

Wax, Rosalie (Hankey),
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Tule Lake Fieldnotes, Mar. 1945 . pp 1-49

N.B., Readers must not disclose identity of individual evacuees

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March 1, 1945

1
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MARCH 1, 1945

TALK WITH JIM TAKEUCHI'S SISTERS

I always enjoy these sessions with the voluble and frank sisters of my old friend, the relocated Jim. However, today they were a bit subdued, perhaps partly from the tension which has arisen in camp since I saw them last and partly because it appears as if Mrs. Mizuno's Issei husband is kicking up again in pro-Japanese style. I think the real rub is that Mrs. Mizuno wants to relocate and the old man is against it.

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.

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 (interned) are dumbbells.

There's a fellow in this block whose mother and father wanted him to join the Ho:koku. 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 give the Ho:koku people employment anymore.

They're also saying that among those people taken away in the Ho:koku, the rest of the families are not being paid by welfare. You know, a lot of these Ho:koku 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-dan. Somebody said they are even getting ready to take (intern) the kids under age.

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

Reverend Kai

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

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 WRA or Department of Justice shouldn't be taught. Mrs. Mizuno 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 Ho:shi-dan

Nothing but a bunch of Isseis believe the Ho:shi-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 want exchanged.

I've heard that the Japanese school teachers say that the kids of the Ho:shi-dan families are so namaiki (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 man who had attempted to commit suicide.

Young People

Mrs. Mizuno 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 kids don't know anything. They're innocent.

Reuniting Ho:koku

If you reunite the Ho:koku everybody will join. Naturally, you'll join because it's the best way to stay in camp. Just about the whole camp will join.

The Ho:koku feels they're going to get darn good positions when they get to Japan.

Relocation

Even if you were living in California (before evacuation) 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 to Enter Ho:koku

The janitor at the beauty shop says the only way to save his sons life was to join the Ho:koku. 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.

Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Jim Takeuchi's Brother Jack(1)

Jack renounced his citizenship but he's resigned from the Ho:shi-dan. His wife's family were strong members and he had to join or he couldn't get along with them.

(Naoko, however, 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 Montana.

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 only 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 bellyache.

Those Ho:koku are tsura no kawa (thick 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 Ho:koku: ishi atama (hard-headed); moto ichi (contrary).

Block 74 is the worst Ho:koku block. In there there are only two families who aren't Ho:koku. 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 imagine how they are. At first they came 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.

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 pregnant. She had her baby but now she's having trouble with her breast. She had to have another operation the other day. Everything is going wrong with them.

TALK WITH NOYES

Had a long talk with Noyes in which his chief point was that he was kind of sore at Burling. Burling (Noyes says) has been fighting childishly with Myer and Myer says Burling is trying to put over his point out of ambition and that he wants to become the youngest Attorney General. Burling was still in Washington Saturday, (24th) so it looks as if Myer has won out. Noyes' particular gripe with Burling and the Department of Justice is that the Department of Justice is stalling on the FBI investigation until WRA tries out its new legal code against pro-Japanese activities. This code has been approved, but WRA is not going to tell the Department of Justice, hoping to force the FBI matter first, and then, when this shock has hit

March 1, 1945

4
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

the people, try enforcing their own code. (My personal opinion is that the dopes ought to get together and do them both at once, but who listens to me?)

Myer said you can't enforce them (new regulations). He's afraid they'll fill the jails. Wait till the FBI investigation. If we act simultaneously, we can do more.

The Ho:koku people are now demanding back the personal property seized in the raid. It appears that all of the important items, the safe, the mimeograph machine, the typewriters, etc. every important item except the flag is private property. They're not going to get them back though, since they're being held as evidence.

WRA wants the Ho:koku taken over by a law enforcement agency (Justice). But they aren't willing to act on it.

The following letter has just been sent to Mr. Best.

Mr. R. Best,

Sir,

1216-B

March 1, 1945

I am Tsamu Kodakari. I am taking Mr. Akahashi and Mr. Tsuha's place and I'm leader of the Sokujikikoku and the Hokoku-dan, from today. Now I am the center wide leader. I just let you know this. Not necessary to cut hair anymore. You'll see me some Sunday, marching down the roads.

Letter Sent by Mr. Matsuda to Nishimoto - From Santa Fe

Concerning Telegram

Reuniting of the families is the main problem--

3rd Feb. general meeting of Dan held - at Santa Fe.

Results--1. No prospects -- nobody can tell what kind of results we're going to have.

2. Results will be weakened by the separation from the Dan especially those members with families in Tule Lake if there should be a rejoining of the families away from Tule Lake.

3. Resolution:--"We decided that we will not make any petition for reunion of families for the time being."

Meanwhile, two days after the meeting, 5th of Feb., seven Buddhist reverends stated with their signatures, as follows:

"We do not wish any parole when we were here before, therefore, we always persisted on reuniting families in Crystal Family Camps for internees, to the end. As soon as we arrived at Tule Lake we offered our written request on which we requested that we wish to go to family camp. We, who were re-arrested, decided to persist to go to Internees family camp, forever." Like this they gave us a notice to ask our understanding about their persistence so far as the family reuniting program.

But these Buddhist preachers took their own way against our resolution of this organization. Let us know the person, precisely, who telegraphed from Santa Fe. So far we haven't any authority about this program.

March 1, 1945

5
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

I believe that the standing committee in Tule Lake will take the adequate procedure for that --

1. We the Hoshi Dan are going to meet the Spanish Consul when he comes to Santa Fe and propose some items to him.

2. Do not take any individual information about any kind of subject from now on concerning family reunion.

3. I know very well how busy you are, however, please send us 1000 small name cards and a box of staples -- 100 sheets of attendance tables of young men's culture.

4. When you deliver the reports of the Hoshi-Dan in Tule Lake, spare some for our place so that I could show to the members here.

Shigeru Matsuda

2/9/45

Committee of the Hoshi Dan in Santa Fe

To: (Gicho) chairman, Nishimoto, Kitsuji, 8005-f
Newell.

The Kitadani Assault Trial

[Mr. Noyes gave me an account of the trial, but I neglected to make a careful distinction between his verbatim statements and my account of his statements. (I suspect I was very tired when I wrote these particular notes.)]

Kitadani was given 90 days - but Mayeda, one of the defendant's witnesses got 15 days for contempt of court.

There were four charges against Kitadani - assault, assault and battery, aggravated assault, and assault with a deadly weapon. Since we couldn't get possession of the deadly weapon we decided not to call in the state.

Kitadani pleaded not guilty. Ideta testified that Kitadani attacked him and Ideta's roommate testified.

Then Frank Furukawa and Tsuda debated as to who would be Kitadani's advisor. I said Kitadani should decide that question.

Noyes said he had considered calling Mayeda as witness for Kitadani, but Tsuda and Furukawa brought him as their witness. Mayeda was the fellow Noyes' believed had been intimidated by Tsuda. Because of the intimidation Noyes decided not to call Mayeda. But the first witness Tsuda called was Mayeda. Frank Furukawa did the questioning while Slim glared at the witnesses. Frank dragged out the questioning all during the forenoon, but he didn't ask him about the day of the assault. Noyes then asked him why he didn't ask the witness about the 22nd (day of assault). "Oh Yes," said Furukawa, "the 22nd?" So Furukawa asked him what he was doing on the 22nd. Mayeda said he didn't see the fight because he left before it happened.

Then Noyes took over the cross-examination. Noyes asked Mayeda questions about the place he worked - what he did - he played cards for money. Then he took the plunge and asked him "You work there?" "Yes," said Mayeda. "Who do you work for?" "I don't work for anybody." Mayeda, however, admitted that he got paid. "Who pays you?" said Noyes. "Nobody." "That doesn't make any sense," said Noyes. Mayeda said, "I take part of the money myself."

March 1, 2, 1945

6
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Who do you give the money to that you get where you work?" asked Noyes. "Nobody." "What do you do with it?" "I leave it." "Where do you leave it?" "I don't know."

Through all of this Furukawa and Tsuda were fidgetting. Noyes said, "I want the records to show that the witness is either afraid or he is deliberately concealing information. This was done. Then Noyes asked, "Are you afraid?" "No," said Mayeda, feebly. "Why do you refuse to answer the questions?" "I didn't think they have any bearing on the case," said Mayeda.

Noyes pointed out that he had not refused to answer any of Furukawa's questions and added, "I think you are impeding justice. Then Tsuda came over and said, "I don't know what's the matter with this man. I don't understand him." Though they had six more witnesses they did not call them, stating that they would all tell the same story. Noyes said, "Aren't you even going to put the defendant on the stand?" So Kitadani was called to the stand where, according to Noyes, he proved to be a good liar.

Anyway, Mr. Black, who sat as judge gave Mayeda 15 days for contempt of court. Furukawa and Tsuda were considerably put out.

MARCH 2, 1945

GOSSIP IN BEAUTY PARLOR - Helen Sasajima

Even the beauty parlor is affected by the announcements of another pick-up which were made yesterday. Many people seemed a bit absent-minded and Helen remarked that everybody was excited. It was obvious that Helen herself was not particularly perturbed about the pick-ups or the state of the camp. She did say that all the Ho:shi-dan people expected to get reunited soon, however. She hasn't renounced her own citizenship yet but said she had been talking it over just recently. However,

If I ever want to go out, it would be very bad to renounce.

TALK WITH WASHINGTON RELOCATION TEAM - DOLAN, GIBBS AND MOORE

I had met Mr. Dolan in Gila over a year ago and he asked me to talk with the team. Since, in this manner I could get a pretty good idea of what they intend to do here in the way of relocation, I consented.

We are going ahead with a new relocation office which will be on the fence line on the Administrative side. It will have an entrance from the colony. They won't need a pass. The entrance will lead into a library. It will be as comfortable as possible with tables and chairs and lots of stuff in Japanese. There will be a receptionist. And anyone can come and sit in the library who wishes to.

Then down a hallway there will be a series of private offices as sound proof as possible. There will be interviewers, if a fellow wants to talk to someone and ask a few questions.

At the other end of the hall will be the evacuee property office. It will all be next to the post office. There will be

one advisor and two workers.

I asked how soon this would start:

As soon as possible. Even now we have four - five, or six people a day coming to the personnel office and asking questions on relocation. Some people are moving out.

We are not going to put on any organized concentrated effort to see any organization or group of people.

After this is established we will try to do two things:
1) The informal distribution of materials - like throw aways. Soon there will be information in the Newell Star, a lot of pictures of old Tuleans. On top of this we want to begin to develop a confidence in this division by attempting to get a tie with the community. We'll get someone who will be a semi-community analyst to get to know the people personally and talk with them.

Beyond that our plans and development of program will depend on the ebb and flow in the community. Welfare will begin with the dependent families, to provide some kind of service.

The heart of any program must be individual consultation. We are not going to make any attempt to get large groups of people relocated (at Tule Lake).

I also picked up the story at this meeting of a girl who wished to relocate who had been threatened and beaten by her father and grandfather. She finally left camp by having Internal Security go to her apartment and get her things.

March 3, 1945

8
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MARCH 3, 1945

TALK WITH M. TOKUNAGA

The fact that there will be another pick-up tomorrow, did not seem to disturb Mr. Tokunaga since he asked me to visit him.

If the people who have renounced their citizenship are refused and drafted, there will be trouble.

I heard a rumor that the government is going to try to chase all of the people out of this camp. I said, 'It's a darn fool.' Even in the other camps, most of the Issei will stay.

Most of those who couldn't come to this camp had properties outside or sons in the American Army.

We entered into a discussion on the strength of the Ho:koku. Mr. Tokunaga agreed with me that the Ho:koku got stronger for awhile.

The last bunch joined only because the Department of Justice came and all sorts of rumors started.

Mr. Tokunaga, like Kurihara, thinks it would be a good idea to bring back some of the boys from Santa Fe.

I think it will be very difficult to stop the Ho:shi-dan. They don't know what to do now. They made a big mistake at the start.

We are glad that the worst element was picked up. But taking out a group that couldn't help it, because those people didn't understand, having been agitated by the original self-advertiser (Wakayama?).

Another Question About Kai and Kuratomi Organizing

Is it true that Kai and Kuratomi are starting another group?

Mr. Tokunaga then told me that when he gets to Japan he expects to lecture on America. He feels he knows plenty about the "bad side" of America but would like to find out something about the "good side," particularly the efforts of certain church groups to assist the Japanese. He asked me if I would be able to get him some literature and I promised to do my best. He stated:

Before evacuation I often said, 'American people are people of common sense.' But look what happened.

I just laughed when Myer said the camps must close before the end of 1946. I thought Myer was smarter than that.

A relocation man at Manzanar said that we would be like the Indians if we stayed in camp. I said to him, 'Never mind what

Tule Lake Fieldnotes

will become of us. We are more concerned about ourselves than you are. No matter how long the Japanese stay in camp, we'll never be like the Indians. If you don't believe it, you go back to Washington.'

Ho:koku

Why the Ho:koku-dan got power was because when they started requesting for resegregation. They said that the WRA hinted that they would co-operate with the Ho:koku. That's what the Ho:koku people said. They claimed they had an understanding with WRA and even Secretary of the Interior Ickes. That's why even intelligent people were fooled.

Social Difficulties

Even in this block there are a few people who hesitate to speak to me. But I don't pay any attention. I just laugh and in my mind I think, 'What the heck.' A few in this block were taken and they are very sure they will be reunited. They are just misinformed, that's all. One of the worst agitators in this block isn't being picked up this time. His two sons are going though.

The way we figure is that the Department of Justice knows Fujizawa is one of the worst agitators. So they are purposely leaving him to try to keep the people divided and create another trouble. I believe they are trying to make the camp residents fight each other.

Nobody puts faith in what Mr. Best Says.

I talked to Kurihara the other day. We talked about how the whole country is against the Japanese. Some (of American people) go so far as to say that both the Issei and Nisei ought to be shipped back to Japan. But still the Federal Government wants to keep as many Japanese as possible. I don't understand why. This anti-Japanese sentiment will become worse and worse as the war drags on.

INFORMATION FROM BAGLEY

Mr. Bagley, head of Social Welfare, sat next to me at dinner and I picked up the following information. Many of the men sent to Santa Fe are recipients of the welfare clothing allowance. These men cannot cash these checks and to make them available for the use of their families in Tule Lake they must sign over the power of attorney. Hundreds of these checks went to Bismarck and the men were told of the necessity of signing over the power of attorney. But the man who is head of Bismarck said that only a handful have done so.

The second interesting bit of information was that the WRA had approached the Block Managers to attempt to get them to find some family or families who would consent to take into their homes the children of some of the Ho:koku men whose wives are ill or pregnant and unable to take care of their children. The block managers refused curtly, stating that they would not take the responsibility. And besides, the Joshi-dan had been organized for this purpose - so let them do it.

MARCH 6, 1945TALK WITH KAYO IIDA

Kayo remarked that in spite of the pick-up of Sunday, things were very quiet in camp now.

I know some friends that have withdraw from that organization (Ho:koku) because they didn't want to go (to be interned). His wife had objections.

Another Rumor on Kai and Kuratomi

There is a rumor that Kai and Kuratomi are starting some kind of organization. It's going to have studies and exercises but they don't go as far as shaving heads.

TALK WITH KURIHARARumor In Camp About Resegregation of Super-Patriots

A man from block 70 came here this morning and also one from 82. One of these persons I visited the day before yesterday. He was rejected. At the time the crowd was taken Sunday, he was told to get packed but he was sent back. I visited him because I know him well and had tried to convince him that Santa Fe or Bismarck was not the place for him.

Like the person who visited me this morning, he told me the WRA is now carrying out resegregation and the internments are the preliminary step and after resegregation is carried out, the rest here will be chased out.

Kurihara said he had no idea how this rumor started but it has been very widespread in camp for the past week. I said I did not see how the WRA was going to kick out people who had renounced their citizenship. He then said:

If that is the case then those who renounced their citizenship and were sent to Santa Fe and Bismarck will never be given parole and allowed to relocate. There is also a rumor that there are boys who are already applying for parole.

Ho:koku Enthusiasm for Internment Subsiding

Many of the young boys are not now so enthusiastic. It is true that the Ho:shi-dan seem to have been encouraged by the pick-ups because they felt they were obtaining their object. But with your statement that they feel stronger I do not agree because I have been gathering information. I came to the conclusion that they are now worrying their heads off fearing they'll be picked up. They are showing rather visibly that they better not agitate too strong. Many are waiting to break away. Even the strong agitators who were causing rumors, to some extent they are backing out. Both the

Ho:shi-dan and the Ho:koku-dan leaders are not so vigorous as they were before. It plainly shows that they are on the downgrade.

If it's possible for the administration to make a definite statement that they can't reunite, that will break them. For the sake of justice, they should make that statement. It will stabilize the rest of the population here. As it is, it keeps the decent people under constant unrest.

Many agitators weren't picked up on this last pick-up.

If the Department of Justice could come out with a statement that the families will not be reunited indefinitely, then the people would tell who the agitators are or they'd turn on them and beat them up. They have agitated and convinced them like this -why shouldn't they turn on them? The Ho:shi-dan hotheads will beat up the agitators. They had several meetings in the Manzanar section about this already.

As I feel, as long as the WRA continues like this and doesn't give the people any policy, I'm going to let them continue to agitate and cause trouble.

Kuratomi and Kai

They have started an organization called the Yamato Seinen-dan. Their aims are good. They want to organize an organization that will co-operate with the Administration and work for the benefit of the Japanese as a whole in camp. Which way they will flop, I don't know. It is an organization for young men. They may take older people in it too.

I told Kurihara about the Kitadani and Tsuda business and he said that Tsuda was head of the gambling interests in camp. He added:

The administration should get after the gamblers. The poor women and children are suffering with their husbands gambling away all the savings. And the savings are little enough as you know.

Kurihara now made some comments on the manuscript which I have prepared on the rise of the Ho:koku and the Ho:shi-dan. He said he was amazed when he read it because I had managed to get about 95% correct information and because I really went around and talked to people. He had a few minor corrections to make however, which I was very glad to get.

Actual Start of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan (Young men's organization)

The one who really started that organization was Reverend Tsuha. Wakayama was asked to lead the organization, but he refused because he said his wife was pregnant. Tachibana was asked to lead it, but he said his wife was sickly. So Tsuha took over. The Ho:shi-dan was not really the Yamato Shokunin-dan (Japanese Workers' Union) which was what Wakayama tried to start.

Wakayama's idea was pushed aside when Tsuha took over and assumed the leadership. Then when they weren't raided the opening night, then Tachibana and Wakayama wanted to share in the glory. They were afraid to assume the leadership first for fear they would be raided.

At first the Saikakuri Seigan (Group Requesting Resegregation)(1) was dominated by the Poston group, not the Jerome group as you have it. Block 32 was the nest of that group. P. 575. On page 589 - Wakayama was born in Hawaii.

Why Tsuha Was Kicked Out

Tsuha was kicked out or demoted because a fight started between Tachibana, Wakayama and Tsuha. Those three were looking for glory. As long as Tsuha was in the position he was the real organizer and Tachibana and Wakayama couldn't get all the credit. They wanted to grab all the glory for themselves. By making a very shameful charge against Tsuha - that he was flirting with Mrs. Matsuda - and that they didn't want anybody of that kind of character as a leader of their organization so they started to kick him out.

(Kuratomi then told me a remarkable thing about the Hitomi murder which I still don't dare put in my notes.)(2)

Back To Problem of Ho:koku

If a statement is made that they're not going to be reunited, I honestly think they'll crumble now. But they'll still raise a lot of fuss. All those who are doubtful will get out and many that are with them will get out.

[1. See Fieldnotes, March 19.]

[2. Kurihara believed he had evidence that Wakayama wanted Hitomi's co-operation in embezzling Co-op funds and that Hitomi resisted. Wakayama, Kurihara told me, had thereupon ordered his strong-arm boys to "get Hitomi". (See also Kurihara's statement to me on February 13 and 28, 1945.)

In a communication to Dillon Myer, dated March 22, 1946, Mr. Best, the Project Director states:

"So violently did Kurihara counsel against these organizations --- (the Resegregationists and the Ho:koku Seinen dan) --- that word reached me that Ernest Wakayama, acknowledged leader of the pro-Japan groups, had threatened to kill Joe. I sent a messenger to warn Joe of the rumored intention. Back came a message telling me not to worry, that everything was in hand in the colony and that he very well could take care of himself. He did, and did what he could to take care of some others too." (Bancroft Library collection)

I suspect that the events described by Mr. Best occurred in November -- see my fieldnotes for November 13 and November 20. Evidently, other people besides myself knew that more assaults were being planned. One of these warned Best, whereas I warned Mr. Robertson and Mr. Kurihara.]

If the FBI tries to investigate here and they'd do a 100% job it would be OK. But if they are only 50% successful, they will be a failure and that will cause more trouble.

TALK WITH KURATOMI AND TSUDA

The Resegregation Rumor

Kuratom: Mr. Best made that statement about the removals being the beginning of Resegregation to a lady who went to see him because her boy was going to be pulled in, and she wanted to ask about family reunion.

Best said something to the woman about what they were doing at the moment was to get all the people not permitted for relocation out of the camp and then when those people who could relocate were out, they [interned persons] could come back.

Burling's Letter

Mr. Burling's letter was very sarcastic. Many points he stated could be considered contradictory. However, since the letter was directed to the Ho:shi-dan, many people didn't say anything. Many points were not very clear, especially about family reunion.

If the original leaders could have been convicted, it would have stopped them from the first.

Daihyo Sha Minutes

Kuratom told me that my Daihyo Sha Kai minutes extended only to December 19, and he is certain the body had meetings after that.

Resegregation Group

We then began a general discussion of the policy of the resegregation group. I outlined my analysis of the group's post-September activities and also outlined Opler's because I wanted Kuratom's reaction to them. He, like Kurihara, agreed with me, only Kuratom agreed more thoroughly, that after September they followed their preconceived plan and did not change their policy as Opler insists.

They just followed their preconceived plan. It was after the September petition that they started having dues.

Ho:shi-dan Ready to Quit After February 1

The Ho:shi-dan really had the intention of quitting their activities after February 1 of this year. But the people in the Manzanar section coaxed so many boys to join the Ho:koku-dan,

and since the people in Manzanar got so many new members, the members in the rest of the camp just tagged along.

The Fight With the Resegregation Group About the Indictment and Tsuda

I had had only the other side of this story. To get Kuratomi's story I read him what they had said about him. By this time Tsuda himself had come to visit Kuratomi and as I read the statement aloud they both fell into gales of laughter. Tsuda is made out to be such a villain. After Kuratomi pulled himself together, he gave me his story and all of his correspondence with Besig on the matter.

After we came out of the stockade they had this what do you call committee for the law suit - the Saiban-iin and furthermore, the responsibility rested not with them but with the detainees in the stockade. If things went OK, they'd get the credit but if they didn't go OK they'd get no blame. Then as a result of the threat of a law suit from the ACLU, WRA turned us loose.

After we were released all of us detainees had a meeting with the Saiban-iin and thanked them honestly. It was quite an amicable meeting. Regarding the 500 dollars collected for the law suit it was not so much a part of the Resegregation Group, it came more from the earliest effort of the Saiban-iin. [Relatives of Men in stockade.]

As to the reason why we did not join the Ho:shi-dan was because of our position in dealing with the WRA. We didn't only represent one group in camp, because the Daihyo Sha represented the whole camp and we had not disbanded officially. As a result we had to publish a paper thanking the people. I think, if my observation isn't wrong, they did have a feeling we should give the Resegregation Group some kind of official thanks and make some kind of statement that everybody in camp should support that organization. People in that organization came to my place and begged me to go to see Mr. Tachibana and Mr. Wakayama, saying that my acquaintanceship with them will be a great advantage for me.

The Indictment Threat [Hitomi Murder]

We asked no one for material aid in hiring a lawyer. Our feeling was that since six or seven people were to be indicted for the same charge against the same man, and all were Japanese in my eyes and lived within the compound, I felt it was only natural and just to ask everybody to write and hire a lawyer if necessary.

I wrote this letter September 11, and took it around and got the signatures of everyone but Mr. Goto, whose name I couldn't recall. Then they came the next day and asked me to tear the letter up.

Here Mr. Tsuda interrupted:

I don't have to ask anybody to give me aid or lawyer's

fees. I'll do it myself.

Kuratomu said, And if I remember correctly, most of the 500 dollars came from Mr. Tsuda anyway.

When I got the signatures, I went to Mr. Ono's place last. Mr. Ono was surprised to see that I had Mrs. Matsuda's signature and very hesitatingly, he signed the letter. On the way home I stopped at Mr. Uchida's place. There I was told that Ono had boasted to Mr. Uchida that under no circumstances would he sign any statement if it caused him to be linked with Mr. Tsuda. So right then I felt that tomorrow morning somebody was going to come to my place.

The next morning at 7:00 a.m. the Saiban-iin came. They were rather peeved because I didn't consult them before I went around and got the signatures. To get rid of them I threatened them, saying, 'This is an indictment for murder and you may be involved as the backers of murderers and you gentlemen may be put on the spot. Then they wanted to retract everything and scrambled out of here as fast as possible. They told me to tear up the letter of September 11 with the signatures on it, so I wouldn't have their signatures alongside of Mr. Tsuda's.

Fifteen minutes later they came back and asked me to give them a copy of the letter so they could hire a lawyer. I gave them a copy of the September 11 letter. They did this to leave Tsuda's name out of it. Then they came back with my letter and asked me to sign it too. They had recopied it on another sheet of paper. I said, 'I may be a fool, but I'm not going to sign that letter I just typed out.'

So I typed out another letter and sent it to Mr. Besig, with my name, Kai, and Tsuda.

(Now Mr. Tsuda took over the conversation and began to tell why he had never joined the Resegregation Group. By this time George had gotten out a large vinegar bottle which proved to contain distilled sake. From this moment forth the conversation got more and more confidential.)

Tsuda: I didn't join the Resegregation Group because I figured the group didn't represent the whole center as the Negotiating Committee did. Moreover, I didn't like the idea of not letting all the people in. The first couple of months things were perfectly satisfactory between us. With myself, I was working with Mr. Best trying to get the boys released from the stockade. But since there was no result, they must have gotten tired. They must have suspected my way of doing things and thought I was supporting Mr. Best's idea instead of holding out for the internees.

Poston Clique Behind Resegregation Group

Most of the important policies were actually adopted by the people from the Poston clique. Ono, Tachibana and Uchida. They were all tied up with Mr. Tachibana in Poston.

That's what gave them so much power.

(Since the party was now getting pretty gay, I asked Kuratomi if he was going to tell me all about the Yamato-seinen-dan he was supposed to be starting or if I had to be satisfied with the rumors. Here he and Tsuda guffawed again. Kuratomi denied he was starting anything and added,

If I start any monkey business you'll be the first one to be in on it.)

He then translated for me a curt notice he had received from the Ho:shi-dan on November 20th. (1944)

They said that on my first signature on their petition (resegregation) my wife signed it. They want to know if I had any intention of joining the organization. The Jochi-iin would like you to put your own signature to the organization's petition and accordingly will you come to 5408-D and express your intent about it.

Kuratomi added that the mere act of sending him such a letter was an insult. I asked if many letters similar to his had been sent out and he said they had. His was the 2nd or 3rd batch. Many people had been unofficially expelled before that. Imachi and Shitanishi were expelled the latter part of October. (I was glad to get this informatin about dates since it will help to clarify the chronological growth of policy in the Resegregation Group.)

If they had been really working for release and if the organization was our true backers, I don't see how they could dare to write me a letter like that.

The sake was now taking effect and Tsuda told me what was worrying him, i.e., that the Administration is trying to get him, which is to some extent true. He felt that Noyes' questioning of Mayeda was not legal or right and that where Mayeda worked and who paid him had nothing to do with the case. (I must confess that this sounds like good sense to me.) Tsuda continued:

The other day at the trial Noyes interrogated the witness (Mayeda). The witness refused to answer. Noyes made a motion to Black then that the person should be arrested for concealing the facts. If it was related to the assault and battery case I wouldn't think so much of it. But it seems it's out of principle. Since this witness was a gambler and the rest of the witnesses were all gamblers, we refused to put them on the stand.

Tsuda then told me that the reason Noyes must have thought that he had intimidated Mayeda was that he had gone over to see Mayeda to tell him to tell the truth "and say only what he saw, no more." Turnbull of Internal Security called at Mayeda's and found Tsuda there. Later, when Mayeda was called,

he was darn fool enough to say that Tsuda had told him not to say anything.

Then I sent a man to Sanborn to tell him to take the trial to Alturas. I told them to get a first class lawyer and we'd blast it all over the front page that WRA was allowing gambling at Tule Lake.

(No wonder Noyes was so anxious to keep it a project trial.)

Tsuda and Tachibana

On the day you saw me at Tachibana's house, [See Fieldnotes, May 21, 1944] he asked me why I didn't join the Resegregation Group. He said, 'We have 9,000 people here now and great power. If you should belong to a power like that you can do yourself very nice.'

If I hadn't had a son who was a sansei, I'd have joined the Ho:shi-dan. But my son is all for the American way. My mother is Issei, 72 years old, and I'm Nisei or rather Kibei. My father is the typical Issei, the stubborn type. My family is just like the camp Issei, Nisei and Kibei. I can see the picture of the whole camp in my family.

The way of this Resegregation Group, the Ho:shi-dan and their principal, I like it. But their way of doing, excluding the people, is the thing I'm opposed to. If I should belong to the Ho:shi-dan my son does not feel the same way I do about it. I couldn't have my son in my house. That's why I can't do it.

The Resegregation Group kicks about the descrimination and exclusion they had in America but they're doing it right here in this camp.

Tsuda and Stockade Matter

After I got out of the stockade, I went to see Mr. Best many times, trying to liquidate the stockade. When the idea of hiring a lawyer came up, I went to see Mr. Wakayama. He said it was no use. He said, 'You know how big the United States government is. If they want to put 100 boys in the stockade, they will do it anyway. The stockade is just a insignificant thing. It would be foolish to bring in a lawyer.' I went to see Mr. Tachibana and he said the same thing.

As the sole responsible person for bringing in a lawyer, I didn't want to cause any further trouble. Right after that, this here Saiban-iin got in touch with Mr. Okamoto and Mr. Ishigami and through him they hired Mr. Besig. The results were good? I don't know.

Segregation

(This is a very important statement which I have not stressed sufficiently in my report on pre-incident attitudes.)

All the people who came here from different centers had a different idea of what segregation meant. Every center had been told different things.

March 6, 1945

18
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Wakayama's Statement

Kuratomi translated Wakayama's threatening statement for me as,

For the survival of the larger cause, we may have to
sacrifice the smaller cause.

He also translated the first name of the Resegregation Group -

Saikakuri Seigan - The people who have requested for
resegregation.

He gave as his opinion that the organization of the group which took place formally
after the September petition was to give the group a policy.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KURATOMI AND BESIG

This is the noteworthy letter about which there was so much controversy:

Sept. 11, 1944

Dear Mr. Besig.

At this time please accept our belated gratitude for your most humane and understanding
interest in our behalf concerning the stockade problem.

It has been two weeks since our release, and we are already confronted with another
grave problem. This time it is that of murder which occurred July 2, 1944 while the stockade
was still in existence. We were informed that sometime next week the Grand Jury of Modoc
County will indict about half a dozen evacuees on charges of murder and conspiracy to murder.

You are familiar with the conditions of the camp. After some of us have spent a few
nights each in the Modoc County Jail, we feel that there may be a deliberate attempt on the
part of some individuals to conspire against us. Of course, we are positive that any so
called "evidence" compiled about us is based upon rumors. Consequently we are very anxious to
clear ourselves of any and all such disgraceful charges directed toward us. There are
entirely too many idle talks floating about the center, and such talks may greatly injure many
perfectly innocent bystanders. We are suspicious that there is a link between Mr. Best's
stockade complex and the murder investigation, which eventually brought us into the murder
picture. For this reason, we urgently request your visit.

Also would it possible, therefore, for you through your association to acquire us the
best available criminal lawyer to fight this case in our behalf? We are at a loss as to our
preparation for this case. Will you suggest our attorney to visit us so that he may be better
supplied with the facts?

Again we wish to thank you deeply for your sincere efforts. We are waiting for your
favorable reply.

Very truly yours,

P.S. Rev. Kai was taken in also to the Modoc County Jail on Saturday afternoon, the 9th of
August, and has not yet been returned to the colony, as yet.

March 6, 1945

19
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Sept. 18, 1944

Dear Mr. Besig:

We are in receipt of your very heart rendering letters and thankful for your thoughtful information. Please accept our apologies that we had to interfere your noble task with our personal problem. However, since this was our only means of receiving a satisfactory legal aid, we were compelled to employ this methods.

For your information we wish to state the following

1. We don't know how many but some will most likely be indicted on charges of murder and conspiracy to murder Mr. Hitomi.
2. Some of us have been taken to the Modoc County Jail and were questioned by District Attorney, the State and Government investigators.
3. Some of us have been shown the forms mentioning our names in connection with aforementioned charges to be presented to the Grand Jury of Modoc county for indictment proceedings.

Of course, we realize the fact that we haven't been indicted as yet and can't predict the ultimate result. But the evidences shown during our investigations must be counteracted should the suit becomes a reality. This is especially so when those so-called "evidences" are known to us to be false. For this reason we wish to be prepared in the event of our adversities.

We, the undersigned do hereby delegate you an authorization to act as our agent to secure us a counsel so that he may visit us here at Tule Lake as soon as possible.

Please advise us as to the guarantee necessary for his visit. We will dispatch it immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

September 20, 1944

Dear Mr. Kuratomi:

I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated September 18 in which Messrs. Kai and Tsuda and yourself authorize me to act as your agents in hiring an attorney for you. I'll be glad to undertake the mission and to have him visit you at Tule Lake.

I do not know how large a retainer will be required. It may be a retainer to represent all three of you on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder, or it may simply amount to a trip to Tule Lake to advise you about your rights, and to discuss your general knowledge about the case and your past relations with Mr. Hitomi. Personally, I think it would be wise to see whether indictments are returned by the Grand Jury before you engage an attorney, but the decision is yours and not mine. I would suggest, however, that you send me \$500, and you'll have to trust me to handle it wisely.

It is quite possible that the District Attorney was engaging merely in a "fishing expedition" when he took certain people to Alturas, or it may be that this is a method of intimidation your group so that you'll be good boys in the future. On the other hand, it is not impossible that this is the genuine thing and that they mean to take action. Have you heard of any Tule Lake segregees actually testifying before the Grand Jury. I've also heard rumors about some fellow who transferred to Manzanar and then asked for expatriation.

March 6, 1945

20
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Please advise me more fully of the manner in which you were taken to Alturas. Were you given any choice about going? Were you informed you were being placed under arrest? Who picked you up? Did they want you to sign statements, and, if so, did you sign them?

The police have no right to pick up people and to detain them for questioning. If they have duly executed warrants of arrest and then bring the person before a magistrate, there can be no complaint. Please let me know with particularity exactly how you were picked up. Of course, if you were asked to go and you agreed to it, there would be no basis for complaint.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Besig.

P.S. Would you like Collins to come, if he is available? I haven't talked to him about this business. He has to be in Washington D.C. on October 10 and has a criminal trial coming up in the federal court the latter part of October. I also have John Taaffe in mind.

Sept. 22, 1944

Dear Mr. Besig,

Thank you for your letter of Sept. 20, 1944, also your kindness in acting in our behalf to secure an attorney. We are dispatching \$500 as you advise us.

We feel that the District Attorney is engaging in a "fishing expedition". To my knowledge there has not been a person testifying before the Grand Jury. As I mentioned in my last letter, we were merely questioned by the District Attorney, the State and Government Investigators. None of us signed any statement. When the WRA, Internal Security officers came to pick us up, they informed us that we were being taken to Alturas at the request of the District Attorney's office. For some unknown reason, these Internal Security officers were very cautious and hesitant about our destination. Why they were afraid of us is beyond our imagination. They never mentioned the word "arrest" and in all sincerity, I believe they weren't given that order. It is, however, very annoying to see them come in almost any time and pick us up. The families are certainly against such treatments. The only reason we let ourselves be picked up, is simply to cooperate with the Authorities.

The Grand Jury is not returned indictments and it appears that the authorities are in dire need of more concrete evidence to convince the Grand Jury. The investigation conducted by the WRA was headed by Fenton Mahrt. Remember the name? Mr. Schmidt is no longer in the Project, I am informed.

By weighing the aforementioned, I am in complete agreement with your sentiment about hiring an attorney. However, the retainer is to give you an assurance that we are prepared to fight this case if necessary. So, if we are not asking you too much, please be ready to send us an attorney when the time comes.

Further suggestions or information will be appreciated. Thanking you and trusting you for a wise counsel, I am,

Very truly yours,

George Kuratomi.

Encl: Money Order for \$500

March 6, 1945

21
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

P.S. In the event we become incommunicade and unable to communicate with you regarding hiring of the lawyer and the financial end concerned, please contact Mrs. Kai, 503-B. We will delegate our interest in her hands.

September 25, 1944

Dear Mr. Kuratomi

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 22 inclosing \$500 in money order payable to me. I will hold this money and use it if necessary for employment of counsel in your behalf.

Today I talked to Mr. Bernhard, attorney for the W.R.A. here in San Francisco, and he verified the fact that Mr. Oseta had been detained for five days on one occasion and all day on the second occasion. He admitted that a couple of Internal Security men were involved in the detention but claimed that they acted merely as deputy sheriffs and not as members of the Internal Security. I pointed out to him that these arrests had been made without warrants and that the W.R.A. should not cooperate in the lawless enforcement of the law. It seems to me that before a District Attorney or any other person is allowed to pick up a person at Tule Lake there must be some appropriate warrant for such action. Certainly, if I wanted to quiz certain persons at Tule Lake, they would not be brought here to San Francisco at my request. The W.R.A. would certainly demand that I show some legal order to bring them here.

It seems to me that the segregees at Tule Lake should resist such unlawful conduct. The next time the Internal Security or others seek to pick up a person that person should demand to see the warrant of arrest, and if no warrant can be produced then an objection should be made to accompanying the officers. Of course, since the officers have superior force, no physical resistance should be made if they insist on taking the person without the benefit of a warrant.

I have been very busy today and have not been able to do some writing with reference to this problem. I hope to get at it tomorrow and to send protests to Mr. Dillon Myer and to the project director at Tule Lake, demanding that the present procedure be changed. I also intend to write to District Attorney Lederer.

I should also inform you and other interested persons that there is no duty upon you to answer the questions of any police officer or other person. Likewise, there is no duty upon you to sign any statement.

I have noted what you say about communicating with Mrs. Kai in the event that you are picked up and held imcommunicade. There is a duty on the part of police officers to bring any arrested person before a magistrate within 48 hours, or within 72 hours if the arrest is made over the weekend. Every prisoner has the right to get in touch with counsel, and if a prisoner is brought before a magistrate he should request the court for an opportunity to secure counsel to represent him.

It might be a good idea for you to advise me with some particularity as to how the questioning was conducted when you and Mr. Kai and Mr. Tsuda were taken to Alturas. Were there any threats? Was any violence used? Were you asked to sign any statements?

Please let me know whether there have been any further arrests and exactly when the last one was made.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Besig,

March 6, 1945

22
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Sept. 29, 1944

Dear Mr. Kuratomi,

I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 26 and to advise you that I have written to Director Raymond Best and to Mr. Dillon S. Myer, complaining about the W.R.A.'s participation in the recent unlawful arrests and imprisonment. I have requested assurances that in the future the W.R.A. will not surrender any person to the District Attorney unless a duly executed warrant of arrest is first presented. I have also requested assurances that where persons at the Center are questioned by members of Internal Security similar warrants of arrest will be presented.

Finally, I have complained to Mr. Charles Lederer, District Attorney of Modoc County, against the practices he employed in the recent investigation of the Hitomi murder. This is what we call lawless enforcement of the law, and it is rather typical of police practices throughout the country. It is our practice to crack down on it whenever it occurs.

Residents of the Center who are picked up by Internal Security men should demand to see the warrant of arrest. If no such warrant can be presented, then immediate protests should be made against accompanying the officer. Since the officer has superior force, however, I would suggest that no further objection be made. Then get in touch with me at once and give me all the circumstances of the case, and I will take appropriate action.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Besig

P.S. Sign no statements unless you first confer with your attorney, and submit to interrogation only in the presence of your attorney.

LETTER - From John Burling [to Rosalie Hankey] Dated February 28

The recent developments in the controversy as to closing the camps, which now appears to be taking on a kind of personal Myer-Burling feud aspect, are as follows:

1. As you doubtless know, our efforts to stop Myer from taking his trip through the Centers other than Tule Lake were proved fruitless and he went ahead.

2. Morton Grodzins was in Washington and he, to my astonishment, expressed the view that Myer was right and I was wrong. His idea, in a nutshell, is that if Myer doesn't get them out of camps now he never will. Morton, therefore, feels that it is necessary to force them out now before they turn into Indians. In my excitement over other matters, I have never inquired into the facts of this and I therefore don't put particular stock in my opinion. I believe however, that after the war a combination of various factors, including the repatriation of the pro-Japanese group, will bring about a dispersion of the residents except for a small group who will be institutionalized by somebody, somewhere, no matter what policy is followed. In any event, it is possible to assume that Morton's theory is correct and, at the same time, agree with my view since even if they did turn into Indians if they are not forced out, that might be better both for them and for the morals of this Government, considering what it has done to the people, than to drive them into wholesale abandonment of their citizenship and consequent post-war deportation. Morton, however, feels that what will happen is that Myer will apply force and put some of the people out, that some of the people will renounce, and that Myer will then get scared and extend the dead-line or leave one or two Centers open. There are two dangers in that, however:

(a) Once a panic starts, as you know, it may be impossible to put out and once people start renouncing it may spread like wildfire.

(b) One should always remember the Congress of the United States. Myer has told Congress that he will close the Camps and he has requested appropriations accordingly. If Congress is not told something different pretty soon, it may not be willing to appropriate funds to keep the Camps going at the last minute.

3. Notwithstanding Morton's odd point of view in supporting Myer he is so damned much more intelligent than anyone I know in WRA and has so much. . . (well, maybe this is confidential).

4. My tour through the West is scheduled to start notwithstanding Myer's prior trip. Fortas has asked Assistant Secretary Oscar Chapman to go for the Department of Interior and I understand that a man named Lee, the Head of Relocation, is to act as guide. The tentative schedule is that we will wait until Myer's return on the 9th and confer with him on the 10th. Chapman will leave early the following week to attend to some business in the South and he and I will meet in Phoenix probably around the 15th. He has agreed to go to Poston and I suppose we will also go either to Gila River or Manzanar and then proceed to Los Angeles. He has also agreed to go to San Francisco but has expressed the view that the die is already cast at Tule Lake and there is no reason for us to go there. I am not quite certain where he plans to go in addition except that he has expressed the view that it is important to visit Heart Mountain. Whether we will stop at Central Utah I am not sure. Possibly for the reason that he comes from Denver, he believes that Denver would be an ideal interior city to visit and, as I understand it, we are to return by way of Chicago where we will talk to the relocation officers there. When I get the itinerary a little more straight I will let you know.

I have only seen Chapman a couple of times but it is my impression that he approaches the entire matter with a fresh mind and he is unquestionably a man of great ability and experience and one whose general principles and motivations are on the right side. It may be that we will learn nothing on this trip but, on the other hand, if Chapman, as a result of what he himself finds out, forms a positive opinion that Myer is right, that will go far to weaken my own conviction in favor of the contrary view.

5. Two days ago Pitts, who was Acting Director in Myer's absence, was called before a committee of the House in connection with appropriations and testified concerning the closing of the camps. I have, however, been unable to learn what he said.

The over-all situation, therefore, is that WRA is proceeding on its earlier policy, while, at the same time, increasing doubts are being engendered at the top of the Department of the Interior.

By and large by next Sunday when the next pick-up takes place we will have taken about all the steps that I know how to take and if the damn place isn't peaceful after that, I do not in truth see what can be done about it. My guess is, however, that for a while at least the surface appearance of peace will be achieved and that things will go along substantially in the same form as they are now.

(The remainder of the letter concerns the request that I write to you to acquaint you with his desire to talk to you [Dr. Thomas] when he arrives at San Francisco.)

TALK WITH NOYES

Met Noyes briefly this evening and he corroborated his previous statement that the WRA is going to wait on Justice to start the FBI proceedings. According to the Burling communication just received, they're probably going to wait a long time. (Frankly, as I see the state of the center, there is actually no need to undertake this [F.B.I.] investigation to quiet down the super-patriots. The WRA also raided a sake joint this afternoon. Maybe Tsuda has cause to be worried.)

MARCH 8, 1945TALK WITH THE YAMASHIROS

Called on the Yamashiros' today, but found them having three young men at an informal party. They pressed me to stay, which I did, but unfortunately was not able to get the specific kind of information I could have gotten had they been alone. We discussed the present state of the Ho:koku and the dismal prospects which the WRA faces in its attempt to relocate people from the other centers. Everyone present agreed that the Ho:koku had quieted down noticeably in the past two weeks. However, George informed me that there was a big rumor that 500 would be taken on the next pick-up which is expected about the beginning of April. He stressed that it would be very important for me to be in camp from about April 1 to the 15th to see how the Ho:shi-dan reacts if this forecast is not carried out.

They're going to start to howl then, he said.

George also remarked that a friend of his had been taken on the last pick-up, March 4th. He had told George he didn't want to go but George had said he better go since he had been a Sokoku member from the beginning.

When the conversation turned to relocation all agreed that the greatest worry in camp was that the people might be forced to get out once the Ho:shi-dan was all "resegregated." However, it appears that people are worrying about this quietly and are going to wait and see what happens. The draft panic appears to have died down almost entirely. One of the young men asked me a question which I hear very often,

Are the people in other camps who asked for re- or expatriation going to be allowed to come to Tule Lake?

There is small doubt that this matter is a topic of much interest in the other centers. On relocation, all agreed that Myer would never get the people out.

He just can't do it.

We discussed the rumor of Kai and Kuratomi forming a new organization. George said he doubted very much if they were doing this.

Kuratomi is too smart to start something now when so many people are being picked up.

(I'm inclined to agree.) George also agreed with me, that Kuratomi intended to get political power in camp eventually.

MARCH 9, 1945

Spent the entire afternoon gossiping with two Nisei girls, Melba Kaminaka and her friend. While the talk has little to do with current politics at Tule Lake, it taught me a lot and caused me to be pretty ashamed of myself. These poor kids, both of them Old Tuleans, are tied down here through segregation, don't want to go to Japan, want to go out to school most grievously, and are tied hand and foot by the fact that if they do go they can't even come back to visit their parents and may never see them again. We discussed prejudice in this country and they asked my advice on how to meet prejudice, saying many times that it was the little things that one cannot protest legally that hurt the most. Knowing that they may be stuck in Tule Lake if the authorities decide to swing one way I advised them to relocate together and go to a nursing school if they really wanted to live in this country. They said that they had been trying to do that for three years.

We'd be RN's by now, if we'd gone at the beginning, said Melba. But they wouldn't let us come back and work here at the hospital even at 19 dollars a month. Think of all the money they'd save!"

I sympathized about the difficulty of leaving ones parents, saying that I had had the same problem.

But did your mother cry and plead with you to stay? asked Melba's friend.

It isn't only that, said Melba, We'll be all right if we go out, but think how our families will suffer.

Will they [other segregants] really hold it against your family if you go out? I asked.

You bet they will, she assured me. If only this hadn't been made a segregation center.

We discussed prejudice all over the world and they decided that there were no good bets except Soviet Russia and perhaps Brazil. Neither country appealed, so they decided to stay here and face out the matter. On camp matters Melba related the following rumor prevalent about the fate of the Ho:shi-dan:

They were saying (in the hospital) that eventually they're going to get together all the Ho:shi-dan and intern them in a camp near San Diego. Aren't they building something there? But then they said that's too close to the coast. Then somebody else said that it would be a good thing to put them there because if Japanese planes bombed the coast the Ho:shi-dan would surely get it.

Both girls, like many persons in camp, were impressed with the recent terrorization of Nisei at San Jose. Melba told the story of another Japanese group near Stockton who were living on the Fair Ground and the men had to go to work with a military guard to protect them.

But I still think it would be a good idea to segregate all the super-patriots.

If this were a relocation center and open, lots of people would go out and come back if they could. We were all set for going out ourselves but after Military Registration and

Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Segregation our parents wouldn't hear of it. They wouldn't listen to us about going out. Some of the people who are the worst agitators now were willing to go out then.

Think of Hisako, how she's changed. She was willing to go out. But now she's strong in the Joshi and has influenced all of the people in her block. You can tell the way she walks now. Before she was a typically Japanese feminine type. Now she hollers. (Here Melba aped the changes which Hisako's posture has gone through.)

They were saying they might put the Joshis in block 99.

One fellow resigned from the Ho:koku that we know. He was in the Army before the war and was kicked out because he was a Kibei. Then he heard he was going to get compensation from the Army. So he resigned from the Ho:koku. And now he's bragging about getting money from the Army. We're pretty disgusted with him.

In my block nobody ever came around from the Ho:koku to pressure my brothers.

(This bears out my observation that the Ho:koku put most of it's efforts in certain blocks and wards and avoided the strong conservative sections of camp.)

Not going to Santa Fe was a big disappointment to the fellows who went to Bismarck. Some of the girls are sure crying about the fact that the fellows are gone.

We ended our long talk by deciding that you had to face life here in America with extra spunk and pride because of the handicap of prejudice. Anything accomplished was so much more to be valued and admired.

(This talk hit me harder than this writeup shows. You might extend my personal apologies to any Nisei who happen to be about. Well, I guess I've run the gamut now and get bluer and bluer every day. It's about time I finished up the job.)

MARCH 11, 1945

I was told that the Ho:koku, about 66 strong, marched bravely to the cemetery this morning armed with brooms, rakes and shovels and performed an act of social usefulness by cleaning off the graves. All 66 of their bugles tooted loudly. More, than half of the group, however, was composed of minors. (How they managed brooms, and bugles at the same time, my informant did not tell me.) I doubt very much whether this performance will make much of an impression on the residents.

MARCH 12, 1945TALK WITH KAYO IIDA

There is a big rumor that there's going to send out another group soon. There is something about the Administration trying to get rid of everybody - all the members of the Ho:shi-dan. I was worried because some of the older Issei might be taken. My father might be taken. (This is the first I knew of Kayo's father being a member of the Ho:shi-dan.) My father signed. There is no headquarters or anything now. He doesn't know how to withdraw.

The way he signed for it was like so many other people. They thought it was a quick way of going to Japan. Now that there's no exchange ship or anything coming. . .

Is it true that Reverend Tsuha has asked to be relocated from Santa Fe?

I heard that Mr. Tsuda and some people had been put in the stockade too.

Yamato Seinen-dan

I heard they were conducting exercises and that they had even bought bugles and that their leader is Mr. Tsuda. That's why Tsuda was sent to the stockade. (Gad - this is really the hey-day of crazy rumors!)

Relocation

Gee I sure pity the people in the other camps. They want to stay until the end of the war.

"Why do they want to stay till the end of the war?" I asked, since this very common attitude is one I do not completely understand. Kayo said only:

It's not because they like the camps.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara told me that there were several questions he wanted to ask me. They concerned some very strong rumors which had arisen in the past few days.

The prevailing rumor is that Wakayama has made an application to be returned to Tule Lake. There is also a rumor that Reverend Tsuha has already left Santa Fe - has relocated.

I had two persons visiting me this morning. Both mentioned these rumors. They wanted my opinion of the Ho:koku-dan and the Ho:shi-dan. They were contemplating leaving the organization. They brought up the rumor. I told them that if Wakayama comes back I'm going to see him directly myself.

Letters From Santa Fe

They even write back here that they are carrying on exercises as they used to have them here in camp.

Reaction To Salt Lake City Conference

The request made by the delegates to the Utah conference appeared in the Japanese newspaper. They brought out definitely from the Japanese point of view that they were not going to leave camp. I could see what's really back of it. Mr. Myer is very foolish if he thinks that they intend to leave.

Rumor of Next Pickup

The rumor in camp is that sometime soon 800 to 1000 people will be picked up. They've been saying we're going to have it before the 18th of this month.

Results Which May Follow If There Are No More Pick-ups

I asked Kurihara what might happen if no more pick-ups were made:

If there are no more pick-ups, from what I know, many of them are deserting the organization. I think the trend of desertion will go further as the days go on. Right now, even a good many of the former members are joining the opposition, instead of favoring it. Even some of my friends in block 82 have left. That is now the hot seat of the organization. I have many friends there who are leaving the organization. It swung from [block] 54 to 82 after the raid.

Yamato Seinen-dan

Reverend Kai has been known to have that dream of the Yamato Seinen-dan for some time. Perhaps he mentioned it and people took it for granted that he had started it. Just before March 2, when the Ho:koku started propaganda that the boys will be drafted, a party who wanted to join the Ho:shi-dan was refused, because before that he had severely criticised the organization. Just to evade the draft, this father wanted to have his sons join. When the Ho:koku refused them they got kind of excited and started looking for the Yamato Seinen-dan to get in with that organization. We have one in this block whose sons were refused by the Ho:shi-dan. Maybe that's how the rumor started.

Kitadanai was Tsuda's bodyguard.

Ho:koku and Relocation

If any of the Ho:koku-dan or Ho:shi-dan people relocate, the truth ought to be told to the people immediately. Many of them will get disgusted then.

Relocation

If I were them (WRA) I would tell the Japanese people, we're going to give you the last chance. If you don't get out now, nobody will be let out for the duration of the war.

The reasons they want to stay until the end of the war? One reason is that they're afraid to go out. They figure if the war ends, they can't help it and they must get out. The second reason is they don't want to go to help produce. That is the main reason the Japanese remain in the other centers and don't go out is that they will not contribute to the successful prosecution of this war. Even though they might have said Yes-Yes, when it comes down to leaving the centers, they refuse because they don't want to help produce.

Kurihara agreed with me that the center is getting more peaceful every day.

How To Really Stop The Ho:koku

The way to have stopped the Ho:koku at the beginning was to say that all who joined the Ho:koku were doing it to avoid the draft. Therefore we are going to draft all the Ho:koku people first - or else send them to Japan immediately so they can be drafted there.

If they had said that, those who started the organization would really have been beaten up.

March 12, 13, 1945

30
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

ANNOUNCEMENT ON REUNITING FAMILIES TO BE MADE

Picked up from Rothstein (Department of Justice) tonight that orders had come directly from Washington (John Burling) that an announcement was to me made in the Newell Star that the Department of Justice had no plans for reuniting the families of the Ho:shi-dan with the interned persons. Kurihara has told me that if this came out, there might well be beatings of the Issei Ho:shi-dan agitators. The much talked of WRA regulations are scheduled to come out Friday also. Things are picking up.

MARCH 13, 1945

Received the following letter from Kuratomi. It relates to Myer's reply to Besig, concerning the unlawful detention practiced by the District Attorney of Modoc County at the time of the threatened indictments.

October 23, 1944

Mr. Ernest Besig, Director
American Civil Liberties Union
216 Pine Street
San Francisco, 4, Calif.

Dear Mr. Besig:

This is in reply to your letter of October 9, which was held for my personal attention. We are glad to inform you of our views with respect to the complaints you received about the questioning of certain Tule Lake residents by the District Attorney at Alturas.

The incident you speak of came to my attention shortly before my departure from Washington on an extended field trip, which has just ended. We were very concerned about the civil liberties aspects of any involuntary detention for questioning in Alturas without observance of due process requirements, and the matter was discussed with Mr. Best in Denver during a conference held there late in September. Mr. Best, who was absent from the center at the time of the removal of the evacuees and their stay in Alturas, was also concerned about it, and it was agreed that the matter should be discussed with Mr. Lederer upon Mr. Best's return to Tule Lake. Just before my return to Washington, I visited the Tule Lake Center, and Mr. Best and I discussed the matter fully. It is true that these people were taken to Alturas upon Mr. Lederer's request without proper warrants. As a result of our discussion, I am quite confident that there will be no further involuntary detention of persons at Alturas without observance of due process requirements.

I am sorry that our letter of October 3 was not more explicit. However, at the time it was written, the Washington office was not fully informed of the action that was being taken.

Sincerely,

D.D. Myer
Director

March 13, 1945

31
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

LETTER FROM MR. ODA

March 12, 1945

Thanking you for your letter. The colonists are very quiet about the pick-up that was made on Sunday. But the camp is still under tension, wondering what will happen and in what way this center will be turned out.

People are already talking about the next pick-up around 20th. They seem to think all members (of Hoshi-dan will be) segregated. Also they think perhaps in the future the center will be under control of the Dept. of Justice.

Sincerely. .

I sat at home today and wrote while the letters kept coming in. Received a very depressed letter from Burling in which he states that Myer returned from his tour and "spoke with inspired feeling about the program of closing the centers and said he did not really have any alternate plan and that he was sure that they would all be out by the end of the year."

In fact, he said at one point that they didn't want to stay in the camps, although at another point he admitted that fifty per cent thought they wanted to now. Apparently his idea is that as people start going out they will write back about how wonderful it is on the outside and so everybody will leave voluntarily. Myer, however, had to admit that the policy depended upon a number of assumptions and that it certainly could not be carried out if it was in doubt that the camps would be closed by the end of the year.

Burling adds that he has been ordered by Mr. Fortas to conduct himself so as not to give rise to the inference that we were considering the wisdom of this policy.

Fortas thinks that we can just go around on a general inspection trip and ask general questions and that the information will flow to us. I stated that rumors might arise in at least one camp and that I was sure that the Assistant Secretary and the Department of Justice representative could not go on a tour through three centers and ask a lot of questions of a lot of people without strong rumors immediately springing up. Myer thinks (a) the other camps are not like Tule Lake, and (b) I exaggerate the extent to which rumors will arise.

Burling adds that he will be in San Francisco from the morning of March 24 to the evening of March 26. He will no doubt contact you.

MARCH 14, 1945TALK WITH KURATOMI

Kuratomí opened the conversation by asking about the sitdown strike at Minidoka, which has gotten into the Minidoka newspapers and must be pretty serious. It appears to have originated over the closing of some mess halls and cuts in the mess crew. Before we had gotten well under way, Mrs. Tanaka dropped in to see him to ask whether the rumor that Reverend Matsumoto had attempted kill himself on the way to Santa Fe was true. When she left we got around to a discussion of rumors. He had heard the one about Tsuha relocating from Santa Fe, but had not heard the one on Wakayama.

On Announcement That Families Will Not Be Re-united

If it's the truth, it might just as well come out. It depends on what the WRA says. It will have more prestige to begin with if it's said by the Department of Justice and not by the WRA. Everybody knows that the WRA is a temporary set-up.

Rumors On Next Pick-up

I've been hearing anywhere from 400 to 1000 for a pick-up. Right now they're saying 600.

Situation In Camp

One bad thing about it is there is no constructive movement going on. It's about time this center will get back on constructive activity.

People will be blaming the Ho:shi-dan leaders if they find out the families will not be re-united.

Why Evacuees Will Not Leave Camp Until After War

It's not worrying about repercussions on their relatives in camp. If I'm not mistaken, if they should relocate now, then the Japanese nationals wouldn't have any reason for asking for indemnity from the U.S. government. In the relocation center, I've attended two or three meetings when the Spanish Consul spoke with Japanese representatives, and at almost every meeting the problem of indemnity from the U.S. government was brought up. They'd bring up 100 million or a billion dollars to settle the damage incurred upon us. It's very primitive, I admit, but I believe it's true.

We thereupon embarked on a long and involved discussion about the relative idealism of Japan and U.S. Kuratomí enjoys this sort of thing and while it has little relation to the camp situation, it shows the kind of thing the "noted riot leader" likes to talk about.

Sometimes I think that the Americans possess something greater than Japan can cope with. This war has brought up many things. Many people - Americans captured in the far east - in concentration camps - something similar to us -- Although I wasn't there, I think that even the Chinese would have lived better than the Japanese have done in camps. About the only time the Japanese would ever get together is in time of war or emergency. Other than that, they are far more individualistic than the Americans. It interests and grieves me because Japan is supposed to be highly developed spiritually.

(Here Kuratomi remarked as an aside that at times he thought that America was more spiritual in nature than was Japan.)

America is fundamentally materialistic and in my opinion they are doing pretty good. The only disparity between the two groups is that America stepped into the idea of material wealth and really determined resolutely about following that path, whereas the Japanese, as a spiritualistic race haven't gone deep into spiritual studies. If Japan were really steeped in the spirit, she would have an equal chance with the other nations. I don't think the Japanese as a whole are any too interested in their own belief.

The actual spiritual movement in Japan started about 7 to 10 years ago. But in spite of the feeling of the people, there are the big shots Mitsuyo and Mitsubishi whose idea isn't any different than the ideas of this country (U.S.).

I have no use for the Buddhistic movement, unless they change the whole picture. They'd have to knock off about 500 of the big shots in the Buddhist headquarters in Japan.

I pointed out that Kuratomi's criticism of Japan might well be made of any country today. He agreed. We then went into an anthropological discussion of the urge in humanity which appears to be responsible for the selfishness and oppression which is so manifest today and has been manifest for some thousands of years. We compared primitive societies, but Kuratomi still held to the view that there is an urge to accomplish, to put across a new idea which leads inevitably to taking advantage of other peoples.

After this discussion we got back to the 1943 troubles. Kuratomi said he was sure he could have stopped the trouble if Mr. Best had cooperated to some degree.

After November 1 I was more than confident that we could work out everything in a very peaceful manner. Even after the Army came in I think we could have settled it, have the Army removed, and continue negotiations with the WRA.

If Mr. Best had assured us that the food would be improved, the roads fixed, and stated that he would build uniform porches. On the 29th, he said he'd put out an article in the Tulean Dispatch asking the people not to cut up porches because he intended to put up uniform porches.

In any case, Kuratomi is of the opinion that the whole thing could have been settled amicably if a few genuine concessions had been made to the people at that time.

He also told me that the girls of the Joshi-dan are practicing on their bugles very hard, evidently so that the bugling can continue after the next expected pick-up.

MARCH 15, 1945

TALK WITH MR. SAKEMOTO

Mr. Sakemoto, the Hawaiiin internee whom Kuratomi recommended that I see, lives in a small room with four other boys. They certainly have thrown the Hawaiians together like sardines. He is very interested in talking of his experiences. He had little time today so I'm going back Sunday afternoon. He told me that he had been interned in Hawaii because of his repeated visits to Japan shortly before the war, taken to Wisconsin, then Tennessee, then Louisiana, then back to Hawaii and finally here. (The Department of Justice certainly lets it's internees see the world.) He is eager to give me all of the details of the protests he and his group have made against the Army. He is, what I should call, the usual type of spunky Hawaiian Nisei, whom you can spot as different from an American reared Nisei any day. (Unscientific but true.) He ended by telling me he had not seen his wife for 3 1/2 years.

TALK WITH NOYES

Called on Noyes because I wanted to get full details on the plans for coping with the Ho:koku once the non-reuniting statement comes out tomorrow and the "Regulations" are released. He gave me a good many Ho:koku documents which are enclosed. He has also promised me about two dozen of the letters of resignation.

Tomorrow he is going to have the presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries brought to his office before 3:00 in the afternoon. This will be the time when the regulations will be distributed through the block managers. He is going to tell them,

No more taiso (military exercises), no more demonstrations - it's jail - 90 days for each regulation and stretching it a little that makes 900 days for all of them.

You don't need any meetings to explain. Any action that they may indulge in will be dealt with by force. There are no more presidents of the Sokuji or the Ho:koku. The use of the names will be prohibited. This is their last chance.

Noyes is not going to make mass arrests but is going to arrest the leaders, if the demonstrations continue on this coming Sunday. This is what Best wants. They are to be warned that they will be arrested. Noyes is going into the colony himself on Sunday if arrests are to be made.

He told me that he had also received letters from the Japanese Language Schools and from several of the blocks complaining about the bugling during school hours.

He then went into a tirade about the double crossing Department of Justice. Biddle's speech had apparently been the last straw. Noyes has also discovered that the Department of Justice worked with the Army here much more closely than he had known. Moreover, he is disgusted because the FBI investigation has been turned down by Justice and the problem dumped in the lap of the WRA. Yesterday while discussing the matter of enforcing the regulations with Rothstein, of the Department of Justice, Rothstein has said,

Hell, go in and break a few heads or use some tear gas.

This callousness disgusted Noyes who, told me that in his opinion the Department of Justice and the Army didn't give a damn if the center blew up, the Army came in again, and all the people in Tule Lake were again given a bad name. I told Noyes that while the suggestion to use tear gas was asinine, I thought there was little danger of a riot. He then complained that the Department of Justice had not been at all interested in getting the real trouble-makers, the Issei-soap-boxers out of camp. All they wanted to do was break up the Ho:koku. He had had to beg to get them to take Shimada out. They left in Fujizawa and Miyamawa although Noyes had asked Burling himself to take them out. Burling, after their hearings, had decided to let them stay. When Noyes objected, Rothstein told him,

Well, if we take everybody out of here, what will you have left to do?

One of the most cruel things the Army has done is to serve people with exclusion orders but not tell them that they are on the segregation list. Several persons have tried to go out on short term leave and have been told that they have been segregated. Some of these have not renounced their citizenship. (About 1/2 dozen cases so far.) Over 3,000 are actually going to be segregated. They are segregating only male heads of families.

Noyes is so mad about this he says he felt like quitting his job and fighting the thing out in the courts.

The Spanish Consul is arriving here the end of next week and a strong group of anti-Ho:koku people is going to ask his advice on how to behave here. The Ho:koku will probably hit him too. Moreover, the Ho:koku has already written to Besig, protesting the stoppage of "free assemblies" in camp.

So (up to March 9th) 173 letters of resignation from the Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan have been received. This means far more than 173 people, however, since many of the letters named whole families. Sometimes there were as many as a dozen names to a letter. One fellow stated,

I don't want to make any trouble until I get to Japan.

MARCH 16, 1945TALK WITH FRANK FURUKAWA

Had a long talk with Frank this morning although it began under double difficulties. First of all I got him out of bed and secondly he suspected me, as I feared he would, of having been tied up with the mess he and Tsuda got into during the Kitadani trial. However, after some three hours of conversation, he relaxed. I'd hate to lose Frank as a respondent because he is the fence-sitter par excellence.

I began by discussing the Ho:koku situation but didn't get very far because Frank didn't care to talk about it. All he would say is that the administration is going to get into trouble when the statement that there is to be no re-uniting of families comes out and that the whole thing was Black's fault from the beginning because Black gave the Resegregation Group permission to circulate their petition in March of 1944. After he had breakfast, he began to hold forth on renunciation of citizenship.

Renunciation of Citizenship

'What are you going to do with your citizenship?' they asked me. I think that was one of the major factors in people renouncing.

A lot renounced because they didn't want to be picked up by the draft, since they were not treated right by the American citizens and weren't asked to come here but were forced here. So they figured their citizenship was no good. The prejudice against the Japanese nationality is bad but vice-versa, our feeling toward them is bad now.

Camp Politics

In camp the more you wriggle, the more you get into it. It's like quicksand.

I then asked Furakawa to talk about the trial, feeling that the sooner we got it out into the open and I expressed views very like those of Mr. Tsuda, the sooner we could get back on friendly terms.

The Trial

I was really surprised at Mr. Black's statement at the trial. he said that he regretted very much that all the testimony was not given to the court under oath. He said that the testimony of Kitadani and his witnesses were a bunch of liars. Ideta was drunk. He admitted it and admitted that he had his coat off. He said, 'You're the guy I'm looking for.' He took the first swing and Kitadani was not involved until the time he was hit. Ideta says he lost \$150.00.

Tule Lake Fieldnotes

(The following is all verbatim.)

Black Again

The Resegregation trouble is all Black's fault. (Incidentally, Furukawa hates Black bitterly for some other political personal frustrations. Black was responsible for Furukawa's resignation from the head of the block managers.) He gave them the go-ahead signal to sign for re-segregation. That was what knocked over the Coordinating Committee.

Coordinating Committee

The foundation of that organization was built by us. It was for the benefit of the Administration and the people. My membership was there, but I didn't hold an official office. In general, I think people will now say that the Coordinating Committee was working for the good of the people.

Relocation

Dillon Myer can't close the Relocation Centers. A number of people have wrote to me that regardless, they're not going to leave the other centers. Conditions are very bad on the outside. We're watching what will happen to the people who go back. At Marysville, a Japanese took his produce to market. The produce was in great demand, but he had to go back with the entire load. They were afraid to touch it. Things like the Americans do to the Japanese in this country would never happen in Japan.

Renunciation

I wasn't going to give them any weapon with my renunciation. If the Department of Justice came here and opened up a hearing and gave their decision and approval I might have renounced. But just to take applications which they file and then it's up to them. You've got everything to lose and nothing to gain. On the outside, every time you gave a guy money you got a receipt. But here they don't give you anything.

They should realize that the people must be given the opportunity to repossess their land, their equipment and their needs for living. But no. Twenty-five dollars a piece may last you a week with no assurance whatsoever how you can continue to live. The way the picture runs now it looks as if the motive of evacuation was to make a working people out of the Japs.

I doubt very much whether they can kick the ordinary out, those who want to sit here.

Black Again

Black made no objection when the Akashi gang asked to go out and get the petition. They got a lot of signatures. It was represented to the people as having the approval of the Project Director.

Japan doesn't care about the Japanese in the United States. What are we here, 18,000 people. Even if we counted 50,000, why they lose more than that every day, and much better people.

Ho:koku - and Ho:shi-dan

If the camp as a whole was represented by the organization and they were working for the people in camp it would have been a different story. A close friend of mine was in the organization. I asked him what their intentions, motives and ambitions were.

He said there were three classes of people in camp. One was the group of people who didn't give a damn one way or the other. The second had not made up their minds. The third were definitely going back and they (the Organization) wanted to find out who they were so that they'll have priority to go back. Now that's a very small idea.

There were 18,000 people in here. Out of those 18,000 they wanted to be among the first group. They were thinking about themselves first.

Contrast to Coordinating Committee

I can assure you the Coordinating Committee never had anything of the kind in mind when they started. They agreed when this camp had returned to normal they would dissolve immediately. They were only thinking of the people.

The Administration was afraid since the Coordinating Committee was too close to the Army. That's what the Administration was afraid of.

Resegregationists

The Japanese were caught in a very clever trap laid by Black when the Akashi gang asked for resegregation. They didn't realize Black would get out of it. They should have made it more clear that Black was responsible. Black's attitude was this: 'Suppose we let them go ahead and stir up the center.' Black thought they didn't care what their neighbors were doing but they were just set on going back to Japan. I mean, the intermediate group, who doesn't believe in actions and running around. These persons, by the actions taken by the Administration and the strong factional group -these people that don't care -will be disgusted and make up their minds to leave here. And a lot of them did.

Also Black wanted the position as Project Director. If there was a big disturbance Best would lose his job and Black might get it.

Fujimoto Case

Furukawa then told me a long tale of woe which explained his bitter antipathy to Black. It seems that some friend of his in this center, named Fujimoto had two girls who relocated in Chicago and were in danger of getting into trouble (Furukawa delicately hinted it was sexual misconduct) there and their family wanted them to come back to Tule Lake. They managed to get

back and then wanted to stay. This, naturally, is forbidden. Furukawa went to Best about it and explained the situation, saying,

What would you do if it was your daughters?

Best weakened and said that this one time he would let the girls stay. Then Black and Huycke jumped on Best and made him agree that the girls would have to leave.

If they aren't out of here by nine tomorrow morning, said Black, I'll have the Army put them out.

Furukawa became very angry and went to Colonel Austin. Austin said the Army had no jurisdiction and could take over people only when told to by the Department of Justice and then they would have to be aliens. The girls stayed. Black was so mad he had Furukawa put on probation in his position as Head of Civic Organizations. Then Furukawa got mad and quit.

When they were trying to get barrack space for the elementary schools (this may have been in January of 1944) they wanted to empty some barracks in block 46 and 25. Some of the people didn't want to move. Black came to the block managers meeting and said, 'If the people don't want to move we've got lots of room in the stockade.'

Furukawa told me he was behind the movement to get Huycke out as supervisor of the block managers. (June 1944)

Furukawa also doesn't think too much of Fujino, the present head of the Block Managers. Fujino is too dictatorial and tries to push things down the Block Managers' throats. Furukawa doesn't think he'll last very long.

Besides, Fujino thinks that when he gets to Japan his having been head of Block Managers in Tule Lake is going to stand him in good stead.

This, says Furukawa, is crazy. Moreover, Fujino doesn't speak much English.

TALK WITH THE ODAS

The Odas and I discussed the forthcoming announcement that the activities of the Ho:koku were illegal. Mr. Oda stated that it was a good thing that the people would see the statement before any arrests were made because then they would have adequate warning.

Otherwise the people don't know. Most of the people don't know the regulations and rules. That's why they (Ho:koku) organized such a big organization.

So many of the men taken were left with families behind and now the families don't know what to do. I don't think this is justice. I think the authorities can't lose face now.

Mrs. Oda: They don't give us any information.

Mr. Oda: Did the Department of Justice warn the Ho:koku?

We discussed the prevalent rumor that wholesale resegregation would be undertaken in another pick-up of 1,000 people. I asked Mr. Oda whether he thought resegregation would be a

good thing. He said:

I don't know if it would be good because so many people change their minds. Some people are really anxious to get out, (of the Ho:koku) but for giri they have to stick. They don't want to be two-tongued. I've sort of lost my face here (by getting out) but I can't help it.

Relocation

Ever since the Exclusion Order has been lifted I've been studying the situation. I think unless they use force they won't go out.

Resegregation Rumor

I really felt that because they were sending the others out they had a real plan to close the center. Until the Attorney General sends the paper saying your renunciation is approved we're still citizens of the United States.

I know WRA played a trick. They picked the top men and thought it would stop. But it's still going on. After that, they come out with regulations.

Did the Department of Justice really take citizens and intern them?

Mr. Oda told me that one of the most important points the Block Managers intended to bring to the Spanish Consul when he comes the end of next week was the question of the status of people in Tule Lake. Mrs. Oda interjected:

I heard they were going to pick up 1,000 which would just about be the rest of the members.

Mrs. Oda said:

A young Nisei girl told me that when she had her citizenship hearing, they asked her if she had heard that the Americans were over Tokyo. But she answered, 'Yes, but I don't believe it.'

Mr. Oda told me that in his opinion rumors had certainly affected the renunciations. The worst rumor was the rumor about the draft. He also said that he thought it was quite proper for the WRA to forbid assemblies if their purpose was against the national policy.

Some of the Issei are saying, 'If the WRA doesn't like bugle blowing, why do they let them in, why don't they stop them at the post-office?' (Why, indeed?)

[To this day I wonder how the Ho:koku were able to obtain so many bugles.]

MARCH 17, 1945TALK WITH TWO NISEI GIRLS - Kimi Hashimoto

These two girls invariably call on me when the confusion in camp reaches a high point, since they want to find out what is going to be done by the Administration. Between fencing with their questions, I usually manage to get a good many statements. The probable stimulus for this call was the announcement made yesterday that the families would not be re-united and what the girls really wanted to find out was what was to be done to the remainder of people in Tule Lake. Since nobody knows this, I could not help them much. In any case I got additional corroboration on the extreme state of tension and worry over the future, the cry for a statement of policy and the determination not to go out.

Some of the people are just worried to death, said Kimi.

Her own brother joined the Ho:koku, got out, and then joined again, probably during the period of extreme panic. He, says Kimi, is anxious to go [be interned]

because everybody else has gone and he feels kind of funny left here.

But Kimi was very releived to hear that the possibility of another pick-up was most unlikely. She doesn't want him to go. Evidently, the first reaction to the statement that there are to be no reunions, was

Well, then what's going to happen to us?

Kimi told me with some glee that in spite of the regulations published yesterday, the Ho:koku bugled loudly this morning. The girls also assured me that some of the Joshi-dan were very tough and very active. They want to be put in another center with their brothers and husbands, she said. Both girls asked me several times if I knew if the Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan people might not be taken out of here and put in another center some day. Both agreed that the big pick up of 650 men was the most important factor in upsetting the camp and that if the exclusion order had not been lifted not nearly so many people would have renounced their citizenship. Kimi has renounced her citizenship. They also asked when they would be told if their renunciations were accepted, and like many of my respondents fear that this may not be done. They also wanted to know what would happen to people who had not renounced their citizenship.

TALK WITH MORIHIKO TOKUNAGANews of Non-reuniting of Families

Most people expected it. It was not resented. The Ho:shi-dan people expected to be resegregated. But those outside of the Ho:shi-dan felt that those taken to Santa Fe or Bismarck were taken as criminals. So they didn't expect they'll be reunited. This announcement didn't surprise them at all.

When the Army put up the notice of the Ho:shi-dan not reuniting, the Ho:shi-dan thought it was just a bluff.

(The following is verbatim.)

Publishing of "Regulations"

Well, of course, everybody took it as a matter of course. I hope the police will arrest the leaders.

I was wondering why the Administration didn't put out a notice (to stop Ho:koku). I rather thought it was a trick to make the camp residents do something which the Administration doesn't wish. The administration has absolute power over the camp. They have the U.S. Army behind them. They can do anything they please. Why don't they put a stop to it? They simply ask them, 'Please, don't do it.'

Similarity of Camp Psychology

The Japanese think the same in all the camps, especially the Issei. They have the same feelings. Only those in other camps have property or their sons are drafted. That's why they wouldn't come (to Tule Lake).

I don't think anything will happen here in the next two weeks.

Bugle Blowing

I heard a lot of the young kids blowing bugles this morning. But they were not blowing them in Ward VIII. I heard some say to blow them more than ever, but most say, 'It's no use.' The leader behind the scene here in Manzanar told me they wouldn't blow again. That was yesterday evening.

I'm working at the Social Welfare now. There are so many young widows (Ho:koku) coming in for aid. The real responsible people are still left in camp.

(When I told Mr. Tokunaga what had happened to Tachibana, (1) he said,

He belongs there.

Mr. Tokunaga's Story - How He Talked to Tachibana After He Was Beaten

I talked for two hours with Tachibana after I was struck. A few days after I was struck I heard a rumor that those who attacked me were members of the Ho:shi-dan. Immediately, I wanted to talk with both Wakayama and Tachibana, but I had no connection. I had interviewed Tachibana in Social Welfare when he applied for assistance. I asked the Ho:shi-dan representative in this block to introduce me to both of them on Saturday.

The next morning three representatives came to my place instead of Wakayama and Tachibana. I told them my opinion on how we should behave in this camp. By making trouble we gain nothing, we only cause suffering of the young people, the women and children. You Issei want to take the young Nisei with you to Japan and while here, train them so they can be of some use. How can we train them by making unreasonable demands or just agitating them? While we are in camp we should adjust ourselves to this circumstance. I talked about an hour and a half. None of them could answer with one word of protest to my sayings. They just said, 'Yes, Yes.'

[1. Put to work on garbage crew at Santa Fe.]

A few days after I called on Tachibana myself. I talked two hours with him. I told him, 'I'm going to Japan as you are but your opinion and mine don't meet on how we should behave in this camp. I can't see nothing that we gain by making any trouble here. You say so often about the Japanese Spirit. The Japanese Spirit is to adjust ourselves to circumstances and be patient when we have to. And when the Issei make big trouble - they are about 60 years old and they hardly can't do much bad or good to Japan. But the Nisei are young. If we want them to be good we must educate them in camp to teach them what the real Japanese Spirit is. Japan has a great big mission for the people of Asia, one billion people. If Japan fought for the Japanese only, she might make more profit. But Japan risks everything for the salvation of one billion people. To fulfill this mission they can't make trouble among themselves.

He said not a word. He simply cavilled at details. I told him I'm not interested in details. He asked me not to say anything about that I had called on him because he himself might be misunderstood in his own group.

I suggested that there was a rumor to the effect that those who attacked me were members of his seinen-dan. He said, 'What?' I said, 'Of course, I don't mean you did it yourself. But as usual in any group there are always radicals that you don't know. Whether it's true or not, the rumor is that members of your group did that to me.' He said, 'We don't do anything like that.'

Mr. Tokunaga now asked me if I knew Reverend Kai. He, like most of the people in camp, seem to think that Kai and Kuratomi are up to something.

Yamato Seinen-dan (Kai-Kuratomi)

I heard only that they're trying to organize a group so that those who simply want to go immediately to Japan can belong as members. But they aren't going to take the Ho:koku Seinen-dan members unless they repent. But still, Kai himself is working for self-advertising. But I'm not interested in those people.

Reactions When Army Entered Manzanar [In December, 1942]

Most people were saying that the Army shouldn't come in. First of all, they thought they (the Army) made very unreasonable demands. Now most people say that Hitomi was innocent. Most people say only the agitators should be taken away. They just laughed at Best's statement in the Newell Star.

MARCH 18, 1945TALK WITH MASAO SAKAMOTO, HAWAIIAN INTERNEE

I had a most interesting talk with this young man. If the study is interested he will prepare his entire documented report on how he has protested his internment for three years.

I really don't know whether the Japanese government will accept me or not. I'm just like a man without a country. So when I make a statement I want to make my status clear. Do you want me to talk like a Japanese, like a Nisei or like an American?

Before the war we had an Army organization in Hawaii (probably American Legion) and we used to invite the generals. They stated as far as the Issei who were loyal they would not intern them but protect them.

Since I have been interned there are three ways of thinking: sometimes I'm Japanese, sometimes I'm Nisei, sometimes I'm American and sometimes I think like a Jew without a country.

The Hawaiian Nisei, they have no ambition. They are just like a slave. They show no interest in politics. They are discouraged by discrimination. Those who are smart men look out only for themselves.

I think every Japanese makes a mistake by being too individualistic. As a Japanese, they should realize that they are Japanese and that Japan and America are at war, and that all of the Japanese are classified as alien enemies. So they should be loyal to the country of Japan. They should be patient and wait for the time to come and wait for the Japanese government to give them the order. (This remark was directed at the Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan.) While they are here in America the Nisei should behave as a citizen of the United States and demand their constitutional rights.

I asked for my right. But we are all interned. I can't get any connection. But a lot of my friends graduated from the University Law school and if they think of the future of the Nisei probably they should stand up and fight for their rights. But they were scared. They were so cowardly they closed their mouth.

I wrote a letter and asked for a fair trial but they didn't give it to me.

I don't know what status I belong to. If the government recognizes me as a citizen of America, then I'll make a statement as a citizen of America. But if I'm a Japanese I'll speak as a Japanese. But I'm still going to keep on fighting for my rights.

Sakamoto has taken to the study of Buddhism and other religions while interned. He wants me to arrange a correspondence course in English for him, which I shall do.

DEVELOPMENTS OF WRA VS. HO:KOKU

Completely ignoring the regulations, the Ho:koku drilled valiently on Saturday morning. Saturday afternoon therefore the president and vice-presidents of both organizations, the president of the bugle corps, and his assistant were arrested. The Ho:koku then held as elaborate a ceremony on Sunday morning as they could. Somewhat over 600 people participated, though (I heard that) many of the parents of the Joshi made their girls stay home, fearing there might be trouble. Several Internal Security cars, Noyes, and Brown, the new Reports Officer, went in. Ross took many pictures. Besides this, nothing was done.

MARCH 19, 1945

(The following is all verbatim)

TALK WITH THE YAMASHIROS

The Ho:koku people are very hot-headed. They say they're all in it together so regardless of anything, they're going to keep up. If they're going to pick them up - so they're going to pick them up.

Regulations

The people say (sarcastically) what a fine thing to make all those regulations after all this has happened!

No Reuniting of Families

I haven't noticed anything. The families we know are saying, 'No doubt the WRA is doing it just to be mean.

Relocation

Some families really can't go out. They're too old and weak and it's too late for them to start something new. I hear they're going to close Topaz by August.

Ho:koku on Sunday

On Sunday so many people were on the ground. They sent quite a few Internal Security cars over. Everybody was watching. They surrounded them with cars. People thought that when the Ho:koku had finished, their taiso: (military exercises) they were going to march them right into the stockade. So they wanted to see it. A lot of guys I know went to see it. But they were surprised. The WRA didn't do anything.

Rumor of New Arrivals in Tule Lake

At the hearing office they told us a lot of evacuees were coming here in May and June. Mr. Bagley said the information came in the day before. So he told us to vacate some rooms as soon as possible. I heard 2,000 want to come here from Heart Mountain.

Tule Lake Fieldnotes

(the following is verbatim)

Regulations

If Mr. Best doesn't pull anything, he will lose face. We figure the regulations don't mean a darn thing. People are laughing at the administration and at the Ho:koku. Finally those things (regulations) come out.

Ho:koku Rumor

The Ho:koku people are saying they're going to get \$20,000 from the Japanese government because they did it. The Issei are not educated. They say we're going to get \$20,000, so we can make a new start.

Letter From Santa Fe

An Issei friend sent me a letter from Santa Fe. He says the new boys who have come there are kind of sick -he calls it child-sickness. Something like communism, I think he means.

Non-Reuniting

The Ho:koku people says nothing about not being reunited. The rest of the people say, 'That's natural.'

Since sending the boys to Santa Fe it's very hard for them to break down. They have to talk big in front of everybody. They'd like to leave the Ho:koku-dan but if they do, they lose face. So they just stick it out.

There are too many agitators left in camp. Why didn't they send some of the Issei instead of the Nisei?

I wish Mr. Best would put 200 or 300 people in the stockade.

America Is Winning War

Many people want to go out now that America is winning over Japan, especially the Nisei.

They didn't want to join the Ho:koku and cut their head bald, but their fathers forced them. What can they do about it now?

There are lots of people didn't renounce. They had nothing to be scared about.

Attendance at Sunday Ho:koku Demonstration

There were about 264 women - I counted them - and about 400 men. But lots of the men were thirteen or fourteen year old kids.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

(The following is verbatim)

Relocation

From the present outlook on the Japanese I'm absolutely certain they will have to keep the camps open.

Biddle's Statement

I thought it was a very good statement, as if to make it look as if Mr. Biddle to some extent appreciated what was going on. He wanted to bring out some of the facts in the camp.

WRA's New Regulations

That bringing out the regulations affected the announcement by the Department of Justice badly. It caused the Ho:shi-dan to get madder and they say no matter what happens and no matter how we are treated we will carry the thing on to the end. To some extent they have forgotten about not reuniting the families. The announcement made by the WRA seemed to have more effect.

However, I believe when the present heat dies down some will gradually begin to think over it again. They will grumble and argue and fight.

Sunday's Demonstration

Sunday morning they bugled. I watched. I thought they (WRA) would raid the ceremonies, but they didn't. Such a thing as that will give them more courage. The WRA must act when it is obligated to act. They act at the wrong time.

The Ho:koku can't do no harm but the trouble is they make threats. We don't bother them, then they shouldn't bother us.

What they should do is pick up the leaders and stick them in jail for a long time. Why don't they confiscate the bugles?

The Ho:koku believe they will be reunited anyway.

They left the Issei agitators in camp. If they picked up those damnable - oh, pardon me - agitators they could have cleaned things up long ago.

Last night I heard the rumor about Reverend Tsuha again.

Army Coming Into Manzanar (In December 1942)

In Manzanar we wanted the military rule instead of the WRA. When the Army came in, if the people were afraid or not I really couldn't say. I wasn't there. The Japanese were really disgusted with the WRA. They indulge in politics and the Army doesn't. The Army is rather severe. When it says Yes it is Yes and No is No.

I then told Kurihara about the Ho:koku rumor that they were going to get \$20,000 dollars from the Japanese government as reward. He laughed and said they were crazy.

When I was in the stockade [at Tule Lake] one of the fellows said that just for being in the stockade they were going to get the distinguished service medal from Japan.

Reluctance To Leave Camp

Many Nisei don't want to go out of camp. When they go back to Japan they are going to be questioned. They are going to have to say that they helped produce in the American war effort. When it is known in any community they go to, he's going to be ostracised.

Then a lot of people stay because in camp they have no worries bringing up their children. The basic reason though is fear of what will happen if they go back (to life in America). All those who wanted to go out, don't go out.

Rumor On Why No More Pickups

There is a certain amount of talk about the fact that there have been no more pickups. They say the government can't afford to pick us up anymore. That's how it seems to the Japanese right now.

TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes told me that in about a week the Immigration and Naturalization Department will start on about 3,000 hearings at Tule Lake. Their object will be to determine whether certain Issei actually belong in Tule Lake.

Sunday Events

We fooled them in a way. It was an empty kind of victory. They expected tear gas. They thought we were going to run the cars right through the parade. All we did was walk in between the lines. They were really super-geese-stepping. Ross went right up to people and snapped pictures right in their faces.

(I asked why no attempt was made to take bugles away.) Noyes said,

That might have resulted in a fight.

The three men, presidents of the Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan and the chairman of the bugle corps were given 90-days. The chairman of the bugle corps was whistling the bugle tunes in jail and he was told he'd be sprayed with cold water if he continued. They are being held incommunicado.

March 19, 1945

49
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

We've got their pictures. We're gradually stepping up the program. We're going to fill up the jail by regular investigations, trials and sentences. If a guy shows remorse and promises not to violate the laws, he can go back. When we accumulate a certain number we'll get them removed (interned).

We may take the bugles away by taking in the members and taking away their bugles.

There was a considerable drop off in the Joshi-dan Sunday.

Final renunciation figures:

7250 Citizens in Tule Lake
5557 Renunciations

[I was now obliged to leave Tule Lake to confer with Dr. Thomas in Berkeley about items in the manuscripts I had prepared and would prepare for the study. I did not return to Tule Lake until April 9.]