

5:10

Gule Lake Field Report

Apr. 1944

1 of 2

83/115

C

RECEIVED - BUREAU OF
THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250
APR 19 1944

/

CRITERIA FOR SEGREGATION (check with document in Berkeley)

1/ Persons who applied for repatriation or expatriation and who did not retract before July 1, 1943. Families in many cases signed as a group but where they failed to do so the Social Welfare Department will interview individual family members and render counseling service.

2/ Those persons who answered No to question 28, who refused to answer and who refused to register. A neutral answer will be considered equivalent to a negative one. All persons in this category will be given an opportunity to state whether they have changed their minds since registration or not. In case of change they will be later given a hearing before the Board of Review for Leave Clearance and that body will recommend to the project director whether they should be sent to Tule Lake or be given leave clearance.

(leave remainder of page blank)

Pre Incident Attitudes

LA

An account of the spectacular events which occurred at Tule Lake within a few weeks after ~~the influx of the transferees~~ and the developments which followed ~~would have exhibited a certain degree of predictability in its reference to the depth of the body of the problem unless the state of mind, the attitudes, and the expectations held by the thousands of people concerned are clearly ~~not understood~~. The farm accident which occurred took place about three weeks after the transferees began to enter Tule Lake is frequently blamed for the series of extraordinary ~~disrupting~~ events which followed. When, however, the psychological condition of the great majority of the camp residents is taken into account, it will be seen that this accident was not the reason for the outburst but instead merely the spark which set off a vast accumulation of frustrations and grievances ~~which had been building up for some time~~ and provided the avenue of release for a state of great and widespread tension. ~~Some of the most important factors in this situation are the following:~~~~

To provide some perspective for the appreciation of this situation the motivations for segregations, the attitudes of the transferees, their expectations of life in Tule Lake, and an account of their primary impressions on entering the camp and their preliminary reactions to these impressions will be ~~presented~~. *briefly described.*

THE MOTIVATIONS FOR SEGREGATION

The ~~main~~ ^{blank for} reasons why ~~a certain number of the~~ Japanese population ~~was~~ ^(number here) ~~relocated to the Relocation Centers~~ left the Relocation Centers ~~for Tule Lake~~ to take up residence in Tule Lake are complex in the extreme. ~~One of the main reasons, however,~~ ^{made by capable observers} The studies and observations ~~made~~ in the various camps ~~during the period when this~~ decision was finally made indicate beyond cavil that ~~this decision in~~

the overwhelming majority of cases this decision had nothing whatever to do with political allegiance ~~"loyalty or disloyalty"~~ ^{either} "loyalty or disloyalty" to the United States or to Japan. It should be kept in mind that very few individuals were sent to Tule Lake who did not express their desire before their hearing boards their determined desire to go. Their decision to enter a center ~~"for Japanese"~~ "who by their acts have indicated that their loyalties lie with Japan" was, in general, their own or that of their families or parents.

^{most common motive}
The ~~reason~~ for this decision was an attempt to escape from ~~insecurity~~ a complex of insecurities and fears. The greater number of these ~~severe~~ tormenting insecurities were ~~kind~~ connected with the widespread fear that sooner or later the evacuees would be forced to ~~leave~~ leave the centers, an eventuality ~~for~~ with which they felt incapable of coping. Almost all of the evacuees shared this ^{attitude} ~~emotion~~. ~~Some~~ Those who did not segregate ~~themselves~~ either chose to put some stock in the repeated ~~WRA~~ ^{the centers} assurances that they would not be forced to leave or decided that the move to Tule Lake, which did not by any means guarantee absolute security, ~~and therefore~~ ^{was} entailed too much risk and trouble. It was ~~but~~ ^{the} wiser, they felt, to stay in the Relocation Centers and "wait and see". In three centers from which data is available, the announcement of segregation was followed by widespread ~~rumors~~ rumors that the centers were going to close soon after segregation. In Gilg, at least, this rumor was strengthened by ~~the~~ a recently delivered speech by Dillon Myer in which he ~~stated~~ ^{possibly} assured the American public that all efforts were being made to relocate the loyal and segregate the disloyal Japanese. ^{3/}

The panic engendered by these rumors ~~was~~ ^{helped} ~~many~~ was instrumental in

2/ Morris Opler, "The Repatriate-Expatriate Group of Manzanar", p. 74; T. Tschuchiyama, "Segregation", pp. 1-6; R. Hankey, "Chronological Account of Segregation", p. 5.

3/ R. Hankey, op. cit., pp. 5, 6.

4/ Morris Opler, "The Repatriate-Expatriate Group of Manzanar", p. 40; "Studies of Segregation at Manzanar", p. 69; R. Hankey, "Notes on Segregation", p. 9.

convincing many individuals that they should abide by their decision to repatriate or expatriate or hold to their negative answer on the military questionnaire. ~~One of the major~~ ^{One of the major} contributing factors to this reluctance to face even the possibility of leaving the centers was economic insecurity and uncertainty ~~which~~ ^{other} in itself was based on many factors. Many of the Japanese ~~suffered~~ ^{suffered} had sustained/substantial property losses, many were or believed they were too old to make a complete new start in the United States, ~~and~~ ^{and} some felt that their inability to use the English language would prove to be too great a handicap when added to the prejudice which they anticipated if they left the camps. ~~1/~~ ^{1/} These fears appear to have been intensified if the family were large and contained many small children, ~~and~~ ^{and} if some member of the family, particularly the head, ~~was~~ ^{was} in ill health.

- 1/ T. Tschuchiyama, op. cit., p. 20; R. Hankey, "Notes on Segregation" p. 15;
- 2/ Morris Opler, op. cit., p. 30.
- 3/ ibid., p. 19.
- 4/ Morris Opler, "Studies of Segregants at Manzanar", p. 37.

It is apparent that even when the decision to become a segregee was based on practical motives it gave no guarantee of the security so greatly desired. It was a decision about which the people had many misgivings. If a ~~segregant~~^{segregee} were sincere in his avowed desire to return to Japan the future did not promise much even to the most optimistic. If he were not sincere, and many were not, and intended to use Tule Lake as a ~~refuge~~^{war duration refuge} he had no tangible assurance that he made the ^{wiser} ~~wisest~~ decision. An elderly issei woman told the writer before segregation/ took place in Gila:

"I think they're a lot of families being segregated who don't really want to go. They're almost like expecting that it's going to be very strict (in Tule Lake). . . . They don't know what to do. . . . Even if you go back to Japan you don't have anything. . . . They really won't be welcome." 1/

Morris Opler in his survey of the ~~segregation~~ repatriation dates concludes:

"For many families the decision to repatriate is not easy or clear-cut and ~~the~~ even after it is made, it is a verdict about which there is much misgiving. Since the margin of decision is so narrow and the application is so often canceled at least once before it is allowed to stand, it may be assumed that in spite of the alien status of the family heads and the strains of the war, many of the families who are repatriating would never have contemplated the action if it had not been for evacuation and the special conditions resulting from it." 2/

1-64-65.

Emotional State of the Segregants

In consideration of the factors listed above it is not surprising that the great number of transferees ~~were~~ packed and left for Tule Lake in a state of great emotional strain. The writer had an excellent opportunity to witness this since she visited many evacuee friends in the two weeks prior to the departure. The dominant impression which these people gave was of an emotional tension so ^{intense} ~~great~~ that, ~~they~~ ~~were~~ when they spoke of their decision they had difficulty in ~~keeping~~ ~~from~~ ~~showing~~ ~~the~~ ~~tears~~ keeping back the tears. ~~The~~ When they trusted the writer they were eager to talk about their "reasons"

1/ R. Hankey, op. cit. p. 26.

2/ ~~xxx~~ op. cit., pp. 64-65.

usually,
for going to Tule Lake but/instead of giving reasons, they poured out
~~pathetic and sorrowful~~ denunciations of the
nullification of their rights as citizens/ and the race prejudice which
manifested itself in evacuation. A young man who had attended the
University of California stated with scorching ~~bitterness~~ *and incoherent*:

I'm just going to wait it out. . . .
"I have no intention of going back to Japan. It's hard to state.
It's just a burning resentment inside of us. In the first place
nobody can tell us just why we were put here. . . . Many people who said
"no" are not disloyal. I don't consider that I am." 1/

53

The same ~~intense~~ tension and emotional stress was observed
among the Poston Segregates by "X":

"I noticed in the Poston segregants emotional stress and tension
increase as the day of departure from Poston approached. I remember
at least two segregants confided in me that they felt the same way
just prior to the time of the evacuation from Southern California -
the feeling of increasing anxiety and insecurity." 2/

N-5-4.

~~Interesting~~

It is noteworthy that all of the potential segregates interviewed
by the writer stressed the point that they did not consider themselves
Dr Opler comments upon this in his study of the citizen
disloyal to the United States. ~~One man said~~ "If they
segregates. 3/

~~offered me \$1,500 to go out of the country~~ *this same factor*
this kind was made to the writer by a
One of the most sincere and moving expressions ~~of a~~ *of a* kibe boy
segregatee:

"I can not hardly understand what degree is disloyalty and loyalty.
According to the military registration, I was designated as a
disloyal citizen by WRA. I swear I did not do that on purpose. I do not
believe and hope the disloyal attitude means direct sympathy to the
Japanese government, or hating American government. . . . I feel
something deeply in my heart that we still have American ideals and
thoughts." 4/

was a
At the opposite extreme ~~is an~~ *was a* informant who segregated
for practical reasons alone and confessed to the writer that if he
were given \$1,500. ~~he~~ he would be glad to relocate. 5/

1/ Hankey, op. cit., p. 53.

2/ "X"'s Sociological Journal", Nov. 5, 1943, p. 4.

3/ "Studies of Segregants at Manzanar", pp. 13, 129.

4/ Essay prepared for the writer, p. 13.

5/ Hankey, op. cit., p. 68.

The most striking characteristic of the segregees whom the writer observed entraining for Tule Lake was their extreme, ~~quiet~~ ^{noted} almost abnormal quiet and reserve. Most of the weeping was done by friends who were left behind. 1/ The same phenomenon was ~~observed~~ ^{noted} at Poston. 2/ To the casual observer they appeared to be ~~xxxx~~ ^{xxxx} as meek, and bedraggled ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and submissive, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the last group of people in the world one would expect to explode into resistance against the authorities. ^{That} ~~Inxxxxxity~~ this outward quiet and meekness covered a tremendous emotional tension ~~which~~ ^{prove} later events were to ~~show~~ ^{show} all too clearly.

I think D. Myer's optimistic statement might well be put here. R. H.

(Leave rest of page blank)

1/ Hankey, "Chronological Account of Segregation", p. 25.
2/ "X"'s Sociological Journal, ~~xxx~~ Oct. 20, 1945, p. 1.

*immediately after Segregation*DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSFEREE ATTITUDES PRIOR TO THE FARM ACCIDENT

The transferees on whose statements the following analysis of pre-farm accident attitudes is based did not, for the most part, take an active part in the activities of the pressure group. About half of them were of neutral convictions, sympathizing with the resentments of the people, supporting some of the statements of the pressure group and criticizing others. Two were active supporters and one an active opponent. Three others, while not "agitators" were definitely sympathetic. Roughly half came from Gila where the writer had most pre-segregation contacts. The Gilans, ~~on the whole~~, took little part in the formation of the pressure group.

throw out?

By the generally accepted irrevocability of the act of segregation as forcefully expressed by the WRA Administration, those persons who came to Tule Lake were strongly impressed with the fact that they had made a decision which would be extremely difficult if not impossible to retract. It is impossible to estimate what proportion of the transferees from other centers had definitely made up their minds to return to Japan regardless of the outcome of the war. It is indisputable that some were still undecided, having come to Tule Lake to escape military service or because they were alarmed by the increasing WRA pressure toward relocation. However, the enthusiasm and the militant attitude of that proportion of the transferees who had fully made up their minds to return to Japan was so overwhelming, that individual transferees who had other motives were forced either to dissemble and profess similar attitudes or suffer social ostracism. Very few took the latter course.

THE ENDEAVOR TO REINVENT THE "UTOPIAN"

THE UTOPIAN DREAM

One of the most interesting reactions to the overt step of segregation on the part of ~~the transferees~~ some of the transferees was the development of a wishful-thinking concept of Tule Lake as a place which would be free of the ~~unpleasantnesses~~ of the disturbing psychological factors of the Relocation Centers. ~~This informant~~ If any informants had this attitude before they left the centers they gave this attempt to build up an artificial sense of no indication of it to the writer. It is possible that ~~it~~ did not find expression until the ~~transferees~~ evacuees ~~had~~ boarded the train, whereupon it affected some individuals with tremendous force.

Security

INSERTION ON PAGE 10

It should be remembered that these were the same people who a few weeks before had been suffering grave misgivings over the ~~correctness~~ wisdom of their decision to become segragees. It is not improbable that ~~the~~ those who were mentally most insecure turned most ~~vociferously~~ eagerly to this consolation and expressed themselves most vociferously.

(10) *Reaction - National Security with Inus*

The overt step of segregation gave sincere individuals a powerful conviction of self-respect and morale. It was perhaps their first major opportunity to regain self-respect since the initiation of evacuation. They had done with shilly-shallying. They had made their final decision and irrevocably turned from America to Japan. ~~To them~~ *To these over-weight people* Tule Lake offered an opportunity for a new existence, a place where they might prepare themselves for life in Japan, a place where they might live with individuals of like opinion and be rid of the company of the indecisive fence sitters, the koomori (bats), neither flesh nor fowl, who could not make up their minds to support either the United States or Japan and who made up a large proportion of the individuals who remained in the relocation centers after the first egress of the nisei. No longer, they were sure, would they be angered and annoyed by the presence of the inu, the stool-pigeons who ran tattling to the Administration. Instead, they ^{*mainly*} anticipated a camp where all the people would be of one mind. ^{*Inus here*} It is understandable that in the face of this vigorous and idealistic attitude, ^{*practical and realistic*} persons who had reserved their final decision maintained a politic silence.

A gentle kibel girl said:

"All during the trip all the people coming from Gila - all they talked about was how things were going to be in Tule Lake. There wouldn't be any more inus; no more Yes-Yes. They were so glad when they saw the camp. The people came here with such high hopes and they got so little. . .

"When we saw the camp there was a bunch of boys on a potato truck. They pointed. 'That's Tule,' they said. When I saw it tears came to my eyes. It was the first step towards Japan and George (her husband whom she hoped to join in Tule) would be here and everything. I really thought this camp was going to be much different than Gila."¹

¹R. Hankey, Notes, July 19, 1944, p. 3.

Another kibeï woman of very militant mind wrote:

"We came to Tule Lake with great expectation and high hopes to be able to join our fellow Japanese subjects whose ideas and future thoughts. Desire to return to our mother country at her emergencies and to serve her were the main purpose in seeking repatriation and expatriation."¹

A nisei girl said:

"At the relocation camp there were so many that were loyal to America. We felt people with the same kind of mind (persons who were all of one mind) would be assembled here."²

It ~~was~~ ^{became} possible, and in fact, obligatory, to express ~~loyalty to Japan~~ ^{and an equally unrestrained hostility and scorn for} The expression of such sentiments would no longer be followed by incarceration in Leupp or Santa Fe. Attitudes like the following were no doubt common to many segregees.

From an ex-Santa Fe internee:

"We came here for the purpose of repatriation so that we will be on the priority list to be segregated to Japan. We may change our feeling after the war, but for the time being, we must rely on the Emperor of Japan, not on the United States government.

"Our loyalty is to Japan. Naturally we are very earnest about it. Some Japanese say they are still loyal to the United States, but I don't believe it."³

From an older nisei:

"We who were segregated as unloyal must be considered heart and soul Japanese and for Japan."⁴

A kibeï leader of the pressure group which formed soon after segregation expressed his sentiments as follows:

"We expected the same status. We expected the same kind of group - all going back to Japan. We believed that and naturally thought this would be a peaceful colony.... Those fellows who said No-Yes or No-No and do not repatriate fooled this country (U.S.A) and fooled the government."⁵

¹ibid., July 18, p. 2.

²ibid., July 19, p. 4.

³ibid., May 21, p. 1.

⁴ibid. From a MS prepared by JYK, p. 7.

⁵R. Hankey, Notes, Sept. 11, 1944, pp. 1, 2.

The word "loyal" to America. The nisei who remained in the relocation camps were charged with the preparation of their own "loyal" group.

to be labeled "Loyal"

INSERTION ON PAGE 12.

When the last trainload of ~~segrega~~ts from Topaz arrived, on September 30, some young men gathered at the Induction Center near the high school and ~~burned~~ ~~up~~ ~~the~~ ~~two~~ ~~wooden~~ ~~benches~~ ~~which~~ ~~they~~ ~~had~~ ~~made~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~fire~~ ~~and~~ built a bonfire of two to four wooden benches. They stood around the benches and shouted "Banzai!" 1/

1/ Tule Lake ~~Seizure~~ Incident, Sequence of Events.

WRA,

in case any of the young hot heads got out of hand. 1/ Probably they were also considered the ~~nominal~~ ^{nominal} leaders of the young men who ~~took~~ ^{took} charge of the crowd and ~~kept~~ ^{kept} people from returning to the camp when the long wait for the speech from Dillon Myer became too arduous. The writer has no proof that ~~the nominal leaders~~ the judo men formed the nucleus of this group of young men, but has been told by well informed Japanese that this is usually the case ~~in such~~ ^{in such} demonstrations in the camps. 2/

1/ R. Hankey, Notes, Jan. 18, 1945, pp. 2-3.

2/ ~~and~~ Information from "X".

A very shrewd nisei transferee who carefully kept himself out of all political entanglements expressed his opinion of the attitude of these militant segregees neatly and concisely:

"When they came here they thought it was going to be a Japanese Utopia. The resentment that arose was brought on by their feeling of frustration."¹

In some individuals this attitude led to an ^{expressed} abhorrence of all things thought to be American and an idealization of all things thought to be Japanese. On arriving at Tule Lake many nisei and kibeï made a conscious attempt to ^{conform and to} turn their minds from "American ways of thinking and acting to Japanese ways of thinking and acting." Individuals were affected in varying degrees. ^{many} ~~some~~ while complying outwardly, kept their true opinions to themselves; some embraced this attitude with stern earnestness; in ^{a few} ~~some~~ it grew to fanaticism. Outward expression of this attitude manifested itself on many minor occasions. ^{direction here} Nisei social dances were broken up by kibeï demonstrations. Attendance at American movies was frowned upon. If any person were courageous or rash enough to speak favorably of a custom or ideal considered American, he would inevitably invite criticism and perhaps physical violence. Three men made the following interesting revelations of their consciousness of this ^{attempted} psychological change in themselves.

A younger Americanized issei said:

"Previous to segregation I felt like an American and acted like an American. After segregation I could not help myself. In everything, I began to think and act like a Japanese. I was working on Internal Security then and had always gotten along with the Caucasians. But my mind was just turned around. The Administration just couldn't understand me and lost confidence in me."²

¹ ibid., Sept. 17, p. 1.

² R. Hankey, Notes, May 23, p. 6.

INSERTION ON PAGE 13

~~very~~ disappointment bitter disappointment which followed on the
realization that Tule Lake was not, going ^{to be "different" was not going} to be filled with people of one
mind, that the "Bence-sitters" and ~~dogs~~ ^{men} ~~xxx~~ had not become extinct and,
above all, that the transferees' status as a unique sheltered group who
^{now} could/forget the fear of ejection from the centers or the draft was
threatened by the presence of these doubters in their midst.

INSERTION OF PAGE 81

Ten or twelve young men entered the hospital, ~~with~~ which was situated between the administrative area and the colony, and went into Dr. Pedicord's reception room. His ~~xx~~ Japanese secretary cried out, "Dr. Pedicord! Come here quick." Pedicord left his office and approached the boys. According to Japanese informants he called them offensive names. One of them ~~took~~ ~~snatched~~ snatched off his glasses and Dr. Pedicord struck him. The group then attacked him, beating him severely. According to the WRA report they carried him outside, ~~and~~ ~~were~~ of the building, ~~laid~~ put him on the ground and were about to continue the beating when Miss Curran, a nurse and others rushed out. Thereupon the gang dispersed. 1/

1/ John Bigelow, "Report on the Beating of Dr. Reece M. Pedicord, Chief Medical Officer, at the Tule Lake Center", Nov. 1, 1943.

Another kibel:

"But if I'm going to be a Japanese I'm going to be pure Japanese and not American at all. I didn't used to be like this. But now I just see this camp from the Japanese point of view only. As a Japanese, I got to do it this way."¹

~~The non-realization of this Utopian dream was probably the most important psychological motivation of the leaders whose activities produced the sociological explosion of late October and November of 1943. There were other very important resentments: some arising from having to do with the inferior facilities of Tule Lake when compared to the Relocation Centers, which were shared to some extent by transferees and old residents of Tule Lake. These grievances of a more practical nature were taken up and used as fully as possible by the pressure group. But the emotional compulsion which led thousands of peaceful people to stop forth, brave and wrath of the Administration and the Army and suffer imprisonment in the stockade was furnished by the psychological need to be recognized as Japanese, to be distinguished once and for all from the fence-sitters and be rid of their presence in camp. This desire for uniform status headed the list of the pressure group's demands to the Administration.~~

~~Though this sentiment was probably felt in some degree by most of the transferees, it should not be imagined that it was unanimous. To many of the old Tuleans it was illogical and had no significance at all. Nevertheless, it was the most vigorous, most deeply felt and emotionally the most significant of the complex of attitudes held by the members of the pressure group and undoubtedly, one of the strongest contributing factors to the support this group received from the transferees.~~

¹ ibid., May 18, p. 3.

non-realization contributed greatly to the tension and unrest of the group.

14.

RESENTMENTS OVER RECEPTION AND INFERIOR FACILITIES AT TULE LAKE

From the ~~beginning~~ moment of the arrival of the transferees at Tule Lake conditions appeared almost to conspire to add to the burden of ~~existing~~ emotional instability under which the newcomers were suffering. The ~~impressive~~ sight of the great "man-proof" fence and the watch-towers manned by soldiers was a shock. The ~~fingerprint~~ processing, picture-taking and fingerprinting was ~~resentment~~ resented as treatment which ought to be reserved for criminals. The housing ~~department~~ department was in a state of confusion; ~~the~~ the camp was overcrowded; the introduction of many of the families to their ~~dirty, crowded apartments~~ dirty, crowded apartments was disappointing in the extreme. Moreover, the food was ~~considered~~ considered to be generally inferior to that of the former centers. Ill feeling toward the older inhabitants, who were soon accused of ~~occupying~~ occupying all the good jobs or key positions, an accusation which was to some extent justified, developed rapidly. This latter resentment was returned in full measure by the old Tuleans who did not appreciate being told that "Tule Lake was a dump" and that all the facilities ~~xx~~ were far below the standards to which the transferees had become accustomed ~~xx~~ in the Relocation Centers. The confusion was probably increased by the fact that the ~~newcomers~~ newcomers from each center had ~~been given~~ given ~~different~~ different ~~ideas~~ ideas of what to expect at Tule Lake ~~from the administrators of their former Centers.~~

A synthesis of these primarily resentments over ~~camp conditions~~ camp conditions was expressed by Kato who later became very active in the pressure group:

"The way it started - of course, everybody who came to this center from the other relocation centers compared this center to the other centers. Food, housing, the hospital and sanitation was very low compared to the other centers we came from. We didn't do anything about it until the truck accident." 1/

Insert on on p. 62

This statement was interpreted by the committee as a promise from Mr. Best that these porches would be built, and was publicized as such. When the porches were not built this was regarded as a a break of faith by the Japanese.

The "prison-camp" atmosphere

As preparation for a camp of avowedly "disloyal" individuals, Tule Lake camp had been surrounded by a "men-proof" fence 7 feet

After segregation, the position of warden had become increasingly unpopular and ~~was regarded as~~ anyone who accepted it was in danger of being regarded as an inu (dog), or stool-pigeon, a person willing to work for the administration and against his own people.¹ The reduction of the ~~formentax~~ ~~makdxatixnaxnaxn~~ Japanese police force to half-its necessary strength was a matter of great concern to ~~thanappn~~ Mr. Best since the camp could not possibly be adequately policed without the assistance of the evacuees.

^{1/} From an interview with H. Tsuda, Head of the Japanese Internal Security, ~~Jan. 11, 1945, pp. 1, 5.~~ R. Hankey, Notes, Jan. 11, 1945, pp. 1, 5.

INSERTION ON PAGE 16.

from Jerome

A transferee expressed himself as follows in a letter to the

Rocky Shimp:

"Inspection of hand baggages, census taking, photograph taking, finger-printing; I felt as if we had entered a penitentiary. We had to repeat some finger-printing twice. The reason is that our fingers are rough being the ~~farmers' fingers~~ farmers' fingers and they did not print well. Especially, they have two copies of my finger prints, so I cannot commit any crime. . . ." 1/

A transferee from Poston wrote to friends in that center:

"Then I put the finger prints of all ten fingers of my hands on several sheets. I understand that they do this at a penitentiary when you are imprisoned. . . ." 2/

*This was his
spelling*

1/ "X"s" Sociological Journal, Nov. 17, 1943, p. 1.

2/ ibid., Oct. 24, 1943, p. 4.

INSERTION ON PAGE 30.

~~In some blocks this appointment was~~ It is reasonable to suppose that in several of the blocks these appointments were made by the Block Managers. Although ~~only issei~~ the Planning Board was supposed to be composed of issei alone, a number of nisei appeared in this speedily assembled body. 1/

1/ R. Hankey, Notes, April 9, 1945, p. 3.

high and topped with three strands of barbed wire. Watchtowers had been hurriedly constructed at regular intervals around this fence. The presence of this fence was and continued to be regarded as an insult, a nagging reminder of American public opinion, by most of the segregees. Few, however, have expressed themselves as fluently or as bitterly as Mr. K:

"A very repulsive sight greeted us as we approached Tule Lake. It was the sight of numerous watch towers lining the perimeter of the camp. I felt as if we were a bunch of real criminals about to be impounded. . . . I felt sure others must have felt the same since I have heard them cursing and swearing vengeance.

"My feelings were further aggravated as we neared the camp. Though I have read about the high fences being erected, while at Leupp, my imagination seemed to have failed in its proper conception because the fences in reality are much higher and more cruel, both in construction and appearance. I did not believe they were built so high and with meshed wires similar to those used at San Diego Zoo. Why even the gorillas with tremendous strength were held helpless captives, and when men of inferior strength were caged in like a bunch of wild animals, I felt terribly irritated. Unconsciously I too have sworn to avenge this injustice some day.

"Topping everything which tends to rouse the ire of the internees are the search lights beaming throughout the camp, watching us through the wee hours of the night as if we were incorrigible murderers. Have we not been the most law-abiding people in the past? Why must we now be subjected to such humiliation."¹

Resentment over housing

Resentment over Housing and Food

Additional irritating factors, were the confusion and crowding in the distribution of housing, the omnipresent dirt, caused not only by Tule Lake's frequent dust storms but by the fact that many of the barracks assigned had been inadequately cleaned or had not been cleaned at all. Moreover, housing accommodations were in most cases more crowded than in the centers from which the segregees had come. Many recreation halls were

¹MS, p. 1.

turned into barracks to house young unmarried men. The conviction developed that this ill treatment was being meted out to the people because they were "disloyal", ^{although this was certainly not so.} AA reliable Caucasian informant who assisted in the Housing Division at this time stated that it was a madhouse. Former Tuleans who had left camp had sold their barrack improvements, shelves, built in cupboards and the like to evacuees remaining in Tule. The buyers moved into these apartments without notifying the Housing Department. When segregees arrived, they not infrequently found the barrack room assigned to them already occupied. Some of these stranded families ignored the Housing Department, found suitable unlocked quarters and moved in. This haphazard moving added to the burdens of the already overtaxed Housing Department. Most of the barracks were very dirty; some were filthy. One family found their assigned quarters so uninhabitable that they would not even put down their suitcases but slept the night in the block manager's office. The next morning the father came to the Housing Department and said he must have different quarters. He was told he must take the room assigned to him. This he refused to do and insisted that Mr. Huycke, who was then head of Housing, examine his apartment. After much argument, Mr. Huycke gave in. He found that the apartment in question had been used as distillery and that the fig mash had spilled over the entire apartment, creating a dreadful stench. A disinfecting and cleaning crew worked three days to render the room fit for habitation.¹

^A
~~One~~ nisei from Gila described his first impression of Tule Lake as follows:

¹R. Hankey, Notes, April, pp. 36, 37.

(13)

"When I came from Gila I just stood here like a dumbbell. Everything was dirty; the barracks were dirty; the showers were dirty, the mess halls were dirty. When I first came here, that's the way I felt. I think the old Tuleans were used to this mess. That's the main key point in the cause of the trouble."¹

A nisei girl from Topaz said:

"The thing that struck us was, I think, the first appearance of the camp. The comparison with Topaz was very poor. The latrines, the mess and the apartments were so poor in condition and so different."²

A nisei girl from Gila who later worked against the pressure group, said:

"You know how it was on the train. After being so tired, to come to this dirty camp which was so dark and dusty and windy. The Housing didn't want us to be what they call a homogeneous group. So they scattered us all over. We didn't have a single friend in our whole block. We resented the Housing Department. Then, in the latter part of October they broke the Housing Department's windows. They didn't find the guilty ones at that time. I think that was the spark of the whole incident (breaking the windows).

"Well, housing was the worst. We came into rooms with half the plaster board stolen; there was even nothing to light a stove with. We had to take it or leave it."³

A kibel man about thirty years old who came from Gila said:

"I felt this was really a sad smokey place."

His wife added, "I said, 'What a dump!' On another occasion she stated,

"For a few months or so you can be crowded. But when you don't know when you're leaving, it's very hard."⁴

Another young kibel girl from Gila said:

"One thing, when I came here I almost cried was, that all of our friends were separated from us. We said, 'Let's move.' That was important with me. I almost cried when I came here and saw it.

¹ ibid., p. 20.

² ibid., July 18, p. 1.

³ ibid., July 19, p. 4.

⁴ ibid., Aug. 8, p. 4; March, p. 5.

"The few people who came here later (In February and May) were not so bad off. They were put together more or less in one place."¹

A young kibel woman from Jerome, an active member of a pressure group wrote in a letter to the writer:

"Then also, the poor facilities for housing, poor foods, employments unfair to newcomers, as compared to the previous camps we have come from, were all brought up to our attention and dissatisfaction arouse."²

Mr. K, who came into camp in December wrote:

"While in Leupp, I have heard from various sources that Tule Lake is a very dirty camp. Upon my arrival though I was prepared to see dirt, I was very much shocked to find it dirtier than I had really anticipated. I wondered what sort of people had lived here, or what sort of an Administrator was responsible for the health of the residents. . . . Day in, day out, living in filth must have created disgust to such an extent that it finally became one of the contributing factors of the trouble."³

A very conservative young nisei girl from Gila said:

"I had friends here (in Tule Lake) and had always corresponded with them. They liked it here. It was like any other center - that's what I thought from their letters.

"I expected more than this in the camp. I expected better facilities. I didn't expect it to be just as good as Gila, but better than this. I didn't like the first impression at all."⁴

An equally conservative nisei girl, a resident of pre-segregation Tule Lake admitted the justification of the segregees' complaints about the housing:

"The segregees were so unsatisfied with the housing. Of course, you can't blame them because they had to sleep in the Rec. Halls. And besides, the people who went out had torn down their cabinets and cupboards."

¹ibid., July 30, p. 5.

²ibid., July 18, p. 2.

³MS, p. 5.

⁴R. Hankey, Notes, Aug. 30, p. 1.

INSERTION ON PAGE 20.

~~The~~ ^{Another} transferee from Jerome described the situation vividly in his letter to the Rocky ~~Shimpo~~ Shimpo:

"When I entered the apartment, I was surprised with the dirtiness. I was very irritated even though I am a thick headed man. The wall was dirty; there was no screens. Besides a stove in the center, it was a desolate empty room. . . . I went to the Block Manager and asked for a broom. I was told, 'There is only one broom and everyone must share it.' . . . It is desolate in the block. Dry weeds are left untouched. It really is a dirty camp." 1/

This young woman added that public feeling ran so high that for a time the Japanese girls employed in the Housing Department were afraid to go to work.¹

Kuratomi, chairman of the pressure group stated:

"The immediate impression I received after coming here was the unpreparedness on the part of the Administration, especially in the field of housing and reception. I arrived here at 5:00 p.m. on the 30th of September. That day the Army was good enough to give us a lunch. After we were through with the processing it was well towards evening.

"Eventually, we were thrown into an unpartitioned Recreation Hall. No mattresses were available. I got the block manager to find me a mattress. Even the stove wasn't ready for operation. The block manager had to get wood for us (for kindling). I don't believe the block manager was even notified we were to be there. There were ten boys and they told us that between 20 and 30 (more) would come. But they didn't know. They had no plan at all.....

"At that time the people leaving the project (leaving Jerome) had the feeling they would like to be housed closely together. But realizing the conditions at Tule Lake, they didn't expect too much....We did not feel that our treatment would be the same.

"When I arrived here I heard so many complaints about the separation in housing. Even families were sometimes separated from one end of the camp to the other.....

"As far as Jerome was concerned, the facilities were very good. Each latrine and urine basin was individual and the interiors of the shower were very much better.

"Food too was much better (at Jerome). This was especially strange, since Jerome raised so little. However, food there in comparison to this center was twice as good."²

← Inmate here -

Equally disgusting to the newcomers were the extremely dirty, over-used latrinal facilities. The writer can vouch for this from personal observation. The latrines of Tule Lake even in February of 1944 were far below the standard of those in Gila in cleanliness. The equipment ^{was} worn out and inferior; some of the toilets ^{id} did not flush; fixtures ^{were} dingy and dirty; obscenities ^{were} scrawled on the walls.

¹ibid., Aug. 24, p. 1.

²ibid., Sept. 18, pp. 3,4,5.

Almost as irritating as the dirt and the unsatisfactory housing was the quality of the food, which most transferees considered definitely inferior to that of the Relocation Centers. If every comment made on the bad food at Tule Lake had been written down, it would comprise a separate paper. One informant remarked months later when the food had greatly improved, "If the food had been as it is now, it (the warehouse incident) could never have happened."¹

"We never get fresh vegetables. A week and a half ago they started coming in, but they didn't have any for $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 months. All we had was potatoes or beets. We're getting some lettuce now. Why couldn't we get it when the canteen was selling it?"²

While Mr. K. did not arrive in Tule until December, his reaction to the food at that time, which he expressed most emphatically, was no doubt shared to a large extent, by many of the transferees who arrived two months earlier:

Upon my arrival here I have noticed one thing in particular that justified the Japanese to revolt. That is the food was terribly poor. I positively believe the food per person per day couldn't have gone over 20 cents which is less than half of what the Government really allows.

Much criticism was heard throughout the country that the Japanese are being well fed especially after the investigation conducted by the Dies Committee. What lies the Dies Committee could so boldly print. If they would only come and live with us; eat with us; and sleep with us for just a month instead of two years as we already have and report the truths as they really exist, I'll praise them for their fortitude.

Regardless of what the Dies Committee has said, the food was bad and is bad today. Though it improved a little, the difference is so small, it still must be hovering around 20¢ a day. Why we haven't had an egg for over ^(A MONTH) two weeks now.

Food is one of the greatest contributing factors that determines the harmony of the camp. It affects the stomach of every man, woman, and child. The quality of the food can be judged at times by the mood of the people. Grumbling and cursing, animated criticism of this government is freely voiced.

¹Notes, May 15, p. 4.

²Notes, Mar., p. 14.

To my judgment the food lacks the essential elements that gives us strength and energy. Many boys are taking vitamins to keep their bodies from going to pieces. My eyes went bad on me since evacuation due to lack of proper food. I am not able today to do one fourth of the work I used to do before the war. Should I choose to do any manual work, my entire body starts to tremble and if I should persist, dizziness and fainting sensations overwhelm me. Though I look strong and vigorous, I could not in reality do the work that is required of me now.

Further enumerating on food as one of the greatest contributing factors of revolt. Is it not obvious when thousands upon thousands of men, women, and children, the majority of whom are not working and therefore have no appetite that relishes anything will naturally find fault with food? When the appetite is good after a good day's work, the food may be gobbled down to satisfy the hungry stomach, but when the appetite is bad, the best food is subject to criticism.

Many at time I've looked for meat in the plate and if I am gratified with more than two tiny pieces I consider myself lucky. The plate of stew is just a plate of carrots and potatoes flavored with bits of meat. Be it roast pork, if we get more than two slices of one mouthful each, it looks as if the cook had made a mistake. The rest is dressing and gravy which we use to finish a bowl of rice. Fish is of the poorest quality. Her-ring which is used for fertilizer is now being supplied to us. With such food with no varieties, I cannot blame the rioters when they demanded better food on November 1, 1943.¹

A nisei girl, an old Tulean resident, who disapproved strongly of the agitators, reflected this attitude by stating:

"We always get worse food here than at the other camps. At least that's what all the other people told us."²

Another conservative nisei girl, a transferee from Gila stated:

"Before the incident the food wasn't good. I missed the steak that we had every Sunday at Gila. But the food wasn't really bad."³

Two other girls, nisei transferees who had previously voiced strong hostility to the "trouble-making agitators" expressed themselves as follows:

"When I came here I got the impression that the Co-op sold so much fruit here. And we didn't get any fruit in the mess.

¹ MS, pp. 4, 5.

² R. Hankey, Notes, Aug. 24, p. 4.

³ ibid., Aug. 30, p. 1.

At Topaz we got so much fruit in the mess we always had extra fruit in the house."

Her friend added: "We hardly get fruit in the mess at all and I had to buy it in the Co-op."

The first informant continued:

"Here I have to ask for my brother in Topaz to send me some fruit. In Topaz they didn't sell fruit in the canteens but they gave it to us in the mess. Since we came here we spend so much money on food."

At this point another girl, an old resident of Tule joined her voice to the complaints:

"We've had chicken here only once."

A transferee from Topaz said nostalgically:

"And at Topaz we got duck or chicken once a week."

The first speaker, from Topaz, added:

"And ice cream every Sunday.....Also, all the other relocation centers get linoleum. But this place has none!"

The young girl who regretted the ducks and chickens of Topaz closed the conversation with the significant remark:

"Have you seen the personnel quarters here. They're positively extravagant! I went into the personnel rec. hall the other day and I thought, "Gosh."¹

Resentment of Suspected Graft

Along with this resentment over poor food a conviction developed that at least part of this condition was due to graft on the part of Caucasian and Japanese members of the Mess Division. This suspicion existed before segregation and was shared by the older inhabitants of Tule Lake. Rumors of project meat being shipped into Klamath Falls and sold on the black market were current not only among the evacuees but among members of the Appointed Personnel. It was also rumored that large food

¹ ibid., Sept. 14, p. 6.

bills were run up in nearby towns by members of the mess division and that those merchants who furnished an additional bribe were the first to have their bills met. According to members of the pressure group and persistent rumor among members of the appointed personnel, this condition was investigated by the F. B. I. in mid-November and resulted in the dismissal of several of the guilty staff members.¹

This belief in graft affected the evacuees profoundly. It's force is reflected only mildly in the following statements. "I" a nisei from Gila, referring to the suspicion of graft by the Caucasian said:

"Grafting started the whole works."²

K., referring to grafting by Japanese, said:

"Undue accusation of persons stealing and of grafts goes on without respect of the person under fire. Thus creating suspicion in the eyes of the people without proofs.

"Recently proofs were uncovered and the suspects were arrested (these were Japanese arrested for stealing rice). I personally hope they will be given the severest punishment if found guilt."³

The accumulation of evidence to prove the existence of graft on the part of the Caucasian personnel soon became one of the most important of the self-imposed tasks of the pressure group which was organized. They considered it one of the most potent weapons against the Administration.

~~Sentiment over inferior living conditions was summarized by a well educated issei, an ex-Santa Fe internee from Manzanar. This is an almost universal camp sentiment.~~

¹See p. .

²R. Hankey, Notes, February, p. 14.

³MS., p. 2.

"The starting of such an action (the rise of the pressure group and the trouble which resulted) is the responsibility of the Administration itself. If the Administration had taken consideration of the comfort of the people as a whole, I don't think they could ever have had any action as that which came from the miserable colony."

This gentleman, a graduate of Stanford, also stated that he was of the opinion that the segregates had been sacrificed to WRA policy by being branded as dangerous and confined within a special camp so that WRA's desire to speed relocation might be facilitated. This opinion has been expressed several times by segregates, but only by those of a high educational level.

"First there was segregation, a mistake. Then military registration which was illogical. Then, to push the relocation program, the answers made at military registration were used to segregate a group which never could have been segregated. This created a problem for WRA which they had not originally anticipated. Those who came into Tule Lake as segregates had been treated with greater severity than in their relocation centers."¹

Another very important irritant
~~of minor though by no means insignificant importance~~ was

the insufficiency of work and recreation. The work shortage gave rise to the additional resentment, that all the good jobs, "the key positions" were held by the old residents of Tule. To a large extent this criticism was justified.

A young man, a nisei from Gila said:

"When I got here I got a job. I didn't feel bad at all. People who didn't get jobs felt awfully bad."²

K. said:

"No work is created to relieve the loathsome hours; no recreations are sponsored to divert the minds of the residents.... So far I have not seen any type of recreation sponsored for the adults, to divert their unpleasant minds. If there is enough work in this camp to keep the adults well occupied, recreation may not be necessary but when work is so scarce as it is here, recreation will play a great part in keeping the people satisfied. But neither work nor recreation are being sponsored to

¹R. Hankey, Notes, May 21, pp. 2, 4.

²R. Hankey, Notes, Mar., p. 13.

(26)

relieve the dissatisfied from concocting mischief. Seven days a week, 30 days a month, day in and day out without a thing to do, topped with lack of funds to keep oneself satisfied with wants really does get a man. This is another source of trouble.¹

Additional attitudes toward employment will be quoted in the discussion devoted to the hostility which developed toward the old Tuleans. *on this and other scores.*

Another resentment which had a long pre-segregation history in Tule Lake sprang from the actions and attitude of the Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Pedicord. He had acquired an unprecedented degree of unpopularity with the Japanese before segregation took place. A petition signed by 7,500 evacuees requested his removal in June, 1943. Reasons for his unpopularity were set forth in detail by Marvin Opler, the Community Analyst, in a report dated July 6, 1943. In the petition his attitudes toward evacuees, both staff members and patients, is called unsympathetic and dictatorial. He is accused of addressing the evacuees as "Japs," not obtaining necessary medical equipment, placing economy above service, and forcing evacuee doctors to relocate by his dictatorial attitude. Some of the unconfirmed accusations made by informants in November include: That Pedicord had anti-Japanese views, that he was incompetent and negligent of his duties, that he refused to grant permission for transfusions to two or three patients who later died,² that he did not order sufficient medicine for hospital equipment, that he hired Caucasian quacks one of whom caused a child to be stillborn by giving the mother too much serum, that he cut the hospital staff so severely that it could not run efficiently, that he made the Caucasian nurses section heads and

²Report, Dec., 24, p. 21.

¹MS., pp. 5-6.

(27).

permitted them to give orders to the evacuee doctors (even though one evacuee doctor had a license to practice in California), that he cut down the allowance of baby food although ~~there~~ ^{there} was an adequate supply in the warehouse. Because of hiring "quacks" he is also blamed for the death of a severely burned evacuee child who is said to have been left without treatment from 11:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. when it was finally treated by a Japanese doctor coming on duty.¹ The transferees took over this older resentment with remarkable speed. Dr. Pedicord's removal became one of the planks in the program of the pressure group.

~~While~~ ^{Most} of the informants quoted in the preceding analysis belong to that section of the population which ^{at least expressed the} ~~sincerely~~ desired to return to Japan ^{at the time of negotiation.} ~~the writer noted that those, who later changed~~ ^{Get before they have spent a year in Tule Lake some} ~~changed~~ their minds and asked to relocate. ^{In October and November, 1943,} ~~just as vociferous in their~~ complaints over ill treatment at Tule Lake ^{in one act alone.} ~~There was an excep-~~ ^{as the evacuees who remained.} ~~tion,~~ however. Those who had decided to get out of Tule Lake by the middle of 1944, had never been ^{vigorous} ~~being~~ advocates of "a camp where we can all act like Japanese and prepare for life in Japan." Instead, they had talked of "being treated like human beings and having as good a time as we can while we're waiting here." It should be kept in mind, therefore, that those who had found a comparatively safe and permanent place to stay until the end of the war shared many of the resentments of the ~~same~~ ^{who took their return to Japan seriously.} repatriates. Since the possibility of exchange was exceedingly remote, they realized that they might be forced to live at Tule Lake for an indefinite number of years. From Tule Lake and its living conditions, whether good or bad, there was no escape. There was no

¹ ibid., p. 17.

those who relocated later, had been

Since conditions in the pre-segregation Tule Lake had ^{at times} been far from peaceful, for instance, at the time of military registration, this ~~was~~ attitude was an obvious expression of hostility to the aggressive newcomers who were threatening the political ~~and economic control~~ ^{which} the Old Tuleans hoped to ~~keep~~ maintain.

A very clever Old Tulean, ~~and~~ ^{Mr. Tsuda, stated:}

"The Old Tuleans figured they had a priority in Tule Lake. The other people who came in were strangers. The Old Tuleans were supposed to know and do everything. They thought they had the right to. Then the people who came from the other centers had a different viewpoint. They felt the jobs and everything should be according to the population. But they Old Tuleans didn't think that way." 1/

~~By political control~~

control, the intricate inner-camp politics ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~most influential positions, and the economic control, of the jobs, and~~ ^{employment opportunities, which the old Tuleans hope to maintain.}

possibility of removal by relocation. Conditions had to be endured or changed.

ATTITUDES OF THE OLD TULEAN POPULATION

~~Although there were many exception, it is clear that the~~
~~bulk of~~ The older inhabitants of Tule Lake were characterized
 by ~~markedly~~ ^{somewhat} different ~~complex~~ ^{though they shared many of the} of attitudes. ^{parentment} On the whole they
 did not wish to change the camp, especially if the attempt to
 effect changes would cause trouble. moreover, they looked upon
 themselves as the established group, the "Old Timers" as one
 nisei girl expressed it, and felt that if any changes were to
 be made, they should ^{take the initiative or should at least} be consulted. They did not take kindly to
 being told by the newcomers that Tule Lake was a dump, that the
 food was bad and the facilities far inferior to the relocation
 centers from which the complaining transferees had come. Some
 old Tuleans admitted that the facilities of Tule might have been
 inferior, but defended their acquiescence to the conditions by
 accusing the transferees of demanding luxury. One young woman
 said, "What do they expect. After all, there's a war on."

Repeatedly, old Tulean informants spoke nostalgically of "the
 old Tule Lake" and remarked that it was gone forever. "Before the
 segregees came in people got along well. There was peace." ^{Smuck on here.} Some
 old Tuleans termed the pressure group's attempt to improve the
 camp a high-handed and unnecessary effort to make the camp over.
 "All they (the newcomers) did was talk, talk, talk." The younger
 men in the transferee group who, feeling the need of exhibitionism,
 broke up nisei dances, behaved rudely to the girls and, in general,
 acting according to their own peculiar concept of the acme of
 "Japanese" behavior, were criticized and looked upon with scorn

(29)

yagore

and fear. They were termed "the kibel" or "the geta boys" and were cordially disliked by the nisei girls. When discussing this period of camp life, old Tuleans often lay a large part of the hostility between the groups to the fact that the old Tuleans held the "key positions" in employment and had the best jobs. Most old Tuleans admit that this was the truth although they may not admit that the complaint was just.

It was ~~understandably~~, extremely rare for an old Tulean to remark that the transferees resented the fact that the old inhabitants were not "loyal to Japan" and "disloyal to America." Instead, they preferred to state, "They said we were not loyal to Japan because we did not want to make trouble." Nevertheless, several ~~old Tuleans~~ *and several transferees* did admit to the writer, that they did not intend to go to Japan and that they were remaining at Tule until it was safe to relocate or until they felt capable of deciding whether to remain in this country or go to Japan.

Later and change.

It should be remembered that this analysis is general and that some of the older inhabitants of Tule Lake were strong supporters of the pressure group's attempt at reform. On the other hand, some transferees came to Tule Lake with no intention of returning to Japan; others came determined to sit on the fence until the course of the war indicated which country would make a more satisfactory future home. Both pictures, that of the attitudes of the old inhabitants and that of the newcomers are somewhat exaggerated, the major differences having been over-emphasized. The bulk of the transferees were not as militant, arrogant and pro-Japanese as the Tuleans paint them; the bulk of the Tuleans were ~~not~~ *by no means* as meek, spineless and pro-American as the segregates insist.

As the greater part of the transferees denunciations of the Old Tuleans
~~were~~ rationalizations so ~~were~~ the greater part of the counter-denunciations heaped
 upon the transferees by the in-group. ^{Fear and resentment} ~~Jealousy~~ of the ambitious new-comers ~~was~~

~~Amidst the expressed and very typical Old Tulean attitudes~~
 often though not always hidden under the statement that the transferees were
 "radicals" or "agitators". The following ~~two~~ attitudes ~~commonly~~ given by ^{"L"}
 an Old Tulean nisei girl exemplifies this: the newcomers ^{she said} wanted "to crush this
 camp and make a new one" and the ~~old~~ "Old Tuleans got along well ~~with the newcomers~~
~~before segregation~~". The Old Tuleans did not get along at all well,
 but this difficulties of the past two years appear to have been forgotten in
 the face of the ~~threat~~ antipathy to the threatening transferees.

Very typical of the attitude of the old Tuleans population are the following verbatim statements made by an intelligent nisei girl "L" who was convinced of the foolishness of combating the Administration, and, after the incident, returned to work as soon as she could. She showed no concern over being seen with a Caucasian, and even walked through the camp with the writer, stating nonchalantly, "They call us inus anyway." Such unconcern toward being seen talking to a Caucasian was ordinarily shown only by "agitators" of established stature. *Not typically independent in disposition.*

"What the old Tule Lake was, it's never going to be again. Then there were people from three states here, Washington, California, and Oregon. We got along well. . . . But now. . . ."

"We found out right off that the segregees who came from other centers were jealous of the old Tuleans - that they had higher positions. They wanted to take that over. Somebody came into the Community Activities office and broke the chairs and typewriters. We were supposed to be serving the people. They (the segregees) didn't give us a chance."

"The people who came in had one object: to crush this camp and make a new one. But the Old Tuleans interfered with that."¹

At a later interview the same informant said:

"They said we Tuleans were soft and good-for-nothing."²

During a conversation with four nisei girls, two of whom were Old Tuleans and two transferees of the same *Conservative* convictions as the Old Tuleans, "P", a nisei woman in her thirties, who had been very active politically in the center which she had left for Tule Lake, remarked:

"The Tuleans here were the old Timers. The strangers who came in didn't consult with the old Timers. They were going to control the camp."

"L" was present at this talk and added,

¹ ibid., Aug. 17, p. 4.

² ibid., Sept. 14, p. 2.

"They didn't like the idea of the old Tuleans having all the key jobs either."¹

The attitude of these young women toward expatriation is interesting. "P" admitted that she did not want to return to Japan. However, she explained at considerable length her apprehension toward her future in the United States should she decide to relocate. If she or her husband believed they could relocate with security, it is very likely that they would be glad to leave Tule Lake. "L" did not express her opinion on repatriation spontaneously. After she and the writer had become well acquainted, the writer ventured to ask her, "Do you really want to go back to Japan?" "L" thought for a moment and then said, "We'll, we've taken out repatriation."

~~As this conversation continued,~~ Mrs. "P" admitted that conditions at Tule Lake were not ideal, but concluded:

"After all, this is war and we can't expect luxury."

"B" another old Tulean nisei girl added with a note of offended community pride:

"The first thing that struck me funny: the people from the other centers came in here and expected luxury. They said the latrines were bad, the food was bad, the housing was bad: everything was bad."

Mrs. "P" then pointed out the fallacy between the adoption of a stoic Japanese attitude and these complaints; admitting, however, that she herself did not think everything was as it should be at Tule Lake or the other centers, for that matter, and that it was probably the fault of the local Administrations.

"Fundamentally, they say they are loyal and want to go back to Japan. Then they should be willing to go through hell to get there. We were told what the camp was like before we came here.

¹ibid., p. 4.

"I feel that Washington is trying to do the right thing by us but that often we're not getting what we should be from there (the local Administration). I felt that from the beginning, even the first camp I went into. Even if they get only five cents a day (in graft) from each of us - why, they'll be millionaires.

"When we first came in here the food was O. K."

The two old Tulean girls present remarked that before segregation, when Mr. Peck was Chief Steward, the "food had been terrible." After segregation it had improved.¹

Another excellent expression of old Tulean attitudes came from a nisei girl "E", who is employed in the high school office. "E" did not exhibit as much prejudice against the segregees as "L" or "P" and made a deliberate effort to express herself objectively.

"You know what I thought. I thought this would be a peaceful camp. I thought that since it was a camp of all people going back to Japan we'd have the same combination. But due to people with selfish reasons, they made riots. Those people were quiet back home. But having nothing to do, they made trouble here.

"I was disappointed. I expected a different spirit and living peaceful. . .

"Being a Tulean, we felt that they were making it tough for us. We had nothing (like the trouble) before they came in.

"I guess we were all employed and had the best jobs and they didn't like that either."²

An elderly issei woman gave her opinion of the transferees without mincing any words. Her remarks could not be taken down verbatim and are reproduced from memory:

"Before "these people" came here, everything was quiet. Everything went fine. But when these people from Gila, Poston, Jerome, and Topaz came in, all they could talk about was how fine things had been where they came from. In the relocation camps the food was better; there they had nice houses, or they had

1

² ibid., Sept. 19, p. 2.

(39)

fine white bath tubs. Things at Tule Lake (they said) were no good. These newcomers, all they do is talk, talk, talk.

"The trouble in camp was all made by a few people. If the Tule Lakers say anything the others say they are ikujinashi (spineless). So they don't say anything. They don't want trouble.

"The way these few trouble-makers behave is not true Yamato Damashi. The person who really acts according to Yamato Damashi makes himself low and does not talk.

The informant added with unusual frankness:

"The people in Tule Lake think they will stay in Tule Lake and maybe go back to Japan after the war. Maybe they will stay in this country. But some of the people who came in, they want to go back right away. All they do is talk, talk, talk."¹

How large a proportion of the issei old Tule Lake population had a similar attitude is impossible to say. That a considerable number of the nisei were not enthusiastic over expatriating there can be no doubt. Naturally, such sentiments were rarely expressed before Caucasians. "K. M." a young girl employed in the hospital as a nurses' aide ~~was determined to relocate and intended to remain in Tule Lake only until the time when a nursing school would accept her.~~ *had been attempting to get her parents' permission* ~~attend a~~ *for two years.* She expressed concern over the unfriendly treatment which had been accorded some relocating nisei, but obviously felt that life in the United States was the lesser of two evils. She explained frankly that she had deliberately remained at Tule Lake because she did not want to leave the camp at segregation time and had used the simple expedient of refusing to register for the Military registration. She added that she thought her hearing had been silly and that the hearing board members had been rude.²

"K. M." was even more anti-pathetic to the newcomers than the nisei girls quoted previously. When asked to describe her

¹ ibid., Sept. 27, 1944, p. 2.

² ibid., Aug. 17, 1944, p. 1.

(35)

first reaction to the transferees, she said:

"The first thing that happened to me was that one of my uniforms was stolen (her nurses' aide uniform). It was stolen right off the line from my back porch. That never happened before. . . .

"I think they (transferees) came here with a chip on their shoulders.

"Right after they came we had a welcome dance and the kibeï came and told the people to go home. Everything was supposed to be Japanese, they said.

"When they arrived they broke down buildings, busted walls, and built bonfires and went around shouting 'Banzai.'"¹

This young woman, who lived in a block which was predominantly old Tulean appeared to have a particularly active grudge against the transferee "kibeï" boys. She stated that she hated them; they were trouble-makers; they were always goose-stepping around (in their Japanese exercises) early in the morning and waking her up; they made life miserable for the nisei because there were so many more kibeï than nisei in camp and the nisei could do nothing about it. She recounted an incident which occurred at one of the first block meetings she attended. An absent-minded man, who was not listening or did not understand the issue under discussion, applauded out of turn. Immediately the tough boys said; "Let's get that guy after the meeting." The man had to sneak out quietly to escape a beating.²

The unelaborated factors listed above, to which many less important attitudes could be added if data were more abundant, laid the foundation for the sociological explosion of late October and November and the events which followed. The rapid mounting of fury engendered when accidental events added profound emotional

DISILLUSIONMENT OF THE IDEALISTS - GROWTH OF HOSTILITY TOWARD OLD
TULE LAKE POPULATION

Those of the transferees who had built up the dream that Tule Lake would be a genuine segregation center soon were bitterly disappointed. Interestingly, the transferred the greater part of this resentment to the ~~xxx~~ Old Tulean population. There was, of course, some justification for this, for ~~xxxxx~~ a significant part of the Old Tulean residents had placed themselves in "disloyal" status because they did not want to leave Tule Lake. The transferees, however, conveniently forgot that a great many of their number had taken the step of segregation ~~with~~ for many other reasons than a desire to ~~repatriate or return~~ return to Japan. They also were inclined to forget that a large proportion of ^{the} ~~the transferee~~ group ~~was~~ came to Tule Lake as voluntary segregees, ~~issei~~ "loyal" issei accompanying their "No-No" children, or "loyal" nisei accompanying their repatriate parents. Not infrequently a whole family moved to Tule Lake on the strength of one segregee member. ^{of attitude} The major difference/between the Old Tuleans and the segregees ~~attitude~~ immediately after segregation appears to have been that the Old Tuleans ~~xxx~~ did not at first attempt to conceal their practical motives for remaining in Tule Lake. This honesty, however, was viewed with horror and amazement by ^{some of} the ~~over~~sensitive transferees. ~~The latter greatly exaggerated the number of "fence sitting" Tuleans. They began to speak of the Old Tuleans as~~

and furnished a convenient mechanism for rationalization. Antipathy

to the ~~established, wanted in group was somewhat under the~~

Old Tuleans

~~group~~ because they were established ~~and next to~~ in the position
~~in the middle to~~ transformed into a
 of advantage was ~~disputed under the~~ /barrage of accusations that

they were not truly "loyal" to Japan. The ~~transferees~~ expressed

~~anxiety about the number of "fence-sitting" in the group. The~~

~~anxiety~~ This anxiety over the difficult time the ~~group~~

"No-No" ~~and~~ group would have with the "Yes-Yes"

~~has been expressed to the writer even before~~

segregation took place. A very frank transferee remarked the night

before he left Gila: "

"Another thing, people are thinking about after they get to Tule -
 take here in Rivers, the groups are more or less divided into Yes
 and No groups. Naturally, if the Yes group plays its cards right
 and apple-polishes, the chances of their getting better paid
 positions in the office is more or less enhanced. The Yes group is
 more or less under the thumb of the administration. Any time the
 No people had a kick coming the first people they had to see ~~xxx~~
~~xxx~~ (in the offices) were Yes people. Especially if the Project
 Director and the majority of the Caucasian staff is more or less
 unsympathetic ~~to~~ with the No group." 1/

The transferees greatly exaggerated the number of "fence-sitting"

old Tuleans. They began to speak of the Old Tuleans as

1/ Hanks, "Notes on Segregation", pp. 70-71.

DISILLUSIONMENT OF THE IDEALISTS - GROWTH OF HOSTILITY TOWARD OLD
TULE LAKE POPULATION

Those of the transferees who had ~~hoped to establish and~~
~~built up the hope that Tule Lake would be~~
~~become part of~~ a genuine segregation center soon were bitterly
disappointed. [^] The old population of Tule Lake did not respond
at all to the crusading spirit of the new-comers. To begin
with, almost one-fifth of the population of old Tule Lake refused
to answer the questionnaire at the time of registration. Accord-
ing to a statistical survey made December 3, 1943 there were still
1128 unauthorized residents in camp at that time. There is evi-
dence that these persons, who had managed to convince the WRA
hearing committees that they were "disloyal" to the United States,
did not at first attempt to conceal their practical motives for
remaining in Tule Lake from the transferees. However, when they
remarked to the new-comers that they had stayed in Tule to await
the end of the war before deciding where they wished to live or
to get out of the draft they were met with an amazement which
rapidly developed into hostility. The number of old Tuleans who
actually were undecided as to loyalty or were neither No-No,
repatriate or expatriate was greatly exaggerated by the trans-
ferees. Some transferees conceived and spread the idea that the
old Tuleans were ikujinashi (spineless), ^{stated} that they were willing
to take anything from the Administration ^{and} that ~~on the whole,~~
they did not wish to return to Japan. Certain transferees decided
that WRA had perpetrated a deceitful trick, putting them down
in a center purported to be for segees only and actually
populated by a large number of "Yes-Yes" people, still "loyal to
the United States" ^{who were to be used to spy on them.}
X [^] Gone was the dream that in Tule Lake there

would be no more conflict of opinion on "loyalty" no more fence-sitters, no more inu.

Many of the transferees and a still larger part of the old Tulean population were not affected in this manner and kept to the opinion that after all, everybody in Tule Lake should be treated as if they really wished to return to Japan. But certain minorities, particularly among the transferees from Jerome ^{Poston} and Topaz, felt that the situation could not be tolerated. How this sentiment affected the development of the pressure group and the demands made to the administration will be discussed later in its proper place.

The following verbatim statements made by transferees from Gila, Jerome, Topaz and Manzanar ^{are examples of this neurotic} ~~throw some light on the psychological effect of the discovery that many of the old Tuleans did~~ ^{transference of blame for the frustration} ~~not think as they did.~~

From a letter written by a kibel woman, an active "agitator" from Jerome:

"When we learned the facts of failure on the part of the WRA to carry out this as a segregation center, that many a loyal ones still remained here in large numbers and many uncertain in status: the No-Yes, the Yes-No, the non-registrants, this, the dump, certainly was no place for us. . . .

"To make this center livable as possible as we have been privileged in other center, to ascertain a certain status as a repatriate and expatriate not to be dealt alike with the other uncertain element. It was the feeling and the opinion of the segregees to form a central committee to carry out these above-mentioned facts for the benefits of our own and felt it most necessary to ascertain a certain status as we previous had expected. . . .

"What the former Tuleans or the uncertain ones thought at this time I have no idea, but the segregees were all for it."¹

A nisei girl from Topaz, too young to take any part in political activity gave her reaction as follows. Her remarks

¹R. Hankey, Notes, July 18, 1944, pp. 2-3.

on the Co-op are particular noteworthy, since they were shared by many transferees.

"Another thing that struck us was the great number of Yes-Yes people and people who hadn't registered who were here. We had expected just one group and had expected to run this camp as we wanted to. We had high hopes of that. . .

"We noticed the people here were so easy going and let everything up to the Administration, and didn't bother to put in their viewpoints or anything.

"Especially about the Co-op. It was so different from the other Co-ops. We were shocked to see all the vegetables, potatoes and luxuries like cosmetics and desserts, because at Topaz we just had simple cupcakes and one kind of cooky and things like that. We didn't have varieties there and yet that was adequate for us there.

"At first it was so new to us and so long since we had gone to a store that we were glad. But as time went on we noticed that it wasn't so good. That was one way of wasting our money as well as giving the government an opportunity of not feeding us."¹

At a later interview this same young woman gave the following apt description of the segregees' feelings toward the old Tuleans. For all its briefness this is a shrewd statement and gives an excellent picture of the attitude of the more idealistic segregees:

"Most of the former Tuleans who are here, they're the type that are never for anything. They're always saying, 'If only we would be quiet, it would be all right. Why make trouble?' Maybe it's because they're country people. A lot of them are Sacramento farmers.

"They're always saying, 'Before you people came it was this way and that way.' We try to explain to them but they don't get it through their heads."²

A young kibe girl from Gila said:

"There were some families here - old Tuleans - who said, 'We haven't decided whether we're going back to Japan yet. Our boys just refused to register.' I told my parents, 'Gee, they just stayed here. They didn't want to go out.' I don't have much respect for them."³

¹July 18, ibid., p. 1.

²ibid., Aug. 7, p. 2.

³ibid., July 19, p. 3.

A young nisei girl from Gila, definitely not a supporter of the pressure group, said:

"At the relocation camp there were so many that were loyal to America. We felt people with the same kind of mind would be assembled here. But we found 5,000 Yes-Yes here. They (the transferees) thought they should be kicked out."¹

A young nisei man from Manzanar, who became involved in the pressure group after it was established, stated:

"That's a very important point. I think about 7,000 people were left here. Among those people there is quite a number who have no intention of going to Japan. Possibly half of them should go out of camp."²

An older nisei from Manzanar, who, although he did not arrive in camp until February, admitted that he had come to the conclusion that this attitude was very important, said:

"By gathering the news from the people, I think it amounts to this. I presume the people who came here as segregees from various centers were very much surprised to see the large amount of people of different status remaining in camp. You have to take into consideration the feeling of the segregees."³

K., an internee from Leupp, who also did not arrive in camp until after the outbreak of trouble, wrote such a detailed, honest account of his first reaction to the presence of the loyal group that it should be included here:

"Let us not forget the political side of the question. We who were segregated as unloyal must be considered heart and soul Japanese and for Japan. Yet amongst us the WRA has permitted the loyal group to remain. For what purpose we do not know unless their residence is permitted in order to employ them as spies. This is one of the sore spots requiring immediate attention.

"The greater majority of these so-called loyalists are not truly patriotic. They've declared themselves loyal because of personal reasons; the greatest of which is to avoid the conscription into the Japanese Military Forces in the event when exchange of prisoners of war is speedily carried out. But should they remain in the U. S. by swearing allegiance, they would escape

¹ ibid., p. 4. *This number is an exaggeration.*

² ibid., July 30, p. 4.

³ ibid., p. 8.

By "further augmentation of the royals" K. referred to the widespread camp disapproval of bringing any more people to Tule Lake ~~whomxxxxxxx~~ on a volutary basis, i. e., persons who had not asked for repatriation or expatriation or persons who had not answered "No-No".

that fear of being conscripted since this government then was deferring all Japanese nationals¹ to 4C and 4F. So they did and considered themselves wise and safe, laughing at those who hastily renounced their loyalty to the country of their birth. . . .

"This No-Yes-No group is doubly despised by the true adherents to Japan and to their Emperor. They are neither Americans nor Japanese. They are men without a country.

"Now to further crowd this camp with such opportunists of No-Yes-No, would create trouble. Therefore their admittance here will be greatly deplored. We do not want them. Those amongst us now ought to be thrown into a camp of their own. . . .

"Is it not palpable the Administration....is making a critical mistake of grouping people of contra-political beliefs here at Tule Lake? The demand to remove the loyals out of this camp has only been partially met. I hope for the good of all concerned, further augmentation of the loyals with the No-Yes-No group from various camps will not be permitted under any circumstances. We do not care to mingle with the degenerates."²

← *Insertion here.*
 ← At a later date, K. expressed his opinion more specifically on the old Tuleans. The accusations that they held the key positions in employment, that they were given preference in obtaining jobs and that they stayed at Tule Lake to make money were widely believed and repeated.

"The people from the Sacramento Valley are staying here today. Perhaps they knew each other so well, they didn't want to be parted. . . .To avoid the trouble of packing and moving to another camp and living among strangers again. And those who were doing a good business here - you can't blame them. Why not remain here and keep on making money? (K. speaks in irony here, since he abhors such motives.) Some of them were probably making more money than ever before in their lives.

"They were holding all the key positions. I was told (that) when I arrived here. I noticed it myself: if you tell the placement office which center you come from they don't pay much attention. But if you were an old Tulean, you seemed to get a job right away; When I told them I was from Leupp, the girls in the office made a face.....

"All the old Tuleans were pulling for the old Tuleans. They got into the good positions and just stuck with it. The others had the left overs."³

² JYK, MS, pp. 7-9.

³ R. Hankey, Notes, Aug. 21, pp. 1-2.

¹ "K" in deleted intended to say "Japanese-American citizens" here.

Another Leupp ex-internee, a young kibel made the same accusation:

"A fellow who works at the statistics office said that the old Tuleans had all the good jobs."¹

A member of the Negotiating Committee expressed his disgust with the old inhabitants of Tule Lake as follows:

"There were also a lot of old Tuleans who stayed here solely for their own good. I admire a person who pledges his loyalty to America and would show his loyalty by doing something about it.

"Most of the Japanese stayed here because they wanted to get out of the draft. They wanted to stay here too.... Besides many of them were making money here. . . In other centers there is so much money to be made. But to make money in here is wrong. If people want to make money they should get out."²

A conservative young nisei transferee from Gila described the attitude prevailing among the segregees soon after their arrival and the response of the old Tuleans as follows:

"I noticed that the Tule Lakers were all regretting the fact that this has become a segregation camp. They said, 'Gee, this camp was such a nice place before segregation.'

"We complained and they complained. In other words, they thought segregation wasn't as good as it should have been."³

~~This recognition of fundamental differences in aims and attitudes between~~ ^{of hostility between} the two groups, the transferees and the old inhabitants of Tule Lake developed soon after segregation. Almost a year later the differences had not been resolved: a large amount of the mutual distrust ~~and hostility~~ continued. When, in June and July of 1943, the writer attempted to extend her circle of old Tulean acquaintances and informants through her transferee friends she met with no success whatever. "I don't know any old Tuleans;" "We don't associate with them;" "We don't see eye to

¹ ibid., Aug. 23, p. 2.

² ibid., Sept. 11, 1944, p. 5.

³ ibid., Aug., 30, 1944, pp. 1-2.

eye on anything;" she was told repeatedly. Two intelligent nisei girls said with delicate scorn:

"They don't seem to have much in common with us. Several girls work in our office, but we don't get along."¹

RESENTMENTS OVER RECEPTION AND INTERIOR FACILITIES OF TULE LAKE

Some of the resentments which will be described in the following section preceded the realization that Tule Lake was not to be peopled by a group uniformly loyal to Japan. It has been thought preferable however, to describe the viewpoint of the frustrated idealists separately, and place it first, since the birth of the concept preceded the arrival of the transferees at Tule Lake. Some of the numerous, more mundane grievances which will now be described were experienced during the first few days of life at Tule Lake. As the days passed, new resentments were added. The ill feeling felt toward the older inhabitants of Tule Lake was strengthened on this score also, for the old ruleans did not appreciate being told that facilities at Tule Lake were far below the standards to which the transferees had become accustomed in the Relocation Centers.

A synthesis of these resentments over living conditions was expressed by "Y" who became an important leader in the pressure group:

"The way it started - of course, everybody who came to this center from the other relocation centers compared this center to the other centers. Food, housing, the hospital and sanitation was very low compared to the other centers we came from. We didn't do anything about it until the truck accident."²

The "prison-camp" atmosphere

As preparation for a camp of avowedly "disloyal" individuals, Tule Lake camp had been surrounded by a "man-Proof" fence 7 feet

¹ibid., July 31, 1944, p. 1.

²ibid., Sept. 11, p. 3.

I It should be kept in mind that the bulk of the transferees were not as militant, arrogant and pro-Japanese as the old Tuleans paint them and the bulk of the Old Tuleans were by no means as ~~spineless~~ meek, spineless and pro-American as the ~~the~~ transferees insist. Some of the older inhabitants of Tule Lake were strong supporters of the pressure group's attempt at reform. In spite of their ~~ideals~~ ^{iside} statements some of the transferees came to Tule Lake with no intention of returning to Japan; others came determined to sit on the fence until the course of the war indicated which country would make a more satisfactory future home. Judging only by uncritically accepted verbatim statements, the dichotomy ~~was~~ between the attitudes of the two groups would appear to be enormous. This dichotomy however is an artificial one, built up by the ~~conflicting interests~~ conflicting desire for camp dominance. While there probably were more dyed in the wool fence-sitters among the Old Tuleans, both groups had very ~~sis~~ similar reasons for ~~staying~~ remaining in or coming to Tule Lake and both groups had much the same interests in approaching the administration to demand ~~an~~ improvements in camp facilities or a uniform status as legitimate segragees.

- - - - -

The unelaborated factors and situations listed above, to which many less important attitudes could be added if data were more abundant, laid the foundation for the upheaval of late October and November and the events which followed. The rapid mounting of fury engendered when ^{additional} accidental events added/profound emotional

resentments to this already impressive accumulation, strained the self-control of many of the residents past endurance and furnished the leaders of the pressure group with an issue of sufficient magnitude to make an aggressive stand against the Administration.

For this manifestation, the Administration was totally unprepared. In fact, the National Director of WRA believed that Tule Lake would be the most peaceful of the centers.¹ Moreover, the Administration was still endeavoring to settle the most pressing preliminary problems of organization, necessitated by this vast and hurried influx of groups from many centers when it was overwhelmed by the phenomenally rapid rise of a pressure group within the camp. The farm strike occurred less than three weeks after the beginning of the arrival of the segregees.

An attempt was made by Dr. Opler and a few other members of the Appointed Personnel to set up a body of staff members, the Advisory Council to assist in the initiation of some kind of colony organization.

"Before the accident we were dickering with Best on colony organization."²

Nothing concrete was accomplished and this contemplated body was swept away by the impact of independent organization from within the colony. It was re-established, however, a month after the proclamation of Martial Law and was later to play an important part in the organization and establishment of a group of Japanese, who attempted to bring the camp back to what was termed "normalcy" and cooperate with the Administration.

¹Find and quote, if possible, D. Myer's statement.

²Notes, Mar., p. 59.

RISE OF THE ANTI-DAIHYO SHA KAI GROUP * ADMINISTRATION AND ARMY
SUPPORTED * BIRTH OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Movement began mid-December
after defiance of Co-op.

Certain group met daily with Administration, while army continued
pickup process "much to the satisfaction of the opposition
groups." p. 4.

Co-op, Civic Organiz. and Yamatani, Shimada, Takahashi -

Disseminated meeting of Spanish Consul
Quoted names without solicitation -

"Recently for example, groups meeting with the Advisory Council mentioned the
same names of people labeled as troubles without solicitation. The latest
list included:

Mr. Tsuchiya, Block Manager of 56
Daihyo rep. of Bl 56
Mr. Ikeda, B. of Bl. 17

These names, furnished by more than one group without solicitation,
indicates that the colonists are beginning to get certain people's numbers
and are in the mood to transmit that information both from group to group
in the colony, and more significantly to Caucasian officialdom. The Army
Intelligence officer, Capt. Hartman, reports the same tendency for people in
the colony to point the finger, which he says, "is most unusual for
Japanese, who detest informers and suspect officials." Thus the village
is moving ahead to a breaking of the deadlock imposed by the Daihyo Shas by
getting out information about the group in general as well as
pointing the finger at particular individuals. 29-4

Organized Counter Goon-squad

The strong-arm opposition groups have come together forming an
organization of 500 youngmen. This group is in contact with the Issei
opposition organization and has definite support from the Co-op,
Civic Organization, and more moderate and thoughtful elements within the
Center. Their plan is briefly this: to go in a body of 500 to the
headquarters of the Negotiation Committee. They will request that the Committee
and Bl. Rep. - those left - themselves break the deadlock imposed by the
Nov. 29th resolution of the Kai-Kuratomi clique. ~~xxxxxx~~

Akitsuki threatened.

Editors Opinions on men:

Mr. Mayeda is ~~xxxxxx~~ here simply because his parents
appealed to him to remain with them because their other son had "forsaken them"
since that time, they have finally come around to agreement that Tule Lake
is no place for him. Mr. Furakawa is also here simply because of family
reasons; as the father of five young children, and the sole support of
aged parents, he feels he cannot go elsewhere and relocate; his father
intends to die in Japan. Mr. Shimada likewise seems to have regrets about
coming to Tule Lake; he was made a block rep. in the Neg. Com.; he resigned
because he thought the methods of the group were undemocratic and their goals
open to suspicion whereupon people in the block read in the washroom a
number of charges against him, including the familiar one of inu.

Takahashi - has the respect of the CO-op, Civic Org. and the opposition groups and has in the past, opposed the Kai-Kuratomi, or dominant clique, within the Daihyos. He is uniformly described as a man of good education, courage, and excellent reputation throughout the colony who was brought into the Daihyo's organization to lend his prestige; he opposed the Kai faction throughout though without effect, but did not resign like Yamatani and Shimada.

- - - - -

Others - Akitsuki - Sakoda - He is bound to be called an inu by the more radical elements. His frame of mind seems to be fundamentally stan-offish and of the "I am educated" sort. At the same time, however, he is afraid of being denounced as an inu. I do not think he is willing to rise up as a champion of the people in a fight against the administration. Neither do I think that he is skillful enough to manipulate things so that he can satisfy both the administration and the majority of the people. I would predict that he will turn out to be a middle of the roader, an appeaser, fearful of the people, fearful of the administration and still desiring to maintain his own position as a leader. /M

~~Yamatani~~

K. on Akitsuki: Yamatanina -

Among those seven are several people whose record is so black that I even flatly refuse to talk to them. My profession is public accountant. I nearly sent Yamatani to jail for defrauding the company of \$40,000. There are others too. The Administration doesn't know their past. If they find out, they should be dismissed. Robertson also knows.

There are a couple of men under him. (Akitsuki) They express themselves better than he does, and they go over his head in doing things. If he would wriggle out of the committee all right. If he keeps on and sticks at it, even if he's really working for the Japanese, he's going to be branded as a spy and working for WRA.

T. - not if I'm alive.

Takahashi Bill - pro-status quo

This is what I've heard. After the Negotiating Committee a certain man, let's call him X, wrote out a petition in English, stating that these nine people were not legally elected. He sent this to blocks 16 and 17 and said to please sign this paper. He was turned down very harshly. If you work for the project here, you'd find he's the key man. He's standing pretty high now, and has the confidence of the Administration.

Yamatani, why when I was a kid in Terminal Island we had a Japanese Cooperative Fish Cannery. He was a member of this cannery, a share holder. He broke it up into bankruptcy. Then he came back to Santa Maria Valley, he and Miyake and Kono. They had a farm together and filed bankruptcy again. A guy like that shouldn't be a buyer for a fish market or anything.

Yamashiro - on Takahashi.

3 (12)

GROUP PLANS STRATEGY OF ATTACK - THE ELECTION

Civic Org - Shimada, Namakawa, Furukawa and Mayeda Naydo
Coop - Akitsuki, Yamtani, Ikemoto, and Hitomi
Housing - Mr. Kawaii. Jan. 11. p. 2

MEETING OF DIVISIONAL RESPONSIBLE MEN OF DIVISIONS STILL WORKING - Jan. 7.

Best, Austin and Forbes present - Austin address:

Shimada gives story of a meeting planned for Jan 7, which didn't come off - Kozuma, Kataoka - DHS, Mayeda and Furukawa had approached Col Austin - DHS didn't appear -

Packing shed, Coal Crew, Maintenance, Time Keeper, Payroll and Accounting, Placement, Co-op, Civic Org. Housing, Clothing Unit, Hospital, Construction, Mess Management, Warehouse, Garage -

In my opinion, we certainly cannot rely on these Daihyo Shas. Even the Administration and Army authorities feel the same. Vol Austin therefore pointed out that various division heads should be the only source whereby solution can be attained.

Miyamoto excuses doctors.

Divisions ~~by 4/4~~ voted - to return to work. large maj.

Transportation had difficult time - didn't vote - later the resolution was read, and only a few applauded.; yet no one dared to oppose it. Due to a small pressure group the pending question was not voted upon.

Camp deluged with mimeographed propaganda morning of the election Jan 11. Explained part of men in responsible division heads.

What is this So-Called Status Quo

Decided to keep up status quo until after arrival of Sp. Consul but were disappointed by him.

In spite of the fact that they have conclusively failed in their principal and initial purpose of bettering the condition of the Center, they have not endeavored in the release of already detained, but they were wholly unable to check the increasing number of persons being detained each day.

The great number of residents have come to believe as a fact that the so-called status quo as adopted by the Sai-hyo Sha is no longer effective in bringing the hope of every colonists - the betterment of our livelihood - and it is certainly not even possible to bring back normality to this Center.

At present increasing number of families are suffering economically and they are requesting for relief through the Social Welfare department and the Spanish Consulate. C'est dommage! Every colonist in this Center has no other desire than to exist as a true Japanese.

Every Colonist in this Center should keep in one's mind that such a self-imposed suffering in itself does not reflect upon one's loyalty to his country.

At the present time, the Daihyo Sha is existing in name only. It has utterly failed to accomplish its aim.

By status quo, the Daihyo Sha itself, defeated its fundamental purpose.

Also accuse them of

1. Not negotiating with the army, nor pushing forward proposals previously rendered.
2. Ceased to exist but still disturbing the security of 16,000 colonists. This is quite contrary to the Japanese spirit.

Announced that Division heads had decided to go back to work and printed results of vote.

Promises equitable distribution of future employment.

RETURN TO NORMAL CONDITION WILL AID IN RELEASE OF THE DETAINED PERSONS

The return of the colony to normal condition will create a favorable atmosphere where the justifiable release of detained colonists will become a greater possibility.

It is unwise contention that if the status quo is liquidated, the persons detained will be deemed as guilty. If the status quo is maintained, there will be no possibility whatsoever for negotiation for their release with either the WRA or the Army. Not only that, but also it has become evident that the longer the status quo is maintained, the more colonists would be looking out of the stockade.

Vote held on January 11.

Total number of ballots AGAINST STATUS QUO	4593
FOR STATUS QUO....	4120
plurality	473
blank ballots	228
valid ballots	8713

Opler lists factors which helped status quo -

1. Colonists ill informed, did not know Kai hand picked delegates
- San Francisco Chronicle led headlines about Hunger Strike.
3. Work of terror and pressure groups and oratorical appeals to the gallery.

Certain blocks had pressure group meetings in the afternoon.

Apparently then, the strategy of the opposition - - to get their pamphlet out and call the vote soon thereafter, was correct on this point. There was no intention in this to delimit free discussion, but rather to beat the pressure groups to the punch. As one put it: "If they have time for big meetings, they are on the defensive now, but would go on the offensive then. That means they could get their strong arm boys out and dominate the meetings."

- - - - -

Remarks at headquarters when returns began to come in *

When the returns were going badly for a spell and victory was by no means assured, Frank Kawai said: "Maybe we'd better get our muscle men going, they always have had these guys out on any issue. If we lose, we'll have to do it too. Why not now?"

Other comments:

When vote announced for Ward VI shows most blocks defeating the proposal. Statements like the following were made

jokingly to Col Austin.

"Were going to need a lot more fences around here."

"They voted against food too. How about a hunger strike for those guys."

"No coal for that block."

Col. Austin said, "Let's give them weiners for a week."

Others, "Say, wait a minute, that's food. real food. How about salt herring only? Flat stinking fish? Said F. ~~xxxxxxx~~ I say don't give them any food they don't need it."

Remnants of Daihyo Sha didn't put up much of a defense.

"Report of Present Condition by Nippon Patriotic Society.

Report of vote false - 31 for, 29 against,

Ballots carried away by the Army, without even opening was the reason.

One block refused to vote as they decided it was not necessary.

Do you intend to support such a word and action to liquidate the status quo by betraying the Daihyo Sha, whom we, the colonists, elected?

Do you recognize or consider this referendum taken without freedom of speech legal?

Colonists: Do you intend to work from your own selfishness for a bait offered with false reports published by this so-called dogs? Will you take action when you know it's dishonorable and accept their offer?

"We hereby submit to your cool and sane judgement on this matter.

Nippon Patriotic Society.

gluttonous for punishment or they had voted for it in the beginning.
giri. It was my opinion that status quo wouldn't accomplish a darn thing
but would only increase the peoples' suffering. You can't have status
quo and expect things to improve.

DIVISIONAL HEADS MET Jan. 12 and did not think it wise to circulate
each block result. Few people against might be put up for
criticism ~~xxxxxx~~

merely inform 36 blocks for, 27 against.

Appointed a committee of 7 - the COORDINATING COMMITTEE - a temporary
body Byron Akitsuki, Masao, Sjiida, Iwai Namekawa, John Maydo, George
Yamatimi, K. Okamoto, Joe Nakao,
On Jan. 15 recognized by Army and WRA - bad business.

Could not afford to lose time -

BACK TO WORK MOVEMENT

Coordinating Committee recommends

- (1) Evacuee section foremen be suited in matters of hiring
and firing.
- (2) Serious complaints and grievances should be taken up
jointly by the Ad. Committee and CC.
- (3) In cases of termination evacuee section head and
appointed personnel should discuss the matter
jointly before taking action.

Requested increased patrols from Police to avert intimidation.

Work went forward with no great slips, gradual gain - running smoothly
except not enough work.

*January 15 - Army withdrawn - big armoured cars - not in
patrols.*
COORDINATING COMMITTEE TACKLES STOCKADE INTERNEES

without consulting Advisory Council!

*after - p. 12
Roberts B Br*

January 17, taken to talk by Army and WRA

As ed the Col about the tobacco money watches. Col admintted many things taken but many returned.

Yamatani apologizes for seeing them without consulting Ad. Council.

Best says Committee's attempts to get internees release should be secondary to good of project.

Akistuki asks for statement from WRA and Army asking that comm ttee's stand be cleared, after all getting out justifiable internees had been one of their planks.

Jan. 20 committee gave army list of four names for priority in getting releases.

Col Austin advised that the Committee should analyze the list and decide which is going to pay the greater dividend, release or detention.

Opler's excellent analysis of Jan. 20:

The Committee is now in a position to go ahead and consolidate further gains. The vote which we have analyzed took them over the first hump. The stockade contacts, while not fruitful, have been turned to some good end: to the interests of the Committee itself. The initial stages of the back to work movement have seen them over the second hump without casualty. Daily their mimeographers are getting out information to a village starved for news. The propaganda, as we call it, forms a pattern with the efforts of the Co-op group earlier and the Civic Organizations. The Daihyo remnants are reduced to political manoeuvring, alummy against the "Civic Organizations" bunch, Akitsuki and Shimada in particular. Threatened. The majority, once the opposition, is now in the saddle, and now in the ascendancy. ...The important thing for the Coordinating Committee is results. To aid them in what Akitsuki calls his "researches" they are getting a staff.

Akitsuki admitted to me these were guards, allowed by Best. Best was very kind.

Jan. 22 meeting of Divisional Heads.

784 back to work
26 released from Stockade

Following suggestions.

Clean up crew of 30,
Establish a cow farm along lines of hog farm
Construct additional men's showers.
Increase garage personnel.
Increase garbage crew.

Accepted sub Coordinating Committee to act as liason body between CC, and Divisional Heads, receive reports, complaints, suggestions etc.
30 members put on the payroll. Went through on Schmitts recommendation Jan 28

Jan. 24- Best refuses cleanup crew.

Work as soon as possible says Akitsuki - thorough survey must first be made - Best.

Special Joint meeting of Jan. 26.

Mr. Best read anonymous letter to Project Director, proposing Ad. divide the camp in two, to avoid possible flare-up or conflict and to preserve order.

Mr. Yamatani remarked that the recent trend of the populace shows favorable inclination toward the brighter side. However one cannot deny that some demagogues are still left in each block.

Opler and Akituki agree group wants this an internment camp, group wants Dept. of Justice, food delivered at gate and people will receive 50 a month without working.

Mr. Best cautioned CC to proceed very slowly with its undertakings, and not to publicize matters pertaining to releases of detainees, especially their names.

Jan. 29 - Meeting of the Divisional Heads

Activities of CC reported:

1. approximately 1,000 persons back to work.
2. 55 people released from stockade.
Army has said that release en masse impossible unless center returned to normal condition.
3. PJ says not ready for new jobs, clean up crew.
4. Recommended relocation of curfew up till 9:30 but no appropriate to lift it now.

On the segregation question majority favored it, in view of information revealed that some "scums" of the society, who were also despised in other Centers, have entered into this Center - I doubt this is reason.

Feb 2nd - I was present.

Ask for more work, growing impatience.

Ask for more farm acreage.

4 weeks past - ask for referendum vote -

We want to avoid further public misconception that we are the whole cheese and running the Center as dictated by our own wills."

None granted.

Miss Horn.

BY DETAIL

REASONS FOR SAYING NO

1. RESENTMENTS 14 or 16

Citizenship - 5 Treated as alien - 11
Citizens put in camp - 1
Rights under Constitution suspended - 1
Forced to evacuate against rights - 1

Unjust descrimination against Japanese - 3

Only Jap. put in camp - 1

Japanese volunteers discharged - 1
He himself discharged 1

Tangible - 31 School broker up - 1
Gave up job - 1
Evacuated - 1
Sacrificed everything and came to camp - 1

Insult - 1 Not trusted - 1

Relative interned - 1 - F and B interned - 1

(Perhaps under separate heading)

Nothing left to fight for - 1
Idealism against country - 1

Cont on

1st Daihigo Shu
meeting

be determined from the minutes. Another suggestion was immediately put forward: that a vice-chairman be selected before roll call. The meeting proceeded with nominations for the office of chairman and the result of the voting was as follows: T. Kuratomi, 29; H. Mori, 20; A. Takahashi, 9. In this manner George Kuratomi was elected chairman. It was recommended that Mori, as second highest running candidate be made vice-chairman, which was done. With the understanding that the secretaries need not be Daihyo Sha Kai members, Hitoshi Katayama, Tanaka and S. Komiya were appointed Japanese Secretaries and Megumi Yoshiyama, English Secretary.

Kuratomi delivered an address, stressing that the agenda of this meeting was of great significance to the colonists and that rash and inconsiderate discussion should be restrained.

Hazama of the agricultural department now read a resolution concerning the disposition of those injured in the accident. (The translator was unable to obtain this resolution.) Kuratomi called for the expression of unreserved opinion on the subject.

1 Chair (Kuratomi): Before entering our discussion, I wish to recommend a definite policy by which we are to act in the future, therefore, will everyone express their own unreserved opinion on this matter?

2 Kai (representative of block 5): Since the time is limited, we should proceed with some specific agenda first.

Chair: Mr. Kai's motion is very thoughtful, shall we begin with the report of the farm incident?

Kai: I recommend that the farm department employees present the recommendation of the warehouse department.

(Thereupon Hatano explained fully the recommendation of the warehouse employees. (1) Prosecution of the responsible parties, (2) Termination of minors, (3) Urgency of consultation with the Administration and the Spanish Consul. (4) Report of the consultation with the Administration should be submitted to the Spanish Consul as soon as possible, and (5) Disposition of the case of those injured in the farm accident. 1/

Kaithen requested that Nishioka, the foreman of the Motor Pool give an explanation of the employment of minors. Three representatives from

1/ Quoted from minutes, October 17, 1943, p. 2.

the Motor Pool, Nishioka, Matsumoto and Okamoto alternately related the story of the accident, apologized for the fact that minors had been employed and stated that they were doing their utmost to "bring a satisfactory result of the disposition of the case," appealing to the body to give them full support. After considerable discussion on the employment of drivers 16 years of age (the driver in the second accident was 19), whether the driver had a chauffeur's license and whether Social Security compensation might be applicable a suggestion was made from the floor to select a committee to clarify the matter. Kai suggested that instead, the body proceed with urgent negotiation plans regarding the incident. The remainder of the meeting is included here in toto.

Chair: I have a plan to make, that is, instead of approaching the whole issue at this time, investigation should be made by departments. I suggest that the body select a committee to make the investigation.

3 Takahashi: Before going into the selection of committees, I want to make clear the legality of 16-year-old youths driving trucks and also if accident policy is applicable on this matter.

Chair: I will have the investigating committee undertake the job.

Kai: We have heard enough from the Motor pool representatives that we wish to ask them for their support of this body's future policy when it is decided. (Any statement made by Kai was applauded by the majority of the body. Thereupon Nishioka, Matsunaga, and Okamoto were excused from the floor.)

4 Uchida: Did the foreman of the agricultural division notify the occurrence of that accident with the names of those persons injured to the Administration within 48 hours?

Chief foreman Sato: (walked up to the chair and answered) As I was afraid to be taken as if I were taking side of the Administration, I hesitated to go alone to report this matter. I did not, as yet, make any report to the Administration.

Uchida: I suggest that this Committee be elected to prosecute the matter immediately with the Administration.

Kai: I question foreman Sato's responsibility, since he, as a responsible man, did not report such. I suggest that an investigation committee be formed at once to consult with the Administration. (The suggestion was approved by great applause.)

5 Mohri: Improvement of roads, shower rooms, latrines, and also the inside of the mess halls should be taken up with the Administration. (He then asked the Chair to consult the body.) We cannot afford to neglect or ignore such important matter as improvement of living condition, at this time. (The Chair expressed that difficulties must be encountered in making such extensive investigation at this time by the Committee. Thereupon Mohri indignantly read the resolution passed at the block manager's meeting.)

6 Block 19 representative read a recommendation of his block in connection with the betterment of living condition.

7 As Block 4 Ikeda reported that according to Dr. Hashiba, T. Kashima, who was injured in the incident (farm), was in a very critical condition, silence reigned the meeting. Ikeda again pointed out the inhuman attitude taken by the WRA when a fire truck turned over four days ago. In spite of the fact that there are three ambulances only one is in operation for a colony of this size.

8 Hayashi: I have been informed from an authentic source that farm products are being transported to the Army and Navy. I demand that this body take action and investigate fully. If facts are established, we should altogether refuse shipment to the outside.

9 Shimada: As one means of solving employment problem, I like to see the public school re-opened as soon as possible for the sake of minor children.

10 Nishioka: Block 72: Properties owned by the colonists are their assets, which we should prevent loss by fire or theft by all means. Therefore, I recommend that the fire department of this Center be improved, by providing more fire extinguishers; fire hose, and trucks. Even though the population in Heart Mountain is less than this Center, they have more and better fire equipments. For instance, they have 25,000 feet of hose and fire extinguisher in each apartment. Since our bank accounts are frozen and we have no other means of income than our meager salary, we should be provided with all those necessary equipment to prevent fire. I understand that in some blocks, especially Block 59, they have insufficient water supply and they are very much handicapped. I recommend that at least 200 gallons of water per person daily should be allotted.

*repeated
renewed
time past*
Takahashi: I make a motion to proceed with the business to be discussed and decided which must be presented to the Administration. Besides, time is getting short.

Chair: By discussion, we have planned to consult the Administration with all the issues of the Center. Therefore, we must discuss regarding creation of departments to draw up the resolution.

Takahashi: I wish to correct the titles of some committees.

Chair: We should prepare the resolution in writing so that we can present it to the Administration as well as to the Spanish Consul, as I regard the time to be opportune now.

11 Nii, Block 41: I suggest that we select committees on ward basis.

12 Kotani: Ward basis is not practical, since we need the most intelligent persons in our committees.

Chair: For your reference, let me explain the Sanitation Committee and the extent of its duties.

13 Katayama: I suggest that the farm incident be treated independently. The Committee on Betterment of Center Condition should prepare all reports of their investigation to be submitted later. As far as the Center condition betterment committee is concerned, I would like to recommend the following sub-divisions: betterment of delivery of food, hospital, mess hall and food supplies, and education.

It is definitely known that there are many minors employed in the farm department. In view of the fact that there are many employable people, fair adjustment should be made by immediately terminating the minors. The recommendation was unanimously accepted by the body.

Chair: What procedure should we take to select the committees for various departments? I'd like to suggest that the meeting be held in the Block Manager's office.

Vice-chairman Mori wrote on the blackboard as the Chair specified each committee's meeting place as follows: Sanitation and Betterment of Living Condition Committee, block 44 Manager's office; Farm Incident Settlement Committee, 14; Hospital Committee, 11; Mess Hall and Food Supply Committee, 70; Education Committee, 32; and Negotiating Committee, 29.

14 Wada, block 48: What should the members of the hog and chicken farm do in the meantime?

Chair: It is advisable to have them continue working until the matter is settled, because they must be fed daily.

15 Kubota and Kotani: We agree with the Chair that hogs and chickens should be fed by the colonist workers.

Chair: Please select six committees from each ward for the various departments and assemble by 9 o'clock tomorrow morning for election. (Approved by all.)

Uchida: Problems we are facing are the greatest importance to the colonists and the WRA should be fully responsible. Therefore, the Committee should do their utmost to bring about a satisfactory solution.

Chair: We are merely selecting the committee now so you should make that speech to the Committee.

16 Komiya: We should demand for unemployment insurance and clothing allowance. (Giggling heard from the floor.)

Chair: So much for discussions, we will proceed with the recommendation of the Committee. Each ward should hold a meeting tomorrow at 9 o'clock at the following places: Blocks 49, 43, 15, 28, 12, 31, and 71. Then the committees will meet at the same place at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Now is that clear? (Each makes note.)

At this time, it was recommended from the floor that a central Co-ordinating Committee should be instituted.

Chair: Since all those in the various committees will be the cream of the colony, they fully realize the importance of their duties, which makes the organization of such a Co-ordinating Committee unnecessary at this time.

Voice from the Floor: In order to unify the functions of a body of this size, it is urgent that a Co-ordinating Committee be instituted in the central part of this Center. This will facilitate the functions, advantageous to all those concerned, etc. (Interrupted by the Chair) such is the duty of the Committee. The Committee will decide at the meeting.)

Chair: After the meeting of the Committee at 2p.m. tomorrow, all agenda discussed and decided upon must be immediately reported to the Negotiating Committee and the latter in turn will again thrash the matter and report back to the various Committees for approval.

Voice from the Floor: Such is not necessary. Negotiating Committee is the supreme body. Discussion arose regarding the title of this organization.

Takeshita: Before discussing such matters as title of this body, isn't it more important to specify our policy?

Chair: (with no reference to Takeshita's statement he went on to say) We will have our central office at Block 29 and the name of the organization will be for the time being Dai-hyo Sha Kai. (Unanimously approved)

Another suggestion was made to use the former Planning Board office as headquarters, however, decision had already been reached and the subject dropped.

18. Akiyama: Do the workers of the hog and chicken farm have to walk? I asked this because I know the fact that Motor Pool is not operating as usual. Since the incident occurred in the agricultural department all the farm workers stopped working. Doesn't that create some friction with the farm workers if the hog and chicken farm workers continue to work?

Chair: If certain department employed stop work altogether it will be regarded as a strike. The hogs and chickens should be fed, as we have not decided on a strike. (No reaction from the floor)

Wada: I wish to make this point clear for the workers of the hog and chicken farm. Whether it is approved by this Committee to continue to work.

19. Takata: Since the farm workers stopped working, why should they (hog and chicken farm workers) continue to work. That's not cooperation, to my mind.

Voice from the floor: Strike is not declared. Therefore, at least animals should be fed by colonist workers, otherwise we will be short on food stuff, especially in meat and egg.

20. Kodama: I am sure that upon declaration of general strike, all divisions and section workers should stop work altogether. Until then, continue work.

Takata: We did not come to Tule Lake to get jobs. We came here for the purpose of returning to Japan. The center management should be taken care of by the Army and the Administration. We have no responsibility as far as management of the Center is concerned. Therefore, why do we not support the farm workers and go into a strike?

Chair: We will bring up the issue to the Administration just as soon as the Committee completes its investigation and preparation.

Ikeda: Since the M.P.s have confiscated our passes for no reason at all. It means that we are prohibited from going out of the fence. Why should we continue to work?

Chair: We have absolute confidence that we will win in this consultation with the Administration on this issue. However, we should think about the time of this negotiation. If the hog farm workers should strike at this time and prove to be a failure, we have no excuse to offer to those injured.

Uchida: We have never had chicken or pork on our tables and I presume that hogs and chickens do not belong to us. Why should we assume responsibility for anything that doesn't belong to us?

Chair: That problem will be settled by the Food Supply and Mess Hall Committees.

Akiyama: Assuming that the hog farms/^{workers} continued to work then, will the Motor Pool take responsibility of the workers' transportation?

Chair and Vice-chair: Motor Pool has nothing to do with this problem. We want the WRA to have the impression that we are working by just merely feeding the animals.

The problem of whether the chicken and hog farm workers should continue to work was put to vote. The result was as follows: Yes 58 and No 7.

Chair: As it is getting late we will adjourn the meeting. (The Chair reminded the body to see that tomorrow's meeting is attended and soothed the body by saying, "I will have the title of this organization discussed among the executives.")

After the meeting was adjourned, it was cautioned that since majority of the farm workers think that the strike is postponed, the chances are that they will go back to work on Monday. In that case, the question is whether there is any way of notifying them that they should not report to work.

Chair: We will have the block managers make the announcements in each mess hall to inform them.

Takahashi, at this time, made a motion that the chairman should be the president and the vice-chairman, the vice-president of this organization. Since time was so late everyone was anxious to go home that they unanimously approved with applause.

There is no reason to doubt that this meeting was not the first official meeting of the block representatives, although there is indication of some preliminary planning in the report of the warehouse department and in the naming of the Five committees on Sanitation and Betterment of

Living, Farm Incident Settlement, Hospital, Mess Hall and Food Supply. Education, and the Negotiation Committee which is shortly after referred to as "the supreme body" by a voice from the floor.

The violent interjections by members who desired improvement of roads shower rooms, latrines, the inside of the messhalls, the reference to the "inhuman attitude of WRA toward the accident," and the expressed conviction that food was being sent to the U.S. Army and Navy are noteworthy. Kuratomi at first reminded the body that the extensive investigation involved in going into these matters would make the committee's task (he probably meant Negotiating Committee) very difficult. However, he gave way and stated, "By discussion we have planned to consult the Administration with all the issues of the Center."

The silence which fell on the meeting when Kashima's serious condition was mentioned is typical of a Japanese group. (According to the Tulean Dispatch, Kashima was already dead. It is ^{probable} ~~possible~~ that the news of his death was not immediately released.)

yes
The meeting appears chaotic, erratic, very emotional and extremely unorganized, for which the translation may be partly responsible. Nevertheless, the members came to several concrete decisions: to put the colonists' grievances with regard to the farm accident and the living condition in the colony before the administration and the Spanish Consul, to continue to feed the hogs and chickens, to hold frequent meetings, and to accomplish the task of preparing their resolutions as fast as possible.

The administration knew nothing of this organization proceeding within the colony and faced the loss of the greater part of the farm crop. Three days passed during which the colonists made no attempt to negotiate with the administration. On October 20 Mr. Best, the Project Director, issued a statement pointing out that an immediate report had been sent to the