Ordnance Depot of Sidney, Nebraska, for a job but was refused because all of his family <sup>are</sup> in Tule Lake. He plans to appeal, however.

I started out the conversation by inquiring how their block (36) was feeling about the people from Manzanar. I was told that they still didn't like them.

People around here seem to dislike the Manzanar people. They even say that the Co-op Board was being run by Manzanar, by a man named ~~Nomura~~ Kimura

~~Kimura had heard that Mr. Nomura had resigned from the Co-op Management Board~~

(I heard several weeks ago that Mr. Nomura, the manager of the Co-op, had ~~resigned~~ resigned. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Kimura

For additional details about trouble in the Co-op see my fieldnotes of Oct. 22, 25 and 27.)

On the morning of November 1, I had talked to the project attorney, Mr. Noyes, who had given me a detailed account of a knifing that had occurred in the Manzanar section on the ~~11th~~ night before.]

So I asked the ladies what people were saying about the knifing that had occurred in the Manzanar section (on Oct. 30):

"They say that the knifing still has some connection to the baseball fight ~~between notorious Manzanar person and a~~

"Manzanar and Boston were playing. They were fighting whether a fly was caught or not. After the game the Manzanar fans piled on the fielder. They say an old man (a ~~Manzanar fan~~ Manzanar fan) started it.

zealous

This old man is of an aggressive way. A lot of people know him. They say he practically runs the team.

FOOTNOTE, p. 41

- [1. On October 25, Sally Wakida had told me that a ~~xxxxxx~~ Mr. <sup>Kobata</sup> ~~Kyxxxx~~ was selling things in camp "at a very high price. I heard he made a ; ~~xxxxxxx~~ lot of profit. The Manzanar group said to him, "If you ~~xxxxxxx~~ don't close the door of your store, we'll lay you flat." This was something O.K. to do. The people like the Manzanar group for this."

I then asked the ladies what people were saying ~~about~~ about the renunciation of citizenship:

### Renunciation of Citizenship.

"The renunciation of citizenship may bring big trouble." <sup>1</sup>  
(the alleged profiteer).

We then discussed the intimidation of Tambara. I was told that everybody thought that he had it coming to him. I then remarked casually that I was noticing that there wasn't nearly so much talk about inu as there had been before <sup>Nomda</sup> ~~Hitomi's~~ killing.

<sup>Noriko</sup> Nakao, <sup>Bob's sister</sup> ~~Bob's sister~~ agreed. "That's right, come to think of it," ~~she~~ <sup>she</sup> said she.

### Resegregation Group

<sup>Noriko</sup> Nakao did most of the talking although <sup>Bob's</sup> ~~his~~ wife and his brother's wife were present. <sup>Noriko</sup> ~~She~~ said:

"I think there are two groups. One of them is really for it and the other group doesn't care. I don't think that there is any group really against it, because if they talked against it they'd go out."

~~(she means they'd get it in the neck, not go out of camp)~~ <sup>(relocate)</sup>

"The way it seems to me one or two people in a block start it (support of the Sokuji Kikoku Hosi dan - the Re-segregation group), and they pull the others in. In this block we don't even hear about it, but in some other blocks they're very strong."

### Rev. <sup>ah</sup> ~~Rev.~~

"I heard a story about how Rev. <sup>ah</sup> ~~had~~ acted kind of yellow in the stockade."

### Rumor about Mr. Best and Meiji Seton

"Do you know if this is true? I heard that Best has announced that if the people do not go to extremes in celebrating Meiji Seton, he would not put out the American flag on that day."

"Each school is going to have it's own individual celebration."

"If he (Best) did announce that I think it's about the smartest thing he ever said." At least ~~he~~ gave in and gave something in return."

FOOTNOTE, p. 41

ZZ [ 1. The anniversary of the beginning of the Meiji dynasty. ]

All present agreed with me that the support which the Re-segregation group was getting now was far less than was given the Saihyo Sha during the incident (Oct., Nov., 1943).

Before we finished ~~gossiping~~ <sup>Bob's</sup> ~~the~~ five year old son came in. He sat himself down, surveyed us solemnly and remarked solemnly in Japanese, "I want to go to Japan." The women laughed in embarrassment, and told me that he talks like that because he picks it up from the other children. (With his father asking for work in a defense plant, little <sup>Kiyoko</sup> ~~he~~ will have to change his mind again.)

43.

Family

NON NAKO

Mrs. Sato's husband, a tall, fat man, has

~~KNE XXXX JKNN~~

I arrived, he was calmly tramping on  
he tramped, he made blasphemous remarks  
which his wife obligingly translated.

about the WRA,

Satoru

some of the ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup> I have been ~~once~~ <sup>ing</sup> associated with, said several times ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> he'd ~~glad to go out~~ <sup>glad to go out</sup> if the WRA gave him 100 dollars a head, which for his family would be \$700. He has a fair start promised him with his former employer in California and feels that with this much help to buy equipment, clothes and furniture, ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> could make out. (Mr. Mayou will ~~remember~~ <sup>remember</sup> was sent to Santa Fe for singing the Japanese national anthem in a mess hall at Gila on New Years day. ~~From the~~ <sup>From the</sup> way he impressed me, I'm inclined to think he sang it as a joke while under the influence of sake.)

Nori Koj told me that they

Mrs. Kirkman, which is fine. ~~I don't think her sister~~ Mrs. Kirkman, <sup>(then said)</sup> ~~it was~~ was very very anxious that the ladies prepare their families for immediate <sup>relaxation</sup> ~~withdrawal from~~ <sup>our</sup> ~~the~~ families. "She wanted all the names of the members of their families. She sure wants us to go out. She says even those who renounced their citizenship will still get sent outside."

SUNDAY, JANUARY 14, 1945, p. 2.

~~almost reduced her to tears - at least that's what he says.~~ Mrs. <sup>Sato</sup> ~~Yigami~~ who has not lost her gift of picturesque speech, remarked that she told Mrs. Kirkman:

"What do you want us to do, go back to California and get filled full of lead?"

*To me, she said:*  
She added to me:

"I'm going to sit here and watch. How can a person make up their mind when they don't know anything? We can't depend on the WRA."

The conversation then turned to the <sup>rumors of the murderously</sup> ~~inclined~~ <sup>inclined</sup> Filipinos, as it has in <sup>many</sup> of my visits of the past week. The ~~so-called~~ <sup>so-called</sup> Filipinos, who are pictured as lurking slyly in California waiting to murder the Japanese on their return, are either feared very much or they serve as a good excuse <sup>not to relocate</sup>.

The talk then turned to the <sup>Hoshidori</sup> ~~Shoshidori~~ and the Hokoku. Nobody present had a good word to say about them. Mrs. <sup>Sato</sup> and her sister even called them "bald-heads" which is <sup>I think, the second</sup> ~~the first~~ time any of my informants have used the term to me. <sup>akemi</sup> ~~Miss~~ <sup>Miss</sup> ~~Takashi~~ told how she had been in the canteen and a male friend of hers was there with long hair. A Hokoku friend of his had addressed him, "I'm not going to have anything more to do with you if you keep looking like that (with long hair.) Are you a Japanese or aren't you?" "That's how they keep talking all the time," added ~~Miss Takashi~~ <sup>Miss Takashi</sup>.

I was then asked if any more would be picked up. I said it was possible. "Good," said the two women.

<sup>Noniko</sup> ~~Miss~~ <sup>Noniko</sup> then gave her view on renunciation of citizenship:

"I haven't taken any steps toward renouncing it. If the Japanese government or somebody recognizes it, it would be different. But Heck! What guarantee do you have?"

Speaking of the "Super-patriots" she added:

"Quite a few are already packed up. They're all ready to go!"

Mrs. <sup>Sato</sup> ~~Yigami~~ broke in here:

(WRA) are  
"They're putting down on the work, they're out <sup>they down on everything</sup> ~~they down on everything~~ All the workers here are being terminated. A lot of blocks are having

JANUARY 14, 1945, p. 3.

Error  
even

→ TROUBLE over the terminations - they're fighting over who's to be terminated (and who is to keep their job).

N. Nits, ~~Smith~~

Miss ~~Te~~ then wanted to know what had happened to the linoleum the Tuleans were supposed to have received. This is a matter that is brought up to me every once in a while. The conclusion usually is that some WRA employee grafted and made off with the linoleum. The subject of grievances over poor Tule <sup>like</sup> facilities was pursued at length:

"They don't give us soap. Six months ago we got one bar per person. I understand they're supposed to furnish that. A little while ago we had no rice for two days. The people were in an uproar. They told us there had been a train wreck and they couldn't get the rice here."

The subject then turned again to leaving camp:

"We think by June we ought to know something. The other centers will be relocated by then and we can see how they get along."

"We want to get out. But we can't with \$25. We have to buy a bed, blankets and we've got to eat. It looks as if you eat you can't sleep."

"With 100 dollars a head, I could do it," said Mr. ~~Wigman~~ Sato.

Then Mrs. ~~Wigman~~ <sup>Sato</sup> added:

"The people in here have all gotten dumb, slow and lazy. We're so behind in the world outside too. We've all been in camp too long."

Mrs. ~~Wigman~~ <sup>She added</sup> remarked that her brain had gotten so slow she can't remember where she puts her things anymore.

"We feel its much safer in here."

FEBRUARY 8, 1945

FEBRUARY 8, 1945

TALK WITH BOB TSURUDA'S SISTERS

When I arrived,  
and I  
Mr. <sup>Sato</sup> ~~Mizuno~~ was having visitors so his wife and sister ~~and I~~ retired to  
the back of the apartment behind a screen ~~for a moment~~ <sup>we three women</sup> and really  
~~turned on~~ <sup>begin to</sup> gossip. Mrs. <sup>Mizuno</sup> ~~Mizuno~~ asked me if it were true <sup>that</sup> everybody who  
renounced their citizenship was going to be sent to Santa Fe. Later her  
sister asked me the same thing. I said it wasn't true. ~~She began to~~  
~~lose interest in the conversation before we really with the~~  
<sup>Mar Sato, Mizuno, they heard me, had</sup>  
~~received a letter from his old boss, Zuckerman, for~~  
<sup>had</sup> whom he <sup>(I was told)</sup> worked in Calif. The letter contained an urgent request for Mr. <sup>Sato</sup>  
to have himself cleared and get together <sup>50</sup> Japanese families and return to  
California to take up his old job. I think Mrs. <sup>Sato</sup> ~~Mizuno~~ would really like her  
husband to take action, <sup>(she says)</sup> ~~and to do so~~, but he giggles foolishly when she let's  
him have it in pretty strong ~~language~~. On the other hand, she thinks it  
<sup>language</sup>

*Tsuruda*

FEBRUARY 8, 1945, ~~1942~~.

18.47

won't hurt to sit in Tule a little longer and see what the government decides to do. After all, she hears from Power that they <sup>*Cheracues*</sup> are asking \$1,000 <sup>*head*</sup> a head, or to be sent back to the Assembly centers so they can "get used to the people before they <sup>*to*</sup> ~~relocate~~." She doesn't want to get hurt outside. I ventured to remark that what with the Hokoku carrying on, a person never knew when he was going to get hurt in Tule Lake. "That's true," said <sup>*Noriko*</sup> the ~~younger~~ sister, but at least here you know you'll get a good funeral with all your friends around." "Yes," said Mrs. <sup>*Sato*</sup> ~~Jack~~ "probably out there they'll just shovel you into a hole in the ground."

We then turned to the Hokoku. Mrs. <sup>*Sato*</sup> ~~Jack~~ asked me if it were true that 600 were to be picked up soon. When her brother <sup>*Jack*</sup> came in later he asked <sup>*me*</sup> the same question, so I assume the rumor is pretty widespread. There are quite a few Hokoku people in their block and, though they do not seem to be as <sup>*domineering*</sup> ~~ferocious~~ as the ones George <sup>*Wakida*</sup> ~~Yamashiro~~ has to live with, they give this family a pain in the neck. "The more they ~~take~~ out the better," said Mrs. <sup>*Sato*</sup> ~~Jack~~. She told me that she had heard that a friend gave his Santa Fe ~~Sound~~ friend an envelope, which according to Japanese custom <sup>*ch*</sup> would contain money as a farewell gift. When the man opened it on the train it contained only a slip of paper on which was written Bakutari (damned fool).

<sup>*Sato*</sup> ~~Jack~~:  
Mrs. ~~Jack~~ "When those so-and-so Hokoku go, we can't go and say, 'We're sorry your son was taken.' You have to congratulate them! I heard some of them complimenting a family whose son was sent. They say they are true Japanese. The man said, 'Next trip it will be my son. They're just tickled pink!'"

7- In late January, in an attempt to stop the flood of ~~renunciation~~ applications for renunciation of citizenship, and put an end to the Resegregationist pressure, John Burling, the Justice Department representative, <sup>*sent*</sup> ~~issued~~ an open <sup>*letter*</sup> letter to the chairmen of the ~~Max~~ Hocshi dan and the Hokuko. Mimeographed copies of the letter, with a Japanese translation, were posted in all ~~mess halls~~ mess halls on January 24. <sup>*7*</sup>

I asked the ladies what they thought of the statement made by the Department of Justice:

Survival, Feb. 18, 1945

47 a.

Noriko

~~Heidi~~: ~~(Younger sister)~~ The people not in the group thought, "They're telling them."

Mrs. ~~Sato~~ <sup>Sato</sup>: ~~Heidi~~ It didn't make any difference to me what they said. I don't give a damn about the sons-of-bitches."

Both the sisters seemed to take considerable comfort from the statement released ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> Myer on Jan. 29th, in which it was stated that Tule <sup>Lake</sup> would be kept open until 1946.

"If that's so, they can't force you out."

FOOTNOTE, p. 48

[1. See Fieldnotes for January 25, 1945.)

*Port note*

2. ~~Both~~ Mr. Sato and Mr. Yamashita had been interned in Santa Fe in the spring of 1943. But Mr. Yamashita was allowed to join his wife at Tule Lake in the spring of 1944, whereas Mr. Sato had not been allowed to come to Tule Lake until December or November of 1945.  
Mr. ~~Six~~ Sato is ~~ommmmmmmmmmmmmmm~~saying the Yamashita took care of himself and, more or less, deserted his fellow internees at Santa Fe.

FEBRUARY 8, 1945, 12:50.

43.

Bob's sisters

~~It also appears~~ <sup>I also learned</sup> that Mrs. ~~Ng~~ <sup>Sato</sup> and her sister are good friends of ~~Bai~~ <sup>Mr. Abo</sup>, one of the teachers who escaped the pick-up. <sup>1</sup> ~~Bai~~ <sup>Abo</sup> is an ex-Gilan. Mrs. ~~Vang~~ <sup>Vang</sup> said:

She added!

Noriko

Here Mr. ~~W~~ leaving his ~~mother~~ mother-in-law to entertain the guest, ~~and~~

Noriko: ~~I said~~ I said, 'If you're a man, you should have the courage to change your mind.'

Mr. Sato, who himself was confined in Santa Fe, then said:

Who teach the young men the bad ideas." should be ascertained. It's the old men

Mr. ~~Mr.~~<sup>Sato</sup> had also heard that when ~~they~~<sup>the Hokokan</sup> arrived at Santa Fe, ~~the Japanese~~<sup>they</sup> had attempted <sup>their</sup> early morning marching. But the guards stopped them. "I can't understand English" said a Hokoku. "What's the language you're talking, then?" said the guard. "~~Get~~<sup>Get</sup> ~~back!~~<sup>back!</sup>" ~~All of these stories of rough treatment are~~  
~~repeated by the "U" party.~~ The ladies enjoyed these stories.

Mr. <sup>Sato</sup> ~~Mr.~~ <sup>Yamashita</sup> then gave his opinion of ~~T. Shibata~~ <sup>Mr. Yamashita</sup>, who was probably the most influential of the leaders of the Resurrection Group. "In Santa Fe Mr. ~~Shibata~~ <sup>Yamashita</sup> was appointed to be one of those to work to get the families reunited here in Tule Lake. He and Fujii and about four others. But those six men got out and just left us there. I was one of the last to get out. He said he would honestly represent us, but he didn't."

Mr. [unclear] then added:

If America lets the Nakoku go back to Japan first, there's going to

FOOTNOTE p. 49.

- [1. Noriko, I believe, was referring to the center-wide girls' club which Mrs. Aida ~~was~~ had been organizing. ( See longitudinal oral history of Mrs. Aida from December 15, 1944 to April 1945.)  
What Noriko fears is that the recently organized ~~Joshi~~ Joshi in, composed of ~~female~~ female Resegregationists, would break up the neutral girls' group to which she belonged. /
- / [2. Most of the male members of the Resegregation Groups had, by now, shaved their heads, in imitation, some of them told me, of the Japanese Army. ~~xBozu~~ Bozu, in Japanese, refers to the shaved head of a monk. /

49  
Jumada  
FEBRUARY 8, 1945, ~~1944~~

be trouble in camp. Then all the center will turn to Hokoku. If people in camp would know that Japan wouldn't really take the Hokoku, it would really scare them."

All agreed heartily.

~~Sato~~ then said:  
Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ The (Hokoku) women here are so proud to see their husbands go to Santa Fe they walk into the ~~mess~~ <sup>mess</sup> with their snoots up. (Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ <sup>Sato</sup> demonstrated)

Noriko  
Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ Our block has split into two. Up till now we were all together. Last time it was all right. The girls weren't together yet. Now they have this club and it seems like our club will be broken up. 1

~~Sato~~ Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ A week ago my husband met a friend who had a bozt <sup>bozt</sup> hair out. "What! Are you bozt too?" he said. "Sh-h-h," said the friend, "This is camouflage - otherwise nobody in my block will talk to me." When he came home, my husband laughed his head off. I hear they're pretty strong in block 74 too. In that block, I hear there are two families whose daughters refused to become members of the girls' organization. All the other girls won't speak to them now. ~~(Sato)~~ (the Joshi tin)

Noriko  
Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ If these organization showed that it would make a change, it would be all right. But now they're so blind that we just have to wait. We can't talk to them now.

~~Sato~~ Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ There is a man in this block with six children. He's had one each year - they're one to six years old. He says he's going to get picked up too. So I told him, 'What's going to happen to your children?'

I feel so sorry for his poor wife. Everytime she hears a car rattle she gets all jittered up. She thinks they're coming for him. She's such a nice lady. I feel so sorry for her.

Our block manager is just dazed by the Hokoku pick-ups. He doesn't know what to do. He goes to the wife of a man who has been picked up and says, 'I'll be glad to help you.' But she just acts superior. Then he talks to me and says, 'Goddamnit, What am I going to do with those guys? It's their will to be taken in. They tell me, 'My son is going to be a real Japanese now.' You have no pity for them.

Noriko  
Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ There are ten girls in our Japanese class and five <sup>or</sup> six of them are Hokoku girls. At recess they all get together and talk. We who don't belong have to sit quiet.

~~Sato~~ Best  
Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ Mr. ~~Best~~ is ignorant. If he'd think a little more, he'd have stopped this racket when it started.

If they could assure us that we were not going to be forced out of camp I think a lot of people will drop out of the Hokoku. The Hokoku are the only people who feel safe now. They feel they can't be yanked out of camp and they can't be yanked into the Army. In a way, that's the main reason they founded that club.

Noriko  
Mrs. ~~Mr.~~ In a way they can't trust the American <sup>government</sup>. That's the only sure way they could assure themselves in forming that crazy old so-and-so.

Tamura

45.50

H. Muray - notes - 1945

FEBRUARY 8, 1945, p. 5.

<sup>Sato</sup>  
Mr. Miyagi: You know how to stop this crazy Sokoku? You have to pick up the first generation runners. Then things will start quieting down. They're the ones who set fire to it. The first generation starts it.

~~(Mr. Miyagi ought to know being one of Gila's best investigators.)~~

<sup>Noriko</sup>  
~~Makao:~~

They ought to pick up the women first. The families will be worried to death to have their daughters ~~disappear~~ go where they can't keep their eyes on them. The people figure they won't take the girls no matter what happens.

<sup>Sato</sup>  
Here I said, "Don't you think that's kind of cruel?"  
Mrs. Miyagi: "Well - they asked for it."

High School Students Leaving English School

I asked about the high school students leaving <sup>the English school</sup> and the ladies told me that the most important reason students were leaving the English school

is that their parents believe they must concentrate on Japanese if they are to go to Japan - Mrs. <sup>Miyagi</sup> ~~Yagi~~ said she has been arguing with some of the parents, saying any kind of education is valuable. <sup>Sato</sup> But they're all set for Japanese now.

Tsuruda, March 1, 1945

10a 50a

MARCH 1, 1945

TALK WITH MR. ~~TSURUDA~~ TSURUDA'S SISTERS ~~AND HIS BROTHER~~

I always enjoy these sessions with the voluble and frank sisters of my old friend, the relocated <sup>Man Bot</sup> ~~man~~. However, today they were a bit subdued, perhaps <sup>because of</sup> ~~partly~~ from the tension which has arisen in camp since I saw them last and partly because it appears as if Mrs. <sup>Mitsuko's</sup> ~~Issei~~ <sup>Sato</sup> husband is kicking up grain in pro-Japanese style. I think the real <sup>problem</sup> ~~is~~ is that Mrs. <sup>appears to</sup> ~~wants to~~ <sup>relocate</sup> ~~get out~~ and the old man is against it. <sup>Sato</sup>

Shortwave Broadcast from Japan

We heard a broadcast over the shortwave that Japan is not actually considering the exchange. The Japanese claim they know nothing about it. But the Gripsholm did dock in New York, I read.

Hokoku and Internments

"What they ought to do is send the agitators out.

"There are many people in here who don't make a peep but they're still a lot smarter than those others. They'll stand up at the end. Those taken out of here are dumbbells.

<sup>Shere's (interned)</sup> <sup>whose</sup> "There's a fellow in this block ~~whose~~ mother and father wanted him to join the Hokoku. But being the only son he said he wouldn't join. 'What's going to happen to you if I'm interned,' he said. He's smart.

"I've heard they don't <sup>(administration)</sup> give the Hokoku people employment anymore.

"They're also saying that among those people taken away in the Hokoku, the rest of the families are not being paid by welfare. You know, a lot of these Hokoku people are not for the internments and the women are not for it at all.

"I heard they are getting block 99 ready for the Joshi-den. Somebody said they are even getting ready to <sup>(intern)</sup> ~~take~~ the kids under age.

<sup>(reunite?)</sup> "If they take out those families who agitated, they'll say, 'See what we did?' That would be a very dirty double cross.

TALK WITH MR. ~~TSURUDA~~ TSURUDA'S SISTERS ~~AND HIS BROTHER~~

MARCH 1, 1945

10a

Tsuruda, March 1, 1945

~~Reverend Abe~~

What's happened to ~~him~~ nowadays? He's staying quiet like a mouse. When he came out of the stockade, his nose was mud.

~~Japanese Schools~~

We then entered a discussion on what types of Japanese teaching should be allowed in camp. The women raised no objections to strict regulation of the teaching. What was forbidden by the ~~WR~~ or <sup>Dept. of Justice</sup> shouldn't be taught. Mrs. ~~V. Sato~~ <sup>Sato</sup> said, "But it's all right to teach them to read and write so that they learn something. You should learn your own language."

Back to the Hoshi-dan

Nothing but a bunch of ~~Isseis~~ <sup>e</sup> believe the Hoshi-dan. Some of them start saying they got a letter from so-and-so in Japan and they tell the people who are in the Sokoku that when the time comes we'll tell the government only who we went exchanged.

I've heard that the Japanese school teachers say that the kids of the Hoshi-dan families are so kamaiki (fresh). Even in ward III they are complaining.

Idea of bringing back some internees

"If they bring back some of the boys from Santa Fe, they won't dare let out a peep."

The women agree, however, that the decent boys should be allowed to come back, repeating the story of ~~the~~ <sup>interned</sup> man who had attempted to commit suicide.

Young People  
Adolescent Vandalism

The Mrs. ~~V.~~ <sup>Sato</sup> volunteered this remark:

"The young kids under age are making quite a lot of riot. The old man and the old lady are in the background.. The only way to stop it is to pick up the old man. ~~These~~ <sup>These</sup> kids don't know anything. They're innocent."

September 9, 1981

Mrs. Christine Takeuchi  
122 E. Markland Dr.  
Montebello, CA 90640

Dear Mrs. Takeuchi:

Thank you so much for your gracious offer to help me. As I told you on the telephone, I would like very much to find my friend Jim Takeuchi who helped me a great deal when I was living and working in the Tule Lake Segregation Center. (Jim relocated from Tule Lake in September of 1944, but I was never able to find out where he went.)

I would also like to talk to any other person you can find who experienced life of a segregee at Tule Lake. I am doing a study of how the Japanese Americans at Tule Lake coped with their difficulties and how they re-established themselves after they left the centers. All of the people I have talked to so far have done wonderfully well.

I will be working on this study for a year, so if you hear of anyone who would be willing to talk to me, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Rosalie Hankey Wax  
Professor Emerita, Sociology and Anthropology  
Anthropology

September 8, 1981

Mr. Peter Takeuchi  
259 11th Avenue  
San Francisco, CA 94118

Dear Mr. Takeuchi:

Your sister-in-law Christine suggested that I write to you about a study on which I am engaged. In 1944 and 1945, I lived at the Tule Lake Centers as a field worker for the Evacuation and Resettlement Study which was administered by professors at the University of California at Berkeley. At Tule Lake one of my most helpful respondents was a man called Jimmy Takeuchi. I also knew his wife and his sisters. I have been asked by the Rockefeller Foundation to do a study of how the segregees today feel that they coped with their difficult situation and to learn how they faced and overcame their problems after leaving the center. (The people I have talked to so far have done wonderfully well.)

I would be very grateful if you could give me the names and addresses of any persons who experienced segregation at Tule Lake, but I would be particularly happy if I could find and talk to Jimmy Takeuchi. I owe him a great deal.

I shall be working on this study for a year.

If there is anyone else with whom you think I should get in touch, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Rosalie Hankey Wax  
Professor Emerita, Sociology and Anthropology

Rosalie Hankey Wax  
Professor Emerita, Sociology and Anthropology

b Reuniting Hokoku

everybody

"If you reunite the Hokoku ~~the whole camp~~ will join. Naturally, you'll join because it's the best way to stay in camp. Just about the whole camp will join.

"The Hokoku feels they're going to get darn good positions when they get to Japan.

Relocation

(before evacuation)

Even if you were living in California and decided to move, you wouldn't move right away. You'll send a member of your family to go and see for a few weeks and then maybe you'll go. Even if they have the idea to relocate, people don't like to be pushed.

Janitor bribes his ~~sons~~ <sup>some</sup> to enter Hokoku

The janitor ~~and~~ at the beauty shop says the only way to save his sons' life was to join the Hokoku. So he begged them please to shave their heads off. He said, 'I'll give you 100 dollars each if you'll join and shave your heads. Finally he won the battle.

Bill (Bob's brother) and the Hooshi dan

<sup>The ladies me</sup> I was told that Bill had renounced his citizenship, but he's resigned from the Hokoku Hooshi dan. His wife's family were strong members of the Hooshi dan and he had to join or he couldn't get along with them. Nokiro

(Bob's sister) has not renounced, though her

mother keeps after her to do so. She doesn't see where it will improve her status in going to Japan (really, she doesn't want to go to Japan) and she figures she can always renounce when it's necessary.

"There's a rumor that they're sending this next bunch (Sunday's pickup) to ~~Kanbun~~ <sup>Nokiro</sup>."

"These Joshi would quiet down if they were arrested. They ought to arrest a group.

"Our neighbor has a boy 14 years old. He's the only male left in the family after the pickups. He's very weak and frail and as big as a nine year old boy. But he gets up at 5 in the morning and goes 'Bu-bu-bu-bu,' on his bugle. Then his mother is always wondering why he has the belly ache.

"Those Hokoku are tsura no kawa (tough skin- shameless).

"I hear they're having special hearings for the Hawaiians. My instructor went. But he said he had to go again for a special hearing. I wonder why? "

More names for the Hokoku: ishi otama (hard-headed); moto ichi (contrary).

"Block 74 is the worst Hokoku block." In there there are only 2 families who aren't Hokoku. If they meet anyone in the shower, they don't even say Good morning. My sister-in-law's family happen to live there, so you can ~~figure~~ <sup>imagine</sup> how they are. At first they come over and they didn't force us. They gave us a beautiful talk and asked us if we wanted to join. When they knew we weren't very much for it, they don't bother us with it. *imagine*

"My sister-in-law's sister's husband was taken in the first group. It just seems to have started up trouble in that family. The mother had a miscarriage. My sister-in-law's sister ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> pregnant. She had her baby but now she's having trouble with her ~~birth~~ <sup>birth</sup>. She had to have another operation the other day. Everything is going wrong with them.

*best*

APRIL 13, 1945

ENCOUNTER WITH BOB TAKEUCHI'S SISTER, NORIKO

I had written a letter to ~~Bob's~~ <sup>Bob's</sup> sister asking to be allowed to call. I encountered her today while making an appointment in the beauty shop and she cautiously asked me not to come because there was going to be another pick-up. ~~None of this proposed pick-up appears to be spreading in a very spotty manner. Most people know something about it, but many haven't heard of it.~~

[ No internment was contemplated.. But on March 16, the WRA had and posted issued/a body of Special Regulations, declaring that ~~the~~ Resegregationist (Hooshi dan and Hokoku) activities were unlawful and punishable by imprisonment. ]

FOOTNOTE, p. 51.

[1. See Fieldnotes for ~~MM~~ April 30.7

MAY 8, 1945

TALK WITH NORIKO TSURUDA

<sup>Noriko</sup>  
~~Noriko~~ is ~~one~~ one of my best "gossip" contacts. The Hoshi-dan, however, still has the family scared, for when they heard there might be another internment, they asked me not to <sup>visit them</sup> ~~come~~. Since nothing has happened for a month, they now thought it safe for me to show my <sup>face</sup> ~~nose~~ in their block.

Hoshi-dan people

There are some sisters in this block whose brothers were taken. They say they hear rumors that they're going to send their brothers back here from Santa Fe. But they say, 'I hope it isn't true.'

<sup>Noriko</sup>  
~~Noriko~~ made a disgusted face to indicate her sentiments toward the <sup>behavior</sup> ~~stupid hypocrisy~~ of these sisters.

But the Hokoku is <sup>[Hokoku]</sup> not so arrogant as they used to be. For a while it seemed as if they promised at the Ad. building not to do such things. But about a month ago they started blowing their bugles again. But in this ward, they're very quiet. (Ward II)

I've been hearing rumors that they were going to take about 500 more.

The Demented woman in block 36.

<sup>George</sup> <sup>referred to</sup>  
~~Kurstoni~~ hinted about this case last week. <sup>1</sup> But <sup>Noriko</sup> ~~Noriko~~, living in the block, knows <sup>the inside story</sup> ~~all the "inside dope"~~.

"There was one case in this block of a woman whose three sons were taken. Their father died in Boston. He left the mother with four sons and four daughters. When the Hoshi-dan started, they all got pulled in. One boy is still <sup>here</sup> ~~living~~ but he's only 12 years old.

This lady didn't like the idea of the Hoshi-dan business. Naturally, all their friends were in it and so they were pulled in. When her sons were taken she lost her mind. She went around saying, "What is this Hoshi-dan anyway? Then she'd pound the table. She'd keep on repeating the names of the people who talked her sons into the Hokoku. She feels all the time these men who came and argued and forced them are coming to see her. She says, 'He's here again. He's here again.' And she keeps on hitting the table.

The Hoshi-dan wouldn't let the daughter take her mother to the hospital. The girl left ~~here~~ is only 18 or 19. She has to take orders from the Hoshi-dan people. The Hoshi-dan people wouldn't even ~~let~~ <sup>let</sup> us go near there. The next door lady wanted to go and help but they ~~let~~ wouldn't let her go into the house.

So the Hoshi-dan ~~lady's~~ family went to a Nichiren reverend. The

MAY 8, 1945, p. 2.

*prayers*  
~~Prayers~~ of the Nichiren reverends seem to have a mysterious effect in that kind of illness. He came over every night for weeks. He said, 'From tomorrow night she'll really quiet down.' All through the prayers, they say, she was just as quiet as can be. But as soon as he was gone she was at it again.

But from the third night on, she really did begin to quiet down. She's really well now. She was really grieving over her sons.

All the other people in the block here feel it's better not to fool with them (*Hoshi-dan*). Better to stay on the safe side. You should see her daughter. She's so thin now.

*Hoshi-dan*  
 "The ~~Nichiren~~ people told us not to write to the boys about their mother. So we don't say anything.

### Letting People Go to ~~Klamath Falls~~ Klamath Falls

They let us go down to Klamath Falls now. We wonder what's the catch. I figure there must be some catch somewhere.

### Myer's visit.

Myer's visit didn't make much impression. The people didn't even care.

### Spanish Consul Committee

All the people on that committee are nothing but dopes. Our representative from this block is the worst dope in the block. He calls himself a doctor. He's a real dope. A real smart man doesn't go in for things like that.

*immigration*  
 The people don't give them a chance. As soon as they start to go back and forth to the Ad. building, they say, 'Oh that inu.' They never get a chance. No matter how good a group we have, it may be all right for a week or a month. But if anything should go wrong it'll be a mess.

### Caucasian women in beauty shop trying to get girls to relocate.

Old lady Ricketts keeps trying to convince the girls in the beauty shop that they should relocate. She tells the operators we better start worrying about jobs because sooner or later we're going to be cut out. I just ignore her and talk to her so that she'll be pleased.

Telling me I have to worry about a job! One operator said, 'Why didn't you tell her she should be looking for a job if the center is going to close?' We have quite a few Caucasians coming in like that and beating around the bushes more or less.

*[relocate?]*

Another thing, they say people are going out to Klamath Falls. I hear quite a few are going out.

### Renunciation of Citizenship

*their*  
 People really are worried about not hearing about ~~their~~ renunciation of citizenship. Especially the Lokoku people. The only reason they think their citizenship is renounced is because they are interned,

*Zurunda*  
MAY 8, 1945, ~~1945~~

I'd laugh if they were sent back here. But the people really don't want them back.

I think we will have another mental case in this block. This <sup>Lady's</sup> ~~side~~ husband was taken first and then her son was taken. When we used to sympathize with her she wouldn't listen. Now her eyes are wandering and she looks so queer. One of these days she's going to fly off the handle. Only <sup>in</sup> her case, nobody will have sympathy. They'll feel sorry of course, but they won't sympathize.

They Hokoku are really sorry inside only they won't show it.

Until the Coast was opened <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Hokoku was dying down. <sup>Opening</sup> ~~Opening~~ the Coast strengthened it.

More members of the family came in now, <sup>Mr. Sato</sup> ~~Mr. Sato~~ <sup>Bob's</sup> ~~Jim's~~ <sup>brother</sup> ~~brother~~ and <sup>sister-in-law</sup> ~~sister-in-law~~. I asked how <sup>Jim Bob</sup> ~~he~~ was (he's relocated) and was told he's fine. <sup>Bob's</sup> ~~Noriko~~ <sup>Noriko</sup> added ~~that~~, however, that all of his friends who had thought they were safe in Gila before segregation are now in the <sup>Army</sup> ~~Army~~. <sup>Bob</sup> ~~Jim~~ and his brother used to argue with them, but they thought they wouldn't be drafted from Gila. "One is even going overseas". <sup>Noriko</sup> ~~Noriko~~ also told me that she doesn't read the papers. If she read them she's the kind "who'd have to believe what she read" and she couldn't take it. We then discussed relocation. The family repeated that if they were given "a decent amount" of money they might consider it. <sup>Jim's</sup> ~~Jim's~~ brother brought up the Doi case and said, "Yeh, you're free all right if you go out. You've got civil rights. Civil rights to be dynamited, Civil Rights to have your head cut off! They're even trying to take poor Doi's land away from him now." <sup>Noriko</sup> ~~Noriko~~ "If they had made an example of those soldiers," said ~~Noriko~~, "It would have helped."