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Yamashiro, Mr. & Mrs.

Longitudinal Oral history

1944-1945

(George & Sally Wakida)

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LONGITUDINAL ORAL HISTORY OF GEORGE AND SALLY WAKIDA

1944-1945

TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER

GEORGE AND SALLY WAKIDA

INTRODUCTION

George Wakida was a Kibei, born in 1914 in Stockton, California. He had lived in Japan from 1916 to 1931 and had eleven years of schooling there. Of all my regular respondents, he was probably the most knowledgeable about the life and culture of Japan. On his return to the U.S. he had graduated from high school and had spent one year at San Francisco State College and had attended San Francisco State College in 1938-9. He then operated a tomato farm in northern California from 1940 until the evacuation. Sent to the Turlock Assembly Center in May, 1942, he was employed as a recreational director and also taught English to Issei. Transferred to the Gila Relocation Project in August of 1942 he became a block manager and organized an influential recreation club for Kibei, the Gila Young Peoples Association. He and the members of his club opposed the Military Registration (February, 1943) and George was arrested by the FBI and sent to the Moab and then to the Leupp Isolation Center.¹

1. See Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 69.

He was segregated to Tule Lake in December, 1943, where he was united with his wife, Sally.

George was among the most intelligent and cautious of my respondents. For several months, he rarely told me anything about camp affairs, preferring to talk about his difficulties in trying to organize a Seinen Kai or Seinen dan (Young Men's Association) in Tule Lake and about his ambivalence over whether or not it was wiser to concentrate his energies on this independent venture or to work for the WRA Community Activities Section as an organizer of recreational activities.² His point of view appeared to vary with every visit and in April he told me that the Seinen dan and the Community Activities ought to join forces.

/2. One of the most distressing aspects of camp life was the absence of anything to do. The WRA was unable to employ many of the people. The situation was particularly acute at Tule Lake because of the strike. In time, however, Mr. Wakida and other competent persons were able to organize many classes and recreational activities. (See case history of Mrs. Aida, who told me in detail about her difficulties in trying to organize a group for women.)/

In late May, after the shooting of Mr. Okamoto, he began to talk to me more freely about camp affairs and events, but he always tended to give his personal opinions and would tell me little about what other people were saying. It was not until October 12, 1944, after I had visited him sixteen times, that I learned that one of his brothers was serving in the U.S. Army. At that time I also learned that his wife had a close relative in the Army. George kept himself very busy, and this may account for the brevity of some of our conversations.

His wife, Sally, was a beautiful young woman, a Kibei, who impressed me as being one of the most gentle and refined persons I had known. When George was not home she spoke with me freely and at length. Indeed, she gave me some of my most valuable information.

George and Sally renounced their American citizenship and went to Japan, where George was to become Chairman of the board of Tokyo Railway Company.³

3. Michi Weglyn, "Years of Infamy," p. 129.

Wakida - February 3, 1944,
March 15, 1944

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FEBRUARY 3, 1944

SHORT VISIT WITH GEORGE WAKIDA

My first after lunch call was on George Wakida, the ex-president of the Gila Young Peoples Association. He, his wife, and a friend were in a neat barrack room. George is a short very energetic young man of pleasing appearance. His wife, a Gila girl, is very pretty. At the time of the September mess strike in Gila, George had been allowed to come to Gila from Leupp to marry his fiancée.¹

/1. According to Michi Weglyn (p. 129), Mr. Robertson, who was then the director of the Leupp Isolation Center, had personally spirited Wakida back to Gila long enough for him to get married./

George was very friendly, asked after Spencer² and asked me to visit his parents in Gila and tell them that he and his wife were well. He said that he had often wished to write about his experiences and would consider writing them up for the study.

/2. The field researcher who had preceeded me at the Gila Relocation Center./

MARCH 15, 1944

GEORGE WAKIDA

I called next on Mr. Wakida, who I had already been told had been elected president of the Tule Lake combined Seinen Kai (Youth Organization). He was not at home when I called, but his wife received me most cordially. She offered to get him if I had time to wait. I told her I would be glad to wait. When he appeared I told him that I had visited his parents in Gila and that they were well. He was pleased. I then asked him about the Seinen Kai.

Seinen Kai

"I came to his camp December 10. This organization intended to organize around November. There were about 52 delegates from every center - two to five from each. They tried to organize, but the November 1 incident made it impossible. The Seinen Kai couldn't be born at that time: (1) because of this incident and (2) because some of the people in the Negotiating Committee wanted the backing of the Seinen Kai."

"I talked to Robertson and Best. They told me to do something about it. I tried to form it. I called it around early February. I put a note in the newspaper and tried to get people in Mess 46. About 76 seinen (young men) got together and we discussed. At the same time the Gila Young Peoples Association combined with the Tule Lake Young Peoples Association. The Gila Young Peoples Association and the Seinen Kai are the same. Seinen Kai means youth organization. Four or five other organizations combined at the same time. Then we made a Constitution and had a membership drive at the same time."

"Now the cabinet of this organization, if they consider me as a Leupp representative - it's more like a combined seven center Young People's Association. Minidoka and Granada have not combined yet. They are a very small group in this center."

"We are a pure non-political organization. We'd like to cooperate with the Administration and have a better community here."

I tried to change the subject and asked George how he felt about the men in the stockade. He replied:

"I don't think the people in the stockade will ever be released."

"This Seinen Kai, if we do good to the WRA people will think we're inu; if we don't, we get stuck in the stockade."

I then asked the question Mr. Robertson had asked me: "What could be done to improve the relationship between the people in camp and the Administration?"

"Nothing could be done to help this condition. My idea would be to form the Community Council here - but we have no power. If a general election were held in this camp, who's going to be a candidate? I won't. We wouldn't have any power."

"I think if they give a few things to the people; 'If you pet them, they come to you. If you hit them, they despise you.'"

"I was working in CAS (Community Activities Section) up to February 15. I suggested that they let the people know how WRA thinks. But now I say, 'What's the use?' I'm fighting for the people; but no use. I resign."

I asked whether a genuine election for representatives (which was now being proposed by the Coordinating Committee) would improve the situation.

"The Block Managers were appointed by the Project Director. A general election in six months would be a good idea. The supervisors and the block managers get together and keep food. By election would only get six months.¹ If they don't do it right, they could not be elected again."

/1. I think Mr. Wakida meant that the persons elected should have only six months in office./

"Some Block Managers think the status quo² is necessary. They pull people their way, so the election goes their way."

/2. "Status quo" was camp parlance for maintaining the strike. After the strike was broken, it meant refusing to cooperate with the Administration./

"I know the Coordinating Committee works hard. I respect them. But I think status quo against anti-status quo will be a big trouble in the future too."

"If the Seinen Kai organizes, the CAS will be dead. Maybe WRA doesn't like it. If they had a better head, I'd work for the CAS."

"All the wiser people stay back. If, as supervisor of the CAS, if something happened, I'm going to be the first one to get a two-by-four." /That is, he would be considered an inu and be beaten./

MARCH 22, 1944

TALK WITH GEORGE WAKIDATule Lake Seinen Kai

"I don't know what may be coming to us in the future; but if our Seinen Kai is to be blamed like in Gila, I can't stand it."

"The Seinen is started now and we're knocking down the status quo little by little. but in the future another incident is coming. I don't think all of the people are going to be satisfied over our living conditions here."

I told Mr. Wakida what both Mr. Robertson and Dr. Opler had said about the Seinen Kai in Tule Lake. Robertson had said that as far as he was concerned he had rather a strong Seinen Kai than a weak, mediocre CAS (Community Activities Section). Opler had said that he didn't think the present Seinen Kai could make a go of it, and that while Wakida was a smart boy, Opler thought "he was working for George," i.e., himself. He, however, would be very glad to cooperate with George. (Dr. Opler had previously asked George to be on the staff of Community Analysis. George had refused, saying (to me) that that would brand him as an inu.)

Mr. Wakida: "For me, I feel like closing up the Seinen Dan completely right now. Because we're trying to help the WRA and the community. It's running now - so I don't think they need me any more."

"Best has told me I didn't do anything wrong. Why was I taken then?"

/Here Mr. Wakida is referring to his internment at the Gila Center during the Military Registration, where he had been the organizer and leader of a Seinen dan. The ambivalence and anxiety apparent in these first interviews reflect his insecurity and, perhaps, fear of re-internment./

"Before I was here this Seinen Dan here was all separated. Everything was all scattered and they were all seeking for power. Now we have a centralized organization. People don't think that way."

"Frankly, since I heard Mr. Dolts¹ is going away, I'd like to get back to that field (CAS) now. Mr. Dolts told me twice to get into CAS. He said, 'I'm a Jap-sympathizer and there are a lot of Jap-haters in camp.' He should say Japanese. I knew right then. An educated man like him knows better if he really means it."

/1. Mr. Dolts, head of the Community Activities Section, was probably the most disliked staff member at the Tule Lake Center./

"I tried to help Mr. Dolts in building up a reputation for the CAS, but he would break down everything."

"My main reason for building up this organization is my feelings toward the Issei is very deep. I tried to establish this - give them something to make life enjoyable after the way they have worked for us. That's all the purpose we had."

Factionalism in camp

"There's about ten groups in here, status quo, against status quo, people who don't like the Coordinating Committee and don't care about status quo, and the gangster group. They are always struggling among themselves. I'd like to go back to Japan in one piece."

Since things were so unsettled (and perhaps exciting) at Tule Lake, George advised me to leave the Gila Center, where nothing much was going on, and become a full-time fieldworker at Tule Lake. /I probably told him that I would like to do this but that the WRA was permitting me only to visit./

George Wakida: "My idea is to have one decent block, so we could have recreation and have a very fine block together."

"Right now the WRA has got to do something before I do anything."

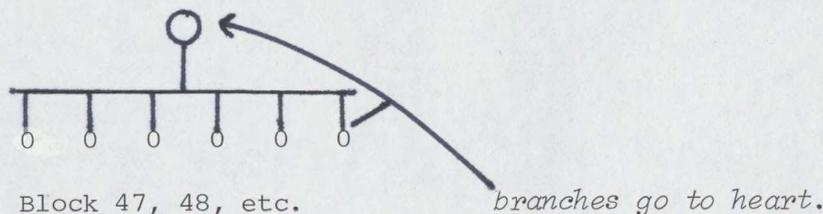
"At first the Seinen Kai (the Tule Seinen) gave support to the Daihyo Sha. Some of the Daihyo Sha wanted to use the power of the Seinen Kai and have them back them up. They (seinen) said, 'What the heck, we can't work for you.'"

Loyal people

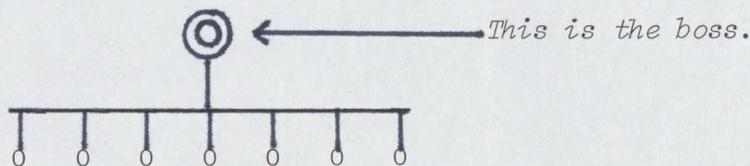
"About 2,000 people in this center want to get out. Why don't they let them out? A month and a half ago I heard 400 families are signed up to get out of here."

I then asked George to explain the difference between Seinen dan and Seinen kai. He enjoyed doing this.

"The Seinen dan is a small branch. The Seinen kai has one headquarters. Bun dan is branch."



SEINEN DAN



SEINEN KAI

"The Seinen dan is more democratic. Shibu is the same as Seinen kai."

"Every order the branch gets from the Seinen kai, the shibu has to follow it. Like in Gila, the Camp I branch of the Seinen kai had to listen to the main branch in Camp II."

Inu at Gila and at Tule Lake

Mr. Wakida and I now discussed the inu at the Gila Center. I mentioned no names. He said he would like to meet Kunihiro someday. Also, he told me that when he had returned to Gila in September (August?) to get married he had met Mr. Moroshima¹ and

/1. During the period I worked at the Gila Center (mid-July 1943 to May 1944, many residents still considered Kunihiro and Moroshima to be inu./

had said, "I want to thank you Moroshimasan for all you've done for me. I'm going to bring you a present soon." Moroshima said, "I didn't say anything George; don't blame me." George said, "I'm not blaming you about anything. I'm thanking you for getting me out of Leupp to come here. I really want to give you a gift." Four days later George was sent back to Leupp.

George again told me that Dr. Opler has asked him to work in Community Analysis. He has refused. If he works there he will be branded as inu immediately. "There's one thing I'd like to ask you," said George to me, "Why does Mr. Opler only have Nisei working for him?" "You know as well as I do," I replied.

APRIL 13, 1944

On my April visit to Tule Lake I found the members of the appointed staff in a state of extreme apprehension over the circulation of the first resegregation petition. (I have described the situation in detail in the oral history of Bob Tsuruda.)/ The first person to whom I talked at any length was Mr. Dolts, head of the CAS (Community Activities Section) who asked me what I knew of George Wakida. I told him I knew very little and then listened to his troubles. It seems that Mr. Wakida had approached Dolts with the proposition that the CAS and the Tule Seinen dan get together. Dolts had not particularly objected to this but feared that the Seinen dan might attempt to dominate all Community Activities. Dolts said that during the period that Wakida has worked for the CAS in Tule, he had been very domineering and wished to run the whole show, resenting the suggestions of the other members of the chief planning board, especially one, a girl. Mr. Dolts intimated that this was a Kibei trait. When Dolts appeared reluctant to take in the Seinen dan, Wakida, according to Dolts' account, threatened that the Seinen dan might take all the community activities away from the CAS.

TALK WITH GEORGE WAKIDA

Like most of my Japanese American respondents, George Wakida was not particularly interested in the resegregation petition. Indeed, as soon as I sat down he began to talk about the Seinen dan./

"The Seinen dan is getting bigger and bigger. All they're doing now is community activities. For me, why not put the Seinen dan and the WRA Community Activities together so we can have bigger activity."

(I mentioned to George that Mr. Dolts had not been pleased at what George had said.) George explained: "I told him that if he stopped the Seinen dan, he would have another November 4 on his hands."

"What about this rumor in camp that Best is going to quit in the near future?"

"I don't want the people to get on the wrong side of the track. I'd like to stay out of the picture and just advise."

"I just intended to get together with the CAS."

"Miss Tayama¹ is a Nisei 'Yes-Yes' girl. Naturally, my ideas and hers don't get along. So I quit. Since I heard Miss Tayama is going to another center and Mr. Dolts is going into the Army, I don't mind going back to the Community Activities."

1. A young woman employed in the Community Activities Section./

Resegregation Petition

I asked George what he thought of the resegregation petition.

"You see, Ishikawa is chairman of this petition. Mr. Ishikawa used to be a member of the Board of Education of the Japanese language school once.¹ Since he'd so like to have political power, he sticks his nose in too much and so he was kicked out of the board. Naturally, he's bitter toward the Board of Education. He thinks this is the best time to segregate the Japanese on the first or second boat."

1. Mr. Ishikawa, as Issei, taught in Japanese language school in Mt. Eden, California, from 1934 until the evacuation./

"Naturally, the status quo is still under ground. So I think he just put his name on the paper and did it. A friend of mine went to see him and asked him, 'If you do this petition, what will be the result?' He said, 'I'll do it anyway, I don't care about the result.' He's a poor leader. Naturally, I didn't sign."

(Wakida agreed with me that remnants of the Daihyo Sha were responsible for the petition.)

"I don't know. If this kind of petition is allowed, thousands of petitions will come out in the future. We'll never have any peace day."

"Some wards didn't get any names. Some tore it down. In wards 7 and 4, it was pretty successful. Mr. Ishikawa feels that if he tries to segregate two or three Japanese in this center, that makes him very popular in Japan."

Violence Toward Coordinating Committee

"This Coordinating Committee may get a 2 by 4 one year later.¹ People are very scared about the stockade. If Leupp is opened, I think they won't do it (won't attack members of the Coordinating Committee). If the Coordinating Committee gets to Japan, something will happen."

1. That is, be beaten up as inu in a year./

"If WRA has a policy and does things definitely, the people are happy; but WRA has no policy."

Fight in Gymnasium

"We had a small fight between Manzanar and Oakley (sp.?) House basketball teams. Oakley House is an Old Tule Lake team. They fought quite hard. There's something under that."

It may be that the knowledgeable Mr. Wakida was already aware of the bullying and terroristic behavior some of the young men living in the "elite" Manzanar section of the camp and was trying, obliquely, to let me know about this./

Petition

"This petition brings the status quo back again in front of the people. If the loyal group got out that would help a lot, but only halfway. If the loyal group went out and the first exchange boat went out, then the people would have some hope. Now there is no hope at all."

(Throughout the conversation, Mr. Wakida gave me the impression that he was disgusted with the situation at Tule. Eventually, he admitted that if there was a chance for him to get out and go to another center, he would go.)

MAY 18, 1944

On April 15, Mr. Robertson had told me that word had just come from Washington that the Administration could proceed to encourage the "colonists" to elect a representative committee (Fieldnotes, April 15, 1944, p. 36). On April 22, the authorization, which had come from D.S. Myer, was published in the Newell Star along with an invitation from Acting Project Director, Black, to participate in planning the election. Black requested that an Arrangements Committee be formed to work out the final plans and supervise the election of a permanent representative committee. There was no response to this invitation. Thereupon, on May 4 and again on May 8, Mr. Best, the Project Director, re-announced procedures for the organization of an Arrangements Committee and outlined elaborate plans for camp-wide block nomination meetings to be held on May 18, for an election to be held on May 22.

When I arrived at Tule Lake on May 13, I had no knowledge of these announcements, and it is interesting that the first person to tell me that a meeting was scheduled for May 18 was Mr. Wakida who, on May 18, told me that he was not planning to attend.

TALK WITH MR. WAKIDA

I asked Mr. Wakida whether any progress was being made in nominating a representative committee.

"I have no idea about it. They've asked me to be one of the representatives, but I won't. I'm not going to be in any political organization. In fact I'm going to quit the Seinen dan in June." (Wakida appears to be giving as many farewell parties to the Seinen dan as the proverbial prima donna. He told me he was on the verge of resigning in February, March and April.)

"WRA hasn't got any solid policy. WRA don't want to make a solid policy. It seems that they don't want any actual organization to run the community. They themselves want to have a lot of power, like the British in India."

"I talked to Mr. Best. Give me any kind of job I said. Even the pig farm, I don't care."

"Tonight every block is going to have a meeting to nominate delegates. I'm going to play baseball and have a lot of fun."

"The people feel pretty bad. If you do good for the people you get put in the stockade. If you do good for WRA you get called inu. So I'm going to play baseball."

Best and the Seinen dan Constitution

"On our Young Peoples' Constitution, Best gave me a statement - he said the present policy was O.K. but we (the Administration) may change it without notice. That shows how they feel."

Meeting with Mr. Provinse /Chief of Community Management Section of WRA/

"The other day I met Mr. Provinse. He asked me why I organized the Tule Lake Seinen dan. I told him the same old story of our fathers and mothers who gave up everything. They have nothing now, so their sons and daughters should entertain their parents all they can."

"Mr. Provinse says, 'Is that the only reason?' I said, 'Yes, it's the main reason.' Mr. Provinse said, 'Well, George, that is going to make the camp very good. But if you make it a better place for the Issei to live in, a lot of other Issei will want to come to Tule Lake.' Mr. Provinse wouldn't like that."

"From now on until I go back to Japan, I'm going to keep out of everything. I can't take no risks for WRA. When the time comes I'm going to stand up - but not till then."

The Draft

"This is the way I think the Japanese feel. Anyway, it's the way I feel. If I get called for selective service and show up for my physical examination, the Japanese think, if we are loyal to Japan, we are pure Japanese, so we don't have to go. If we go, that means we have some loyalty to the United States of America. If we are going to refuse to go into the Army we are going to refuse from the beginning."

"I said I'm going to refuse to appear. Mr. Robertson said, 'That's not wise, George. Take the American way. The physical examination is a federal law, and you are going to involve federal law.'"

"But if I'm going to be a Japanese I'm going to be pure Japanese and not American at all. I didn't use 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."

Wakida's wife and his mother had moved to the rear of the room, where they sat conversing and working behind screens while George and I talked. When I was ready to leave they came out and said their farewells. I remarked on the absence of the fence and Mrs. Wakida's face lit up as she exclaimed how much more free they all felt.

When the military assumed control of the camp in mid-November of 1943, they constructed a "man-proof" fence, dividing the Japanese American area into two sections. This fence was removed in late April or early May of 1944. When my respondents told me about this, they looked truly happy.

MAY 23, 1944

The Administration's attempt to get the people to nominate an arrangements committee was a disaster. Out of the seventy-four blocks in the center, only fifteen nominated representatives.

SHORT TALK WITH GEORGE WAKIDA

I asked George why he thought the attempt to nominate a representative committee had been such a flop.

"If Abe and Kunitani are released from the stockade then maybe they'll have a Negotiating Committee. The Army and WRA made a promise to the Daihyo Sha Kai that they wouldn't arrest any of them, but they did."

"It was unfair to put the representatives in the stockade. It was a dirty deal. That's really what the people feel. Eighty percent of the camp feels this way, not because they support Abe and Kunitani but because they think WRA treated them bad."

I asked why even 15 blocks made nominations. George replied:

"In any block there are some young Kibei and Nisei who have no place in social organization but they want to get a name somehow and that's why maybe they were candidates. Also there may be a few blocks who are pro-Administration."

"I think if it were put in the Newell Star that Mr. Best was going to resign and that they were going to take the fence down,¹ then I think it's going to be peaceful here."

1. Here George was referring to the "manproof" fence that separated the administrative section, where the WRA personnel lived and worked, from the section where the evacuees were confined.

"Mr. Best asked me individually whether the election will be successful or not. I told him give me a job instead. He said, well, as soon as Mr. Black came back he's going to have the election."

On May 24, S.J. Okamoto, a Japanese American employed on the construction crew and returning to the project from his assignment outside the area, was shot and killed at close range by an armed sentry. At first I hesitated to visit my respondents, but I found that all of them seemed to want to talk to me and express their feelings. Like Mr. Wakida, they were shocked, angry, and afraid.

MAY 28, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY AND GEORGE WAKIDA AND WITH MR. ABO

Called on George Wakida and was very well received. He had no hesitation in talking about the shooting and criticising WRA policy. He stressed that WRA's anxiety to avoid responsibility is having a very bad effect on the people. "They think, 'If WRA's not responsible, that's bad.' Who is responsible?" He said he had a good deal of business to transact outside the fence but he wasn't going out.

I told him that there were now Caucasian and Japanese Internal Security men at the gate. He had not heard of this.

His wife remarked on the soldiers patrolling the camp with a machine gun. It didn't look good, said she.

Wakida said he had heard that only a few days ago an Issei had been hit on the head with a club (by a soldier) going out of gate 3. Also the people were saying that the soldier who did the shooting had served at Attu and that's why he's so mean.

Neither he nor his wife thought there was going to be any trouble. What could they do? They were only Japs. All they could do was take it.

Letter from Mr. Best

Wakida allowed me to read the letter he had had from Mr. Best giving approval of the Seinen dan Constitution. When I got this letter, said Wakida, wryly, I decided not to run for President in June. The letter transcribed is as follows:

The WRA program is a fast-changing one and the situation and circumstances of tomorrow may be greatly different from those of today. We are thoroughly in agreement with the proposed Constitution today, but we must reserve the privilege of making a contrary determination in the event that the policy and procedure is not completely compatible with WRA operation at some time in the future. If the circumstances should require such a determination, we stipulate that a change of procedure shall not be looked upon as a "broken WRA promise."

The letter closed with wishes of good will and was signed by Mr. Best.

Mr. Abo, of Gila and Leupp, was visiting the Wakida's and the subject turned to the reception given the young men from Leupp when they arrived at Tule Lake.

George concurred in the following statements by Mr. Abo.

Reception on Coming from Leupp

"If Mr. Best had been a high minded man I would have cooperated with him very much. We spent ten months in Leupp. We felt we paid our debts. But when we came here they stuck us in the stockade for five days. If he had not done that I'd felt he was a fine man. Then when they left us out he said, 'Don't you ever stick your nose into any political matter.'"

"If we hadn't gone to the stockade for five days we wouldn't have heard so much about it. But we got a pretty clear picture being in there. When we got out of the stockade we were pretty wise."

Wakida then asked me if I had heard how Akashi was getting along after his head operation (operation necessitated by being beaten while in the stockade). /I had not heard of this beating./

He also asked me if it were true that Robertson was going to be Project Director. On the subject of "trouble" he remarked that he wouldn't mind. He'd get a kick out of watching it.

And finally he asked me if I would get him some tape for the uniforms of his baseball team the next time I went to Klamath Falls. I promised to do so.

JUNE 8, 1944

TALK WITH GEORGE WAKIDA AND MR. ABO

Today called on George Wakida to take him the tape I had bought for him in Klamath Falls. The tape was used to decorate the uniforms of Wakida's Seinen dan baseball team. Mr. Abo was again visiting Wakida, and though Mr. Abo did not speak English very well we carried on a considerable conversation. The young men did most of the talking in English and Japanese while I drank tea and listened. The friend, Mr. Abo, said that he had heard that Mr. Robertson had been demoted because he got on too well with the Japanese. He himself, had a very high regard for Mr. Robertson, having met him through some negotiations on work. Robertson acted like a gentleman, said Mr. Abo.

The Prevalence of Inu

Wakida then switched to one of the favorite camp topics, the prevalence of inu. What he couldn't understand, said he, was what these inu thought they were getting out of it. True, they might end up with three or four thousand dollars, but after the war nobody would have them; neither the Caucasians nor the Japanese would associate with them. I said, I doubted if inu were making that much money. "No," agreed Wakida, "They're probably doing it just for 16 a month." "Yes," added Mr. Abo, "they have an office now in 701." (Opler's office.) "How's that?" said I. "It's run by a fellow named Popler," explained Mr. Abo. "He's a good guy but the fellows working for him are inu. Popler asked me to work for him, but I wouldn't do it for anything. Not with those guys (inu) around, anyway."

The Shooting

On the people's feelings about the shooting, Wakida said the people were quiet. But that was no reason for the Administration to get optimistic. Things were tense

and if something funny happened, things would blow up just as they did in November. If the verdict was acquittal it would have been better to come out with it at once, stating all the facts and the evidence, rather than let the people remain in this jumpy state of mind.

Warden Called an Inu

In mixed Japanese and English, Wakida related another version of the block 54 trouble.¹ It seems that one of the wardens who kept admonishing the boys was suspected of being an inu. The people in the block resented the man and his family and eventually wrote a petition that he and his fellow warden, also an Issei, be moved out of the block. They also requested that they be taken from the Internal Security force. The evacuee head of Internal Security refused, so the people petitioned that the Issei wardens be removed from the block. Mr. Sachs refused to do this. Now everybody knows that the evacuee head of Internal Security is an inu too - else why would Sachs be so anxious to protect him?

1. See fieldnotes, May 20, pp. 2-4.

Status Quo Feeling Strong

Wakida said, happily: "Boy, *status quo*² feeling is sure strong now." His friend, Abo, agreed. "In my block," said he, "people said they weren't going to put up any representatives. If they did, the representatives would just get into trouble."

Wakida anticipates trouble in the future. He said, with bravado, "People here aren't afraid. The Administration put up the stockade and thinks now that people are afraid. But they're not. They're not afraid of the stockade, or Leupp or even jail. Look how they acted when the draft came out. Eighty percent of the boys had their suitcases packed to go to Leupp. They weren't afraid. Now if anything happens and the camp blows up, they're not going to be afraid either."

2. The term given to the faction that wished to maintain the strike.

(Resentment against inu and against the evacuee Internal Security as inu appears to be growing. It is introduced into the conversation at almost every visit I make, even young girls will go off into tirades against the inu.)

JUNE 23, 1944

Having heard last night from Caucasian informant that an extremely brutal beating had taken place, I asked several Japanese about it today. The first informant, a Nisei girl, assured me it was not another inu beating. An Issei had lost his mind and attacked the other men with a hammer. One of the men was near death. The man must have been crazy, said the girl, or he would not have gone to the hospital and told them what he had done.

TALK WITH GEORGE AND SALLY WAKIDA

George said the most recent beating was over money or something like that, and not because of "inuism". He added that he had gone to see Mr. Best today, and that Best was in the best of humors. His eyes were twinkling. But he still kept a sawed

off length of pipe in the corner of his office.¹

1. The implication being that Mr. Best anticipated that he might be assaulted by a Japanese American.

Spanish Consul Committee

Nobody was taking the Spanish Consul Committee very seriously, said George. In fact, nobody trusted the Spanish Consul anymore even though he was supposed to look after the Japanese. The Okamoto case, everybody was convinced, was now a washout. Since everybody was saying that the chief Japanese witness had said that Okamoto tried to attack the soldier, there was no chance for a verdict of guilty. After all, if Okamoto did attack the sentry, the sentry had a right to shoot him.

Proposal for Eight Ward Police Commissioners

This proposal, thought George, might go much better than the one to select a Representative Body.

"It may have a 50-50 chance. You see the Internal Security is very bad. Somebody might think, 'We're going to change this system.' So the election might go better."

Boys Write to Ickes about Best

George told me that a boy had told him that he and a number of others had written to Secretary Ickes and told him that he should fire Best. This boy said he himself had signed his name to the letter. (George did not know how many young men were involved in this.)

Next Exchange Ship

"I think the next transport might come the end of this year or the beginning of next. That would make the people feel better."

Mrs. Wakida: *"I bet the camp is going to be in an uproar if it does come."*

George: *"It has to come, otherwise the morale is going down. The Japanese government must realize that."*

Possible Result if Allied Victories Continue

"I think more people will ask for relocation, especially the Nisei. But the majority of the residents won't give up. I think there are a lot of people, even if we lose Kyushu, Manila and Singapore -- we won't give up. The bombings don't mean nothing. But there will be a lot of people who'll say, 'Well, the Allies are winning, let's go out.'"

On June 15, Mr. Black (Assistant Project Director in charge of Community Management Division) had delivered an address at the High School Commencement exercises. I was told by a staff member that Black had said: *"I am an American and as an American I can see the outcome of the war only as a complete military victory for the Allied cause."* My informant said that after Black made this statement there was continuous heckling from young fellows in the back of the room. After Black finished his speech there was applause from the Japanese American parents of the graduates and booing from the young fellows. (See Fieldnotes, June 16, p. 2.)

Since I was concerned about the outbreak of beatings and vandalism, I questioned Mr. Wakida obliquely by asking him if he had heard about Mr. Black's speech at the high school. But he did not wish to comment and said only:

"I hear a lot of people saying, 'Well, he's a Caucasian. That's what you should expect him to say.'"

Discussion on War

George doubts that Germany will lose the war. *"But even if it does, Japan is going to keep on fighting. They won't give up. They have prepared for a hundred years war."*

JUNE 30, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

/On June 28 nineteen Issei were transferred from Tule Lake to the Santa Fe Internment Camp. Of these, fifteen were interned from the stockade and four from the evacuee area. On June 29, another man, said to be a close friend of a "Public Inu Number One" was beaten./

The Latest Beating

"People are telling George that the man who was beaten didn't know why he was beaten. But some say there was a good reason for it."

"Both George and I think there's going to be a lot of trouble here since these 13 men were sent to Santa Fe. (The number listed in the Newell Star was 15 stockade internees and 4 additional men "for violation of parole.")"

"Mr. Nishimi in this block was sent. He was just secretary to Mr. Yokota.¹ It's very mysterious. It's funny that he was sent to Santa Fe and Mr. Yokota wasn't even arrested. I can tell you that everybody in this block thinks very little of him (Mr. Yokota). The feeling is very bad."

/1. Who had played an important role as a leader in the November 1943 uprising./

Co-op Gossip

"There is a certain man working in the shoestore, an old Tulean. He is the man right under the Caucasian head. He told that the man who worked before him (before Mr. Best came here) had taken so many thousands of dollars of the profits. We don't profit anything here. The project director sent him out of here (with the money)."

Block 68 Sentiment on Block People Working in Mess

"The people in this block feel if the people in the block worked in the mess it would be better for the block. In our mess the dokushin,² the bachelors, are now the head supervisors and they really don't understand. They haven't got families. They do as they please and say 'Mr. Hayward can't kick us out.'"

/2. Many young men came to Tule Lake alone and were housed together in barracks. (See my notes of March 17.) They were commonly called "the bachelors"./

Internments

"The people are very upset about the people being sent to Santa Fe. Many people say that they have been fooled. They aren't going to be sent to Japan first, just because they were sent to Santa Fe."

"I don't know. The people here just shut up. With Mr. Yokota here, nobody trusts him."

* * * * *

/On July 3, Mr. Noma, general manager of the Co-op and a "Number 1 inu" was murdered. I left Tule Lake on the 4th, because I was afraid that some administrator might decide that I ought to be asked to leave the project for my own safety. I returned to Tule Lake on July 12. I wrote to several of my respondents, telling them that I had returned and asking them to write me and let me know when it was safe to call on them. Among the first to respond was Sally Wakida./

JULY 17, 1944

LETTER FROM MRS. WAKIDA (dated July 15)

"While you were gone, George and I painted the rooms (mother's and ours) and gee the place looks like new again. Won't you come and see how it looks now? Let's see, this coming Wednesday which is the 19th around 1 o'clock would certainly be a swell time for us. Hoping that you may come on that date and time (we will be waiting) I'll say Adios."

JULY 19, 1944

TALK WITH GEORGE WAKIDA AND HIS WIFE

/It is noteworthy that George and Sally Wakida were the first Japanese Americans on whom I called "inside the fence"./

As usual when I see George he fires three times as many questions at me as I ask him and gets far better answers. The first question was: "What's this rumor that Mr. Robertson is going to be Project Director here?" He added, "I heard that Mr. Iida wrote to Mr. Ickes to fire Mr. Best."

On Noma Killing

"The people are very quiet about it. Mr. Noma is dead; so the people are quiet. If they aren't quiet they may go to jail. They say, 'Well, he's passed away. After all, he's a Buddha now. Let him sleep peacefully.' It used to be he had a very bad reputation. But since he's passed away the people don't say much. It wouldn't be good manners."

Arrest of "Draft Evaders"

"The people are doing nothing. Everybody is willing to go (to jail) if it comes to that. The Japanese don't think anything about it. Those 27 boys had a lot of sympathy though. But I wouldn't change¹ (for fear of going to jail)."

Election of New Co-op Board

"I was shocked. I was completely dumb. They told me to come (to the meeting) but I didn't go. Those people who took the job belong to the unwise group. Maybe they do it just to get a name. Perhaps it was somebody who used to be a farmer. He has no name and he's going to do something about it."

/Immediately after the Noma murder a considerable number of Japanese Americans, known for their accommodating views, fled to the Administrative section or were taken into protective custody. Many were housed in the hospital. On July 12, Mr. Robertson

1. George, if I remember correctly, had already applied for repatriation.

told me that Mr. Best "is urging every one of them to go back to the colony." But they did not seem to be eager to return./

Mr. Yokota and his Exodus to Hospital Refuge

"I was surprised at Mr. Yokota." (Yokota (who, had been beaten on July 1 or 2) lives in Wakida's block.) "I thought he could take it. He was just hit with the hand."
 "I hear they don't like them (the refugees) in the hospital mess. The waitresses don't like them."

George added that he heard that the people who had gone to the hospital to be safe had to enter the hospital mess in small groups. Even so, the waitresses wouldn't serve them. Then they tried to eat in the Caucasian mess. But the Caucasians there didn't like them either.

Young Men Questioned About Noma Murder by Internal Security

"I heard those boys were grilled for three days and nights. One of them was Kubo, a tough kid. We used to call him 'the dead end kid' in Leupp. He was grilled because they found him with a knife."

The Co-op

"You know what people call the Co-op? Shibu Rokubu - 40%-60%. That means, which side is taking the 60%. That's what people are talking about the Co-op. Sasaki or Noma - they don't know who's taking it."

"Also they said Mr. Noma hired nothing but Sacramento people in the Co-op. He hired his brother in the sewing factory, his relatives and his friends in the Co-op."

Giri

/A number of my respondents had spoken of the giri they felt to the men who were confined in the stockade. Since Mr. Wakida had spent more time in Japan than most of the people I talked with, I thought I would ask him what they meant. But he preferred to answer my question with a short lecture on what giri meant in Japan./

"It means, in plain English - We can't lose face. According to the Japanese dictionary you could use it in lots of other ways. It's a bushido (code of the samurai) idea."

"It's like when you're not a relative, but yet you act like a relative. In other words, like you and me, we have no relation, but if anything happens we're going to act like mother and son."¹

"We used to read about giri in the Japanese monthly magazines. The gangsters (heroes of the stories) used to live by giri. That stayed in the Japanese' head. Those gangsters had no right to land. They went from place to place."

"In the Tokugawa times those gangs were formed. Their business was gambling. The Japanese government hated these gamblers. So the gamblers went from place to place. For instance, if I'm a small gambler and head of a joint and a fellow gambler asks me to let him stay in my joint I let him stay. Next day he goes on and sleeps at another joint till he gets back to his gang. If I ever get in a fight that makes him giri toward me. He would give his life for me just for that one night's sleep and maybe two meals."

"The gamblers were not samurai. They wore a sword but the samurai wore two swords."

"The gamblers are called yakuza in Japan. They were bad from the beginning."

/1. This statement was to prove prophetic. See my talk with Sally and George on January 25, 1945./

(The last statement was made to explain that these gangsters, although they were regarded in a romantic light by the people, were not (said George) heroes like Jesse James or Robin Hood. "Jesse James was good in the beginning but the yakuza 'were bad from the beginning.'")

George left at that time and I asked his wife, Sally, to tell me about her hopes of Tule when she came here from the Gila camp.

"When we saw the camp there were a bunch of boys on a potatoe 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 would be here and everything."

"I really thought this camp was going to be much different than Gila. But when (on November 1) we were told in the block here that we were going to see Mr. Best - you should have seen the line! We marched there. We thought we had gone early but the place was already jammed with people."

Trip to Tule

"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 with such high hopes and got so little."

Reaction to Old Tuleans

"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."

Sally, who was teaching in the Japanese school in Tule Lake then spoke of her students:

"My students are asking me, 'Sensei,' /teacher/ they say, 'what would you think if I got leave clearance and got out of here?' They believe all they read in the papers. They say, 'Saipan was taken, this place and that place was taken. Gee whiz, what's going to happen to us?' I really don't blame them."

State of Camp

"I think everyone is dead here. It's all shut. My students' fathers, they used to be active men, but they're just quieting down and staying at home."

Wakida - July 24, 1944, July 26, 1944, -19-
August 7, 1944

JULY 24, 1944

RUMORS OF ATTEMPTED RAPE IN COLONY

Over the weekend I heard several people say that there had been several attempts at rape in the colony. Some staff members point to the fact that the Japanese American Internal Security resigned after the Noma murder. I decided to talk to my Japanese respondents about this today.

GOERGE WAKIDA ON RAPE

"They say a girl was attacked in Block 69. She ran away screaming. The girls can't go to school (Japanese night school). But now the boys (in the night school) are getting together and are leaving school with the girls /to see that the girls return to their "apartments" safely/."

"Some people say that the Administration is spreading the rumors to frighten the people so they will quick make another Internal Security. Other people are fighting for it. So there are two groups fighting, one wants an Internal Security and the others say we can take care of it ourselves."

"It's a fact that some people are scared. Especially all the girls. Ward III quit night school. Even the movies have quit."

"People would like an Internal Security but nobody wants to run. They don't want to be inu. I think the trying to get a new Internal Security will fall to the ground."

JULY 26, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA ON RAPE RUMORS

Sally Wakida said that there was still a lot of talk. Some boy had chased a girl in block 69. The boy had a blanket over his head. Also her girl friend who lives only with her mother and a sister had been annoyed by having boys knock on her door at night and shine flashlights in the window. She knew nothing of the hunger strike (in the stockade).

AUGUST 7, 1944

SALLY WAKIDA ON THE PRESENT STATE OF CO-OP

"People I know are very glad about the changes. It seems everything is in order now."

SEPTEMBER 11, 1944

TALK WITH GEORGE AND SALLY WAKIDA

/In mid-August, the underground leaders of the Resegregation Group, using a young Buddhist priest as a front man, asked for and received permission to use the high school auditorium for a series of lectures on Japanese history and culture. They then announced that the purpose of the classes was to establish a centerwide Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country (Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan). Within a few weeks about five hundred young men had joined the organization. Morning exercises were initiated and these gradually became increasingly noisy and militaristic.

During the first week in September, the district attorney in Modoc County undertook a re-investigation of the Noma murder. Leading members of the Daihyo Sha Kai and the Resegregation Group were subjected to intensive questioning. Several were taken to the County seat for further questioning. The belief that they would be indicted by the Grand Jury for complicity in the murder became widespread (Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 30.)/

Calling at Wakidas' I found that Sally had been ill at the hospital but had just returned. Teaching at the Japanese school and keeping house has been too much for her.

The first thing George asked me about was the arrests being made. He had heard of Abe, Tada and Kunitani being taken in, but had not heard that Kunitani had been released. I asked him if he knew why they were taken in, and he said that the people didn't know what it was all about.

Resegregation

"People are still talking a lot about resegregation. We don't know what will happen to us the next day."

George then asked about a distant relative of his who was interned in Santa Fe. He wished to know if this relative had any chance of being sent to Tule Lake. He said he also had heard that the Statistics Department had taken out and was studying about 300 family files. He wondered if this was any indication of the coming of an exchange boat.

I could not answer his questions.

Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan

(I asked if George thought the Sokoku was getting along well.)

George said in an impressed tone: *"It's big. It's well organized. It's good and strong. Do you know who's behind it?"*

I said I did not know. George then explained that he would like to go and see the person behind it, if he could find out. I told him the organization had an office in block 54, where he could perhaps get information. He did not know of this. He said he knew that this seinen had membership from all the wards in the center and that it certainly had more than 500 members.

Unrest in Camp

"Status quo against anti-status quo is still very strong. Even at the block meetings there are always two or three groups."

New Co-op Board

"It seems to me the new Co-op board has a better place (in the minds of the people)."

Sokoku Kenkyu

"They're not very well trained yet. If they get too much power and can't control it, they might do anything. A lot of people are against it, but they don't say anything."

"When they have these exercises a lot of the people say, 'Crimeny! If you have a little baby or a sick person, it wakes them up.'"

"Also the secret way they do things makes people suspect."

The Inu

George now asked me if all the inu had come back.¹ I told him they had and asked how Mr. Yokota, who lives in his block was getting along.

"People don't pay any attention to him and don't talk to him. He doesn't talk to anybody. If we have a meeting, he won't go."

Mr. Dolts at Sunday's Engei-kai

"Mr. Dolts came to the Engei-kai very late, about 4:30. He came to me (George was assisting) and said he wanted a good seat. The guys around said in Japanese, 'What the hell, put that guy in any old place.' Naturally, Mr. Dolts didn't know what they say and it was funny because he was smiling so nicely at everybody and everybody was laughing at him."

Inu

"Even in baseball it's 'bows'. If the batter who comes up is an inu the people yell 'wan wan' (bow-wow)."

Note on Kurihara's proverb about the Carp²

George did not know the proper Japanese words. The proverb however he told me is attributed to Banzuini Chobe a noted bandit, a member of the Kyookaku³ class who were "gamblers and good for nothings." Banzuini was warring with a samurai group and knew that he was about to be killed; his enemies were approaching to assassinate him. Banzuini knew he could not escape and calmly quoted the proverb.

1. George was referring to the members of the Coordinating Committee and the officers of the Co-op who had gone or had been taken to the Administrative section after the murder of Mr. Noma./

2. At one of our previous conversations Mr. Kurihara had referred to an incident in the life of Banzuini Chobe, a famous Japanese "bandit" who valiantly resisted a powerful feudal lord called Mizuno. I gathered that Mizuno had commanded Banzuini to bring him a carp measuring five feet, by which Mizuno meant that Banzuini would be sliced alive as are fresh carp. Kurihara quoted a proverb about this incident in English which I, unfortunately, did not write down. He did not know how to say it in Japanese, and I, though I asked a number of Kibe and Issei respondents, never found out. My curiosity, I suspect, stemmed in part from the fact that I lived under great stress at Tule Lake and that I found it helpful to adopt the utterly unyielding Banzuini as a model. On September 21, the anxious Mr. Yamashita gave me a very long account of Banzuini's achievements but I became so exhausted taking notes that I forgot to ask him about the proverb./

3. A self-styled humanitarian or a chivalrous person./

(George appeared strangely subdued during this visit, as if he had to be careful what he told me. Whether this was due to his wife's recent illness or to his anxiety over the war situation and his future is impossible to say. He was very interested in my remarks over the possibility of WRA encouraging relocation from Tule and asked me if people would just be let out or if they would have to be examined. He made no vociferous statements about staying in Tule and throwing in his lot with Japan, come what may, as he has almost always done when this subject was brought up.)

SEPTEMBER 25, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

/On September 24 the Resegregationists circulated another petition accompanied by an explanatory pamphlet, requesting the signatures of "those who truly desire to return to Japan at the first opportunity." The pamphlet stated that the group was preparing a final list of proposed repatriates and expatriates which was to be presented to "both the American and the Japanese governments."¹

Went visiting today to see if the new resegregation petition had been presented. I was glad to find Sally home and George asleep, because Sally is a better respondent than George who often asks me more questions than I ask him.

We talked on inconsequentialities for about ten minutes and then Sally asked me what the Administration was thinking about resegregation. I said their attitude had not changed. She then said that George planned to go to see Mr. Robertson very soon about some things that were on his mind. Then Sally said that a document had been handed around from barrack to barrack last night.

"We were handed this document last night. They give you what resegregation is about and why they want to be resegregated. There are four or five statements there that you have to do and obey. The people who will live up to this can be resegregated."

"We haven't even heard what it's about. There are so many people here of different opinions. All their opinions are different. I really don't know myself."

"Some people are very much for it, but I believe there are more against it than for it. What the outcome of this will be I don't know. On the whole, most of the people are very doubtful about it."

"I think it's a big trouble for the Administration as well as the evacuees."

"I really don't see why we should resegregate. We're already repatriates. We've already signed up for repatriation. The WRA and the people as a whole know that we're loyal to Japan. And a lot of the people think as we do."

"The people haven't signed it yet."

(I asked for details and was told that the people were not asked to sign it. The statement was merely passed from door to door by the block people themselves with the understanding that they were to sign later.)

"You hear so many opinions, you get all mixed up. It was sent from barracks to barracks by the residents. They did not ask them to sign it then. I believe there's a representative or something in the block who'll try to get signatures later."

¹. On September 21 Mr. Yamashita, a Resegregationist leader, showed me this petition and gave me a detailed explanation. See my fieldnotes for that date, pp. 57-61. (See also Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 315-18.)

OCTOBER 2, 1944

TALK WITH GOERGE WAKIDA

George was unusually talkative. About the Resegregationists' pamphlet and petition he said:

"I'll say, 'leave me alone and I'll leave you alone.' If I feel like it, I'll sign. I haven't signed yet."

"I'm Japanese - no matter what they say. If we swear to be Japanese, we are Japanese."

"Myself, I went to see Reverend Aramaki (the nominal founder of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan). We talked until 1:30 in the morning. We had a different idea and couldn't come to an agreement so I came back."

"Even if we sign or don't sign, it won't do no harm. Maybe somebody will ask me and maybe I will sign, but nobody has asked me to sign."

(I asked if they had been given a time limit to sign as Mrs. Tsuchikawa /an ardent Resegregationist/ had told me Saturday.)

"We didn't get any time limit to sign. They didn't give us any deadline."

"The Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan is back of it. Reverend Aramaki told me, 'Anybody who sign on the paper can be in the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan, but whoever doesn't sign can't be a member.'"

(We discussed the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan and the Resegregation pressure group and George said:)

"It's like a brother and sister."

"Reverend Aramaki told me, 'Mr. Ishikawa is the first one to put out the resegregation petition and he's the father of naming the Sokoku.'"

"I went to see Reverend Abe and Mr. Kunitani the other day but we were both being so careful what we said, that I couldn't get any clear picture."

Santa Fe Internees

(I asked George for his opinion on the efforts being made by the Nisei members of the Negotiating Committee to bring back the Issei from Santa Fe.)

"I think it's right to bring them back. That's giri."

War Developments and Renunciation of Citizenship

"I think that Nimitz and Montgomery are going to get to the Phillipines. I think they'll get that far. And I think that the renunciation of citizenship is going to be brought out at the same time."

Justice Department

"If we go under Justice those who have money will be all right. But those who can't earn will sure start crabbing again. (George believes that as internees the evacuees will not get paid for working. I take his word for it, since I know nothing about it.) You remember, that was the main point against the status quo."

"For my frank opinion I'd like to be an internee, but this is not a one person camp."

"I think the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan is just like that fellow Kawai (Nobu Kawai of the JACL¹), who said to the JACL that all the Niseis wanted to go into the Army."

"The Sokoku doesn't say a thing what their purpose is."

Membership

George told me that he has, in the past few weeks, made a pretty thorough study of the strength of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan. He said that they do not have more than 60 or 70 members in each ward which gives them a membership of 550 at the outside. His own ward, VI, has the largest membership and they are also very strong in his block, 68. Ward I has 52 members and ward III has 50. I remarked that it looked as if they had started the circulation of their paper in the blocks which are known to be most strongly status quo. George said he had no doubt of that. George also said that he knew that the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan was the moving force behind this re-segregation pamphlet.

During the conversation, Mrs. Wakida remarked that Mr. Kurihara had come over to see George, but, unfortunately, George was not home. (This may have been a friendly call - but there is the possibility that Kurihara may be trying to get information or support for his resistance to the Resegregationists. Think I'll go to see Mr. Oyama, another Leupp internee tomorrow.)

1. Japanese American Citizens League.

OCTOBER 12, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY AND GEORGE WAKIDA

Since both George and Sally Wakida voted against the status quo and since they appear to distrust and dislike the Resegregationists, I thought it would be interesting to get Sally's version of the incident and her picture of how much support the Daihyo Sha had during October and November, 1943. Sally always talks more freely when George is not present, so I arranged to see her alone.

"During the 'trouble' we lived in a very strong status quo block."

The Farm Strike

"Well, I didn't think it (the truck accident) was the fault of WRA like the people said it was and I didn't understand why the residents went on a strike. There were many reasons, but they didn't sound very well grounded to me. The way everyone rushed to the farm office, standing in line and giving up their badges..."

Bringing in Harvesters

"At that time I thought, 'If those people from the other centers really understood the situation in here they wouldn't dare come.'¹ Even if Mr. Best did want them to come, they didn't have to. I didn't blame Mr. Best at all. Those Japanese who did come should know better."

The Public Funeral

"We had a lot of meetings on that. They were block meetings to which everyone could go. I went to all of them."

(Here Sally told me that she had kept a diary of the meetings and of what occurred, sensing that these events were important. George had told her to dispose of the diary but she thinks she still has it among her papers somewhere. I told her how much the study would appreciate this diary (it is written in Japanese) and she promised to look it up and translate it for me. If the diary is at all detailed it ought to give an extremely valuable picture of the peoples' meetings held at that time about which we have almost no field data.)²

"I know Mr. Yokota had a very hard time getting an O.K. for the funeral. And when he did get it, one of the members of the Daihyo Sha demanded to have the auditorium for the funeral. Mr. Best said No. He said to have it in a mess hall. Then I think Mr. Yokota went back and said (he told us about this in a meeting) he said as he went in the door... First Mr. Best said, 'No, that's my last word and I'm not going to say anymore.' and Mr. Yokota said, 'I'd like to say one thing more. If I took the whole responsibility, I'd like to have Mr. Best's permission and I would cause no trouble for the Administration and I would not have it in the auditorium.' But he did not tell Mr. Best where he would have it."

"I heard that the Jerome and Topaz boys went and cleaned up the sumo place in the firebreak. I didn't attend the funeral."

(I then asked Sally whether she thought it wise or unwise for Mr. Best to refuse permission for the funeral, considering the temper of the people at this time. She replied:)

/1. Mrs. Wakida is referring to the Japanese Americans who were brought in from the Relocation Centers to harvest the crop during the strike./

/2. Unfortunately, Sally was unable to find the diary./

"Wouldn't it seem strange if they didn't have a public funeral when they made an issue of it such as the strike? That would be the step any leader would take."

Present Actions of Mr. Yokota

"Mr. Yokota is being very quiet now. He tries to make a good face I hear, but people just don't listen to him."

More on Funeral

"If it was just the case of the farm workers and Mr. Kashima (the man killed in the farm accident), for that reason alone, such trouble wouldn't be necessary. But I believe there was a very good reason behind what the Daihyo Sha did."

November 1

"It was announced in the mess that Mr. Myer was here and that the representatives of the Daihyo Sha would see him on matters that the residents of the colony wanted determined (such as the hospital). I think the hospital was the biggest problem then. They said they didn't care whether we were young or old. They wanted us to go, and they told us that we would not be permitted to come home when we wanted to."

"About ten minutes after we came home from lunch, everyone of us got ready and formed a line in front of the messhall and we walked to the Administration building. When we reached there, the place was packed with people from other blocks."

"It seemed some blocks didn't take the trouble to really get serious and residents went of their own will. Every one of us went from block 68. I think a lot went from curiosity."

Mr. Yokota

"At that time Mr. Yokota was already disliked by many. Their firm belief that he was a good leader was shattered. Those meetings we were having with him as chairmanhow could we tell what he was saying was true? We would bring up things to discuss but he wouldn't give us any answer on what the Daihyo Sha attitude was toward our requests....But we were ordered to go, so we went."

November 4

"We didn't know anything about it."

"The next morning I had an appointment at the housing department, because George was coming. When I went the housing place was closed. Then I see so many people out at the firebreak. (Sally then went to another housing office and found the evacuee head of housing standing about.) I asked the head of housing, 'Why are there so many people? It's not a holiday.' He said, 'You'll find out. You better go home. That's the safest place where a woman should stay.'"

"I heard some Caucasians came to steal the food. Some boys guarding the place jumped on them. Then the soldiers came in and tried to clear the people away. But the people wouldn't go. I saw the Army throw tear gas into the crowd and saw the men running away from it into block seven and six. The Army and Internal Security was trying to force the people back of the road. (The road along which a fence has now been erected.)"

"There was a great big group there. It (the tear gassing) made a lot of the people mad. Many of the people went there just to see. I heard that many of the people in the crowd were people with children working in the hospital."

(Mary Fuji, a Nisei friend, told me that the hospital workers were not allowed to leave the hospital for several days.)

"The residents of this block were really scared stiff. They wouldn't go out at night. The people (in this block) with children (working) in the hospital went to the block manager. But he had no way to get information. They kept them there (in the hospital) several days."

Support of the Daihyo Sha

"My impression is that up until November 4, the people of this block seemed really to support the Daihyo Sha. After the November 4 incident, I think a lot of people were in doubt whether it's right to support the Daihyo Sha or not."

"The Daihyo Sha had an office formed where we were supposed to take all our troubles and they would negotiate with the WRA and put in requests. I know many families did put in requests. But it seems that some people who really had troubles and requested, didn't get any answer for such a long time. It got to be a question if the Daihyo Sha was really the representative of the residents."

Period When Leaders Were in Hiding

"When Abe and Kunitani didn't come out (of hiding), a member of the Daihyo Sha put people in the places of these people (hiding and apprehended members of the Daihyo Sha) by his own will. Those weren't Daihyo Sha members at all, because the Daihyo Sha was supposed to be representatives of the people."

(I asked Sally if the people ever wondered about how the Negotiating Committee had been formed.)

"The people took the first Negotiating Committee for granted."

The Referendum Vote /January 11/

"The block we were in, we were really status quo. Everyone over 18 had to go (to the voting) girl or boy. We got a pamphlet (the future Coordinating Committee's work). All of our names were called out in the mess hall. Then we had to go up and vote. We had to go to a certain table where the M.P. was standing."

"Before that, the block manager had a paper that he had to read and explain. He was for status quo and made a very unnecessary statement. He said in Japanese that the people who want to get the men out of the stockade should vote for status quo.¹ That made a lot of the anti-status quo people angry. You could hear what they said when they went out."

"Some ladies didn't understand what it (status quo) meant, and they asked a man what it is. Then they'd ask this person, 'What do you think I should do?' It was just silly."

"Even wives who had babies had to come. Everyone was compelled to come."

(I asked if any measures had been taken against people who did not come to the voting.)

"They didn't do anything to people who didn't come. They didn't dare. My husband was so angry at the block manager (George and Sally voted anti-status quo). He was going to say something, but I held on to his shirt."

"In our block status quo won by a large majority."

(At this point George came home. I asked how the men who had accepted positions on the Coordinating Committee had been viewed by the people before they assumed this office. Both Sally and George agreed that the people were calling them dogs even before

/1. That is, vote to continue the strike./

they were appointed to the Committee. George now took over the conversation.)

"When the question of status quo came up, Mr. Yokota was already the Advisor of the Coordinating Committee. Mr. Yokota was called inu way long ago. Although Mr. Yokota wasn't on the Coordinating Committee everybody knew that he was the Advisor. He was going up there (to the Administration building) all the time."

"Because Mr. Nakano and Mizuno came to see me to get me to work in Community Activities, the people said I was an inu too. (Merely because George was visited by these two men.) That was in January already."

George's Brother in U.S. Army and Overseas Service

George told me how his brother had been promoted to Staff Sergeant and was told to go overseas. He refused and was demoted to private. He was then promoted again and the whole process was repeated. "He wasn't going overseas." The subject came up because Sally had just received a card telling her that a close relative of hers was being transferred to Shelby, which, according to her, meant imminent overseas service. (See Fieldnotes, October 1, page 2.)

Signatures on Recent Resegregationist Petition

"I sent a man over to Manzanar to see what was going on. He said only 1/3 signed. Two-thirds of the people haven't any interest in it. This man says the same thing I say, 'Leave me alone, and I'll leave you alone.'"

Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan

"I heard Mr. Aramaki resigned."

"Now everybody is getting wise. I don't like the way the Sokoku Kenkyu threatens people. They said, 'If you don't sign, you're going to be drafted.' So a lot of dumb people signed. (Then making a wry face, George added:) But I think those who signed were wise. I'm too stubborn to sign and that makes me enemies. It's better to be like the proverb: Nagai mono ni wa makarero; Okii mono ni wa nomareyo. (Literally, Let the long thing wind about you, let the great thing swallow you - or as George translated it: Let the long snake wind around you, let the big snake swallow you.)"

"If I were project director I would segregate them. I'd give each person a pink paper and a white paper and an envelope. Then those who want to be segregated could sign the pink paper and those who didn't could sign the white one. Then they could mail it to the WRA and nobody see it. No block manager, nobody to see. Then I'd like to see how many would sign!"

"Then I'd fence off a place and put them in it, not going to get 16 dollars a month and all work voluntary. Then I'd make Mr. Best project director over them and Mr. Robertson over us."

Renunciation of Citizenship

"That renunciation of citizenship will be pretty hard. You got to request for it. You got to write a whole mess of things. Then if you do it, it doesn't mean anything. They are going to check it in Washington."

"I think when it starts, I'll open an office and make some money (helping people fill out the forms.)"

New Seinen-dan Forming

George informed me that a new young men's organization was forming, which is being called the Dai Nippon Seinen-dan.

"I don't know who is back of it. But they are forming, I'm sure."

Petition for Resegregation

"When they had this petition (recent pamphlet) they said, 'If you sign this paper you won't be drafted and you'll be the first to get off the boat. So everybody signed - boy!'"

"Maybe I'll be last to get off the boat. My name begins with "W" anyway."

OCTOBER 25, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

/On the night of October 15, Mr. Itabashi¹ and two other elderly Issei returning from a meeting of the Seicho-no-Ie sect were set upon and severely beaten by a gang of young men. They had refused to sign the Resegregation Petition and had advised other people not to sign. On Sunday, October 23, Reverend Aramaki apparently made a violent statement so offensive that two of my respondents, Sally Wakida and Mr. Kurihara² told me about it./

Reverend Aramaki offends Japanese teachers of Ward VII

"Reverend Aramaki (the leader of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan) made a very unreasonable statement about the Ward VII teachers. Reverend Aramaki said in his sermon last Sunday that a certain teacher in here said that the attack Japan made on Pearl Harbor was ridiculous. He said that if that teacher said such a thing they ought to knock him down or kill him."

"The people in Ward VII got very angry and asked the principal if any teacher said such a thing. No teacher did. The teachers are very angry. When they go back to Japan, if anybody thinks that one of them said such a thing it will be terrible for them."

"I know that they /the teachers/ are planning to take some drastic steps. They will probably resign. They have held off for a few days because one of the teachers in Ward VII died and they are waiting for after his funeral."

I asked where Reverend Aramaki had made this statement.

"Reverend Aramaki said this at the Ward VII church."

"My husband went to see him and said, 'Why did you say such a thing? If you have evidence, it's all right.' But Reverend Aramaki said that it was only what he had heard. I /Sally/ heard that the head of the reverends (Buddhist) has become very worried about it. That's Mr. Sugimoto who is a good friend of George's."

Threats

Sally said she knew that threats were being made, but George wasn't telling her about them. She had not heard of the beating of the three old men. (It is really strange how little the story of that beating has spread. A great contrast to the beatings that preceded the Hitomi murder.)

/1. See Fieldnotes for June 27, July 24, September 26, and October 10./

/2. On October 30 Mr. Kurihara told me that Reverend Aramaki had said: "There are quite a number of killers in this organization."/

Threat against Mr. Kobata

"A man from Sacramento who had a wholesale store was selling things at a very high price. I heard he made a lot of profit. The Manzanar group said to him, 'If you don't close the door of your store, we'll lay you flat.' This was something O.K. to do. The people like the Manzanar group for this."

(Sally had no doubt at all that the Manzanar Group was behind the threat to Kobata.)

Threat made to Bob Tsuruda

"Bob Tsuruda went out (of Tule Lake) because he was threatened by the Manzanar group. The Manzanar group told him to bring them sugar from the warehouse. (He was asked to smuggle this out to them.) He refused. They told him they'd get him some time when he was going home from work. He said he might as well get out of camp if they were going to kill him."

NOVEMBER 2, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY AND GEORGE WAKIDA

Called on the Wakidas today. I wished to find out how the matter of Reverend Aramaki insulting the Ward VII teachers had come out and also, if possible, whether there had been any friction over various groups desiring to use the outdoor stage for the Meiji Setsu celebration.¹

Sally was home alone for the first half hour and told me that Reverend Aramaki had apologized for making the statement so the matter had been dropped. On the other hand, she said that many people still held it against him and that he was quite unpopular in Ward VII.

When George came in he came fresh from making arrangements to assist in the Meiji Setsu celebration being planned by the Kokumin Gakkoo (the chief Japanese Language School). He remarked that the school was going to hold its celebration at the open stage at 9:30. "That's strange," said I, "I've been asked to come in and see the Sokoku hold their ceremony there at 10:00." "That can't be," said George. "We won't be through for two hours!" "What's going to happen?" asked Sally, anxiously, "with everybody wanting to celebrate there." I said nothing more, but I suspect that the Kokumin Gakkoo will give way.

We went on to discuss the pressure groups. Said George, "Heck, I could get a big following too if I went around saying, 'I'm Japanese, I'm Japanese.'" I told George that I had been told that Reverend Abe had now formed a counter-group, the Dai Nippon Seinen dan. George said that he had heard that such a group was forming but that he didn't think Abe and Kunitani had anything to do with it. Moreover, he thought that such a group would form inevitably:

"I know psychologically that when a group of Japanese people start to push one way, some other group is going to form to push the other way. I think the Dai Nippon group might form some day. I just heard about it anyway. When they do form they'll fight. ... This camp is in a mess."

"Those who came from Hawaii are naturally very upset. Because they were just in a camp without a suitcase or anything."

I introduced the subject of the Co-op. George countered by asking me whether they were going to close the Caucasian canteen. If they are, he wants to hurry and spend the points he has accumulated. He continued:

1. The third of November is the anniversary of the beginning of the Meiji dynasty. Many groups were planning to hold reverent celebrations./

"I heard from a block manager that some of the people are getting mad. They announced that the gross sales in July were something like 130,000 dollars and in August they were 120,000. In July they had a 20,000 profit and in August 10,000. The point is that there was only a 10,000 dollar difference in the month in gross sales. The people can't figure out why there is only \$10,000 net profit. Something is goofy."

* * * * *

/From November 21 to December 7, I attended conferences of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study in Salt Lake City and Berkeley. Before I left the camp, Dorothy S. Thomas, the head of the study, has asked me to get some cards copied at Tule Lake. I found the wife of a staff member who was willing to do this work, and this lady asked me if I could find a Japanese woman to do domestic service work for her. I asked Sally if she would ask around and when I returned to Tule Lake I found that Sally had written me a letter:/

Upon your request George and I have done quite a bit of scouting, but are more than sorry to say we were unable to locate anyone. They all seemed unwilling to work over the fence because of rumors that start. We really regret the fact that we couldn't help you. George sends his regards.

/On December 8, Mr. Goodman, the Project Attorney, introduced me to Paul Norden, Assistant Director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Justice Department. Norden had come to Tule Lake to initiate hearings for those who had sent in forms for the renunciation of citizenship. With Norden's arrival, the Resegregationists intensified their demonstrative activities, holding their noisy predawn militaristic exercises as close to the fence as possible. Unlike some of my other respondents, the Wakidas did not speak much about these events. George had sent in his application for renunciation and he waited imperturbably for his hearing./

CALL ON SALLY AND GEORGE WAKIDA

I called on the Wakidas the day after I returned to Tule Lake and found only Sally at home.

While we waited for George "*who is a man and knows what's going on*" Sally and I gossiped. I asked her about the attendance at the meeting at which the Daihyo Sha Kai members were elected. She said she had attended and that the attendance was very large, "*because people wanted to know what was going on.*"

Renunciation of Citizenship

"*The renunciation is going on very well. The boys next door (strong Resegregationists) have all gone. The Sokoku bunch wants to go earlier than any of the rest. I think the majority of the boys will send them in. George has sent for his blank but it hasn't arrived yet.*"

Sokoku¹

"*The Sokoku bunch seems very strong. On December 8th I heard they had a very fine ceremony. Of course we couldn't attend it because only the Sokoku Kenkyu could go. I heard they all kneeled down in the frost and that it was a very touching scene.*"

George came in at this point. He told me that Mr. Kurihara had come to see him on November 13. Mr. Kurihara, said George, was very fidgety and upset and had asked them if they knew who I had been talking to. Sally, however, said that I never told them the names of people I talked to. Then Mr. Kurihara said:

"*Now I'm going to fight. You stay out of it, George, because you're married. I'm a bachelor and have no one to depend on me if I get killed.*"

(On November 13, I had told Mr. Kurihara that I had heard that some boys were planning to beat up the inu. He had apparently been warned from other sources also. See Fieldnotes, November 13.)

George closed our discussion of how the threats of the radical Resegregationists had stirred Mr. Kurihara to action by quoting a Japanese proverb: "Yabu wo tsuzuite hebi wo desu." (He who beats thickets brings out a snake.)

We then discussed the growing tension between the Abe-Kunitani-Tada faction and the Sokoku and George said, mysteriously: "*Our organization is keeping very quiet right now and waiting.*" /I wondered if Mr. Kurihara was trying to organize an underground anti-Resegregationist group./

George also told me that he has decided to give up teaching in the Japanese school.

He has not cut his luxuriant hair, a fact upon which I hastened to congratulate him.² Sally was very glad that he's decided to quit, saying, "*He wants to work for WRA for a while.*"

/1. Sometime in late November or early December, the Sokoku changed its name to Hokoku Seinen dan (organization to serve the mother country), but most of my respondents continued to call them "the Sokoku" until about mid-January./

/2. Many of the members of the Hokoku Seinen dan and even the older members of the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi dan, had shaved their heads, in emulation of the Japanese Army./

Said George:

"After the Sokoku Seinen dan organized, my students changed. They got very bad to teach, very bad. I don't care what they do, but they're not led right. That's why I want to resign from the school. They are too hot headed. They say, 'Teacher Wakida says so-and-so.' Besides they pay only five dollars the first month, the second month seven dollars and the third month it was 12 dollars. I wouldn't care about that, but they don't appreciate it. So I'm going to rest for about six months."

"I like to see more people here Japanese than American. This is my duty to make them to be good Japanese. But somebody else wants to make everything upside down. Even the Yes-Yes men, I'd like to be good Japanese. But the Sokoku say: 'The Yes-Yes must get out.' But who can tell what they think in their hearts? Who can tell whether they're dodging the draft?"

"One of the leaders in the Sokoku here worked on the camouflage net (factory) in Gila. When he came here, maybe his conscience hurt him and so he had to do something about it. It's not for the people. It's for himself."

George also told me why he disapproves of the Sokoku and Sokuji policy. He said, "They keep everyone out. I'm Japanese, and I'd like to go and pray on December 8 too. But they want to keep everything for themselves."

On Kunitani and Abe's place in the Picture

I asked George outright if he thought Abe and Kunitani were tied in with the gamblers. He said:

"Abe and Kunitani and Tada and the rest were together at that funeral."

On signing the Sokuji Kikoku's Petition

George asked me for my personal opinion if the WRA or the U.S. government would pay any attention to the names put on the petition. I said I thought not.

"I went to see Mr. Robertson. I asked him about signing. He said it wouldn't do any harm and I should sign if I wanted to. But I don't want any person over me. I don't want anybody to boss me around. I didn't sign."

Renunciation of Citizenship

"I'd like to sign renounce but my form hasn't come yet. The Sokoku bunch typed their forms on the typewriter so that they could be the first ones. I told our neighbors that their forms wouldn't be any good."

Yamada-Kodama Encounter

On the evening of November 19, when a crowd of people had gathered to bid farewell to a number of families who were on their way to join interned members in the Department of Justice camp at Crystal City, Tetsuo Kodama, a noted judo champion and a close friend of Mr. Kunitani and Mr. Tada, approached Mr. Yamada (also a judo champion and leader of the Hokoku) and accused Yamada of having called him an inu. This was a challenge to fight which Yamada ignored. I asked Mr. Wakida what he thought of this encounter.

"Yamada couldn't fight. The other gang was too big." (George smiled as he said this.)

On Photographs taken during Funerals

Sally remarked when I raised the question that many Issei had told her that it was wrong to take pictures during a funeral. She also said sadly that she had heard that the shipment of Omochi gomi (rice cakes) had been cancelled and that there wouldn't be nearly enough Omochi for the people in camp over the New Year. Now they couldn't send any to the Japanese prisoners of war either.

DECEMBER 19, 1944

/In late November, the Resegregationist leaders began to expel members, who, in their opinion were obstructing their movements and were therefore "not true Japanese." Among those expelled were members of the Abe-Kunitani-Tada faction. On December 15, Mr. Hamaguchi, one of those expelled, went to the Resegregationist Headquarters in block 54, accosted Tokuichi Matsubara, the head of the Resegregationist Group, and demanded the reasons for his expulsion. Matsubara, according to report, gave him a rude reply. Hamaguchi thereupon seized a piece of wood from a nearby woodpile, Matsubara grabbed a mop, and the two men had at it in what must have been a strange parody of a samurai sword duel. Although the fight lasted only a few minutes, strong-arm boys of both factions and a crowd of several hundred spectators assembled. Called on for an explanation, Hamaguchi made a speech, denouncing the Hokoku for gangster tactics and for the degradation of the true spirit of Japan. The Resegregationists thereupon plastered latrines and laundry rooms with mimeographed statements to the effect that their "peaceful organization" had been attacked by "gangsters"./

TALK WITH SALLY AND GEORGE WAKIDA AND WITH BUDDHIST REVEREND

When I arrived only Sally was at home. She immediately began to tell me about the fight.

"I heard there was another fight. The Sokoku bunch had a special meeting after the fight and put out announcements. I also heard Matsubara was very unpopular before evacuation. A lady living in his block told me all about him on the outside. She said, 'Very few people have pity on him.' Most people are glad the Sokoku bunch was beaten up."

"I heard some people were taken out of the Sokoku. So they were angry and they started something on Matsubara. Matsubara said, 'If you say another word, I'll knock you flat.' The boys went back and told Abe. Nobody knew it was Abe's gang. George says it was Abe's gang because the Sokoku put out a notice some time ago that something will happen and Abe was the one who took the notice to the police. The Colonial police said it was a political issue and they wouldn't handle it."¹

"The people in this block say that the defendants saw Mr. Kodama² there."

The reverend entered here and immediately began asking me questions using Sally as interpreter. He wanted to know what I knew about the hearings the Army was

/1. These were the "wardens" selected after the evacuee police force resigned after the murder of Mr. Noma. As Thomas and Nishimoto put it: "Whenever any infringement of law occurred which might remotely be connected with politics or might conceivably offend the residents, the wardens refused to act." (pp. 280-1)/

/2. The judo champion friend of Kunitani and Tada, who, I was told, had served as bodyguard to the officers of the Daihyo Sha Kai./

conducting.¹ He wondered if the people being heard would be sent to Santa Fe. He said (through interpreter Sally) that he had been in Santa Fe two years and had nearly gone crazy there. He asked me how the Germans were being treated outside now and if I had had any chance to talk to the German P.W.'s near Tule Lake. He also wanted to know if I thought I could make a living on the outside after the war, since he knew things were going to be so difficult. He remarked that it was probably because I was German that the WRA didn't want me to work for them.²

I was not able to answer most of the reverend's questions, but I was able to tell him that, so far as I knew, the men being interviewed were not going to be sent to Santa Fe.

George came home at this point. He was convinced that the Abe-Kunitani-Tada faction was behind the fight. He added that it was easy to recognize the two factions - the Seinen-dan boys by their shaved heads and the others by their rather long hair. He remarked that there had been two more fights - in fact the boys were getting pretty sassy. Yesterday when he was in the fish market he heard a boy saying as he put on leather gloves, "Well, I'm going over to 54 and I hope I get two of them." "He had long hair," said George, "So I knew which side he belonged to." George also asked me about the hearings and whether the people who were excluded by the Army would be allowed to remain in Tule Lake or would be sent to some other place. He told me that the people seem to be talking about this a great deal. Someone at the processing office had picked up the rumor that 4,000 people were expected to stay in Tule Lake. George thought it would be closer to 14,000. George also wanted to know if those excluded would be put under the Department of Justice and treated just as internees were treated. He didn't seem to like the idea of being sent to Crystal City.

1. On December 17, the Western Defense Command rescinded the orders excluding Japanese Americans from the West Coast. On December 19, the Newell Star announced in an extra edition that "the new system will permit the great majority of persons of Japanese ancestry to move freely anywhere in the U.S. that they wish to go."

The Newell Star also announced that "Representatives of the Western Defense Command had arrived at the center ... Starting tomorrow (they) will individually notify any individuals who are to be excluded. They will also notify those individuals whose cases have not yet been determined and will interview such individuals in order to determine their final status."

An Army team of some twenty officers immediately began to hold hearings at the rate of 400 to 500 a day.

2. I had told a number of my respondents that I was of German descent (though I also have Scandinavian, French, and Polish ancestors). Evidently, some of my respondents told other Japanese Americans that I was a German Nisei.

DECEMBER 27, 1944

Early on the morning of December 27, the Department of Justice arrested and interned seventy of the leaders of the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi dan and the Hokoku Seinen dan. I visited the Wakidas on that day.

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

Sally was very nervous and distressed.

"It was a shock. George stayed in bed this morning until about ten o'clock. Then a friend came and told him and he got right up and ran out without even washing his face. He wanted to see the crowd. It was a shock."

"It's too bad Reverend Aramaki was taken. They took about 70 or 80 men I hear."

"It's not nice to be picked up."

"There are a lot of Sokoku people in this block. There are a lot who weren't too. But they all seem pretty sympathetic. When George went to see them off he seemed to think some of the people would laugh and jeer. But they didn't. ...It was a shock."

"There certainly are a lot of people getting out of the organization because of the trouble in block 54. In Ward II I hear 200 people resigned. I believe in blocks 53 and 54 almost every member got out."

"I heard they also threatened Reverend Abe. George told me that Abe had about 30 people around his house. George went to see him, but he couldn't get in. They were just like the Sokoku people who have been guarding the leaders."

I asked what people were saying about the trial of Mr. Hamaguchi. The leaders of the Resegregation Group drew up a legal complaint against Hamaguchi and ten other men and presented it to the Project Attorney. A formal trial was held. Hamaguchi was given a light sentence; two other defendants were given suspended sentences; the rest were acquitted.

Sally said: "Everyone was just laughing about the trial. It was the talk of the camp."

She then changed the subject and told me:

"At Reverend Aramaki's wedding there was only one other reverend present. That is besides the one who was officiating. And you know there are countless reverends in camp."

"But the Hokoku boys were standing all around in their uniform, you know, grey sweat shirt and pants. They were just glaring at George and me because they know George has been an opposer. There they were, all lined up."

"Aramaki's father was also taken. Well, at least father and son will be together."

Hearings on Renunciation of Citizenship

"I've heard that some of the boys have been called four or five times. I also heard that they made an announcement that soon only about 30 people will be left in Tule Lake."

"They can't force anybody out if they haven't signed for repatriation, can they? There is one family in this block and they're awfully worried."

Return to Pickups

"It seems that everyone is saying that Mr. Best is at it again." (Evidently the pickups are being blamed on Mr. Best.)

✓ The effect of Sokoku (Hokoku) on the Young Men

"Mr. Abo came over yesterday. He told about one of his students, a boy about 19 or 20 who was a real brainstorm, a very nice student. Then Mr. Abo noticed that he wasn't getting such good grades. Then he had a history test. And he found that this boy wasn't writing anything down. Mr. Abo got angry. When the test was over the boy wouldn't give his paper in."

"So he had him stay after school. Mr. Abo said, 'You have always been one of my finest students. Why did you change?' The boy said, 'I don't respect you anymore.' 'Why?' said Mr. Abo. The boy said, 'I'll tell you, but don't feel bad about it. I've been told by my parents and friends that anyone who isn't in the Sokoku isn't Japanese. He's koshimuke (a coward). When I heard you weren't in the Sokoku, I knew you weren't Japanese.'"

"Mr. Abo said, 'So you think a Japanese can be made by just signing a paper? I don't think Japanese people are so cheap.'"

"Then Mr. Abo waited for two days. He was really worried. He even got thin in his face. Then the boy came to him and cried in his lap and said, 'I understand now that Japanese people aren't made by just signing names. I just signed my name saying that I'm not a member anymore.' Then he thanked Mr. Abo for leading him to the right road."

"Isn't that terrible? I think that's terrible. The way they've misled those boys."

"You know they (the Sokoku) have a paper to sign if you get out. It says, 'I will not be loyal to the emperor of Japan.' You have to sign your name to that! Why no one even in Japan has the right to do that!"

"I'm anxious that there may be big trouble because of these pickups. It seems something big has to happen every year."

Letter from Gila - Repatriation

"I had a letter from a friend in Gila. She said the Army has been checking up on the people who signed for repatriation. She said, 'It's terrible. They keep calling them and calling them.'"

January 4, 1945

(Heard this morning that on the night of January 2nd, the Internal Security had taken all the locks off the camp's gates.)

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

Sally had not heard yet that the 70 men had been taken to Santa Fe. She said that the camp was full of rumors. Some people said they had been taken to Angel Island - others that they had been taken to San Quentin. *"That would be pretty bad,"* said Sally, *"that would mean 20 years."*

Reaction of wives of men picked up

"The people who've gone to see Mrs. Aramaki - I haven't gone - they say Mrs. Aramaki said she's not at all worried. She says that made him a real Japanese. People say everyone of them (the wives) are like that. I say, 'Why don't they show their true feelings?'"

"They're all raring to go. They've all got their suitcases packed."

People leaving camp

Sally asked me if it were true that a lot of people were leaving camp. When I said I hadn't heard of this, she said, *"Well, I guess they're waiting to see."*

Sally, like several other people I have seen since New Year was very happy and pleased over this year's celebration. In her opinion it was the best New Year that she has had since evacuation.

"All the Leupp boys said they didn't think Mr. Robertson would have gone without seeing them." (I heard later that the young men who had been interned in Leupp had given Robertson a big party before he left.)

George's Army Hearing

George has had his Army hearing and said that it took only 30 seconds. He was asked if he had renounced his citizenship and he said he had made his application. He was then asked if he wished to return to Japan. He said *"Yes."* He was asked if he wished to leave camp. He said *"no."* He was given an order excluding him from the West Coast Defense Command and any other defense command which the Army sees fit. Sally appears to think this will mean that they will continue to be segregated.

Hoshi-dan people

(Sally's neighbors are ardent supporters of the Hoshi-dan.) *"Our neighbors have their suitcases all packed."* I asked Sally if she thought it would be a good idea to have more pick-ups.

"In a way I think it would be a good thing. They all say they want to go to Santa Fe. They say this isn't a Japanese camp anymore and that we aren't Japanese. If they volunteer, why don't they let them go?"

November 1, 1943

Since Sally always seems willing to talk about the November "uprising" I asked her how the people had felt on November 1, after Dillon Myer had talked to them.

"It seems to me the ordinary people were disappointed. They expected more to come out of it. They were especially disappointed about the boys who knocked Pedicord around."

Wakida - January 4, 1945,
January 18, 1945

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"But it seemed the leaders got very enthusiastic. The meetings held after that meeting seemed to bring more unification among the block members."

JANUARY 18, 1945

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

Sally asked if I had seen the big Hoshi-dan celebration Sunday. It had really been spectacular, she said.

"Since Mr. Norden is here, they blasted their bugle louder than ever."

"Even the old ladies are running around yelling 'Washo' with slacks on. I don't think that's very nice for old ladies 50 years old. The young women do it too."

George's Renunciation Interview

"When George went for his interview, the lady asked him if he were a member of any organization. He said he was a member of the Seinen-dan (the much older athletic organization). She said, 'The Hokoku Seinen-dan?' George pulled his hair and said, 'No, can't you see?'"

"She laughed and said she was sorry. She was very nice to us."

Renunciation

"This block is very quiet. The people just don't say anything. They just think renunciation is a necessary step to make if you're going to Japan. You don't need to do it, but if the government suggests it, it's best to comply."

Department of Justice

I asked Sally if she had heard the rumor that the Department of Justice was taking over the camp. She said she had not, but added:

"Most people would like the camp to go under Justice."

Relocation, Poor Food and Apathy

"I've heard that in Gila, nine out of 10 people will fight to stay in."

"The food is getting worse. We've had weiners day after day. They always do that when something like this happens."

"I guess the only people having fun in camp now are the Hoshi-dan people. They have something to do every day and meetings every night."

"All the women are thinking about is the rationing of woolen goods. They don't care what happens to them or where they're sent. They say, 'What can we do? We might as well sit down and wait for orders.'"

"I wonder if our renunciations of citizenship will really go through the Attorney General's office."

JANUARY 25, 1945

Today was the day after mimeographed copies of Paul Norden's open letter to the chairmen of the Hokoku and the Hoshi-dan were posted in all the mess halls. In this letter he had condemned the activities of the Hokoku members and Hoshi-dan elders who "encourage the activities of the young men." He concluded with the warning that "since these activities are intolerable, they will not be tolerated, but on the contrary, will cease." I knew of this posting and, accordingly I set out to visit people to get their responses. But I had not been told that Norden, on January 24, had notified 171 men that they were to be interned in two days.

On my way to the Wakidas' I noticed people standing about in groups and talking. When I knocked on the Wakidas' door, Sally's mother opened it, took my arm and quietly pulled me inside. George and Sally were standing up and as I entered they both made signs of silence. They were pale and looked very anxious. It seems that the notice of another internment had just come out, and the people in their block had accused them of being inu because I came to visit them. I offered to leave but they asked me to stay.

Both George and Sally were angry and disturbed about the pickups, saying several times that many innocent people had been picked up, both among Hokoku members and the Japanese school teachers. George was particularly angry because his best friend, Mr. Abo, a Japanese school teacher, had been told he was going in the morning. George said several times, "If they take him, they ought to take me. They ought to take everybody." George, doing his best to save his friend, had gone to see Mr. Best. Best promised to do what he could.

I asked if either of them had read the statement put out by the Department of Justice. George said "No." Sally said she planned to read it, but:

"It's so conspicuous to stand there and read it. Most people are passing it by."

George said he wished he could see it and wished it would be passed from house to house.

"Mr. Norden has pulled out a lot of people who are innocent. It's like when you catch fish with a net - you get a lot of little ones with the big ones. It isn't fair."

"Those going to Santa Fe - they should have a hearing or a trial. I think doing it this way is not fair. Especially, in America, where democracy is supposed to be practiced."

"They /the Hokoku/ will try to blame somebody now. They'll try to get them. I'm trying to save my friend. He's the only friend I've got. I think the people being sent ought to be re-checked. Abo was 100% against the Hokoku. If more people like Abo are going, everybody should go."

/When George said this, Sally put her arms around him and began to cry. Both of them asked me if there was anything I could do. I told them I would speak to Mr. Norden and do my best to keep Mr. Abo from being interned./

/After my reception at the Wakidas' I thought it would be unwise and inconsiderate to visit any of my Japanese American respondents. I decided to send them letters asking them to tell me when I might visit. But I went to see Mr. Norden immediately and told him that Abo and Wakida had for months been opposing the Resegregation Group and that interning Abo with the Hokoku members was not only unjust but could put him in danger of his life. Norden would not commit himself, but on the next day, he released Abo

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February 1, 1945

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and four other teachers in the Japanese Language School. (See Fieldnotes, January 26.)¹

FEBRUARY 1, 1945

TALK WITH GEORGE AND SALLY WAKIDA

George sent me a note asking me to call this morning. He and Sally were tremendously happy over the release of Mr. Abo. Sally told me that the Hokoku is now going about making people sign up for membership again. Those who refuse to sign, they call "dog." George said there definitely was more pressure in camp than at the last pickup on December 27.

"Mr. Abo came to stay here at first. But I told him to go back to block 59. That's what a man has to do. So he went back and is keeping quiet."

George said he would have been glad to have Abo remain in his house, but thought that it was wisest that he (Abo) face the music of "dog" and "coward" as soon as possible.

Then George asked me:

"Is it true that Reverend Ohira was knocked down in the stockade?"

I said I did not know.

"The Hokoku is not patriotic. They're doing crazy things. Real Japanese are supposed to be more broad-minded. They should know where we stand."

"The Hokoku say that only their members are going back to Japan. The way the Hokoku are acting now, seems to me, just like the Communists in Japan. I remember how they acted. Aramaki was once called a red, you know. Maybe him and some of his leaders - maybe their idea was Communistic."

(I'm beginning to suspect that Communist is just about the most terrible epithet a Japanese can be called. In a subtle sense, it's worse than dog.)

Department of Justice Statement

"Nobody reads it. Some people tore it down and threw it away. I think it's not wise to stand there and read it. I went to the colonial police to get a copy. If we stood there and read it, they'd say, 'That's an inu.'"

"The Hokoku girls club is going very strong."

George's Job

"I've got to get some job so they don't make me go back to work in the Japanese School. They've come over to see me about it. A job in Social Welfare is pretty tough though. Once when the monthly allotments didn't come, a committee asked Mr. Black about it and he said it was the fault of the evacuees who worked in Social Welfare. That was last summer. So now they say about Social Welfare, 'That's a bunch of inu in there.'"

Sally: *"Gee, I hope the day will come when we can go to the laundry and wash our clothes and not have the Hokoku people glaring at us. There are two groups in this*

¹ In "Doing Fieldwork" I incorrectly state that I interceded in behalf of my friend, Mr. Wakida. In point of fact, I interceded for Wakida's friend, Mr. Abo./

Wakida - February 1, 1945,
February 14, 1945

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block - one for the Hokoku and one against it."

George: *"Tule Lake will never get peaceful - never."*

"If they want to go to Santa Fe, let them go! I don't care about leaving the loyal people here. My main point is to get to Japan. That's the reason we came here."

George repeated his statement that he'd like to get out of Tule Lake -- to Crystal City or to another center.

FEBRUARY 14, 1945

/On February 11, the Department of Justice ordered the arrest of about 650 members of the Hokoku and the Hoshi-dan. On the evening of February 12, the WRA Internal Security raided the Hokoku headquarters and confiscated their scroll, banners, a Japanese flag, a mimeographing and duplicating machine, and a large safe. (See Fieldnotes, February 12 and 13.)/

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

Hokoku

"They are taking the fence down near Manzanar and that's why the Manzanar people have all been signing up with the Hokoku. They said, 'If they take the fence down, this will be like a relocation center, and we'll all be kicked out.'"

"There are so many parents here who have sons of military age and they're praying every morning that their sons will be picked up. They don't want them to serve in the Army. If anybody says anything to them they say, 'You can't trust the Americans. They'll get out all the Hokoku people (intern them) and then they (WRA) will think we're all loyal.'"

"Mr. Ohiro asked George what the Hokoku is all about, anyway. When George told him, he said, 'My goodness, if they're Japanese any low-down people can be Japanese. I wish I could take you to Santa Fe, George, and let you see how the Issei there are welcoming these people from this center. Why, they aren't even speaking to them.'"

"This block here is very unpleasant to live in now."

Reaction to Internment

"I felt so sorry for the Nisei who were picked up. Those who really cried were the people who just went to see them off like myself. Not their parents or relatives. They didn't show any tears. Instead of taking all of those boys, why not take the Issei leaders - they're terrible."

"There are a lot of people in this block waiting to go. They still have got their suitcases packed."

Rumor of Japanese Schools Closing

"Is it true that the Japanese schools will be closed? There are rumors that they will be."

Sally then explained the various schools to me - information which I've never gotten before because people who know the system don't care to talk about them.

The Dai Towa (Greater East Asia). This is the school of block 25 of which George Kunitani is supposed to be principal. This school has kicked out all Hokoku people and will not have them as teachers or students. This is the first Japanese school

founded in Tule Lake. After Norden's last visit the name was changed to Tule Lake Gakuen (Educational Institution). (Norden would not permit the Greater East Asia idea.) This school is independent from the very large camp-wide school.

The Chu O Kyo iku Kai. This is the large camp-wide school which has branches in every ward.

The Nippon Kakumin Gakko. This is the notorious ward VI school. The name means Japanese Nationalistic School.

Raid on Hokoku Headquarters

Sally had heard about the raid in a dramatic manner. About 9:30 Monday night a man had come running to Ward VII and asked where Mr. Kondo lived. Kondo is ward representative of the Hokoku. *"This man ran right into a house in the block without knocking. He was trembling. He asked, 'Is this Mr. Kondo's house?' He was just shaking. He said, 'I brought something for you.' But the man in the house said, 'But this isn't Mr. Kondo's house.' The man ran over to that barrack and didn't knock either. He ran right in and took some papers from his pocket. 'Take these papers, Mr. Kondo,' he said. 'This isn't Mr. Kondo's house,' said the man."* Eventually the unfortunate Hokoku messenger reached Mr. Kondo with the papers. Meanwhile, all the people in the block came out and watched the excitement. *"Boy,"* said Sally, *"the Hokoku were certainly scared by the raid."* Sally thought the raid had been a good thing for the camp. We then discussed the possible amount of money in the safe. Sally said it might be a good deal.

"They took .25 every month for their pamphlet that came around. That's quite a lot of money."

"Mr. Aida came over the night before they went away and he said to George, 'I've quit /the Hokoku/. I've got a wife and child. I don't see why I should go.' He wanted to know how George got Abo out. He was so excited."

(Sally told me that the people in Ward VII were not joining the Hokoku. That phenomenon must be limited to Manzanar.)

"In Manzanar your best friends and your relatives tell you to go into the Hokoku. They make them sign up. Since these boys were taken the parents seem to be more strong and more strong. If they get to realize they wouldn't be reunited with their boys, you can't tell what they might do."

"The raid did real good to the people because they found out such action would be taken by the WRA and that it was an unlawful organization. Of course the Hokoku people became very scared and very angry."

"Mr. Abo's fiancée says that if he doesn't let his hair grow he can't marry her. He's letting it grow, but it looks so funny that he won't go anywhere."

Effect of Announcement about Exchange

"Many people don't care so much now because the announcement said they could be repatriated even if they were living in the center."

(That is, one need not be interned in Santa Fe or elsewhere in order to be eligible for repatriation.)

FEBRUARY 23, 1945

/On February 11, the Department of Justice ordered the arrest of 650 Hokoku and Hoshi-dan members. On this occasion the president of Hokoku was authorized to call an emergency meeting of the members. Answering bugle calls, the young men of the organization assembled immediately and each of those listed for removal accepted personal notice of internment. (Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 357.)/

TALK WITH GEORGE AND SALLY WAKIDA

/The first page of notes on my talk with George and Sally has been lost./

George, however, was pleased that he had managed to transfer his employment from Welfare to Housing. However, all the other men formerly working in Housing have now been laid off and George works with a bunch of girls. He teased Sally about this, telling me how much he liked his new job and emphasizing the fact that he now shaves every morning.

Pressure to Join Hokoku

"You know, a lot of people received little papers about six inches long and one inch wide. They were notices to go for a hearing. But the Hokoku said, 'Those are your draft notices. Join the Hokoku or you'll be drafted.' A lot of fellows joined."¹

"They even went and got bozu (head shaved like a monk) hair cuts," added Sally.

"Then when they went to the hearing office they were just asked if they were going to relocate."

"In the paper it said that 99% of the people will have their citizenship renounced and will not be put in the Army. But the Hokoku guys go around saying, 'What if you're in the 1%?'"

"It's the innocent people that make me feel bad. I know a fellow who's in this block in the Hokoku. He's just getting nuts. He went to the shoe repairing shop and forgot and brought home bread instead. He's a dish-washer. He'll wash one bowl and then go back and the supervisor has to go after him again."

Sally's Version of Gambling Fight

Sally: "I heard a man lost 300 bucks (gambling). He got angry and wanted to kill the man who had taken the money. He went home and sharpened a razor blade. Then he went back to the gambling joint and started the fight. But the other man got hold of his hand and struck him instead. He cut him badly."

George: "I heard Mr. Yamada /interned leader of the Hokoku / had written here and said, 'Don't come to Santa Fe. Life is miserable here. Get out of the Hokoku.'"

"If I was in the Hokoku I'd go /get out/ now. Right now they really know they were misled. But they won't stop. They can't stop."

(At this moment a notice was delivered to George. It was from the Spanish Consul and stated that renunciants would come under the jurisdiction of the Protecting Power, providing they comply with certain requirements. George's reaction to the paper was interesting. He glanced at it and said, "Ah-h-h - the Spanish Consul," in the same tone he might have used in saying, "Phooey.")

Incident in Block 67

"Last weekend there was some trouble in block 67. Block 67 used to have a very strong Hoshi-dan membership. But now many of the people have resigned. The Hoshi-dan

/1. After the February 11 internment, other anti-Hokoku respondents emphasized that pressure to join the Hokoku to escape the draft was very strong. See George Kuratomi, February 13, 1945.)/

was blaming it on a certain man. So one night the Hoshi-dan went to his house and threw rocks at it three or four times. He was scared to death."

Opinions on Attempts to dissolve Hōkoku

George: "WRA can disband the Hōkoku only by segregating them. If WRA thinks they're going to stop them by making a few arrests, they're wrong."

Sally: "But if WRA let's them resegregate, they'll say, 'Look what we did!' That's what they want."

George: "The women are getting stronger and stronger. I'm very sure that no matter what they do, they'll want to be pulled in. I don't think arresting them will do any good."

"A frank statement on what they could do and couldn't do will help. But if Mr. Best did say something frankly now, nobody would believe it."

War Situation

George then asked me bluntly who I thought was going to win the war. I did my best on this tough subject but implied that things were not looking too good for the Axis right now. George, however, said that his stay in Japan has convinced him that Japan could not be beaten. He also said that he believed that the Japanese who remained in this country were not going to be treated any better after the war and that a new war would probably break out in 20 years and the Japanese (in the U.S.) would again suffer persecution. I'm hearing these arguments (which were put down in detail by Mr. Kurihara) rather frequently in camp now. I am inclined to believe that they indicate a weakening in the resolve to go to Japan, a weakening which must be bolstered up by the arguments cited. Mr. Kunitani said the same thing Wednesday.¹ Anyway, George Wakida said he was going back to Japan, "win or lose."

1. See Fieldnotes, February 21, 1945.

MARCH 8, 1945

TALK WITH THE WAKIDAS AND THREE YOUNG MEN

/On March 4, the Department of Justice interned 125 members of the Hokoku. This was the last internment./

Called on the Wakidas today, but found them entertaining three young men at an informal party. They pressed me to stay. We discussed the present state of the Hokoku and the dismal prospects which the WRA faces in its attempt to relocate people from the other centers. Everyone present agreed that the Hokoku had quieted down noticeably in the past two weeks. However, George informed me that there was a big rumor that 400 would be taken on the next pick-up which is expected about the beginning of April. He stressed that it would be very important for me to be in camp from about April 1 to the 15th to see how the Hoshi-dan reacts if this forecast is not carried out. "They're going to start to howl then," he said.

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

When the conversation turned to relocation all agreed that the greatest worry in camp was that the people might be forced to get out once the Hoshi-dan was all "re-segregated." However, it appears that people are worrying about this quietly and are going to wait and see what happens. The draft panic appears to have died down almost entirely. One of the young men asked me a question which I hear very often, "Are the people in other camps who asked for re- or expatriation going to be allowed to come to Tule Lake?" On relocation, all agreed that Dillon Myer would never get the people out. "He just can't do it."

We discussed the rumor of Abe and Kunitani forming a new organization. George said he doubted very much if they were doing this. "Kunitani is too smart to start something now when so many people are being picked up." (I'm inclined to agree.) George also agreed with me that Kunitani intended to try to get political power in camp eventually.

MARCH 19, 1945

/On March 12, Mr. Rothstein, one of the team of persons conducting hearings for the Department of Justice, told me "that orders had come from Washington that an announcement was to be made in the Newell Star that the Department of Justice had no plans for reuniting the families of the Hoshi-dan with the interned persons." On March 16, the WRA issued a body of Special Project Regulations, declaring that Resegregationist activities were unlawful and punishable by imprisonment: "Activities which are carried on under the guise of social or cultural objectives and which lead directly or indirectly through inducement, persuasion, coercion, intimidation and other action in the promotion of Japanese nationalistic and anti-American activities and the disruption of peace and security within the center, whether by individuals, groups or organizations, will not be tolerated."

In open defiance of these new regulations, the Hokoku, on the morning of March 17, held their customary military exercises. That afternoon, the presidents of both organizations, the president of the bugle corps, and his assistant were arrested by the WRA police. The next morning, Sunday the 18th, the Hokoku held a very elaborate ceremony, attended (I was told) by over 600 people. For additional details, see my fieldnotes for March 12, 15, 18, and my talk with the Project Attorney on March 19. I talked to the Project Attorney immediately after my visit to the Wakidas./

TALK WITH GEORGE WAKIDABehavior of Hokoku

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

I asked George what other people thought of the new WRA regulations. He replied:

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

"If Mr. Best doesn't pull anything, he will lose face. We figure the regulations don't mean a darn thing. People are laughing at the Administration and at the Hokoku. Finally those things (regulations) came out."

I asked how people felt about the Department of Justice statement that they had no plans for uniting the internees with their families.

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

Later George added: "The Hokoku say nothing about not being reunited. The rest of the people say, 'That's natural.'"

Relocation

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

Hokoku on Sunday /yesterday/

"On Sunday so many people were on the ground. They sent quite a few Internal Security cars over. Everybody was watching. They surrounded them with cars. People thought that when the Hokoku had finished their taiso /military exercises/ they were going to march them right into the stockade. So they wanted to see it. A lot of guys I know went to see it. But they were surprised. The WRA didn't do anything. There were about 264 women, I counted them, and about 400 men. But lots of the men were 13 or 14 year old kids."

Rumor of New Arrivals in Tule Lake

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

Hokoku Rumor

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

Letter from Santa Fe

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

Plight of Young Men in Hōkoku

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

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

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

America is Winning War

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

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

"There were lots of people didn't renounce. They have nothing to be scared about."

APRIL 12, 1945

On April 9 I had a long talk with Mr. Goodman, the Project Attorney. He told me that he had been meeting and negotiating with the Hoshi-dan, the Hokoku and the Joshi-dan almost every day since April 2 and had offered them the choice of three propositions. The Hokoku chose the proposition number 3, which stated that they would stop their military exercises if all members over 18, who so desired, were interned. But 1,400 people had signed this proposition, including citizens, aliens, males, females and 493 persons under 18. On April 7 Mr. Goodman sent the "Acting Chairman of Group Consisting of Former Members of Hokoku Seinen-dan" a stern letter in which he stated that the signers who wished to be interned must immediately stop all "marching Taiso bugle blowing, shouting, banzai-ing, parading..." (Fieldnotes, April 11). But only a part of the Hokoku members complied. The Hoshi and the Joshi-dan and some of the Hokoku continued to drill and bugle. This was the situation when I called on Sally Wakida on April 12. For additional details, see Fieldnotes, April 9, 11, 1945.

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

I asked Sally what she had been hearing about the Hōkoku:

"I've heard that quite a number of the Hōkoku people were getting discouraged. Is it true that the Army made them quit bugle playing? It seems that they are coming around all the time riding bicycles to all the members in the blocks."

I then remarked that there was a possibility that more of the Hōkoku might be interned. Said Sally:

"Internment is just what they want. They won't stop bugling until they are reunited."

"Last Saturday George was talking on the telephone in Japanese when he was cut off. He tried again and the operator cut him off again. Then she told him that no Japanese was to be talked on the phone that day because the Army was going to take over at 12 sharp if the Hōkoku didn't stop bugling."

"They (Hokoku) are raring to go /be interned/. That's the only purpose they have for bugling - nothing else."

"The statement that Mr. Best put out. Why did they put that out? If they're going to intern them, they'll never stop."

"Those people who are segregees in the other camps - will they be forced to get out /relocate/ too? Or will they send them here? (I hear this question almost every place I go.)"

Renunciants Relocating

"Miss Davis (of Welfare) told George that there was an evacuee who was a segregee, a renunciee, he was on the stop list, in fact he was about six kinds of people who couldn't go out! He said, 'Mr. Best, I want to go out.' And he went out! I bet if the people outside knew that certain people who had renounced went out, they wouldn't feel kindly toward them."

"I've been receiving a lot of letters from Gila telling that they're going to stick it out to the end. I hear the food there is not very good. The food here is all right though."

Proposed Internment of those who Keep Marching and Bugling

"If he takes just those who want to go, the real people (leaders) will be left here. It's the Issei who seem to know nothing; they're the people really behind it."

"George was so happy when he heard that the Army was going to put a stop to all this nonsense. He said, 'Now we'll have some peace for at least a month or so.'"

On April 16 and 17, Dillon S. Myer, National Director of the WRA visited the Tule Lake project. He gave a long address to the appointed staff, urging them to cooperate in the relocation program. *"It's up to you personally to help in the relocation job -- work with the people assigned to you. The job can be done and done quickly."* (Fieldnotes, April 16, 1945.) He also spoke to the block managers, telling them (according to two of my respondents) that he was planning to close all the centers, except Tule Lake, by the end of the year and that by that time, the Administration of Tule Lake would be given to the Department of Justice.

My block manager friend, Mr. Kurusu, did not find this talk reassuring. He told me anxiously:

"I heard the Army will take over the camp if the Hōkoku doesn't stop. That would mean martial law in the Tule Lake Center. If they do this things will be worse. Nobody likes to see the Army in here."

Another respondent, who was not a block manager, told me, *"I stood outside by the window to listen because I didn't have any business in there."* He added:

"I don't know how many of the block managers understood what he had to say. His speech was not translated. Except for a few Nisei block managers there, I don't think they all understood. I asked my block manager yesterday, I said, 'I heard that Mr. Myer spoke, but what did he say?' But he couldn't tell me what Myer had said."

(For detailed accounts, see Fieldnotes, April 18 and April 20.)

Some members of the Hōkoku were still bugling. On the morning of April 20, a respondent told me:

"Three or four people bugle here in this block early in the morning for ten or fifteen minutes just for the sake of the few members in this block. There are doctors in this block and other people who would like a good rest."

On April 20, I also received the following letter from Sally Wakida, who lived in a block with many resegregationists.

LETTER FROM SALLY WAKIDA

"The situation in this camp doesn't seem so quiet nowadays, Miss Hankey. The people have been quite concerned as to why Mr. Myer was here. Also people now know for sure that about 500 more will be taken. After this batch is taken, the rest will all be forced to relocate. The parents and wives of the people interned don't think it applies to them. They say so. So what do common people in general think? They're murmuring now that WRA has forgotten that they and not only the Hōkoku are also disloyal to U.S. That they have also renounced citizenship. That they have also signed for repatriation. So what happens? You know more than I do - they all got the jitters."

"Well, Gee Whiz, I wish something would happen and happen quick to make these people live not in fears and worries but in peace."

Within a few days, however, Myer's announcement that Tule Lake would not be closed had reached most people, and their tension and anxiety were mitigated. A few Resegregationist families, including the family of the Resegregationist, Mr. Kira, were reunited. They and their interned relatives were sent to Crystal City, one of the most comfortable of the internment centers. When I visited here on April 27, Sally Wakida seemed a bit indignant about this.

APRIL 27, 1945

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

"Mrs. Kira's going to Crystal City seems very peculiar after what they (WRA and Department of Justice) said in the paper (that the families of internees would not be reunited). Maybe the others were expecting to join their husbands too."

Reaction to Myer's visit in Sally's Block (68)

"When Mr. Myer came here the people (Hoshi-dan) in this block said (to us), 'See - what did we tell you. Now you'll wish you had gotten into the Hokoku and stayed out of the draft!'"

"The Block Manager didn't announce anything about his speech in our mess hall. But the Manager in 67 did. But when the people in 67 came over here and began to talk about what Mr. Myer had said, things quieted down here. The facts are going all around now."

Boys Leaving Hokoku

"There's a family in this block that had two boys in the Hokoku. Their mother made them go in. They used to go out every morning and bugle. Now they don't. They come into the mess hall almost late for breakfast and say it feels good to get a long sleep. The people are getting out of the Hokoku and Hoshi-dan but very quietly."

"Lots of the boys were pushed in by their parents."

Promises of Hoshi-dan

"The Hoshi-dan said they would take care of the people left here - the dependents of the men interned. But one of my girl friends was left here. She has no relatives here and is going to have a baby. Now she is in the hospital with heart trouble. And none of the Hokoku people even go to see her. There she is, all alone."

Sally, as everybody else is doing, agreed with me that the camp is very, very quiet now.

MAY 8, 1945

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDA

Nothing in this talk indicated that Tule Lake is not still in an extremely quiet period. Sally talked mostly about the opening of the baseball season tomorrow, when Mr. Best is going to throw the first ball as he did last year. George's team is in a final spurt of preparation. She said that all people were worried about was when they are going to get their notices that their renunciation of citizenship has been accepted. More and more people are becoming concerned as the weeks pass and they get no notices.