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Betrayal and Survival ...

* 1st Draft sent to Tennessee

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In the spring of 1942, following the Japanese attack on the U. S. ~~fleet~~ fleet at Paarl Harbor, some 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were taken from their homes on the West Coast and incarcerated by order of the U. S. government. They were confined in ten ~~xxxxxx~~ Relocation Centers supervised by the War Relocation Authority. These centers or camps, (as ~~the Japanese~~ ~~inmates~~ those who were confined prefer to call them) were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by ~~the~~ Military Police.

About 70 per cent of those confined were actual or potential citizens of the United States, that is, children or young people who had been born and educated in this country. About 30 percent had been born ~~in Japan~~ and educated in Japan and had been denied the right to apply for American citizenship by the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1942¹. None of these "evacuees"

1. Persons born in Japan were called Issei that is, first generation immigrants. Persons born in the United States, were called Nisei, ~~that~~ that is, second generation immigrants.

had committed any act of treason or ~~espionage~~ espionage and, indeed, there was no evidence that any of them had contemplated such activities. Nevertheless, many of them ~~were~~ spent more than three years of their lives ~~behind~~ "behind the barbed wire", during which time they were subjected to many undeserved ~~discomforts~~ discomforts and hardships.

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THE STIGMA OF THE INU (INFORMERS)

In the relocation centers, during periods of stress some individuals were invariable stigmatized as inu ("dog," i.e. "stool-pigeon or informer").

To be stigmatized as an inu brought social ostracism, which, in the crowded and confined life of the centers, was painful in the extreme. A suspected man, seating himself in the mess hall, was met with an uncomfortable silence and meaningful glances. If he entered a latrine or boiler room, the common gathering places for gossip or discussion, friendly talk or argument ceased with his appearance. Because of the lack of privacy imposed by camp conditions, he could find no escape and was reminded of his despised status many times a day. Moreover, camp life offered almost no resources in which an ostracized individual might find temporary escape. The administration frowned on fraternization between Caucasian staff members and the Japanese. Marked friendliness with Caucasians would, in any case, corroborate the suspicions of the community. When tension between the administration and the residents became grave, the man marked as an inu was liable to be attacked and beaten. Understandably, most people avoided doing or saying anything which might cause them to be suspected of being inu.¹

In June of 1944, the Tule Lake Center experienced an extreme outbreak of hostility toward inu which culminated in a series of assaults and a murder. In this essay, I would like to present the various events and the peoples' statements in chronological order.

THE ASSEMBLY CENTERS

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Between March and June of 1942, most of the Japanese Americans residing on the West Coast were evacuated to hastily ^{organized} ~~appropriated~~, so called assembly centers located outside of Military Area No. 1.

In speaking of the Assembly Centers, many respondents described the unsanitary and overcrowded living quarters, converted horse stalls and ^{casually} ~~hastily~~ constructed barracks, and several mentioned the grass growing through the floorboards. On the other hand some of the young bachelors told me that they enjoyed themselves because of the presence of so many girls.

Many of the Nisei anticipated that they would soon be released. Nevertheless, the armed guards and fences increased their sense of stigma and injustice.

When I asked Mrs. Kurusu (age 26) whether any experience at the Assembly Center had made her feel especially sad, she said:

Well, I tell you what, one of my school teachers came to visit us. .and it was like a prison type of thing in which you can't even shake hands -- with them sitting on one side and we were sitting on the other side.

I asked, "You mean there were bars between you?"

She replied: "No a table - a long, long table. .that we couldn't reach across."

When I asked Jennifer Hara (age 17) whether anything that happened at the Assembly Center had made her feel angry, she replied:

To be locked up without a hearing and losing your freedom. On Visitors Day the guards were there with rifles standing next to you. We felt like criminals.

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I asked Arthur Kikuchi (age 16) which of his experiences in the Assembly Center he recalled most strongly.

We didn't know whether. .how we were going to be treated in terms of. .were we to be hostages, that was always in the front of our minds. We had thought that we would be exchanged, number for number, with the war prisoners who might be held over there. And so we had braced ourselves for deportation. After we were evacuated and all, citizenship no longer meant anything. So we no longer to be surprised with any move that the government would make.

John Sawada (age 20) responded to the same question at length:

One thing that I never could get over was how was it that a citizen like us, we were born here -- and a citizen could be behind barbed wire without -- I learned in history -- innocent until proven guilty. .And we're behind barbed wire, soldiers watching us from the outside. This is something that I could not believe that this country would do. And I felt, "Gee, is this what they've been teaching us all this time?" It really comes down to that you study history, you study the Constitution, and is this what it all adds up to? They could just lift you up, take you away, and throw you in the camp like this because of my ancestry? This really hit me hard. .I thought, "Gee, now what am I to believe; whom am I to believe?". .You're in an assembly center, military police are guarding you. Who wants to escape? We have no way of getting away.

The most moving statement was made by June Iwihara, who was 16 at the time:

The one thing I vividly remember is that I had a very good girl friend, and I think she had a nervous breakdown. And because they didn't have

facilities to treat her. .apparently they tied her down to a messhall table and I could hear her screaming all through the night and that really bothered me. . .she was separated from her family and she was about my age, . . .We were crowded together like flies. I remember thinking, I can't stand it. . .

In contrast, Mr. Morimoto, a 36 year old Issei, responded to this question by telling me that the toilets in the assembly center were bad and that his wife was unable to go to the toilet for three days. He laughed heartily and I asked him what had finally happened. He responded: "She couldn't go, but after a while. .you gotta go!"

THE RELOCATION CENTER

During the summer and fall of 1942 almost 110,000 Japanese Americans were moved from the assembly centers, from institutions and from home communities and confined in ten large camps. These camps, which were called projects or relocation centers, were located in isolated areas of California, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Arkansas.

For some five or six months the people confined in these isolated centers tried to work out some way of life. Though there were difficulties and crises the Japanese Americans and the administrative staff began to make progress in the development of a sense of community.(1)

In 1981-82, only a few respondents spoke of this initial period of life in the relocation centers. *My interview schedule was likely responsible, in that* ~~I am probably at fault here,~~ because I began this section of my questionnaire by asking them, "Which of your experiences in the relocation camp do you recall most strongly?" Almost all of them began to talk about the military questionnaire. In consequence, I often had difficulty in getting them to speak about earlier events and experiences in the relocation centers.

Early Experiences in the Relocation Centers

Jack Tsuruda, age 26, enjoyed telling me how he managed to obtain wood to make furniture for his barrack room. On their arrival at the Gila center, *they found* ~~there was~~ nothing in their room except a couple of beds and some blankets, "No Tables, no chairs, nothing!" Getting wood to make furniture was the problem. But one day when there was a terrible sandstorm - "The sand was so thick you could not see more than a yard ahead" - he decided to steal some wood from the WRA woodpile. "It was very fine wood - redwood." He crept up carefully, groping his way, and suddenly, a yard ahead of him, he saw a soldier with a gun. He crept back very carefully and made his way to the *other side*

[1. See Spicer, et al., pp. 61 to 139 for a detailed description of this period of camp life.

of the woodpile. The wood was tied in very large, heavy bundles, but he managed to get one on his back and made away with it. Then, as he was staggering along, he dimly saw another figure through the blowing sand. But this was his friend, "who ^{and} had the same idea." (Mr. Tsuruda was to answer the military questionnaire in the negative. He also, I was told, ^{was to} renounced his American citizenship.)

Mr. Kodama, age 25, told me how he and his wife, while at Tule Lake, had worked as volunteer ^{farm} workers. He told me how the "really nice sheriff" who owned the land used to take the Japanese American workers pheasant hunting. The sheriff told them that if they saw anyone else approaching they should "just throw them in the grass." (Here Mr. Kodama laughed heartily.) He added:

"It was a really nice sheriff. And they took us to movie. But people looking at you like they know we are Japanese."

(Mr. Kodama answered the military questionnaire in the affirmative, and did not renounce his citizenship.)

Thomas George Kikuchi, age 12, wrote:

Our family was sent to Rohwer, Arkansas, Relocation Camp. I didn't particularly feel any anxiety in learning that I would be sent there. By now I had pretty much adjusted to the camp life: the lack of privacy, the knowlege that we were going to be here for a long time.

I think the Christmas of 1942 stands out in my memory. There was a Christmas party for the kids and I received a present donated by the people on the outside. Just when I thought everybody out there hated us, I get this present and it restored my faith in mankind again.

I was still a pretty good student. I remember a science project where I spent nearly a year collecting and cataloging plants and leaves from

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trees indigenous to the area. I was seriously considering a career as a botanist or a horticulturalist. (George Hara was staken to Japan by his parents.)

June Iwohara, like Mr. Kodmama, had been sent to Tule Lake when it was still a Relocation Center. She was 17 at the time.

I hated being there. I just didn't like it and then I began to hate Japanese people and mainly because we^{as} human beings weren't meant to be incarcerated like that, like cattle. Sometimes I felt I was going to lose my mind, . . . There were four of us, my father, my mother, my brother and I in this little tiny room. Of course my mother and dad couldn't sleep together because they didn't want my brother and I to sleep together. So dad and my brother slept on one side of the room with a sheet tied in between us and then mother and I slept on the other side of the room. And that's the way we were for four years.

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Registration
THE MILITARY QUESTIONNAIRE

According to the program formulated by Milton S. Eisenhower, the first director of the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the evacuees were to remain in the relocation centers for the duration of the war.(1) m P

Only A few ~~evacuees~~, like Mr. Kodama, were permitted to leave the centers for brief periods of seasonal farmwork ^{and only} after their credentials had been elaborately checked. But when Dillon S. Myer assumed the directorship of the WRA he made strong efforts to liberalize this policy and permit more people to "resettle" in unrestricted areas of the United States.(2) By November of 1942, Myer had decided to go all out for resettlement. Meanwhile the WRA officials ^{had} been pressuring the Army to reinstitute selective service procedures for those evacuees who were American citizens. By the end of January 1943, the WRA and the Army had worked out a plan. "Two questionnaire forms were prepared in Washington, one for male citizens of Japanese ancestry (17 years of age and over) with the seal of 'Selective Service System' at the top. . . the other questionnaire form for female citizens and Issei males and females, was headed 'War Relocation Application for Leave Clearance.' The questionnaires were complicated and lengthy, including some thirty questions, most of which concerned the individuals sociodemography history and status."(3) The crucial questions were numbers 27 and 28. On the form for male citizens these read:

Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United

States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

1. There were a few exceptions to this policy; for example, tubercular cases, college students who wished to continue their studies outside the prohibited area, mixed bloods, and the female spouse in mixed marriages. (Thomas and Nishimoto, 1946, p. 33).
2. The details of what happened during this period in 1942 are extremely complex. Interested persons should read "Thomas and Nishimoto", 1946, pp. 53-63.
3. Ibid, p. 57.

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Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United State of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

On the form for female citizens and aliens of both sexes, the questions were:

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Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization? (1)

Apparently the Army and the WRA assumed that almost all the evacuees would answer these questions in the affirmative. The young male citizens would then be drafted and their families moved to civilian areas where they might contribute to the war effort. But their plan went awry. In many centers the presentation of the questionnaires resulted in an uproar. Spontaneous mass meetings were held at which some of the young people argued passionately that the only sensible policy was to express loyalty to the United States. Other Nisei were quick to point out that the intent of the questionnaire was "to draft us from behind the barbed wire." The Issei were also in a quandary, for if they renounced their allegiance to the emperor they would be people without a country. Tension and hostility rose so high in some centers that the authorities arrested a number of young men and removed them to a separate detention center under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice.

Apparently it did not occur to the composers of this questionnaire that a potential Japanese American saboteur would as a matter of course, answer these questions in the affirmative, would relocate, and would then proceed to demonstrate his allegiance to Japan.

There was a wide variation in responses among residents of different relocation projects. In Tule Lake 42 per cent of all eligible persons refused to register or answered question 28 in the negative. In Granada only two percent responded in the negative. Those who had answered in the negative or refused to answer came to be called "disloyal" or "No-No's". Those who had answered in the affirmative were termed "loyals" or "Yes-Yes's".

In the following section I shall quote my respondents at length, because, as Jennifer Hara told me in 1982, the people who said "No-No" or refused to answer "were classified as disloyal Americans."

The Military Registration Viewed in 1981-1982

When, in 1981-2 I asked my respondents, "Was there anything in the relocation camps that made you feel especially angry?" many of them responded "The military registration" or "The No-No business." Mr. Oda, who was ¹⁹~~20~~ at the time and was confined in the Tule Lake relocation center:(1)

I guess the first thing was the so-called registration. . .I felt angered. In the beginning I didn't think much of it, actually they said you only have to register, so I thought, "No big deal." And then we started hearing about this so-called loyalty questions....even that...I didn't give much thought to, because I was a kid and you know, you didn't think about those things anyway. But more and more when the question started to come up, people started to ask, "What does this actually mean? Do these have a double meaning?.. And then the director was asked to clarify the meaning. He just flatly refused and (said) anybody who won't come to register would be put into isolation camp. . .That sort of angered me. It was under a threat. .to have to answer something *like* that without even trying to clarify the question. So that angered

1. For a detailed account of the turmoil at the Tule Lake Center, see Thomas and Nishimoto, Ibid., pp. 73-82.

me. And in fact quite a few just absolutely refused to answer the question and were taken into isolation camp. . . But I waited till the last minute, so to speak, just held out. I didn't want to go to isolation camp, of course. So I guess out of resentment I said, "No-No." I thought that was the only answer I could give at the time. Just to let them know how I felt. So that's how I became a No-No.

Koshiro Furakawa, 20 years old, confined at Tule Lake:

Our loyalty was questioned and this is what I resented and this is the cause of my trouble at Tule Lake. Because I didn't comply with the registration order, and I was placed there and kept there and labeled a disloyal citizen of America. And I've had to live with that for all these years. . . The fact is that we were very loyal; we were extremely loyal. . . they questioned us and that is the thing that really hurts, because we were taught, we were brought up to be Americans, and then, suddenly to be betrayed like that.

When I asked Thomas Sawada, age ¹⁸22, which of the things that happened in the Tule Lake relocation center had affected him most deeply, he responded:

The one thing that really got us is that signing that loyalty and disloyalty forms. . . They tried to qualify you whether you're loyal or disloyal. . . Actually, we walked out on the sergeant because he said it was voluntary and not required. We said, "Nothing doing!" So we didn't pay any attention to it. I mean our block did, anyway. I could have said, "Yes-yes", and got out and, you know, if I wanted to sabotage something I could do that. But I mean, that's not the way I felt. So I mean we didn't sign up at all. Primarily, I didn't want the government to push us around anymore. . . Our feeling was we didn't want to sign because

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it wasn't required. It was not commanded that we do it, so we didn't do it. . . One block really got subversive about that. They didn't want to sign either, and they threw the policeman out or something like that. They rounded up some of the boys and took them in the CCC camp. We were all prepared. My brother and I had our suitcases packed and if they came. . . They said they were going to round up all the non-signers, you know, we were prepared to be taken out. But nobody came.

Mr. Morimoto, an Issei, 3⁵ years old, confined at Tule Lake. When I asked Mr. Morimoto which experiences at Tule Lake he recalled most strongly, he first told me how he had been criticized by pro-Japanese Issei friends because he was advising the young people to relocate and go to school. Then, however, he told me that he had served as an interpreter at the "registration time" and added:

But I just said Yes and No answer. Not No-No.(1)

When I asked: "How did you feel about the military questionnaire, he responded:

Well, they shouldn't ask that question in the first place. That is wrong. They shouldn't ask that question. We were in camp. I think the question is wrong but I answered; everyone had to answer.

Mr. Tokunaga, age 42, was born in Hawaii. He was a block manager at Tule Lake at the time of registration. His lengthy account is difficult to follow but I will quote a few sentences:

The military registration. . . that one is very strange thing. . .

Everybody got mixed up you know. Nobody wanted to register and the administration sent a message - they started to threaten us. . .

But actually most people is loyal to United States, but we didn't

1. This meant that Mr. Morimoto had affirmed that he would be willing to serve in the U.S. Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC, but that he refused to forswear his allegiance to the emperor of Japan.

have no voice, Whatever you do, they put us in stockade. . .a lot of people, they get confused about it.

Mr. Kodama who was born in Hawaii in 1918 was taken to Japan by his father when he was three years old. He came to the United States when he was 17. He told me that he had volunteered for Army service in 1941, but after a year he was given an honorable discharge because "I had the education in Japan". He was sent directly to the Tule Lake Relocation Center.

When I asked him how he felt about the military questionnaire, he replied:

I was choosing United States. . .I wrote Yes to everything. I mean chu:sei(1) for living not in Japan but in United States. . .

Naturally, raised in Japan,...I thought Japan going to win, that's what I felt. But I'm in the United States and you can't do anything. So I thought I might as well chu:sei in the United States.(1)

He then told me how he had felt when he had been discharged from the army prior to the evacuation:

When I discharged from the army I really. . .I tell you, it's something I never forget. Rest of them stayed and then they took off. I was willing to fight for this country and if they were going to send me to Italy or something. But when I was in the army, they bring the Japanese paper, they ask me if I can read the headlines. Then I think that was an examination of something. Then we had to translate just common words and they were going to send me to Okinawa. But I told them, I sure hate the people there, so would you mind sending me to another country, you know, like Italy. I'm willing to fight for this country, I told them.

1. Chu:sei has no counterpart in present day English. It involves an unquestioning and absolute obligation or duty to the emperor, the law, and the nation which can never be fully repaid and for which there is no time limit.

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In response to the question, "Which of your experiences at Tule Lake do you recall most strongly?" Mr. Sawada, (then age ¹⁸21) responded:

When this registration came out about loyalty and this and that, I said, "Gee," you know, they put us behind bars, barbed wires, and would force this kind of question on you. This bothered me. After giving a lot of thought about it, I said, "No, I'm not even going to register." The loyalty question that was put on us, I thought it was unfair. It never came to my mind how I'm going to sabotage anything.

Mr. Kurusu, who was in his late twenties, volunteered for military service in 1941 but his induction papers were cancelled. In 1981 he still found it difficult to talk about the military registration.

I was upset by what it (the registration) did to the camp...I didn't know what to do myself...I was supposed to go in the army but they cancelled my induction orders, so I just decided to give a negative answer and went to Tule Lake. . .I don't see why they don't take me in the army. Then all problems is solved. . .But I was come into' camp - and here comes the military registration.

I asked ^{his wife, Yuriko} Mrs. Kurusu, an Issei, age ²⁷28: "Was there anything that really made you angry there?" (at the Gila Relocation Center). She responded:

You know the questionnaire the government sent out? I thought that putting the Nisei into camp and then asking them questions like that. I thought that was stupid.

Mrs. Kunitani, age 20, told me:

I certainly didn't want to answer it. I wanted to ignore it. I figured I was safe because I was a citizen (laughs). I figured that it didn't pertain to me at all. But it did. I refused to answer.

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When I asked Noriko Tsuruda, age 23, whether she remembered the ² military registration in Gila, she responded:

I think I was really for the Japanese Army. . .I guess I had a feeling toward America because they put us in this center. I thought we were ^{by} king of kicked in the mouth. So for this reason, we. .I didn't, I didn't. .being a woman I don't register for the army, . . .Okay, we had a choice, sign loyal to the Americans or loyal to Japan. So I went with the family. I went loyal to Japan and then therefore we were sent to Tule Lake.

When I asked Mrs. Iida, age ² 23 whether she remembered the military registration, she [^] responded:

Oh, vaguely. By that time I was married. My husband was a "No-No" so I thought "What could I do?" So I just went along. I don't think I ever said "No-No." I don't know.

Some of the most eloquent statements about the military questionnaire were made by teenagers who came to be stigmatized as "disloyal" because their parents or their elder brother had said: "No-No". ^{George Kikuchi, age 12 told} *Shomori* me:

When I learned that we were going to leave Rohwer and go to Tule Lake and eventually to Japan, that was the lowest point in my life. I dreaded going to Tule Lake, knowing that eventually I would have to accompany my parents to Japan. . .My father, I think, just wanted to go back to Japan where he owned land and would be able to live out his remaining years in relative tranquility. He knew he was too old to start over again in the U.S. He was in his sixties then.

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His brother, ^{Arthur} age 18, told me:

We went to Tule Lake Center because, I think our parents were not what you call a die-hard, a pro-Japanese. They were caught in the situation of how to support a family started from scratch, and they could not see their way financially. And I remember many a night when we discussed the possibility of relocating. But they would say, "Where? With such a large family?"(1). . . We had absolutely no resources. I would have liked to relocate myself, but my mother just would not even entertain the idea. I thought of jumping the train (taking the family to Tule Lake).

George Okamoto, age 12, told me:

My oldest brother had a lot of influence in our family because he was around 18 or 19. And in Topaz he was very involved in the YES-YES NO-NO activities. And my father was a very quiet kind of person. So my older brother kind of took over the family in making decisions. I have a feeling that he also influences by second oldest brother. But I think through my oldest brother's influence, he answered the questions, "No, No." And therefore my father and mother also did, because they didn't want to split up the family.

1. There were eight children in the Kikuchi family.

DECISION TO SEGREGATE THE "DISLOYAL"

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THE SEGREGATION

The Japanese American evacuees were subjected to the military questionnaire in February of 1943. According to Spicer, et al., the experience had some constructive results. "Most of the centers were more in the nature of integrated communities after registration than they had been before." "Since their arrival, people had been forming themselves into groups in which individuals found strength and support. Every center had begun to shape as a community." The crises of registration had given impetus to this development.(1)

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However, in May of 1943 Senator ^{Chandler} Chandler, chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, publicly announced that 20 percent of the evacuees were disloyal to the United States and that these disloyal individuals should be separated from the loyal. ^{Thereupon} The House Committee on Un-American Activities began an investigation of the extent of disloyalty. On July 6¹⁹⁴³ the Senate passed a resolution urging the separation of the people in the centers on a basis of loyalty. Two weeks later, the WRA announced plans for "segregation". The Tule Lake Center, where 42 percent of the residents had refused to answer or had answered "Yes-No", was designated as the place of segregation. Accordingly, some of the "loyals" were ^{re} moved from Tule Lake to other centers. Many, however, did not wish to move and ultimately some 6,000 "Old Tuleans" remained at Tule Lake; 2,000 of these were "disloyals" and 4,000 were "unauthorized".(2)

1. See Section in "Impounded People" entitled An Emerging Framework of Community Life, pp. 161-69.
2. Ibid. p. 177.

IDENTITY AND AMBIVALENCE PRIOR TO SEGREGATION

From *onward*
Beginning on September 18, 1943, trainloads of "disloyals" were taken
by train to Tule Lake. *had begun* I began my fieldwork at the Gila Relocation Center.
was initiated
several months before this segregation took place.

On July 30, *1943,* I talked to an Issei friend who was struggling to make up his
mind whether to become a segregant or not. In a long *conversation* talk, in which we
thoroughly hashed over the pros and cons, this timid, cautious, and very
conservative man suddenly sat up straight and cried out bitterly:

If I go back to Japan, regardless of whether Japan wins
or America wins, I can live free from such worry as being
considered a dangerous alien, and once in my life I may have
the right to cast even one ballot as any human being should.
But here, I can't do it. Socially, politically, and economi-
cally, I'm shut out. No matter how hard it is to live in Japan,
maybe it will be a better place for the freedom of the individual.¹

In August, Mr. Kurusu, a Kibei with whom I was discussing his reasons for
becoming a segregant, told me: "At least we can't be discriminated against
in Japan. . . People don't seem to want us. We don't want to stay where they
don't want us. We are not going to stand for any more of that stuff."²

Mr. Tsuruda, was a Nisei in his late twenties, *had* told me that he had
no intention of going to Japan. But he had said "No-No" so that he might
remain in camp and care for his elderly and ailing parents. He said:

"You know, what I'd really like to see is Japan win the war and then call
it a draw. Just so that the Caucasians get knocked out of them that they're
not so damned superior as they think they are." Accustomed to talking to the
very cautious and circumspect "loyal" evacuees, I looked somewhat surprised
at this bold statement. Mr. Tsuruda observed this, laughed and said, "What
the hell. I'm going to Tule Lake. I can speak my mind. What have I got to
be afraid of?"³

1. Fieldnotes, July 30, 1943.

2. Ibid., August, 1943.

3. Ibid., September 2, 1943.

Footnote about Kurusu.

✓ In some cases, arguments against the disloyal were well meant: respected older Issei who believed that America would repent of its treatment of the Japanese Americans, and would, in any case, treat them less severely than the Japanese government, attempted to influence Nisei and Kibei not to become segregants. They emphasized the gravity of the decision and painted a realistic picture of the hardships which expatriates would inevitably meet in Japan.¹

On the other hand, many of the loyal, themselves by no means certain of the wisdom of their decisions, were quite blunt in their criticism of the disloyal. They accused them pointblank of trying to evade the draft and predicted that they would come to rue their decision bitterly. To this the potential transferees retorted that most of the loyal did not wish to be drafted either and that by pledging an allegiance to a country to which they did not feel "sincere loyalty" they were showing themselves to be opportunistic cheats -or in camp parlance- they were "trying to fool the United States government."

Some of the potential segregants began to idealize their position at the expense of the loyal, particularly those renegade disloyal who at first had said "No" and were now changing their answers to "Yes." A young Kibei said:

I despise those people who changed from "no" to "yes" because a thing like loyalty should not be played around with for the sake of personal convenience. Those who change are cowards and of no value to either country. . . How can a Kibei be comfortable in a U.S. uniform when his convictions lie elsewhere? I know what I'm doing. I'm satisfied in the knowledge that I'm sticking it out according to my convictions even if they take my life away.²

An older Nisei expressed himself still more forcefully:

The greatest majority of these so-called loyals are not truly patriotic. They've declared themselves loyal because of personal reasons. The greatest of which is to avoid the conscription into the Japanese Military Forces in the event when exchange of prisoners of war is speedily carried out. So they, considering themselves wise and safe, laugh at those who hastily renounced their loyalty to the country of their birth. (The) "No-Yes-No" group (those who changed their answers to the Military Questionnaire) is doubly despised by the true adherents of Japan and to their Emperor. They are neither Americans nor Japanese. They are men without a country.³

1. Tamie Tsuchiyama, "Segregation" (Unpublished Manuscript), p. 22.

2. Ibid., p. 19.

3. In view of the ambivalence of the disloyal, the use of the word "hastily"

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Such statements were, at first, voiced by the avowedly pro-Japanese individuals. It was not long, however, before they were echoed by the less determined, potential segregees and even persons who might admit to a trusted friend that although they had said "No-No", they did not intend to go to Japan. If taken at face value, they gave to the listener an impression of splendid and noble self-assurance. To the speaker they gave the reassuring ⁱⁿde-
lusion that he belonged to a group which held honor above gross physical safety and comfort.

There may have been a significant latent meaning in these statements. Not only did the segregees project their draft avoiding motivations to the loyal, but with excoriating scorn and bitterness they attacked the overtly ambivalent loyal who swing from one side to the other. This would indicate a projection of self-hatred growing from their fear of their own ambivalence--an overwhelming desire to reassure themselves that they would hold to their decision by painting the people who changed their minds as persons of ~~most~~ despicable character.

Another device which some segregants employed to cope with the disturbing arguments of the loyal was simply to avoid social intercourse with them. Shortly after the War Relocation Authority announced that segregation would be carried out, a "loyal" Nisei woman told me:

It seems like this issue has broked apart the camp into two groups. My friends and acquaintances who want to be repatriated hardly speak to me anymore because I'm known for my American ways. People we thought were our friends won't talk to us now.¹

On the other hand, some "loyals" did their best to keep in touch with their "disloyal" relatives.

Another phenomenon of the period immediately preceding the segregation was the appearance of a fantasy of future life in Tule Lake. Some of the potential transferees did what many anxious and insecure people have done before; they built a dream picture of a rosy future --a Utopia--in which all of their previous troubles would be wiped out.

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Part of this dream concerned the details of material life, which some transferees hoped would be comparable to the conditions in the internment camps under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice. Rumors that the facilities of the internment camps were far superior to those found in the centers under the War Relocation Authority had long been current in the centers and some transferees, feeling that they were about to take a step which would put them on a par with internees, found comfort in the belief that they were about to share these imaginary privileges.

This attitude, however, carried implications which transcended mundane comforts. Some transferees began to assume that confinement in a special center would give them genuine status as Japanese nationals--in short, they would come under the protection of Japan and could make a clean break with America. In this new center, they also hoped, doubts would be wiped out. If the individual weakened in his resolve to be a "true Japanese," the stern and sharp action of the American government would help him make up his mind. Some potential transferees admitted to friends that they expected "it's going to be very strict;"¹ ~~It is possible~~ ^{Doubtless,} that some of them unconsciously hoped that it would be strict.

A salient aspect of this fantasy was its great emphasis on anticipated in-group solidarity. Some persons adopted the belief with fanatical intensity and these were as likely to be ordinary folk as individuals with political ambitions.

None of the informants quoted below wished to become a leader and the first three statements were made by young girls.

All during the trip (to Tule Lake) all the people--all they talked about was how things were going to be in Tule Lake. There wouldn't be any more inu, no more "yes-yes." They were so glad when they saw the camp. . . . They came with such high hopes.²

1. Ibid.., August 15, 1943.

2. Ibid.., Sally Wakida, July 19, 1944.

We had expected just one group and had expected to run this camp as we wanted to. We had high hopes of that.¹

We felt people with the same kind of mind would be assembled here.²

I hoped that people in here would have the same thoughts and decisions. . . I am deeply disappointed.³

When they came here they thought it was going to be a Japanese Utopia. The resentment that arose was brought on by their frustration.⁴

I suggest that when the informants quoted above spoke of "just one group,"

"the same kind of mind," "the same thoughts and decisions," they were also

unconsciously giving expression to one of their most pressing ^{psychic} psychological

needs ^{to} have "just one mind" instead of a confused and tortured consciousness

^{"loyal American" conducted a bitter internal debate with}
in which the fence-sitter carried on incessant sabotage against the "true

Japanese." Now, they hoped, the die was cast. They had said they were going

to Japan. They were going to a place where all of their social life would be

with people who were also committed to loyalty to Japan; they would no longer

be subjected to influences tempting them to re-open the question in their minds;

no longer would they suffer the misery of internal conflict.

1. Ibid., July 18, 1944.

2. Ibid., July 19, 1944.

3. From a letter written to me by a Kibei, dated December 3, 1943.

4. Bob Tsuruda, Field Notes, September 17, 1944.

THE TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER: LIFE AS A SEGREGATED "DISLOYAL"

Brief History - mid-October to November 5, 1943Arrival, the Farm Accident, the Farmers' Strike, the
Demonstration, The "Incident"PROPERTY OF ROSALIE H. MAX
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At the Tule Lake Relocation Center, 42 percent of the residents had refused to answer the military questionnaire or had answered "Yes-No". After the segregation, some 6,000 persons remained at Tule Lake. 2,000 of these were "disloyal" and 4,000 were unauthorized.¹ These persons soon became known as "Old Tuleans" as distinct "those who came from other camps". ¶ In 1944-45 many "of the incoming segregants told me that they had been dismayed at the sight of the "man-proof fence" - crowned with barbed wire and guarded by watch-towers and armed soldiers - with which the authorities thought it necessary to surround the new segregation center,² and by the impressive (but obsolete) tanks which had been placed so that the segregants could see them. They were also dismayed at the quarters provided. Many of the vacant "apartments" (the single barrack rooms provided for families) were extremely dirty, and some had been stripped of wall board and stoves by the Old Tuleans. Some rooms, presumed to be "vacant," were occupied by Old Tuleans who had moved into the vacated areas without administrative permission. The newcomers found almost all the facilities of their new home "inferior" to those at the centers from which they had come; the food was poor, the latrines and laundry rooms dirty, even the weather was bad, and complaints were heard on all sides. The only facility that was judged "better" was the Co-operative Enterprises - the general stores or canteens popularly called "the Co-op."

1. Impounded People, p. 177

2. See comments on fence pp.

Meanwhile, the project farm was continuing in operation, and segregants were transported every day by truck to labor in the fields. On 15 October (just two weeks after the first trainload of newcomers had arrived) one of these farm trucks turned over. Thirty men were injured, and one died within a few days. Many segregants were shocked and indignant, and those who had been serving as farm laborers refused to return to work. Acting with that speed which authorities and administrators always find so incredible, the people held block meetings and set up a *Daihyo Sha Kai* ("Representative Body"), chosen, in large part, from among the men who had attained prestige as leaders in the relocation centers. Faithfully reflecting the discontent of the population, this body decided to use the farm work stoppage as a means of mitigating or alleviating the people's grievances. In a remarkable explosion of parliamentary procedure, the *Daihyo Sha Kai* appointed numerous subcommittees (to investigate sanitation, the hospital, the schools, the food in the mess halls, the farm accident), and it also appointed a central committee of seven men (one for each ward), which was to organize the materials submitted by the investigating committees and present them to the administration. These seven men came to be known as the negotiating committee.

When it was announced that one of the injured farm laborers had died, several committees of segregants approached the administration and requested permission to hold a public funeral. Permission was refused. In defiance of this administrative veto a public funeral was ceremonially conducted on a platform stage

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customarily used for outdoor entertainment. The administration countered by turning off the power to the public address system, and the funeral service could not be heard.

On 26 October the project director met with the negotiating committee of the *Daihyo Sha Kai*, listened to their list of grievances, and promised to do what he could to relieve the situation. Meanwhile, he was recruiting additional farm laborers from among the 'loyal'¹ Japanese of nearby relocation centers to harvest the valuable crop. This, of course, deprived the strikers of their only important bargaining point. Many of the segregees regarded the strike breakers with particular hostility because they felt they were betraying their fellow Japanese. Subsequently, one of my respondents told me that a harvester² had written, " (This is what you get for being disloyal.) on the heads of califlower³ given to the segregants.

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On November 1, Dillon Myer, the national director of the WRA, visited the center. Seizing this opportunity to appeal "directly to the highest authority," the negotiating committee engineered a mass demonstration, during which several thousand segregants surrounded the administrative buildings. Most of the demonstrators behaved in an extremely orderly fashion. However, a group of young Japanese ^{enthusiasts} toughs entered the hospital and urged the Japanese staff to join the demonstration. When the chief medical officer - a generally unpopular man - ordered them to leave, they attacked him and beat him severely. Order was restored; the negotiating committee presented its list of grievances; Mr. Myer promised he would investigate the complaints and take justifiable action; and the crowd then dispersed quickly. That night, all over the country, newspapers carried headlines about the spectacular Jap riots at Tule Lake.

1. "Doing Fieldwork," pp. 95-6.

2. Field notes, April 14, 1944.

Three nights later (4 November) a fight broke out between a group of young Japanese and a few Caucasian WRA employees who, the Japanese thought, were attempting to transport food from the project warehouses to the strike breakers. According to the WRA report, the project director feared he was about to be kidnapped, and he turned the jurisdiction of the camp over to the Army. These events took place late at night and most of the residents did not know that anything unusual had happened. The next morning, therefore, about a thousand of the Japanese began walking as usual to their work in the administrative section (for only the farm workers had stopped working at this time). In the area between the administrative and the evacuee sections, they encountered a cordon of soldiers who could only assume that these converging Orientals were the vanguard of another demonstration. The would-be workers were met with a barrage of tear gas, and, bewildered and indignant, they fled to their quarters. The army then began to build a fence between the administrative area and the large section of the center where the segregants lived."¹

1. Ibid. p. 97.

"Doing 7; all work")

Respondents' StatementsThe Trauma of the Fence

As I have remarked, in 1944 many of the segregants told me that they had been dismayed and angered at the sight of the "man-proof" fence topped by barbed wire and guarded by watchtowers containing armed soldiers. Indeed, two of my older respondents subsequently gave me essays in which they described their first impressions. On February 2, 1944, Mr. Tsuruda, speaking of his fellow Japanese Americans, told me:

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

And again on May 27, he told me:

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

Mr. Itabashi, a Issei, age 57, wrote in June of 1944:

The first impression we had when we entered this camp was that we were being treated as traitors and criminals. But we Issei are simply wishing to return to our old homes, the Niseis who were disappointed at the treatment they received from the American public since the war broke out are following broken-heartedly their parents.

Mr. Kurihara, a Nisei, age 48, wrote:

A very repulsive sight greeted up as we approached Tule Lake. It was the sight of the numerous watch towers lining the perimeter of the camp. I felt as if we were a bunch of real criminals about to be impounded. . . . My feelings were further aggravated as we neared the camp. Though I have read about the high fences being erected, while at Leupp, my imagination seemed to have failed in it prior conception because the fences in reality are much higher and more cruel, both

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in construction and appearance. I did not believe they were built so high and with meshed wires similar to those used at San Diego Zoo. Why even the gorillas with tremendous strength were helpless captives, and when men of inferior strength were caged in like a bunch of wild animals made me feel terribly irritated. . . Topping everything which tends to rouse the ire of the internees are the search lights beaming throughout the camp, watching us through the wee hours of the night as if we were incorrigible murderers. Have we not been the most law-abiding people in the past? Why must we be subjected to such humiliation?¹

I myself wrote on the first paragraph of my fieldnotes:

The entire camp is surrounded by a heavy "man-proof" fence eight feet or more in height. At intervals along the fence are large watch towers capable of holding at least four men. These towers are provided with high-powered searchlights. (Feb. 2, 1944)

In 1981-82 I asked my respondents: "Can you remember how you felt when you arrived at Tule Lake?" Though many made responses like: "It was dreary, compared to Gila, everything was so dark," or "My God, this place is really something!" only one man mentioned the formidable barbed wire topped fences and sentry boxes which had been erected as part of the process of transforming the Tule Lake Relocation Center into the Tule Lake Segregation Center.

1. Mr. Kurihara was transferred to Tule Lake in December of 1943.

Respondents' Statements - mid-October to November 5, 1943

In 1981-82, six respondents, all male, referred to the complex, dramatic, and shocking events of this period. Three of these gave eye-witness accounts of the incident¹ of November 5, and since these are the most dramatic I will begin with them.

John Sawada, age 21

After we had been talking for about a half hour, I remarked to Mr. Sawada: "There were a lot of things that happened at Tule Lake, there was the farm strike and the army rule." He interrupted me and said:

Yeah, tanks running through the camp one night. These are so vivid in my mind that I said I could hardly believe this. But then it did happen. That night when the tanks came rolling into camp, somehow or another I was in bed already at eight o'clock and I heard this man hollering for help. And so, like a fireman,² I got dressed and walked outside and here I find this man that lives in the next block and he had a club about three feet long and running through the block and he says, 'I think we killed somebody.' I said, 'What do you mean, you killed somebody?'

'Well, these people were waiting at the warehouse, people from the other camp that was harvesting potatoes and things, they came after food from the ice box, and then we're waiting there and got into a big fight.' The club he had was about three feet long, and I said, 'My gosh, what do they have now?' But then it just happened through our block. I was in block 14 and he came through there and no sooner did he come through, than we hear all all this roaring and everything. I think they're shooting blanks, but then they're shooting. And the whole camp was up and rushing toward the administration building. Right at that point, I had my younger brothers and I said, 'Wait a minute, we just wait right here, we're not going to move.' And let the other people. . . they all rushing toward the administration building and I said, 'No. We're staying right here.' It sort of subsided in about an hour or hour and a half and so I said, 'My gosh, what happened?' But then we never knew. Nobody knew, you know.

1. "The incident" was a euphemism employed by the WRA, for the violent events of the night of November 4 and the morning of November 5. Subsequently, the term was also used by Japanese Americans.
2. Mr. Sawada had told me that he was chief of the fire department at Tule Lake.

Ralph Iida, age 24

When I asked Mr. Iida, age 23, how he felt when he arrived at Tule Lake, he immediately began to speak about the morning of November 5:

I didn't know until I woke up in the morning and tried to go to work. The closer you got to the administration, the army came out with armed cars and machine guns and they just waited . . . Afterwards, I understand that they tried to say, "Going back to the barracks." Before I understand that, this tear gas throwing out, you know. And I didn't get hit, but in front of me was girl. I didn't know who this girl was, just in front of her the tear gas exploded. Really shook me up, you know. . . that was the biggest shock in Tule Lake, I think.

Robert Oda, age 20

I asked Robert Oda about "the uprising" and the Daihyo Sha Kai. He responded:

Well, the so-called riot was. . . people seemed to associate the demonstration that took place about three days prior to that, you know, as part of the riot, but that was entirely two separate things. Because that demonstration was actually a peaceful demonstration. Dillon Myer. . . to let them know what the conditions of the camp were at that time. The food was very poor and it was right after segregation. A lot of new people came from other camps. They were very dissatisfied with the situation there; and they could not get jobs, or if they did have, they had very menial work, you know, when they left with them. I think there was in fact a lot of resentment against the former Tuleans.

I asked: How did you feel personally? When it happened. . .

Robert Oda: You mean at the demonstration itself?

Rosalie Wax: Yes, when you were a young, you must have been. . .

Robert Oda: Well, the demonstration itself. . . I wasn't. . . the one thing that happened prior to that, which led to the demonstration was that the farm workers were killed. . . might have led to the demonstration as one of the grievances. And also the hospital care was very poor and all that sort of thing kind of accumulated I guess, and then that demonstration was held, but that was a very, you know, peaceful demonstration actually. But about three days later, what happened was that there was a constant rumor

going on that the white staff members of relocation authority was stealing the food out of the warehouse, and was selling it to the black market. I guess it was because the food at that time was very bad; there was hardly any meat at all; for weeks. So, apparently some people were kind of patrolling that area at night and they found somebody taking food out of the warehouse - a couple of Caucasians and there was a truck. Whether they were actually stealing or not, I don't know, but anyway it was suspected and then I guess some arguments happened, and then these two Caucasians just ran into the administration building, apparently, and then the director, I guess. . .

Rosalie Wax: Mr. Best. . .

Robert Oda: Something like that, so the director called up the Army. Of course the Army came in and just knocked down everybody's head that looked Japanese.

Rosalie Wax: How did you feel about the Army coming in?

Robert Oda: Of course, I was in complete shock, and most of the people that were beaten up were the night crew members of the motor pool, which was in the administration area. They had no idea of what was going on. They were rifle butted and they were slugged, they were hit over the head, and so. . .and then a tank came right in to the. . .well. . .portion that the evacuees lived, and we were actually the closest to that administration area, so we were the first ones who were hit, you might say.

Rosalie Wax: Were you scared?

Robert Oda: Yeah, because they were shooting machine guns and all that. I think they were shooting in the air, but they were yelling at everybody to get back into the barrack. Of course some people were just going to the bathroom and all that, and they couldn't go to the bathroom.

Rosalie Wax: . . .was there something you were going to say?

Robert Oda: Well, the thing is, you know, that was part of the so-called riot, but actually the only rioting was actually the soldiers. . .not the evacuees. The papers kind of turned the thing around. Actually all the violence was done by the soldiers. The next morning, you see most of the people, we were ward I, which was pretty much in the center; people on the fringe area - I don't think the tank went that far. So I don't think most of them even knew about it. In the morning, we all started to go to work, and I guess the Army thought it was another demonstration or something, and they formed this long line of tanks and soldiers, you know. They were

trying to stop us from going to work. Of course, most of us could not understand why. I knew there was some kind of incident, I didn't know how serious it was or anything.

Rosalie Wax: That's when they threw tear gas at people, wasn't it?

Robert Oda: Right, in fact it was thrown at me, and one of them hit the girl who was standing right next to me on the forehead and it just about knocked her out. Of course, that really angered me. . . that tear gas is something that I experienced for the first time, but it's not just that you get tears in your eyes, but you can't breathe.

21 Thomas Sawada, age 22, was an Old Tulean who had refused to answer the military questionnaire made quite a different statement:

Well, you see the thing is this. When the evacuation¹ was completed, the people from the other camps stormed the administration building. I worked in the finance department so we got chased out. . . The thing is they formed this rugged committee. . . Kunitani and that bunch.

I guess they had more offered to them in the other camp than they did with ours. And they said the facilities are bad and all that. Well, they formed a committee from the leaders that came from the other camps and they wanted to demand something. You know, I really admired Dillon Myer for keeping everybody calm because there were a lot of people out there.

I don't know what sort of negotiation they went through, but I know they were demanding changes for better facilities be provided. But the army tanks were rolling at that time and thousands of people surrounded the administration. Then finally Dillon Myer calmed it down and it all came out and we went home. Things like that did happen. . . and then when the farm incident turned up with the tanks coming in that night - I mean everything fell apart.

But you know, another thing, some of the committee were trying to make money with this incident. We were in the payroll, see, so we know this transaction, trying to collect 5¢ off of every paycheck.

1. Mr. Sawada probably meant to say "segregation".

George Kikuchi, age 12, wrote:

Unlike Stockton and Rohwer camps, there was hostility and suspicion. There were fights and arguments and accusations among the people. Finally it all culminated in a riot of a sort at the administration building where they were protesting the food and the living conditions, which was becoming intolerable. Then the army took over the patrol, and for a while we had curfew and restrictions.

Isamu Kurusu, age 30, said only:

The November riot. .that was awful. I don't like to see that kind of thing happen.

RESPONDENTS' STATEMENTS * 1944-45

In 1944 and 1945 no respondent gave me a detailed account of the "incident" of November 5 and no one told me anything about the fight at the warehouse that took place on the night of November 4. This may have been because I was rarely able to talk openly with young men in their late teens or early twenties. Many of my respondents, however, told me that they had attended the November 1 "demonstration", at which Dillon Myer had spoken, and that they had supported the Daihyo Sha Kai and the Negotiating Committee. The people who had come to Tule Lake from other centers repeatedly told me that the "Yes-Yes" and the "fence-sitters" (by which they meant many of the Old Tuleans) should be sent away from Tule Lake.

In August of 1944, ten months after the "November incident", an Old Tulean Issei, known for his pro-administrative views, told me how much he had disapproved of the strike and the Daihyo Sha Kai. When, however, I brought up the morning of November 5, he flew into a rage: "We got mad because the army came in with submachine guns and the tear gas. We were all willing to go to work but they wouldn't let us go. They took our civil rights away. That's what made us mad."

The Strike, the Stockade, and Martial Law

The evacuees were now completely cut off from the administration. Even telephone calls between the evacuee and the administrative area were not accepted. Finally, Mr. Tada, the evacuee chief of police and a member of the Executive Board of the Daihyo Sha Kai was able to reach Lieutenant Colonel Austin and arrange for meetings between the colonel and key members of the Daihyo Sha Kai, including George Kunitani. As a result of these negotiations, 90 hospital workers were permitted to pass through the army cordon and resume work. The Army, however decided to cut the coal crew from about 300 workers to seventy and a similar cut was proposed for the garbage crew. Thereupon, neither crew reported for work. The cold and hungry people began to complain and the negotiating committee exhorted them to refrain from violence.

They cautioned parents not to allow their children to make insulting remarks to the soldiers. They called upon the people to be sensible and prudent, not to congregate outside the barracks in groups of more than five, and not to destroy anything within the center.

After eight days of negotiation and the arrest by the Army of an "insolent" Nisei workman, Lieutenant Colonel Austin, told the committee that they were nothing but a pressure group. Nevertheless, the Colonel and the War Relocation Authority expressed willingness to hold a mass meeting on November 13 at which the army, high ranking administrators of the WRA, and the Negotiating Committee would make statements to the people.

1. According to Kunitani, Fieldnotes, Jan. 10, 1945

3.3.10 Jan.

13.

The Daihyo Sha Kai met on the afternoon of November 12, the day before the scheduled mass meeting. The executive committee made a depressing report of its failure with the army and offered to resign. The delegates would not permit a resignation. A radical faction suggested that the mass meeting be cancelled and that the army be impressed with popular confidence in the Daihyo Sha Kai by means of a petition signed by the residents. Kunitani "knew that the Army would get mad if (the Daihyo Sha Kai) cancelled the mass meeting"¹ and opposed the first suggestion, but the delegates voted overwhelmingly against him. Accompanied by other members

1. Ibid. April 1945, p. 5.

of the committee, he left the meeting in anger.

The next day the people were notified at the breakfast mess that there would be no mass meeting that afternoon. No one, however, communicated this decision to the army or the WRA. Accordingly:

A few minutes before 2 p.m. Colonel Austin and Mr. Cozzens (the WRA Field Director in charge of the San Francisco Office) drove into the Japanese section down the main firebreak to the outdoor stage. Army units had moved into position earlier. As they reached the stage about thirty foot soldiers formed in a circle around the stage at a distance of about fifty feet from it. Soldiers at the front of the stage fixed bayonets. Scout cars and soldiers took up positions in and along the firebreak at a distance of about two blocks from the stage. Armored scout cars and jeeps patrolled the streets of the entire colony.

Austin and Cozzens mounted the outdoor stage and delivered their speeches to the empty firebreak.

2. WRA, "Tule Lake Incident, Report of Talks by Colonel Verne Austin and R. B. Cozzens at Outdoor Stage in Japanese Colony," November 13, 1943 (manuscript).

In his speech Colonel Austin stated that the Army had assumed control of the Tule Lake Center.

. . .to provide for the safety and welfare of every resident. . . .The providing of. . .essentials (food, shelter and warmth) shall be directed so that it shall benefit the greatest number, but in the manner as prescribed by the military. . . .I shall continue to welcome visits and suggestions from representative groups. . . . The sooner normal center operations. . . can be resumed, the better. . . .We will make the determination of the number who are to be employed.

I know that the majority of you want peace and the opportunity to live unmolested by hoodlums and goon squads, as well as others who apparently lack respect for order. I expect to see to it that you have it. Those who instigated and participated in the disorders leading up to the Army's occupation shall be dealt with.¹

He then read the following proclamation, which was later posted:

1. That between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. all persons of Japanese ancestry, except as directed by the military, shall be within their place of residence. This shall not be interpreted to prevent access, however, to laundry and lavatory facilities.
2. No outdoor meetings or gatherings shall be permitted without express military approval.
3. Normal center operations shall be maintained, insofar as is practicable, under direct military control and in the manner prescribed by the military authorities.
4. Persons of Japanese ancestry desiring to engage in useful work at the center shall be accommodated as promptly as the situation permits.
5. No incoming or outgoing telephone or telegraph messages will be permitted without prior military approval.
6. Failure to observe strict adherence to all military regulations will result in disciplinary actions forthwith.
7. All persons of Japanese ancestry shall reside in apartments assigned by the WRA.²

Mr. Cozzens' prepared speech began with the sentence, "It is a pleasure to have an opportunity to meet with such a representative group of the Tule Lake Center." Whether he delivered this remark unchanged is not known.

At 2:13 p.m., Austin and Cozzens left the stage with their military escort. It was noted that some evacuees along their route "smiled, laughed, pointed and stared at the departing Army and War Relocation Authority people."³

¹ WRA, op. cit., Italics his.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.

The next day the Army ordered the arrest of the members of the Negotiating Committee, other leaders of the Daihyo Sha Kai, and members of the farm group. Kunitani and five other members of the committee escaped arrest by going into hiding.

On November 18, the army tried to convince the block managers that it was their duty to give up the hiding negotiators. The block managers refused. Thereupon, the army, on November 26, conducted a camp-wide search, ostensibly for "contraband", that is, hidden weapons, intoxicating liquor, and rice, from which sake could be made. "Small squads of soldiers searched every barrack, top to bottom. Boxes were examined. Space between the ceiling and roof was looked into. Floors were tapped. . . The Army confiscated all rice found in barracks."¹ Despite the thoroughness of this search, four of the five leaders were not found. The unapprehended, leaders, however, were finding their position unenable. After a dramatic final meeting of the Daihyo Sha Kai, on December 1, they gave themselves up to the FBI. They were placed in a separate stockade in two tents, which, at this time of year were bitterly cold. Later they were removed to the larger stockade where, by this time, about 190 other men were confined.²

1. WRA, "Tule Lake Incident, Report of the Army Search of the Colony, November 26, 1943" (manuscript). (Cited from "The Spoilage." p. 162.)

2. The young men who had been arrested on the night of November 4, were at first confined in tents. But as arrests increased the "detainees" were moved to another area. Five barracks, a mess hall, and a bathhouse were erected. All of the apprehended men were "detained" without charge and without trial. Some were to remain there for nine months.

STATEMENTS OF RESPONDENTS ON PERIOD OF MARTIAL LAW -
DECEMBER 5 TO DECEMBER 31Statements Made in 1944-45

On December 31 the men detained in the stockade began a hunger strike which lasted, "six days and two meals".¹ Tule Lake remained under martial law until the middle of January, 1945.

When I discussed the period of martial law with respondents in 1944 and 1945, some of them told me that they had maintained the strike because they had felt obligated to support their imprisoned representatives. Some spoke of giri.²

On January 8, 1945, an Issei, an Old Tulean, who had been the head of the block managers' organization at the time of the farm accident, told me:

The people started out to support the Daihyo Sha Kai and got to the point where they had to support it due to the leaders being taken into custody. They bore the responsibility on their conscience. They felt they represented the people.³

Others spoke of the hardships of unemployment, anxiety, insecurity and boredom.

A Nisei, the father of several children, told me:

During those dark moments of camp life many people with children had no shoes, no money, no clothing. Some of the children were beginning to go barefooted. The camp condition was critical.⁴

A Nisei girl:

Most of the people wanted to go back to their jobs. Some of them were getting really destitute and everybody was hoarding food as much as they could. Some families really got destitute about that time. Some had no money at all. They were just tired out.⁵

1. For details of the strike see "The Spoilage," p. 174-5, and Mr. Tada's extensive statement in my Fieldnotes.

2. The term giri is generally associated with a warrior's loyalty to his leige lord. In broader terms, however, it refers to all debts or obligations that should be repaid with mathematical equivalence to the favor received. There are time limits. (See Ruth Benedict, "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword," p. 116.

3. Fieldnotes, January 8, 1945.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., August 24, 1944, p. 4.

A Nisei married man:

Criticism (of the strike) grew as status quo dragged on. People had no clothes. They tried to get their shoes fixed. . . .With the canteens and things, the people were going broke.¹

A very young Nisei girl:

I just thought, 'What is this camp coming to?' After the Army came in I really felt like a prisoner. . . . All during the time when the Army was controlling the camp, naturally we were sad. There were no activities. Everything stopped. We had a curfew. Oh, it was a miserable life. . . . We got baloney for Thanksgiving.²

A bachelor Kibei wrote to a friend:

Everything seems and looks cold and still and melancholine. . . .Everything seems unchangeable like yesterday. . . . No parcel and no money order can send out and every letters has examined. Three Nisei who came from Hawaii to live in this block were arrested this morning at 3 a.m. If you will not hear from me for the quite few days in the future, you must understand that I am arrested. Don't forget that it will possible.³

1. Ibid., April, 1944

2. Ibid., August 30, 1944.

3. R. Nishimoto, Field Notes, November 26, 1943.

II
RESPONDENTS' STATEMENTS ON PERIOD OF MARTIAL LAW - 1981-2

In 1981-2 most of my respondents did not wish to talk about the period of martial law. If I mentioned it, they might say, "Oh, that was the worst time. . .," But they did not care to say more.

I was, however, able to interview Mrs. Kunitani, ^{age 20,} whose husband was among those leaders who for two weeks successfully hid from the army. When I asked her whether there was anyone in Tule Lake whom she very much respected, she responded, "Mrs. Abe". (Mr. Abe had also been in hiding.) "A very close friend. We more or less stick together because they both were hiding." "That was the toughest period," she added in a tone which made me hesitate to ask her to elaborate.

But at the end of the interview I asked her whether she still thought of Tule Lake. She replied, "No. . .I don't think about it, but you do have recurrences in your sleep." I asked, "Could you tell me about that?" She responded, "Well, it's usually a nightmare," and laughed nervously. "Like my husband being dragged away." She groaned in agony, and then said, "But that's cowardly."

In contrast, two young men who had been confined in the stockade wanted very much to talk about their experiences. Mr. Oda, age 21, said:

I think one of the most difficult experience was that I was thrown into the stockade right after the so-called riot. . .It so happened that in our neighborhood there were a couple of young fellows who were quite clever with radios, and I don't know how he did it, but he assembled kind of a miniature broadcasting system. . .He thought he was doing a great favor by playing the Japanese records for the people in the camp. . .I think my mother lent them to him. . .People in Tule Lake¹ started to pick up this Japanese music. They thought someone was

1. The small town of Tule Lake was located a few miles from the Segregation Center.

II

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ay sending out secret message (laughs) to Japan or something like that.¹ Anyway, the soldiers came around trying to find where it was coming from and finally located this one barrack. I guess they noticed some of the records with our name on them. So they came to our barrack and I was the only one there; my parents were there, but I was the only one who could speak English, so I was the one who naturally responded to them. They asked me about the records and I said I didn't know anything about it. Then they started to search the whole barrack and then they said, "Come along." I thought they just wanted me to walk outside and ask another question or something. Then they ordered me onto the truck and took me to their Army compound and for about all night I was in one room. I thought they were going to question me, but they never did. Then they took me to the stockade. I didn't know what it was; they just told me to go into the gate. It was a very dark night; pitch-dark night and they closed those gates behind me. So I really got kind of angry.

They didn't even give me a chance to explain. But there was nothing that I could do, there was only a tent there. So I just sort of slept it out in the tent. . . Then I started hearing a voice in the dark, and then I found out these were the people who had been beaten up at the night of the so-called riot. . . It was about a week after the riot. There was about six people all bruised up; one person had his head all split up; black eye. They were very

1. During my stay at Tule Lake respondents frequently referred to news obtained from short wave radio broadcasts.

severely beaten up.¹ There was one 15 or 16 year old kid who was hanging around the motor pool that night, but he was dragged in too. But he was not beaten up.

. . . I was there a month and I thought they were going to ask some questions, but they never did . . . It was extremely cold, because I still remember the blankets used to get stiff from being frozen.

When they used to take us to the army messhalls, they'd load up their guns and surround us and warn us that one false move and you could be dead. . . not very comfortable way of having a meal.

1. On April 14, 1944, Dr. Opler told me: "The boys were smacked around when they were picked up on November 4. On August 16, 1944 I talked to a school teacher who said that she had cleaned up the Statistics Office in the amistration building on the morning of November 5. In the room of Internal Security had interviewed and questioned their captives. Blood and hair were spattered on the walls and floor. She had also seen a bloody baseball bat. .She said that the room looked as if people had been beaten in it. (Fieldnotes) On the same day I talked to one of the Japanese American doctors who worked at the hospital. He told me that on the night of November 4 he had been asleep when the trouble broke out but was awakened in the hospital to treat a tall boy named _____ who had a bruise on the side of his head. He had asked _____ what had happened and the boy explained he had received the injury when he opened a truck door to get out and a stone had struck his head. Miyamoto and his assistant looked out of the hospital window toward the Caucasian Canteen. They saw a soldier pound on the door which was opened by an old Issei, the Co-op watchman. Without hesitation the soldier raised his rifle and crashed the butt down on the old man's face. The injured man was also brought to the hospital for treatment. Before his cut lip was sewn up, the soldiers demanded entrance. Miyamoto let them in. They took the injured but untreated man with them over Miyamoto's protests. Miyamoto slapped a bit of tape over the injury. Three days later he was called to the stockade by the Army to treat this man. There he saw _____, the boy who had had the slight head injury. His face was so tremendously swollen and he had bandages on his arms and legs. He also saw a boy with a broken arm and a boy with a great gash on his head which required eight stitches. He is sure that _____, whom he saw taken to the stockade on November 4, was beaten after his arrest. (Fieldnotes, April 16, 1944)

I asked: "Did they even come in and watch you in the latrine?"

Mr. Oda responded:

Oh yes, they came right in and pointed a gun at me, I stopped going to the toilets there. So we just had to dig holes in the tent. At night time they would throw rocks at us. One time tear gas was thrown in.

After about two weeks, they started picking up so many other people that we were moved into a larger, a regular barrack. That was much better. There was a shower; the soldiers would stay outside of the barbed wire fence. So we were left alone inside at least.

Mr. Takeshita, age 18, did not tell me when or how he was confined in the stockade. He said:

I remembered one of the times when I was scared the most during the whole of the concentration camp experience was. took place in the stockade. I was not fearful of the situation as much as a young kid who had a Thompson machine gun aimed at me during one of these midnight raids. He was so scared of the Japanese that he was shivering. And I was afraid that he would pull the trigger, because he was so scared.

Hoping to learn how and when he was confined, I asked Mr. Takeshita, "Do you remember the date that you were taken and put in the stockade?" He replied:

During the winter, because I remember standing at attention in my bare feet in the snow for about four hours and we were surrounded by MPs.

Rosalie Wax: "Did they take any other members of your family?"

Takeshita
Mr. Yamashita: My brother and I.

Rosalie Wax: "And you had no idea why?"

Takeshita
Mr. Yamashita: No

George Okamoto, age 12, told me that his brother had been picked up and confined in the stockade sometime in the spring of 1944:

It was only a few years ago that my brother told me about something that had happened to him in the stockade. The MP's made my brother stand against a wall while they lined up in front of him with guns. Then they told him to smoke his last cigarette. For all these years my brother told no one about this. Subsequently, he renounced his citizenship.

Thomas Sawada, age ¹⁸21, told me early in the interview that he had not supported the Daihyo Sha Kai. Later he told me that in December of 1943, when the men interned in the stockade had gone on a hunger strike, he had heard that the interned leaders were taking vitamin pills. "How do you like that? The innocent ones are starving like mad and this is not right." He decided to get picked up and "see what's going to be like."

So after 7:00 I crossed the fire break and I went into the ward I area. And here come the GP's. He said, 'What are you doing here, you know you are past the curfew hour.' And I said, 'So what, are you going to take me in?' He said, 'Where do you live?' I said, 'Right there.' He said, 'Better go home, don't let me catch you again.'

Mr. Sawada laughed loudly and continued:

I deliberately did that to see what was going on in that ? stockade.

IIIa

1

PERIOD OF ACCOMMODATION - JANUARY 1944 TO MAY 24, 1944

The period from January to mid-May was relatively uneventful at Tule Lake. There were no strikes, riots or demonstrations and no reports of violence. Indeed, in 1982 no respondent commented on any event that took place during this period. I will therefore briefly relate what did happen and then present my respondents' statements about how they passed the time, how they helped themselves or were helped by other people, and whether anything that happened at Tule Lake helped them to become a wiser or a better person.

Brief History - January 1944 to May 24, 1944

As I have already remarked many of the residents had become so miserable, discouraged, and depressed, that they were willing to consider abandoning the strike, even it meant yielding in matters of principle. The WRA was equally anxious to get rid of the Army and to reestablish a working relationship with the evacuees. In mid-December, project officials approached evacuees who were known to be critical of the Daihyo Sha Kai. Among these were certain influential block managers, and officers of the Cooperative Enterprises and the Housing Division. Most of the men were Old Tuleans. A committee of "40 responsible men" was formed. These men met with army and WRA representatives, and decided that a resolution for the abandonment of the strike and in favor of a general return to work be prepared. Seven men were chosen to make plans for a referendum. In this resolution they pledged themselves "to materialize" an equitable distribution of employment and to work for the release of persons detained in the stockade. The vote, by secret ballot, ^{was} scheduled for the evening of January 11.

Of 8,713 ballots cast, 4,593 were against and 4,120 were in favor of "status quo", the term now commonly used for maintaining the strike. Thus, the return to "normalcy" was won by a plurality of 473.

The committee of seven men was officially recognized by the Army and the WRA administration as the body which would henceforth work with the WRA advisory council to improve the situation within the center. It became known as the Coordinating Committee.

Many people now returned to work after first having been "cleared" and accorded a pass which, on their way to work in the administrative section, they were obliged to present to the sentry at the gate. On the other hand, almost half of the residents had voted to continue the strike and some of these continued to assert that the still-confined representatives had been betrayed and that the Coordinating Committee, the men who had prepared the referendum, were "a bunch of inu."

When I visited Tule Lake on February 2, and 3 of 1944, some of my Japanese American friends talked a great deal about what had happened to them during the demonstration and the strike. Some said that "the people now want peace" -- that they "wanted to be left alone". Others assured me that the center would not really settle down until the men in the stockade were released. When I asked them about the Coordinating Committee, some said they knew nothing about them. Others said that they must be inu.

I made another visit in March 14-23, and found my friends less anxious and less subdued than they had been in February. Many were more open and in their complaints about and criticisms of the WRA and the Coordinating Committee. Indeed, the boldness with which even moderate and "anti-status-quo" people denounced

the Committee surprised me. "That bunch is a bunch of inu," said a friend from Gila, "and Sasaki (the chairman) is the biggest inu of them all. He'll probably get his brains beat out one of these days."¹ When I had the opportunity to talk to Mr. Sasaki, the chairman, I asked him what the Coordinating Committee had accomplished in the six weeks since I had last seen him. "Nothing whatever," he said.

Mr. Sasaki, however, did give me a copy of the minutes of the meetings of the committee. These demonstrated that for two-months the Japanese Americans on the committee had been entreating the Caucasian members to create more jobs, to speed up the "clearance" through which job seekers were supposed to pass, and to release at least some of the men confined in the stockade. These desperate requests were, for the most part, met only with promises.

I had an interesting experience on this visit. A friendly school teacher suggested that I attend her 11th grade class. The students, she told me, were going to hold a debate on the draft. I was held up at the gate for about 15 minutes because I did not have an escort. Finally, the corporal in charge said I could go in.

When I arrived at the classroom the debate was already in progress. I could not resist making notes and one of the students asked the teacher "who that lady was and what she was writing down". I explained the aims of the study and the class took a vote as to whether I might stay. The vote in my favor was unanimous. The following statements were made by the students.

1. Fieldnotes, March 1944.

The people say they're loyal; they ought to fight. But the people who want to relocate and want to establish homes, they didn't feel like getting drafted. If they thought they were going to be drafted, they would have stayed in camp.

If they do go to the Army, they will be the first to go to the front and they'll just be made fools of. They send the Negroes and the Japanese to the front first. (Applause)

They say they're fighting for America and for equal rights; but they (Caucasian people in U.S.) are violating these rights.

The U.S. should let them (Japanese Americans) work in factories.

If they go out from here shouldn't they fight for their families?

If they're dead, what do they have? If they go out and die, all right. But they put them in the front lines and they come home maimed and handicapped and discriminated against. What then?

If the Nisei are drafted in this way and come back crippled, I'm considering that people on the outside will give them another chance, like a dog with a bone. If they believe that much in this country, they should fight for it.

Sure, they'll fight, if they have equal rights!

They are not allowed in the Navy.

Why did they relocate under those circumstances?

Most of the Nisei who went out were money crazy.

If the boys really knew they'd have to go out to the Army, they wouldn't have gone out.

If they took the chance of going out, why did they take the chance? I heard a couple of fellows saying, 'We'll have to take the chance.'

5 If there any proof of segregation in the Army? I know many Japanese boys who went into the Army and were treated well by their fellow soldiers.

And I know (Japanese) soldiers - instead of officers putting stripes on them, they take them off. (laughter)

When the white man does something good they put stripes on him, but on the Nisei they take it off.

My friend went into the Army and passed the examination to take officer's training. They wouldn't let him (go up for training).

Since we've been talking about it, you tell me what good thing has happened to the Nisei. Nothing!

They went outside. . .

In April I made another visit to Tule lake, this time for six days (12-17 April). I found the higher-ranking administrators in a state of crisis. Even the secretaries seemed tense and anxious. People who had never noticed me before called me into their offices and asked my opinions. Since I had just arrived, I could not tell them much.

Like many crises, this one had a fairly long history. Early in February, an underground "pro-status-quo" group, composed in large part of relatives of the stockade detainees, had written a letter to Attorney General Biddle and to the Spanish embassy, asking for permission to circulate a petition for the signatures of those residents who wished to go to Japan as soon as possible and who, meanwhile, wished to be "resegregated" in Tule Lake from those not so inclined. This request was not so fantastic as might first appear, for, at the time of the strike, the army had fenced off a section of the center in which "troublemaking" families would, if necessary, be confined. In any case, the letter requesting permission to circulate the petition was passed from the Attorney General to the Secretary of the Interior, thence to the national director of the WRA, and thence to Mr. Best, the project director at Tule Lake. Best who was about to leave the

project on official business, passed the letter on to Mr. Black, the assistant project director in charge of housing and social welfare. Black, who, it would seem, had some training in sociology, decided to allow not a petition but a survey, structured to obtain the names of the following two types of persons:

l 1. Persons and families who have applied for repatriation or expatriation, who wish to return to Japan at the earliest opportunity, and who wish to live in a designated section of the center among others of like inclination.

2. Persons and families who have not applied for repatriation or expatriation, who have reached no conclusion with respect to an early return to Japan, and who wish to live in a section of the center not specifically designated for persons and families of the first group.¹

Black took special pains to emphasize that this survey was to be made "with the entire liberty of choice resting with the subject interviewed." He added:

S It is further understood that the survey will be made without commitment on the part of the administration, either stated or implied, that the result of the survey will be made the basis of administrative action beyond that which is already established for housing adjustments through the Housing Office.²

Gratified at having won this degree of recognition, the underground group disregarded the notion of a survey and Black's qualifying clauses and proceeding^{ed} to approach^o the center residents with a draft of their original petition. The text urged all "who wish

1. Letter, Black to Ishikawa, March 1944.

2. Ibid.

resegregation because they desire the opportunity to board the exchange ship. . .to sign this petition of your own free will and judgment." Moreover, in their Japanese translation of Black's sentence, they conveyed the impression that the results of the petition would be made to the basis for further administrative action (Thomas and Nishimoto 1946: 231-32).

The circulation of the petition between 7 and 9 April threw many of the center residents into a state of great anxiety. The long-suffering ^{members of the} coordinating committee, whom Black had not consulted about the "survey," took this convenient opportunity to submit their resignations. Some of the administrators anticipated that another demonstration or "riot" might occur at any moment.

I made a round of visits and found that the Japanese were, on the whole, in far less panic than the administrators. Men who followed the center "politics" closely - like Kurihara, Higashi, or George Wakida, my ex-agitator friend from Gila - had realized almost immediately that the people behind the petition represented what they called "would-be big shots," "people with a narrow point of view," or "a radical goon-squad business." George remarked that such people thought, if "they try to segregate two or three Japanese in this center, that make them very popular when they get to Japan." My outspoken friend Bob Tsuruda told me: "What do I care about Dai Nippon (the Great Japanese Empire)! I came here to lead a peaceful life until the war's over."

On the other hand, since the petition seemed to have administrative sanction, most of the people had, at first, been very worried. Some interpreted the petition as the first administrative step in another segregation, and they harangued me with rather incoherent assertions that the "loyal people," ^{including} and those who did not really want to go back to Japan, ought to get out of the center. Some added, "Trouble like this is occurring because there are too many inu."

Three or four days later, when I called on them again, they told me they had found out that the petition was not sanctioned by the administration and they ^ewere much relieved.

Interestingly, almost every person to whom I spoke ignored the major point made in the petition - the issue of a resegregation within the center. What they emphasized instead was that ^{if} they "yes-yes people" (those who had stated that they were loyal to the United States) ^{were not} should be taken out of the center, or there would be serious trouble. As one friend remarked: "There's been a lot of talk about dog (inu) hunting with baseball bats. If there's any trouble here in the next five or six months, it's going to be because of keeping ^{the}yes-yes in camp." (Since so many people made this assertion, I asked Mr. Robertson how many yes-yes people there were in the center. He told me that it would be difficult to find out, because the administration had not kept records.)¹

In the middle of May, 1944, I left the Gila Center and moved to Tule Lake. My expectations of turmoil and excitement were not fulfilled. "The WRA staff members were relaxed and optimistic. Mr. Robertson and Dr. Opler told me that the project director,

1. "Doing Fieldwork", pp. 118-20.

Mr. Best, had been putting himself out to be agreeable to the colonists. There had been a half-holiday on the emperor's birthday, and the director had even thrown the first baseball at the game celebrating this event. Japanese school children had been permitted to visit the project farm, outside of the main barbed-wire fence. Most of the men in the stockade had been released, leaving only about twenty-five prisoners. The fence that had divided the Japanese "colony" into two sections (and had raised the hopes of the underground pro-resegregation group) had been torn down.

Most of the Japanese also were in good spirits. Some people told me with smiling irony that they were now getting one egg a day per person in the mess. They also told me that the "inu hate" was dying down and that people were forgetting the coordinating committee and Mr. Sasaki. Young people told me about the newly initiated entertainments and athletic events - movies, block entertainments, baseball, and basketball. But the best event of all was the removal of the fence. When the Japanese told me about this, their faces lit up."¹

On May 14, Mr. Kurihara told me:

One good thing that has been done, they've taken the fence down, that has made the people feel better. If they would continue to tear the fences down, Mr. Best could regain part of the confidence which he wants on the part of the people.

On May 15 I received a letter from June ^{Higaki} Iwohara, a young woman who had been secretary to the Coordinating Committee. The letter had been sent to me at the Gila center and was dated May 7. In the letter she said:

Tule Lake Center continue to be subjected to many trifle discords, unrest, and disharmony, which

1. "Doing Fieldwork", p. 125.

probably will never end. . . One consolation -
remember the Ward 7 fence, it's been torn down.

On May 18 I visited my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Wakida. I recorded
in my fieldnotes:

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 explained
how much more free they all felt.

I made two more social calls in ward 7 that afternoon. I noted:

At each home the residents remarked with joy on
the removal of the fence. Many other people have
commented on the fact that it has made the whole
camp feel good and has had more effect than Mr.
Best throwing baseballs. They usually add, "Now
if they'd tear down some more of them it would be
better yet."

"The only unhappy voice I heard was that of a soldier, loudly
berating a Japanese worker because he was not wearing his large,
red identification button in the proper manner. As I approached
the gate to leave the center, many Japanese passed me on their
way home from work, and the soldiers yelled at all of them: "Wear
your button on the left lapel! Wear your button on the left lapel!"
These buttons, two and a half inches in diameter, were part of
a new army regulation requiring evacuee workers to carry a blue
work card, an identification tag, and wear a numbered button on
the left lapel. I was not able to find out why all of these items
of identification were necessary."¹

The Abortive Attempt to Nominate
A Representative Committee

In late October of 1943, the Daihyo Sha Kai had proposed
the election of a permanent representative committee. The
Coordinating Committee had repeatedly suggested that a permanent

1. Ibid., p. 126.

body be elected to replace the committee. On April 15, Mr. Robertson told me that approval for this procedure had finally come from Washington. On April 22, the authorization, which had come from Dillon Myer, was published in the Newell Star along with an invitation from Acting Project Director Black, to participate in planning the election. Black asked that an Arrangements Committee be formed to work out the final plans and supervise the election. 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 a camp-wide block nomination meeting to be held on May 18 and for an election to be held on May 22.¹

On May 13 my friend Bob Tsuruda told me:

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

On May 15, Mr. Higashi, another friend from Gila, told me:

They're going ahead with this representative committee. But I personally would really like to see the people in the stockade to be released. In my opinion getting new delegates for the representative committee will be pretty tough to organize. People say, 'What's the use? We put up representatives once again and they wouldn't recognize them.'

On May 20 I called on Dr. Opler. He told me that out of the seventy-four blocks in the center only seventeen had nominated representatives.

1. See "The Spoilage," pp. 240-49.

"During the next three days I made as many calls as I could. What people gave me, for the most part, were expressions of oblique or ironic satisfaction. They seemed to feel that they had put the administration down with considerable finesse. For the first and only time during my stay at Tule Lake I saw some people in really good spirits. A few of my friends laughed and joked with me and each other in the style that they had sometimes done in Gila. George Wakida gave me and several ladies a comic recital of what had happened in his block. At first there had been no quorum. Then the block manager had gone about begging people to come. so George went and, of course, was nominated. He declined the nomination, pointing out that as an ex-internee he was not permitted to engage in politics. By the time George had finished arguing, about ten people had left the meeting. Thereupon he pointed out that the quorum no longer existed, so that his nomination was not valid. I asked George whether his block manager would not get into trouble trying so hard to comply with an administrative suggestion. "Oh well," he said, chuckling, "he's an old man and is going to die soon anyway." The ladies laughed, and each began to relate with gusto how the nomination meetings in her block ^{h/} had failed. But the hostess topped them all, for in her block the people had met and all shouted, "No, no, no, no, no!"

Bob Tsuruda, my cynical respondent from Gila pointed out that the suggestion to nominate representatives had come from the WRA and therefore "had a rank odor." Besides, people were catching on to the fact that block managers could act as liaison

men between the people and the administration without standing in danger of being imprisoned in the stockade as agitators.

"You can't yank a liaison man for what he reports. The people are starting to realize it would be a smart thing to have a good block manager and let them do all the 'representing' because they can't be yanked."

An Issei friend said much the same thing: "If we elect more representatives, they will only put more people in the stockade. Everybody said, 'What the heck! We don't want to send any more people to the stockade.' "

Mr. Kurihara, on the other hand, was concerned over the failure of the nominations. He pointed out that the agitators - the fanatical resegregationists - would take credit for the debacle, whereas the fact was that the people were striking back¹ at the administration."

1. "Doing Fieldwork," p. 129-130.

LIFE IN CONFINEMENT

Since in 1981-82 no respondent spoke of the particular events of this period, I will take this opportunity to discuss the phenomenon of social segregation and stigma in the camps. I will then present respondents' statements about how they passed the time in camp, how they helped themselves or were helped by other people, whether anything that happened in Tule Lake helped them to become a wiser or better person, and whether they learned anything about their fellow human being^s.

The Stigma of Social Segregation

At some of the relocation camps, any type of social intercourse or "fraternization" between Caucasian staff members and Japanese Americans was frowned upon by the project directors. When I arrived at the Gila Center in July of 1943, I was told that I would not be permitted to interview evacuees in my room in the women's^s barrack. On one occasion, when harvesters could not be found for the cotton crop, the administration at Gila planned a cotton picking 'picnic', in which both staff members and evacuees were to participate. I rode to the cotton field in an army truck with some Japanese American friends. I was impressed with how pleased they were. Subsequently, I was told that the project director did not approve of what I had done.

When, I visited Tule Lake, in February of 1944, staff members or visitors like myself were not permitted to enter "the colony" unless they were accompanied by an armed soldier. With the assistance of Mr. Robertson I was able to by-pass this regulation; I was escorted by a co-operative member of the Internal Security, who

remained outside in his car while I made my visits. I was surprised and moved at how pleased my Japanese American friends were to see me, poor as they were, some of them served food during our visit. At this time I did not fully appreciate the meaning of these social gestures.

During my visit of mid-March, I was able to talk with a number of the "appointed personnel". Some of them were very sympathetic to the Japanese Americans, who were now called "residents" or "colonists". A young school teacher of American History told me that she "let the kids talk and say what they please." She made no attempt to justify what they had experienced. "How could I justify evacuation?", she asked. She then invited me to attend her class on the next day when a debate on the draft was scheduled.¹

At the end of that day I wrote in my notes:

During my three day stay I have found at least a half dozen staff members who are surreptitiously sympathetic to the evacuees. My neighbor, the laboratory technician, is secretive about their sympathetic attitude. Says she, "If they find out how you feel, they'll start the war of nerves and torture you till you quit."

By "they" she meant the staff members who were not sympathetic. Another female staff member told me that she would very much like to go in and look around "the colony", but "that was not considered the thing to do here."²

Most of the WRA Community Analysts were professional anthropologists and sociologists employed specifically to talk with and consult evacuees and obtain their views and suggestions. Dr. Opler

1. Fieldnotes, March 15, 1944. For my report on the debate, see pp. .
2. Fieldnotes, March 14, 1944.

began to resume such work after the popular referendum of mid-January. In March, however, some staff members told me that Dr. Opler was about to be transferred to the Jerome Center. I asked him about this and he told me that he was not going to Jerome, but that his "friendliness and mixing with evacuees" was responsible for the rumors.¹

During the entire year of 1944, virtually no Caucasian staff member, with the exception of Mr. Robertson, an assistant project director much respected by the Japanese, some Christian pastors, and myself, engaged in anything that could be called social intercourse with the Japanese Americans. Indeed, it was not until I began to interview Japanese Americans in 1981 that I began to suspect that my accomplishments as a fieldworker in Tule Lake were not entirely a reflection of my professional abilities. To a significant degree they may reflect the fact that most of my respondents interpreted my visits as evidence that I, a Caucasian American, regarded them as decent, law-abiding and trustworthy individuals.

On several occasions, well intentioned Japanese Americans urged ^{the} project director to initiate genuine social interaction between the Japanese Americans and the staff. In late February of 1944 Mr. Kurihara wrote:

[it] The location of the administration buildings, fenced off to protect the administrative forces was bad enough. Situated out of the way and further separated by the Base Hospital, gave little or no chance whatever for the residents and the officials to meet and cultivate friendship. Even a casual friendship would go a long way to maintain peace and order. . . The more the Administrator and his forces get in friendly contact with the Japanese, the better will be their understanding.

1. Fieldnotes, March 16, 1944.

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And in June of 1944 Mr. Itabashi wrote:

Why does the Project Director hide himself? Need-
less, to say, when one meets a stranger and keep
an intimate contact with him, he cannot only avoid
misunderstanding between them, but also create
a friendly feeling even when unhappy thing happened
. . . My advice to the Director is to show himself
at the block managers' meeting at least once
every week and keep direct contact with the
representatives of all the residents and exchange
views with them. This is the only way to avoid
misunderstanding, create friendly feeling, and
save the camp from any further trouble.

In time, some circumspect pastors, ministers, and a few
school teachers were able to initiate genuine social relationships
between themselves and some of the Japanese Americans. I was not
aware of the significance of these relationships until I inter-
viewed these Japanese Americans in 1981-2. When I asked Robert
Oda, age ¹⁹20, "Looking back, what was the most helpful thing you
learned about your fellow human being?", he responded:

There were some people who came from outside, non-
Japanese, you know, Americans, some were teachers,
some were with the administration, that genuinely
wanted to help us. . . I think that I realized that
not all people hated us. . . I thought not everybody
hated us and also I started to take in Christianity
in camp. And I started to realize that God loves
us, regardless of who we are. That, I think, helped
me a great deal. . . It was then when I became a
Christian.

When I asked Arthur Kikuchi, ^{age 15,} what incidents at Tule Lake came
especially to his mind, he said:

Then the beloved missionaries were there. I don't
know if you ever got to know Hazel McCartney. Mr.
McCartney was our highschool physiology teacher who
later went to Japan as a missionary teacher, came
back and then went through the seminary; to this
day he keeps up correspondence.

Later in the interview he told me of an incident which occurred
after he had left the center:

I was serving in the armed forces and a lady came
up to me and said, 'Get out of that uniform you
dirty Jap'.

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That's the sort of thing you do run into. I think the thing that we're able to put up with that is the fact that I became a Christian in 1950, and was able to understand how the Lord bore all of our scars for us. And so it's bearable. I think everyone carries certain crosses, and this is ours.

Mrs. Kataoka, who was 77 years old when I interviewed her and 37 at the time of the evacuation, was sent to Tule Lake as an isolated individual because all of her relatives had repatriated to Japan. She told me that she had been encouraged to study the Bible by a Japanese Christian:

He leaded me to study the Bible and the Bible prophecy; I got kind of interested, you know, how God could help. That's where I got my strength, and I studied real hard from Genesis to Revelations . . . Many Caucasian, like missionary workers, came into my home, and, of course, they wanted to lead me in the Bible passages.

She then told me that her neighbors, "who were all Buddhists" called her inu (informer) because of these visits. But, she indicated, reading the Bible gave her strength :

"to withstand all kinds of difficult situations; so I stood up and I guess I was the only one in the whole block. I was the only Christian in the whole block. And then I went to church on Sunday morning, so they didn't like that either.

And when I asked her: "Is there any experience that you still carry with you - that you can never forget?" she responded:

The people's kindness in the camp. I never forget. Because being, well, I used to go to church so, . . . administration people. . . high school teacher, grammar school teacher, they all get together and they used to invite not only me, but all the Christian people that want to go and have a chat with the people there.

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6.
Joseph Kikuchi, age ⁹12, spoke warmly of his teachers:

I still remember the teachers were really dedicated type. I think quite a few were Quakers or Christians. The type of encouragement and everything that they gave us was really good, I think. Becuase during World War II, when the popular thing is to hate the Japanese, those people committed themselves and helped us. N

HOW PEOPLE SPENT THEIR TIME

1981-2

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When my respondents told me about what they did during their confinement at Tule Lake, all of the men, regardless of age, spoke of some activity or accomplishment in which they, today, take considerable satisfaction. Thus, George Okamoto, age ¹²13, *ved* remarks that today he is able to "act as the official interpreter" when delegates from Japan attend the meetings of his professional association. He is able to do this because his older brother "kind of forced" him to attend the Japanese school at Tule Lake. Arthur Kikuchi, age ¹⁵18, kept up his studies, and engaged in "physical culture". Today he is a physician. Joseph Takeshita, age ¹⁸20, was captain of the fire department at Tule Lake and John Sawada, age ²⁰22, was in charge of the kitchens. "I had 74 kitchens to take care of and I was busy." Isamu Kurusu, age ²⁹31, Peter Morimoto, age ³⁵37, and Taro Tokunage, age 42, served as block managers.

Mr. Okamoto, age ¹²13, told me that his oldest brother, who was a "No-No," had "kind of forced" him and his brothers and sisters to go to the Japanese school.

We didn't really want to go to that school, especially when the English speaking high school started. We wanted to go to English school. . . But now, in terms of looking back, I feel that having participated in a family that went "No-No" - having been able to learn Japanese at that time -- and since then I've gone to Army Language School during the Korean War - I've continued to use my Japanese, and every year, I use it for my professional association. When delegates come from Japan, I act as the official interpreter and people hear me speak and they think that I'm from Japan.

When I asked Arthur Kikuchi, age ¹⁵~~18~~, "Thinking back to your life in Tule Lake, what incidents come especially to your mind?" he responded:

The fact of the bleakness of the future; not knowing what did lie ahead. A number of classmates gave up their studies, I noticed. I kept mine going and the reason for that was an outside influence more than a camp influence. At that point in time my hobby was physical culture, so I was in competitive weight lifting which meant I would subscribe to magazines, from which I came under the influence of Dr. Robert Hoffman, whose editorial and instruction just reached the 17 and 18 year old real well. Come what may - prepare yourself. That kind of thing.

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✓ When I asked him whether he had had any friends, he responded:

Yes. I deliberately kept in touch with people who were striving to move ahead in spite of the dark clouds. The fellow I buddied around with most is a physician today.

u.c. Joseph Takeshita, age ¹⁸~~20~~, told me that he had been captain of the Tule Lake Fire Department. I asked him, "Did you belong to any group or have any friends? What did you do for recreation when you weren't working. . .spend most of your time with your family?"

He responded:

No, I wouldn't say we were that close as a family unit. I had my friends. . other than my job as a fireman. . .then I had another group of friends from Hawaii; the internees from Hawaii; and I enjoyed meeting and talking with them. There was another group that I met with whom I played music, a guitar; so between my Hawaiian friends and my music group and I was also taking special lessons in Japanese from a person whom I respected who was from Hawaii, who had taught Japanese. So between these four activities I think I was somewhat occupied. I was also doing weight lifting. . .I was fortunate that my social activities were somewhat fulfilling in their own way.

Robert Oda, an Old Tulean, age ¹⁹21, told me that he had said
✓ t "No-No" to the military questionnaire but had no intention of
going to Japan. When I asked him whether there was anything he
liked in his first months at Tule Lake, he responded:

Yes, I think so. I met a lot of people that I
enjoyed meeting with. I was young and I was
interested in meeting a lot of new girls. I
enjoyed sports and all that type of thing. . .
We kind of went into that particular area as
a group, so actually most of my friends were
with us. That really helped. . . I did go to
Japanese language school for a while; this was
the one that was actually approved by the admini-
stration. . . I think one of the big things was
the boredom. There really is no place to go.
Once in a while there was entertainment. But the
fact that you are cooped in a very small area really
tends to get to you. . . And the frustration --
in the sense that you can't really plan for the
future and what is going to happen to us. It
was very depressing, physically as well as mentally
and psychologically.

John Sawada, age ²⁰22, told me that he was one of the first group
to go back to work,

because I was in charge of the kitchen - there
were 74 kitchens in the camp and I was in charge
of the supply and they needed this and that, so
I went back. I had two helpers and we supplied
soaps and whatever. On these things, nobody
harrassed us or anything for going back. Though
our neighbors was kind of nosey, you know. . I
used to go in and out of the administration
building quite a bit. Two - three times a day.
And I used to pass Mr. Jacoby's office and I
said, 'Hello, Mr. Jacoby.' Very friendly fellow,
nice fellow. And then I'd go into Mr. Peck's
office and get things done, and get requisitions.
I got along with all these people. I did what I
had to do.

I asked, "You weren't bothered?" . . Nobody called you a dog for
doing that?" Mr. Sawada responded:

No. I had 74 kitchens to take care and I was
busy. . . I went to each kitchen at least twice
a week, and on the side I used to take care of
the trouble they had, that is: the utensils, the
dishes, this and that. I got along with all the
kitchens. . I kept even keel with every one of them
and they had no problems.

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When I asked Thomas Sawada, age 24, "Was there anything that you or other people did at Tule Lake that makes you feel really good today when you think about it?" he responded:

For myself, I was trying to forget the bad part of the thing because there is always a brighter side of the story. What I did was I strongly stayed with the (Buddhist) church movement and did whatever I can: I was a Sunday school teacher and sometimes the reverends got out on strike and say they are not going to show up. So here I took the reverends' part, and things like this. Socially, I think I accomplished a lot of things that I would have never done before. . .

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Later in the interview I asked Mr. Sawada whether there was anything that happened at Tule Lake that helped him to become a wiser or a better person. He responded:

I would say getting along with people. I got rid of my shyness. I would speak freely. I will speak freely now, even in front of an audience. It doesn't bother me anymore.

Isamu Kurusu, age ²⁹31, told me:

✓ t No relatives, just wife and I. So we just kept quiet and I was block manager, and we're not supposed to participate anything. Stay neutral. So I just kept quiet myself. . . . When I was block manager, I had it pretty tough. Because, you know, how people were. I was afraid to talk because he might tell somebody else. I was afraid. I just keep quiet for a while. Actually, not too many people could be trusted. Even people at work, they don't trust me either. So that's no good. . .

One thing I learned a lot of, I had more experience in dealing with all sort of people. One man, he was a block manager, he left to go to another camp. When the director appointed me to be block manager I told him, (the older block manager) I don't want it. He said to me, 'Isamu Kurusu, you didn't learn this thing in any university or college. . this is good human engineering. Although you are young, why don't you take this job.' So I never forget. He was an old man, but he told me that the world is human engineering. That was a good experience. I learned about the people, how to deal with them, how to speak, what to say and what not to say, to stay alive, you know.

35

Hirishi Morimoto, (37) years old, was born in Japan and came to the United States as an exchange student. He was an Old Tulean. The first thing he told me about his life at Tule Lake was:

I was block manager, then next I took treasurer of Co-op. Then I was Community Activities supervisor. That's three jobs I did.

When I asked him, "Did you have any person or persons whom you you really thought were your good friends?" he replied:

I have some in administration buildings. . .I had a good friend. Even director (Mr. Best) was very good. He recommended. .good recommendation letter to anybody. I still have that letter, you know, in my memory. . .I was living in doctor's block. All those doctors are good friends.

Later, he told me:

I think Sacramento Area people, they know I was teaching head of school,¹ so they listened to me. . .So I thought I should lead them in my best way, you know, even old people or young people. . . .I do not regret anything while I was at Tule Lake. I just felt maybe it was waste 3½ years in Tule Lake. But I have a lot of experience.

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Taro Tokunaga, (44) years old, was born in Hawaii. At the time of the evacuation, he was "running a little fruit stand in Sacramento". When I asked him, "Was there anything that happened that made you feel good?" he replied:

When I was block manager, one fellow brought me that book called "Buddha". I read over three times. And all of a sudden in the third time I read, I got the answer. In Japanese we call "satori". It means something like enlightenment. So I had that feeling of that enlightenment coming in while I was in office, and everything started to look bright looking. And at that time my mind was very clear. And everything that I hear or what I do is kind of more happy. Nothing to worry me. When I went to open my office at eight o'clock, my office was all clean. And the people come in after breakfast - young people come in; then young people goes out and girls come in; and girls goes out, old ladies comes in; old ladies goes out; old men come in. And all day long I couldn't close my

1. Before the evacuation Mr. Morimoto was teaching in the Japanese Language School in Sacramento.

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office till ten at night. Always people come around. .gather and talk and we had a very happy in my office. . .If you have that state. . people respect you and you don't get no fear; no anger; and just talk a common language and people gather around you. I don't know why.

Female Respondents

Unlike my male respondents, most of my female respondents were not particularly eager to talk about their activities at Tule Lake. In part this may reflect an age difference. Of respondents over 20, eleven were men and five women. On the other hand, eight of the eleven women respondents were children or unmarried women. And, as they themselves frequently remark, they did what their folks, father, mother, or older brother told them to do. It is also possible the life at Tule Lake was particularly difficult and depressing for the women, since most of them were not at all reluctant to speak at length about what they did in the Assembly Centers or after they had left Tule Lake.

Taeko Okamura, age ⁵7, wrote:

Life in Tule Lake Segregation Camp for children was not very pleasant. There was very little to do for entertainment. Toys were scarce. We often played hopscotch using the coal pieces from the pile in front of the bathroom area. . .Our mothers gave us outdated Wards and Sears catalogues so we could cut out the models to use as paper dolls. We also spent a great deal of time looking for tiny white shells which our mothers bleached and made into necklaces and pins.

Naoko Nishimoto was 10 years old when her family was sent from the Walerga Assembly Center to Tule Lake. She told me:

In Tule Lake we went to Japanese school in the morning and English school in the afternoon. Being a ten year old, I didn't know all these emotional and worries and financial status and things like that. . .But the nicest part I think to me was I had a lot of friends to play with because living out in the country, you couldn't. (Her parents had been farmers.)

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Why does fact that
most of them were
willing to speak
imply that life was
difficult & depressing?

Of course, the kind of living was different, you know. You had community bathroom and the showers and stuff like that, which I had never experienced. . . But other than that I can't really. . . going to school and studying kept my mind busy, so you kind of got used to the routine, . . . didn't think too much of it.

I remember playing a lot. . girl's games. . we'd go to the bathroom because it was cement and play jacks in there. And we had a basketball court, each block had one. . . So we played basketball, volleyball. . . the usual stuff. . I remember playing pin-pong.

I asked: "What did you get the most kick out of doing?" Mrs. Nishimoto replied:

There really wasn't much you could do, you were so confined. We enjoyed hiking though. We used to hike the mountains there.¹ That was kind of nice because you couldn't do anything else. And they showed movies later on. That was kind of nice because when I was little we didn't get a chance to see too many movies being out in the country. And, of course, there were the canteens where we used to buy ice cream, which I thought was nice because we couldn't get ice cream too often being out in the country. We only got to buy it when we went to town.

Sally Takahashi, age ¹²13, said:

During my stay in Tule Lake I did gain something by going to Japanese school. . . We used to run in the morning and then have classes and, of course, I kept us with my math.

I asked whether she had gone first to the WRA school and then to the Japanese school. She replied:

No, no. I dropped. . my dad had me going strictly to Japanese school. So I had one year of concentrated history. And like everybody knows, you must have history of a country to understand it. I had one year of Japanese history and then, of course, I had the language and I had the math and I think I had a science course and I remember the science teacher very dearly.

1. This must have been before the segregation or, perhaps, Mrs. Nishimoto may have participated in hikes and outings which were arranged by the administration in April 1945 when people were being urged to relocate.

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June Iwohara, age ¹⁶17, found life in camp very traumatic. When I asked her whether she had any friends, she responded:

I had quite a few girlfriends and we used to go dancing. They did have dances for us and I guess we led as normal a life as we can in camp. And if I had to go to a camp, I guess I was glad I had to go while I lived in America, and not in Germany or Russia. I guess they tried their best to help us lead as normal a life as you can in a controlled environment like this.

When I asked Mrs. Kunitani, age 21, "Are there any other experiences you'd like to tell me about?" she responded:

I pursued some courses that I never would if I weren't in camp. I took flower arrangement, and there were so many crafts, Japanese crafts in America. And there were those that would carve wood and make tigers just out of a block of wood.

Lillian Noma, age ²⁰22, opened the interview by apologizing:

I remember that for reasons other than my own I could not be as frank with you as I wanted to in camp, because of parental pressure, you know, not to say too much. (At Tule Lake) I worked in the circulating library. .and they wanted to close it. . . .my only source of heat was an electric heater. Even when it snowed -- dedicated me -- like a fool I went there. And I got deathly sick and for that reason I haven't been able to have any children. I hadn't gone out socially very much - close knit family with a very. .I mean under strict discipline, especially mother. And we learned. .outside of following family orders. .I didn't have much social life and for that reason what my parents said was law. .I hadn't really broadened my horizon and I had just worked briefly before the war.

Mary Iida, age ²²23, told me she had been a block manager at the Assembly Center -- the Stockton County Fairgrounds. When she was sent to Rohwer Relocation Center, she worked in the block manager's office. At Rohwer she married Mr. Iida and, when he became a "No-No", accompanied him to Tule Lake, leaving her "loyal" family at Rohwer.

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When I asked her whether she remembered the military registration, she replied:

Oh, vaguely. By that time I was married. So my husband. .he was a "No-No", so I thought what could I do. So I just went along. .I don't think I ever said "No-No". I don't know.

I then asked her: "In Tule Lake, is there anything that especially comes to your mind that happened there?" She responded:

Well, in Tule Lake I was very inactive. I didn't do anything. I was just a plain housewife, because I had my son. Our son was born there. And so, the sewing machine came around once in . . . whatever, and when the sewing machine came, boy, you were busy sewing in between your cutting up and everything. I never got bored. I didn't have time to be bored. But I didn't do anything for the public or anything.

I asked: "Did you have any friends?" She replied:

When I got there I didn't, no. . .I made friends. And the children weren't that many and then my son was just an infant. And then there were so many older, like my parent's age, you know, who had nothing to do. So then they would look after my son while I went to the laundry. We had to use those scrub boards. So while we did that, there was always someone to look after the child. Some of the friends I made there are still very good friends of ours. As far as amusement went, well, that we didn't have too much there. . .So we just stayed sort of close to home.

When I asked Noriko Tsuruda ^{page 22,} whether she had any friends in Tule Lake with whom she could talk, she responded:

I was more or less family oriented. . .And I wasn't too much socialized. . .Like my family was real old fashioned and they were very protective, especially in camp. All the boy. .men. . young men you meet are all total strangers. You don't know where they came from. . .I didn't go out to date very much, many I had two or three boyfriends, nothing serious, you know. And even then, they used to come to my house.

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I worked during the day in the cateen, behind the counter, and then when I came home I used to go to Japanese school. And so there was your day. It was gone. So that was the life in Tule Lake. (laughs)

Mrs. Kurusu, age ²⁷28, was reluctant to tell me anything about her life at Tule Lake. Subsequently, her husband told me that they had no friends at Tule Lake and they did not today know anyone who had been there. I asked her: "Even at Tule Lake wasn't there anything at all that was sort of a pleasure? Did you go to any of the classes?" She replied:

No. . . Ah, yes, I did. . . sewing.

I asked: "Did that make you feel good?" She responded:

Well, I was learning something.

Ms. Kataoka, the 37 year old woman who was sent to Tule Lake alone, is the only woman respondent who speaks of her accomplishments. She told me that she studied the Bible from "Genesis to Revelations," that she became a Christian and socialized with the missionaries, and ignored her critical Buddhist neighbors. Reading the Bible gave her strength "to withstand all kinds of difficult situation". (See p.)

Hanako Tsuchikawa - An Exceptional Woman

Mrs. Tsuchikawa was a Kibei, born in Hawaii in 1914. She was married to an Issei and had three children. One of her brothers was confined in the stockade. Another brother, I subsequently learned, was in the U.S. Army. When I visited Tule Lake in March of 1944, Mr. Robertson suggested that I might call on her. He told me that she had asked him to come to see her. At her apartment he met twelve men who told him that the Coordinating Committee had failed and that they would like to bring about a better type of representation.

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When I called on her I explained the aims of the study and told her that if she had anything to say and said it to me now, it would make me lose respect for her. I hoped that she make inquiries about me and when she found out what kind of person I was, she might be willing to tell me how she felt about the true state of affairs in the center.¹

✓ 9/ She told me: that she was only a high school graduate and that she was merely standing up for her rights. Her brother had been put in the stockade for no cause and her attempts to obtain his release had been referred to the Coordinating Committee. She said she was tired of being grilled by the F.B.I. men and the Internal Security - and was glad that I didn't act that way.²

Between April 7 and 9, the resegregation petition had been circulated.³ I called on Mrs. Tsuchikawa on April 13. Although she was ill in bed with a cold, she asked me to stay and began to pour out her grievances against the Internal Security (the center police):

you're Internal Security said, 'Why don't you stay home and mind your kids? Even your own people hate you. They say you're a liar and indecent and conceited. Go ahead and tell this to the damn Spanish Consulate. (They) threatened me and my husband as being espionage agents. #

I asked her if she could explain the resegregation petition to me. She replied with passionate exaltation:

Since we came here, we call ourselves the real expatriates and repatriates seeking to go back to Japan and be with her in everything, win or lose, as her subjects. We've been denied all privileges in the U.S. We're going to go to a place where our children can be somebody.

1. Fieldnotes, March 21, 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. See pp. .

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When we came (to Tule Lake), much to our dismay we find many loyal are still here, although they put up a front of expatriation or repatriation. They did it as a means of escaping the draft or leaving the camp since Tule won't close, or because they have an opportunity to make money here where five or six people in one family can get a job, which they can't do in other centers.¹ A lot of draft evaders came here. It's nothing but a dump. . . They would face on either side of the fence as the war progresses.

We don't care which wins or loses! We're going to stick to Japan! We cannot raise our children overnight to be Japanese subjects. We can't do this because there are so many elements here.

I then asked Mrs. Tsuchikawa how her group could distinguish between people who truly wished to go to Japan and people who were "on the fence". She replied:

We put up a question: those who like to go back to Japan at the first opportunity is the ones who really want to go back. They don't want to stay here until they see what happens. We tell them: "We might be given a bad place to live - would you go?" They said, "Yes, we'll die there as Japanese!"

I asked her what was to be the fate of the thousands of people who ~~and~~ not signed the petition, but were by no means inu. She replied:

The otherpeople - they didn't stick up for us in the crisis. It's not our business to worry about them. . . We're holding ourselves in. We tell them over and over 'It's not time.' We don't want the community to see us forget ourselves.

(I did not realize at this time that Mrs. Tsuchikawa was telling me that some members of her group were eager for violence but that the leaders were telling them, "It's not time." In the months to come, resegregationist leaders made this statement at every time of crisis.)

1. I asked Mr. Robertson about this accusation. He admitted that there were such cases, but added that regulations limiting employment to only two members of a family are being prepared.

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THE STIGMA OF THE INU (INFORMERS)

In the relocation centers, during periods of stress some individuals were invariable stigmatized as inu ("dog," i.e. "stool-pigeon or informer").

To be stigmatized as an inu brought social ostracism, which, in the crowded and confined life of the centers, was painful in the extreme. A suspected man, seating himself in the mess hall, was met with an uncomfortable silence and meaningful glances. If he entered a latrine or boiler room, the common gathering places for gossip or discussion, friendly talk or argument ceased with his appearance. Because of the lack of privacy imposed by camp conditions, he could find no escape and was reminded of his despised status many times a day. Moreover, camp life offered almost no resources in which an ostracized individual might find temporary escape. The administration frowned on fraternization between Caucasian staff members and the Japanese. Marked friendliness with Caucasians would, in any case, corroborate the suspicions of the community. When tension between the administration and the residents became grave, the man marked as an inu was liable to be attacked and beaten. Understandably, most people avoided doing or saying anything which might cause them to be suspected of being inu.¹

In June of 1944, the Tule Lake Center experienced an extreme outbreak of hostility toward inu which culminated in a series of assaults and a murder. In this essay, I would like to present the various events and the peoples' statements in chronological order.

To begin with, it should be noted that on January 28, the Coordinating Committee asked for and received the appointment of

"30 men with WRA remuneration for the purpose of performing intelligence work which is to be used only for the advantage and benefit of the colony." At the same time the necessity of restricting meetings within the center was brought up, and on Mr. Black's suggestion the restriction was deemed unnecessary "since the creation of an intelligence unit should alleviate the task to a certain degree by insinuating within these /meetings/ investigators and spotting and identifying the nature of the meeting and possibly the leaders."²

1. "Doing Fieldwork," pp. 62-3.
2. Minutes of the joint meeting of the Advisory Council and the Coordinating Committee, January 28, 1944.

The organization of this intelligence unit was approved by the administration, and the agents, known as "fielders" were placed on the WRA payroll. They kept a constant watch for "agitation" and "general unrest" as well as for complaints about mess halls, housing, and employment.¹

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When I visited Tule Lake on February 1 and 2 of 1944, my conservative Kibei friend, Mr. Kurusu, (age ²⁹31), who was employed as a block manager, told me:

Honestly, I'd like this center back to normal conditions, but if I said that to the residents, they'd say I'm a dog (informer). Since I took office two-three men came over and threatened some of the block representatives.

His Issei wife, age ²⁷29, remarked:

The people are forgetting the United States now. They say, 'We are Japanese.'

On the next day I had a brief talk with Miss Kuratomi, secretary to the Coordinating Committee. She frankly told me that the committee had been selected by the division heads and recognized by the project director. "The people have to take it or else." At the end of our talk she said, "The people say that we're inu," and that the camp ^{is} full of inu and rats." I asked how a rat differed from an inu. Miss Kuratomi seemed reluctant to explain but said that a rat was a person who worked against the Japanese - only he was worse than an inu. He was more selfish. He got into the kitchen and ate the food.

Later in the day I called on another young Nisei whom I had known at the Gila Center. I asked her: if she would be willing to copy ^{some documents} ~~the train lists~~ for Dr. Thomas. She said she would think about it. The feeling against inu was still so strong that she felt that she had rather wait a couple of weeks and then start the work if things looked better.

1. "The Spoilage," p. 205.

In late February of 1944, Mr. Kurihara, age 48, at my request, wrote a paper giving his view of the situation at Tule Lake. In this paper, he said:

The Administration, in order to cover up its inability, employs many stool pigeons. This is the most dangerous thing it can do to create suspicion and disrupt the harmony of the center. If the information supplied is accurate, without personal prejudice or jealousy, the employment of spies may be justified, but almost in every case the contrary has been found to be true. On the worthless information of the so-called spies, the authorities have acted, thereby not only causing fear and unrest throughout the camp but undue hardships and sufferings. This phase of the activities are very rampant here at Tule Lake. It must be corrected if repetition of the trouble is to be avoided.

If any suspicious character is reported by the scums of the Japanese Race, and trial to prove the guilt or innocence of the person apprehended is held, then I would say there exists at least a semblance of justice which will satisfy the residents. But so far I have not heard of any trial determining the guilt or innocence of the person arrested and yet the person accused is held in the Military Stockade undoubtedly as guilty.

Arrival of Segregants From Manzanar Relocation Center

In late February the "disloyal contingent" of segregants from the Manzanar Center arrived at Tule Lake. The Coordinating Committee and WRA tried very hard to make these new arrivals comfortable, assigning them to new barracks and even lighting fires in the apartments before they arrived. Mr. Sasaki, on behalf of the committee, welcomed the newcomers with a mimeographed appeal for cooperation:

None of us know how long will our stay in Tule Lake be. All Tuleans have been trying to make it a better place to live under the circumstances. Yet they have no other desire than to live in peace and happiness for the duration. Our ideal is Utopia. Ideal of Utopia may not be attained, however, we must strive to attain that goal as much as we can for ideal is like a North Star. Sailor never reaches North Star, yet without North Star he cannot come to the port.

We appeal to you, MANZANITES!! Now you are in the same boat with us. Let's make the best of it and lay up for the future happiness.

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This appeal was immediately followed up by a counterblast from the underground supporters of the Daihyo Sha Kai. Working secretly, these "pro-status-quo" folk mimeographed a pamphlet in which they accused the WRA of refusing to clarify the status of the Nisei and thus of trying to convert disloyal segregants into loyals. The U.S. army, they asserted, had employed a "suppressive policy" upon the segregants, using "even motor trucks and tanks and fired great number of ammunitions. During the incident over 200 innocent ones were picked up and every apartment was searched, for which even a mere child of three years of age was indignant." The "pro-status-quoers" claimed that the army had withdrawn from the center because of a "stiff protest" by "the Imperial Government repeatedly," and they denounced the Coordinating Committee and the executives of the Co-op as participants in a "dark stream of sinister plot" to deceive the colonists and discredit the Daihyo Sha Kai, asserting that the committee and its supporters were "betrayers of the Fatherland," gamblers, bootleggers, and shameless egotists. Finally they claimed that the WRA had hired inu "with excellent salary" to help them "carry out their damnable policy."¹

The Inu In March 1944

In March 1944 I visited Tule Lake for ten days, (14-23). Some of the people with whom I spoke appeared to be more relaxed than they had been in February. When, on March 14, I called on Mrs. Kurusu, she did not mention the inu:

People went back to work very quietly. To tell the truth, I believe they've changed somewhat; but they don't say anything aloud. I believe they're going to give them (the Coordinating Committee) a fair

1. "Doing Fieldwork", pp. 109-10.

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chance. . . There are still people in the stockade. Some fellows were taken from our block and haven't come back yet.

When I called on the Tsurudas, Mrs. Tsuruda told me happily that her husband was working at the mess, "as he has always wanted to do". However, Mr. Tsuruda's brother, Bill, age ²⁵27, and a very energetic young man, clearly wished to speak to me. At the end of our talk I asked him about the Coordinating Committee. He responded:

That bunch is a bunch of inus, and Sasaki (the chairman) is the biggest inu of them all. That Coordinating Committee - I don't know who elected them or not. Sasaki - people around here know about him. He used to head the Coop during the trouble (strike). . . Sasaki and the big shots got together and sold the WRA rice in the canteen to the people. They did this with rice and oranges. The money they got from that they divided among themselves.

They send out pamphlets. It's just a lot of bolony. I know of a group that has been trying to get a lawyer or a bookkeeper to audit the Co-op books and investigate into it. We know graft like that is going on. Sasaki probably got word of it. It was getting hot under the seat, so he quit the Co-op.

Bill then gave me a copy of Mr. Sasaki's mimeographed appeal to the newly arrived segregants from Manzanar, saying:

That's the kind of paper an inu would write. That's really soft-soaping the people. That paper ought to be signed, "Inu Sasaki."

On the same day, my block manager friend, Mr. Nigashi, age ²⁴26, told me that a certain man, "let's call him X" had had attempted to discredit the Negotiating Committee of the Daihyo Sha Kai in November of 1943. "Then the Planning Board posted a bulletin saying, Mr. X is an inu."

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If you work for the project here, you'd find he the key man. He's standing pretty high now, and has the confidence of the Administration. (Other respondents subsequently told me that Mr. X was a "Public Inu No. 1".)

On March 15 I also visited Mr. Kurihara and asked him "if the inu he had remarked upon in his paper were as serious a danger as his statements implied." He answered:

The Adminsitration absolutely ought to refuse to listen to them. Any person accused by an so-called inu, if a trial is held and the inu presents the case before them all and shows the person was guilty, then I think it would help to discourage the inu. I believe the inu are working here with the Administration to a great extent.

It is known throughout the camp that the inu gave away the Negotiating Committee. They sell their soul for a few pennies. They make my blood boil.

When I asked Mr. Kurihara^{page 47,} about the Coordinating Committee, he responded:

Among these seven are several people whose record is so black that I even flatly refuse to talk to them. My profession is a public accountant. I nearly sent him (Mr. Kami of the Coordinating Committee) to jail from defauding the company of \$40,000 dollars. There are others too. The Administration doesn't know their past. . . .Right now the Co-op is in a sad spot in this camp. . . Prices in some cases are so high it seems ridiculous. They have a mop - worth 15 cents, even today it could not be worth more than 25 cents at Woolworths. They are charging 55 cents.

On March 15 I also called on my friend George Wakida, a Kibei, age ²⁸29. George spent most of the visit telling me about the Seinen Kai, (Youth Organization) he was attempting to organize at Tule Lake. He then interrupted himself to remark, "This Seinen Kai, if we do good to the WRA, the people will think we're inu; if we don't we get stuck in the stockade." He further explained that he preferred that the Seinen Kai be independent of the WRA Community Activities Section, explaining, "All the wiser people stay back. If, as a supervisor for the CAS, if something happened,

I'm going to be the first one to get a two-by-four," These remarks about inu were made half-jokingly. As a young man who had been interned at Leupp, George, at this time, had an aura of prestige. No one was likely to call him an informer.

On March 17 my friend, Mr. ^{Kurumaw} Oda, (age ²⁹ 31) told me:

My job is much easier every day. It gets easier and easier.

But at the end of our talk, he told me that four young men from his block had been put in the stockade.

They took a person and his three roommates here. Only the roommate was there the night of the incident. But his three roommates were just living with him. But a bachelor can't live by himself in one room. They keep taking people into the stockade.

On the following day, I had a talk with my friend, Mr. Tsuruda, age ²⁸ 30, in which we gossiped about some of the incompetent or stupid personnel - a favorite topic in the camps. But when I asked him what he thought of the "loyal people" he said:

A hundred percent of the inu are of the loyal bunch. I wouldn't be surprised if Sasaki and that bunch are all loyal. There is a girl who works at my office. She acts like an inu. This is how I suspect. I told her, "You know, there are a lot of inu in camp." And she said, "Is that so? But it's better not to say anything." That's how I know. Now the natural reaction would be, "Who are they?"¹

On March 20 I approached Mr. Sasaki and his secretary, Miss Kuratomi. Both were very nervous and Mr. Sasaki looked as if he had aged ten years. He talked only in a whisper. Since I was aware of their reputation as inu, I suggested that they meet with me in my room in the administrative section. They agreed,

1. Mr. Tsuruda did not intend to go to Japan. When I met him in the Gila Center he had told me that he was going to Tule Lake with his aged and dependent parents to sit out the war.

but suggested that they come at night, when there was less chance of their being seen. When they arrived, I asked Mr. Sasaki what the committee had accomplished in the six weeks since I had last seen him. He said, "Nothing whatever." I also asked him who the Sub-Coordinating Committee were, since I had seen this term in the minutes of the meetings. He replied:

We have fielders or undercover people. We had to put that word (Sub-Coordinating Committee) in the minutes. It was generous of the WRA to grant us that privilege.

He then told me that the real function of this sub-committee was to serve as bodyguards for members of the Coordinating Committee.

On March 22 I visited Mr. and Mrs. Wakida again. George spent most of our visit telling me about his difficulties in organizing a Seinen Kai. At the end of our talk he told me that Dr. Opler, the Community Analyst, had asked him to join his staff. But he had refused because he knew that if he worked for Dr. Opler he would be branded as an inu.

The Inu In April, 1944

When I arrived for my third visit to Tule Lake (April 12-17), I found the administrative staff in a state of crisis over the circulation of the resegregation petition (See p.). But when I talked to my Japanese respondents I found that they were, on the whole, less disturbed than the administrators. When I called on Mr. Kurihara, he made no mention of inu. Instead, he began our talk by stating prophetically:

Frankly speaking, you may convey to Mr. Robertson, that if there is any trouble here, the trouble will be against the Japanese only. . . I don't want to side with anybody, but the only thing to do is to get the Yes-Yes group out, or have the Army continually patrol the camp.

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On the other hand, my block manager friend, Mr. Higashi, was excited and tense. He told me:

The majority of people want to live as Japanese. . . Some people want to go back to our country as soon as possible. We wish to be separated from the inus; that's the main point. . . .We want to get the inu out.

Mr. Higashi also gave me the name of the man he had called inu at our meeting of March 5, and added that this man had informed on the Negotiating Committee because of jealousy.

That evening I had a very confidential talk with Mr. Robertson, the Assistant Project Director in charge of Operations Division. He told me that he disapproved of Mr. Best's use of inu, and explained, "As long as the staff can't understand the colony, they are going to use informers."

On April 13, I talked briefly with a conservative and intelligent young Nisei woman, who told me:

The Yes-Yes should be taken out. That's what everybody is saying. In the first place, this place was for the disloyal Japanese. They (Yes-Yes people) have no place here at all. They'll cause trouble and would be called inu.

On April 13 Mr. Kurihara told me that he had not signed the resegregationist petition.

I objected to the petition. I couldn't sign it. I disapproved because I see their doings are from a very narrow viewpoint. Another point I objected - when that matter was brought up, no clear-cut explanation was made. It was given to the people in a haphazard manner. . Many now regret signing the petition.

Mr. Higashi also expressed his doubts:

Outright support of the petition is not very strong . . . People believe the petition doesn't have anything to enforce it. I found that out. The main object is to segregate the Yes from the Nos. That's why I signed it. . . Trouble like this is occurring because there are too many inus.

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On April 15, I was able to have a long visit with Bob Tsuruda (age ²⁸30). He was his usual talkative self. He told me that he had ignored the petition. "The guys believe the petition is a radical goon-squad business." While discussing the events of November 1943, he told me, "I voted for the general strike. I went radical that once. . . .I knew the status quo (partial strike) would be a lingering suffering for the whole damn colony." He believed that people had voted against the general strike because, "They got to thinking about the women and children. . .They figured it would be awful to have to stand around and watch the kids cry." Then he said:

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

Period of Relaxation - May 15 to May 24

In the middle of May, 1944, I moved to the Tule Lake Center.

I found the staff members relaxed and optimistic and most of my Japanese friends were in good spirits. (See pp.)

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~~Most of my Japanese friends were also in good spirits.~~

Tsuruda told me:

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

Mr. Higashi was very happy. His first child, a son, had been born, and he showed me the baby with great pleasure. He then told me:

Ever since you left there hasn't been much change, All quiet on the Western Front. Things are going pretty good except for the reduction of persons working in the family. In this block there were eight or nine families who had more than two persons working. In my opinion the Administration is making a big mistake by saying that only two people in each family may work, because there are some families who have as many as ten members and they ought to be allowed to have more people working.

He then told me that in late February when the contingent of "disloyal" segregants from Manzanar was about to arrive at Tule Lake, the Japanese head of the housing workers had told them they should not work overtime.

He was kicked right back on his face by the staff. They said, "We are all Japanese. We are going to help those guys even if we work overtime."

On May 16, I received a letter from Miss Kuratomi in which she wrote:

In spite of many things, Center's social activities continue to function as if there's no trouble whatsoever. Baseball, basketball, dances, shows, engi kais,¹ bazaars and field day of various track games are some of the activities which enliven our almost "dead" spirit.

On May 18, Mr. Wakida told me:

Tonight every block is going to have a meeting to nominate delegates (for the proposed permanent representative body). 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 the WRA you get called inu. So I'm going to play baseball.

1. Engeki kai - dramas.

It was on May 20 that I first heard of "the block 54 trouble". Mr. Higashi, the block manager, told me that "it was a mess".

Two anti-status-quo Issei, one of whom, Mr. Anzai, was a police warden, had publicly criticized some young men in the block who were performing "morning exercises" in imitation of those performed by the military in Japan. After a heated argument, the young men locked Mr. Anzai in the public ironing room. His friend called the Japanese police who released Mr. Anzai, but did not arrest the culprits. The block residents then petitioned the administration and the evacuee chief of police to remove Mr. Anzai and his friend from the block. Neither petition was acted upon, but less than a week later, eleven men from the block were arrested and put in the stockade.

I called on Mr. and Mrs. Tsuchikawa, who were both ardent resegregationists, a few days after the residents of block 54 had presented their petitions. Mrs. Tsuchikawa told me:

Those men (Mr. Anzai and his friend) were against everything that was done in the block. Some people in the block had what they call a Young Men's Club. They had radio exercises in the morning. These men threatened the parents of the boys who attended these exercises that the Army will come up and stop them. "They'll kick you for doing this," they said.

Mr. Tsuchikawa interrupted his wife and said that the men had repeatedly annoyed the block by their actions. This Young Men's Group had been the first to stand up to them.

So the boys went to see them and tried to make them see the thing their way. "If you are real Japanese," they said, "You would co-operate with us." The boys heard one of them say, "Maybe I'm not Japanese."

SHOOTING, BEATINGS, MURDER

On the evening of 24 May, a staff member knocked on my door and told me that a Japanese had been shot at close range by an armed sentry. Early the next morning I was able to speak with Mr. Robertson. He told me that one of his construction workers Shoichi Okamoto had been shot in the abdomen by a sentry - apparently at a range of less than three feet. He also told me that the Japanese construction crews had not come to work and that many other workers were not showing up.

After lunch I called on Mr. Kurihara. I did not feel comfortable about doing this, but I hoped that Kurihara would advise me whether or not it was proper or decent for me to visit people at this time. Kurihara was unusually gentle and serene, and I did not realize that he was in a state of shock. He said, "The people are very calm. . . Let's be cool and know more about it before we take any action. . . We must be fair. Mr. Best is not responsible. . . The Japanese could take it. They'll take it more than any other race."

I then inquired how the man was doing. Kurihara said that he was dead. His eyes filled with tears and he began to cry, repeating over and over again: "I wonder if there is a God."

I could think of nothing to say, so I expressed my sympathy and left.

I think I might have stopped visiting people had I not had an appointment with my secretary, a Nisei girl who lived in the same block as Kurihara. This young woman seemed so relieved to see me and so eager to tell me what people were saying that I concluded that she found my visit reassuring. Thereupon I called

on several other friends and was also well received. What I found was that my friends were not only shocked and angry, but afraid -- afraid that there might be another demonstration, that the soldiers might shoot them as they had shot Mr. Okamoto. Though they did not express it explicitly, the administrators shared this fear. If there was another demonstration, there would be more outrageous publicity about the "Jap riots", and the jurisdiction of the camp might again be given to the military.

On the next day I tried to talk to Mr. Tsuruda, but found only his wife at home. She said:

The people are angry about it. But we heard over the radio that Secretary Ickes said it was the soldier's fault. . . That made the people feel better. They were all angry around here but nobody knew what it was all about.

I then went to the Civic Organizations office where Miss Kuratomi was employed. She was shaking with rage and told me that she thought Mr. Best was trying to avoid responsibility. "It was Mr. Best's fault for bringing in the Military in the first place," she said. I called on Mr. Robertson and he told me that the Japanese had agreed to return to work if they could be assured of protection. He felt that Mr. Best had acted wisely, making announcements in the messhall, visiting Mr. Okamoto's family, and giving the workers all they asked for in the way of protection.

On May 27 I walked to Mr. Higashi's apartment but found him leaving for a block managers' meeting. I suggested that in the present situation it might be wise if I did not visit him. He looked very relieved and suggested we meet at some other place. I then went to Dr. Opler's office, where I met a young Japanese who, I knew, was on very good terms with Mr. Robertson. This young man told me that every time the Japanese see a soldier in

camp it makes their blood boil. He had interviewed the men who had witnessed the shooting and had written a report.

When Okamoto approached the gate, driving the truck the sentry waved at him. Okamoto interpreted this as a signal to stop. The soldier then approached him, cursed at him and ordered him to get out of the truck. Okamoto got out of the truck reluctantly. The soldier then ordered him to walk outside of the fence. Okamoto did so hesitantly and the soldier made as if to strike him with the butt of his rifle. Okamoto screamed and fell to the ground writhing and clutching his stomach. The soldier reloaded his rifle and lighted a cigarette. The other Japanese looked on amazed. Then the soldier said, "Get the hell out of here or I'll shoot you too."

The young man assured me that if the soldier was not punished promptly and justly the results "will be terrible".

I dropped into Mr. Robertson's office to see if there was any news. He asked me in a quiet voice: "What do you think would happen if the Army whitewashed the whole thing and did not release the verdict for months?" I was by this time very upset. "If they do," I said, "or if the soldier is set free, November first and fourth will look like a picnic."

Later that afternoon I called on Mr. Tsuruda. He was very cordial but also very nervous. His fluent comments were interspersed with black humor, at which he himself laughed loudly.

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

If WRA can prove to the people that the man who was shot was of no fault, and that they did their best to get justice, then things might quiet down. But if they exonerate the man completely, there's going to be a blow-off. They'll have to build a double fence around the administration section. . .

The smartest thing to do would be to give the man (the soldier) twenty years and send him to jail. Then pardon him after three or four years.

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If the man is exonerated that will give the M.P.'s the impression that the lives of the Japs in here are not worth a hell of a lot. . . Heck, I might walk through that gate next morning and the guy will take a shot at me. I'm dead. That's not going to help me any. (laughter)

As I left Mr. Takeuchi told me that lid might blow off the camp in two hours and if that happened Mr. Robertson, Mr. Hayward (Bob's boss) and myself should come to his barrack. That would be the safest place for us.

That evening I talked briefly with Dr. Opler. He told me that the WRA office is "trying like hell to keep the Army from whitewashing this shooting."

On the morning of March 28 I called on Mr. and Mrs. Wakida. Mr. Wakida talked freely about the shooting and stressed that the WRA's attempts to avoid responsibility were 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. His wife remarked on the soldiers patrolling the camp with machine guns. "That didn't look good." Neither George 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.

I then visited Mr. Kurihara but he was so upset he did not wish to talk about the shooting. His only comment was: "It is a great shame to the Army of the United States."

When, however, I called on the Iida family in the afternoon I was well received. All the men of the family were at home, since it was Sunday and all the baseball games had been cancelled out of respect for Mr. Okamoto. The men interrupted their bridge

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game to talk with me. Mr. Iida told me that everybody knew that his block (21) was full of "small citizens". But he didn't care. I could come to see him and they could call him an inu if they wanted to.

Another man said that the soldiers should stay out of camp. Every time one of them is seen in camp the people feel worse. "Everything depends on the verdict." Another asked if the soldier were given a heavy sentence and sent away to serve a light one, would the soldiers here know of this?

"If the verdict is for acquittal," said Mr. Iida, "the best thing the WRA could do to avoid trouble would be to remove the soldiers completely and tear down the fence." Another man was concerned because Mr. Best had seemed so eager to escape responsibility. If he had said that he safety of the people was his responsibility, the people would feel better.

Later that afternoon while I was writing up my notes, Mr. Robertson came to my room and told me that Mr. Best was wondering whether I should be asked to leave the project during this crisis. He explained that Mr. Best was under great stress and that some of the pressure to ask me to leave was coming from the Internal Security. He also warned me that his (Robertson's) mail was frequently opened when he received it and marked "Opened by Mistake".

At eight o'clock the next morning I went to see Mr. Best in his office and managed to impress him with my common sense and good will. I also told him that I did not plan to go into the colony for the next few days. At this he looked very relieved and said that would be a good idea. (Being young and reckless, I did not at this time appreciate the fact that Mr. Best was genuinely concerned with my welfare.)

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After my talk with Mr. Best I stayed in my room for two days. But this solitude was very hard on me and I decided to see what I could learn in the administrative section. I talked briefly with two Nisei who were employed as secretaries. They had been very impressed by Mr. Okamoto's funeral. "At least 5,000 people were there," said one. Then the other young lady said worriedly, "It's going to be bad though if the soldier is acquitted. The people are just waiting to hear."

On June 4 I visited the Tsurudas. Bob was taking a nap when I arrived so I talked for about a half hour with his wife and her sister. To my surprise the women talked excitedly about the inu.

They had thought that when they came to Tule Lake they would be through with inus, but had found that there were more of them than ever. "Every place you look you can see one." Bob's sister-in-law said that you couldn't even have a small meeting anywhere but what some inu would go and report it to the Administration.¹

When Bob awoke, he talked at first about the stupidity of some of the Caucasian staff in the mess division. Then he spoke approvingly of the speech Mr. Best had made at Mr. Okamoto's funeral.

I will have to give the man credit. He really has done his best. He didn't lay it on too thick. Regardless of why he did it, the fact stands that he did do it. That's what you have to give the man credit for. It couldn't all have been prompted by selfishness.

Since my block manager friend, Mr. Kurusu, lived in a "tough block" I wrote him asking him if I might safely visit him. I had also asked him to write me a letter if he did not wish me to call. On June 6 I received a letter in which he said in part:

Thank you for your letter and sincere courtesy. I deeply regret that the tragic occurrence had to stop your visiting which I was expecting with great interest.

1. Field notes, June 4, 1944.

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As far as I can observe the present existing public sentiment, I hope that probably there will be no public disturbance or see the slightest tendency of trouble or pressure group. However, it appears to me that the colonists have received considerable shock and a tendency of great anger toward thoughtless cruel barbaric in-human being attitude of the military police.

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Other day we held the regular ward meeting and a block manager brought up the sincere hope of request by the people, concerning inhuman attitude of the military police toward the recent tragic incident that hereafter, the W.R.A. would guarantee and take proper measurement and caution for our safety and security especially employees of the center . . . Also I have confidence that the colony is eagerly waiting with great expectation for the official announcement of the truth.

✓ On June 6 two Caucasian teachers told me about "wild-cat" Japanese schools which are springing up in the camp. These schools, ✓ I was told, stress Japanese training of the most severe sort and refuse to come under the authority of the Japanese schools established with the consent of the WRA. The organizers are said to be Kibei of very pro-Japanese leanings. The curricula included elaborate physical exercises. . . Another teacher told me that many ✓ of her students are dropping out of her classes. Their parents believe they should not attend the English school.

/ On June 8 I visited by friend George Wakida and found him talking with one of his friends, Mr. Abo. Mr. Wakida soon began to talk about the 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." (This was the office of

Dr. Opler, the Community Analyst.) "How's that?" I asked. "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 nothing. Not with those guys around."

On the shooting of Mr. Okamoto, Wakida opined that if the verdict was for acquittal it would be better to announce it at once, rather than let the people remain in this jumpy state of mind. He also gave me his version of the trouble in block 54. (See IVa, p. .) It seems as if Mr. Anzai, the warden who had protested about the Japanese morning exercises was now being called an inu. The evacuee head of the internal Security force, who had refused the block petition to dismiss Anzai and his friend, was also being called an inu.

On June 8, Mr. Kurihara told me that people's feelings about the shooting were quieting down. He was happy about a rumor that people in the camp might be permitted to take excursions to the nearby hills. But he also told me that some Japanese had questioned him because he was being visited by Mr. Robertson and by myself. He had told these questioners that his conscience was clear. "Having inu around," he explained, "keeps everybody on edge. Everybody suspects everybody else and it leads to a great deal of hard feelings. It keeps the people in a constant state of tension."

On June 10 I called on my friend, Bob Tsuruda, and found him relaxed and sleepy. He was pleased that his boss, Mr. Hayward had started a policy of having the Caucasian mess stewards "go in and have one meal a day in the colony mess halls. . . They have to eat lunch in the colony every day except Saturday and Sunday."¹

1. Forty years later Bob's sister told me that Bob had suggested this policy to Mr. Hayward, because he thought it might result in an improvement in the quality of the food. (See interview with Noriko Tsuruda.)

"One Caucasian steward," said Bob, "had tried to skin out of this by claiming that his stomach was bothering him." Bob made no mention of the shooting or the inu.

On the night of June 12, Masato Noma, the brother of Takeo Noma, the general manager of the Cooperative Enterprises was assaulted and beaten so severely that he had concussion of the brain. It was said that he might lose his eyesight. On the night of June 13, Mr. Anzai, the Issei police warden who had tried to stop the militaristic morning exercises in block 54, was beaten severely. It was said that his skull had been fractured.

On June 14 I called on Mr. and Mrs. Yamashita. (Yamashita was a well educated ex-internee, who, I knew, was an undercover advisor to the Resegregationists.) He began the interview by complimenting the administration for the "very marvelous way of . . . trying to calm the feelings of the residents. . . Mr. Best was wise in making the funeral so big. It made the people feel good - at the expense of the residents." Mr. Yamashita felt that the Administration should have paid for the funeral expenses.

I remarked that I had heard that Mr. Anzai had been beaten up. "He wasn't killed though," remarked Mrs. Yamashita in a disappointed tone. I then bluntly asked Mr. Yamashita what he thought of such beatings. Were persons not guilty of being inu being threatened and assaulted? He responded diffidently:

Knowing the Japanese as a race, knowing them for their courtesy and good behavior, I say that if anyone is beaten there should be a certain fundamental reason for it. I think the general opinion of the people was that these men were stealing goods supposed to be given to the colonists.

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On June 14th or 15th the chief eyewitness of the Okamoto shooting was threatened but escaped a beating. Some people said that he must have been an inu, the theory being that he had given testimony unfavorable to Okamoto at the coroner's inquest.

On the evening of June 16 four staff members, three of whom were high-school teachers, called on me. They were very excited and distressed. They told me that Mr. Black had delivered the commencement address at the highschool and had said: "You perhaps have your own opinions and without doubt your parents have definite ✓
✓
confictions. But 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 informants said that from Black's initial statement that he was an American, there was a continuous heckling from the young men in the back of the room. At the end of Black's speech there was mixed applause and booing, ✓ S
applause from the parents in the middle section and booing from the young fellows in the back of the room.

When I visited him on June 17, Mr. Kurihara said:

The beatings can be justified from various angles. The Japanese have grievances against the administration, but they know as a fact that they're helpless. Naturally, the only thing they can think of doing is how to get back at those who spy on them. I think these beatings will keep going on for quite a while. I think there will be at least half a dozen more. The Administration listens to the inu and not to the others. So such things happen.

This is one point you no doubt have noticed. These certain persons here beaten up, you'll find the majority of the people are enjoying it.

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On the evening of June 17, a high school teacher told me that a number of young fellows had crashed the high school graduates' reception. The principal asked them to leave. They left, but later, it was found that:

they had gone into the boys' latrine, taken off all the moveable fixtures, and flushed them down the toilets. Some three inches of water had flooded the floor before this was discovered.

On June 21 a mentally deranged Issei attacked his roommate and another elderly man with a hammer, almost killing one of them.

On June 23 a Nisei girl assured me that this was not an inu beating. The attacker "must have been crazy", she said, "or he would not have gone to the hospital and told them what he had done."

But on July 2, Mrs. Iida told me that people were saying that the man who had been assaulted was an inu. "The old man had found out that his friend was acting like an inu."

On June 24 I called on my Resegregationist respondents, the Tsuchikawas. Mr. Tsuchikawa told me that Mr. Noma, the general manager of the Co-op had tried to bribe ^{a certain} Mr. Kira with a large sum of money in the hope that Kira would influence the segregants from Manzanar to join the Co-op. I found this statement interesting because I had heard rumors that Mr. Kira was the leader of a terrorist gang called "The Black Tigers".

I then went to the Tsurudas' apartment but found that Bob was not home. His wife suggested that I call ^{on} the next day. She appeared so anxious and upset that I asked her if anything was wrong. Looking from right to left she whispered, "I think everybody is nervous in here. This place gives me the willies."¹

1. On October 25 Mrs. Wakida who, like Bob, had come to Tule Lake from the Gila Relocation Center, told me that Bob had relocated because he had been threatened by one of the "strong-arm" gang who wanted him to give them sugar from the mess so that they could make sake. On November 18, 1981 Bob's sister told me that although he had said nothing to her, she strongly suspected that he had been threatened because of his close association with Mr. Hayward, the head of the mess operation.

When I called on Bob (June 25) he began the conversation by denouncing the Co-op.

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

Noriko said:

I was in the Co-op yesterday when Sasaki came in. You know, we all turned the back to him. Every one of us. You could see how it was - Public Inu Number One.

Bob then astonished me by complaining about the "radicals" and the "pressure gang" and telling me that he was considering relocation:

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

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

The trouble is they expect you to act like a damn radical and go out and kill every hakujin on the other side of the fence and when you don't act like that you are an inu. . . It seems to me that Germany is going to pull a flopperoo. I wouldn't want to be here when that happens. I don't care if Japan has 17 kind of Yamato Damashii she isn't going to be able to buck fighting three big nations. . . Believe it or not a fellow told me the other day that Japan was going to have a decisive victory and that the war would be over in seven days! A girl told me the other day, 'You're so thoroughly Americanized, I don't believe you belong here'. . . A lot of the old men are getting goofier and goofier. They stand around in the latrines and mutter to themselves. I think they're losing their minds.

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On the evening of June 25 I was present when two school teachers and a young statistician began a discussion of their problems. One teacher, who was in charge of the Japanese teachers who taught in the WRA day schools, told how she had met with them and had started a discussion of the Co-op. The young people had immediately begun to criticize the Co-op. The teacher suggested that they invite Mr. Runcorn, the new Co-op manager, to speak with them and answer these complaints.

After some consultation the evacuee teachers refused absolutely to do this. Miss Hobby pointed out that it was their duty as "leaders of the community" to take this action. But the young people remained unmoved. "We start that," said one of them, "and it'll be a two-by-fours for us."

When, on June 26, I called on Mr. Kurihara, he appeared nervous and ill at ease. I asked him what he thought about the proposed election of Ward Police Commissioners scheduled for the next day. He said he had not even heard of it. But he was of the opinion that it would be a resounding failure. Nobody with any self-respect would take the position because they would invariably be labeled as inu. When I asked him about the news of American advances in the Pacific, he said:

Those persons who will change their minds now are no good to either country. You'll find there are many of that kind. You know, only half the people here are registered to go to Japan. They just want to wait and see how it turns out. If Japan wins they want to go to Japan and if the United States wins they want to stay here. It's disgraceful. It makes me ashamed of the Japanese race.

He then abruptly shifted the conversation to Mr. Anzai, the police warden who was beaten on June 13. He told me that Mr. Anzai's children had not been able to get along with the other children in block 54. Then Anzai wanted to send his children to school in the next ward. But the teacher there found out about the children and refused. So in order to get back against the block Anzai commenced to point out people who should be sent to the stockade. I asked if the eleven men had been put in the stockade were denounced by Anzai. Mr. Kurihara said they were.

He tried to scare the people by telling them that he was going to send whoever wasn't behaving right to the stockade. He asked for it and he got it.

He then said desperately:

If the agitators and the spies get out of here we'll be united. But it wouldn't matter if we didn't have unity, so long as we have peace.

On the morning of June 27 a staff member told me that 19 of the Issei confined in the stockade were to be sent to the Santa Fe Internment Camp on the following morning. I called on Mr. Itabashi, a gentle and benevolent Issei who had written a long paper for me describing his first impressions of Tule Lake. He opened our conversation by talking about the Co-op;

The information I get from all over say that there are a few of the managers of the Co-op who have a close relationship with the WRA officials. They are getting graft out of the Co-op. The first thing I heard when I came to this camp was, "If you say anything against the Co-op here you'll be arrested." As long as the Co-op is carried on this way, some day another big trouble will happen.

He then told me how he had told Mr. Provinse, the WRA Chief of Community Services that the Japanese should be given fair treatment.

The Japanese, when they are treated right, they are always so grateful. They are inspired by fairness, especially at a time like this.

But then he added:

Of course, there are a handful of incorrigible people. I myself am for it that they be sent away. But if I said so in camp I would be killed.

I concluded my notes for June 27 with the following remark:

Have heard an increasing number of remarks from Caucasians about Japanese quitting their jobs without giving a reason. This morning at the motor pool, I could not go into Klamath Falls because two drivers had quit without notice. Also I hear rumors from both Caucasians and Japanese that there are many beatings in camp which do not come to the attention of the authorities.

✓ On June 28, nineteen Issei from Tule Lake were sent to the Santa Fe Internment Camp operated by the Department of Justice. Fifteen were taken from the stockade and four from the evacuee area.

On June 30, my Japanese secretary told me that she had heard that another man had been assaulted. Nobody knew exactly why he had been beaten up. I then called on my friends, the Wakidas, and found only Mrs. Wakida at home. She immediately began to tell me about 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 men were sent to Santa Fe. Mr. _____ in this block was sent. . It's very mysterious. The people are very upset about the people being sent to Santa Fe.

There is a certain man working in the shoestore, an Old Tulean. He told me that the man who worked before him had taken so many thousands of dollars of the profits. We don't profit anything here.

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On July 2 I called on Mrs. Iida. About the beating of Mr. Noma, she told me that some people were saying that they really had wanted to beat Noma's brother, the manager of the Co-op. But they thought that the brother should be beaten up too. She also remarked that the Co-op was getting more and more unpopular. She has been told several times, "If you say anything against the Co-op, you're going to be put in the stockade." I remarked that so far no one has been arrested for the assaults. She said, "They're too smart to get caught. The man who did turn himself over (the hammer assault) was crazy. That's why he gave himself up. And some people were saying that even the hammer assault was an inu beating. The old man had found out that his friend was acting like an inu."

I then called on Mr. Kurihara, I asked him why only third rate inu were being beaten. "You should know," he replied, "the big ones are too well guarded. But the guard will slip up some time." At this moment, one of Mr. Kurihara's friends who lived in the Manzanar section came into the room. Kurihara asked him, "How was it in Manzanar? Were there enough inus there to hold an election?"¹ The friend said that he didn't think anybody had been nominated in his block. "Who wants to be a legal inu?" he added.

By this time I had become very anxious. It seemed to me that the situation in camp was and potentially very dangerous. That evening, in a state of desperation, I called on Mr. Robertson.

1. This was the proposed election of Ward Police Commissioners.

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✓ Had a talk with Mr. Robertson in which I re-stressed the seriousness of public sentiment against the Co-op. Robertson said that he had talked to Runcorn (the WRA manager) and that Runcorn had recommended the immediate issuing of a dividend. Runcorn insisted the books were all right and that they are gone over every month by an outside accountant. Robertson said he had then recommended that the account be written up and published in an understandable form. Runcorn said he had not thought of that.

Robertson also told me that last night some members of the Resegregation group had approached him and told me that the removal of the Issei to Santa Fe was the last straw. They no longer could restrain their boys. Future attacks might not be restricted to beatings. There might be murder.

On the morning of July 4 I heard that the body of Mr. Noma, the General Manager of the Co-operative Enterprises, had been found on his doorstep with a knife pushed through his larynx to the base of his brain.

"The news of the murder produced a general state of panic. All of the members of the Japanese police force and the key officials of the Co-op resigned. Some, who feared they might be "next on the list," were taken from the center and housed in the administrative area. People rushed to the Co-op to stock up on food supplies, for they feared it would be closed. The administrators decided that the murder was the result of a conspiracy between the stockade detainees and the resegregation group. So they attached large pieces of plaster board to that section of the stockade fence which faced "the colony" and stopped mail to and from the stockade."¹

It was said that all of the members of the Co-op board of directors were threatened with assassination.

On July 6 the results of the court-martial on the shooting of Mr. Okamoto were announced in the Newell Star. The sentry was acquitted.

1. "Doing Fieldwork," p. 138.

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IV C Statements about Inu - 1981-1982

7/14
In 1944 and 1945 all of my Japanese American respondents wished to dissociate themselves from the despised and hated informers and accommodators --- the inu. No one defended or excused them and only Mr. Sasaki, the Chairman of the Coordinating Committee and Miss Kurihara indicated that they were being called inu and that this distressed and frightened them.

✓ In 1981 and 1982 the situation was quite different. Four respondents, three men and ^{one}~~three~~ women told me in some detail how they said or done what they thought was right or decent and, in consequence, had been stigmatized as inu. Three respondents spoke well of Mr. Noma and some told me how other well intentioned people had been stigmatized as inu by the radicals. Only one Japanese American spoke critically of "people who co-operated with the administration and spied on us."

Though, in 1981-82, I was very interested in what Japanese Americans might wish to tell me about this tragic period of camp life, I did not include specific questions about the Okamoto shooting or the Noma murder in my questionnaire. Instead, I planned to wait until an appropriate moment in the interview and then asked questions like "Do you remember when Mr. Okamoto was shot by a sentry?" or "Do you remember when Mr. Noma was murdered?"

Much to my surprise, some of my respondents ignored my initial questions about life before the evacuation, or life in the Assembly Centers and preceeded to tell me how they or someone they knew had come to be called an inu.

When I asked Mr. Tokunaga, a Hawaiian born Japanese, age 42 and an Old Tulean, "Of the various things that you experienced in Tule Lake,

which made you the most angry?" he responded:

I was the representative of Ward 2.... the other center people came in and made me and another fellow from representative went over to meeting ... and I didn't like the meeting. They had 24-25 resolutions and the first resolution they had, you know, they wanted to kick the old former Tuleans out immediately, because all of Tule Lake is all inu! And second one, they want to kill all the dog and eat immediately, because they are unhealthy ... I started talking, you know: "You folks came from the other center: whatever we live in Tule Lake is nice and quiet people, and if you want (?) and kick right out, then you folks is a damn fool. You don't know nothing. And killing dog and cat. Those who have pets at home; they is just like their kid. So you want to kill dog and eat is against my will." I started to argue like everything. Finally, I got so damn mad, I got out of my chair and stand up and I said "This is a ridiculous meeting .. So I stand up and had a chair and I throw it at the table and I walked out ... And they also threaten to kill me too ... They send a message to me ... some (though?) people, and he said, I'm going to kill you .. We going to kill you." I said, "Well, if you want to kill me, go ahead. I won't run away or nothing. I live in block 29, barrack 15, you know." But they didn't come and get me.

Mr. Tokanaga added that he also told people:

"I would like to see you folks be quiet and be just like real Japanese. And if you want to go back to Japan, be like a Japanese

until all the American people (say) "Oh, those Japanese people ... wonderful people, we hate to see them go." .. I talk about quite often.

Peter Morimoto, age 35 was born in Japan, finished college there, and then came to the United States. He told me that he had attended college in Colorado and at New York University and that he had taught at the Sakura Gakuen in Sacramento, California, in 1939 and 1942. He was planning to return to Japan "and then the war starts and (laughs) it was impossible to return to Japan."

Mr. Morimoto was sent to Tule Lake while it was a Relocation Center and answered "Yes-No" to the Military Questionnaire.

When I asked him, "Which experiences in Tule Lake do you recall most strongly," he responded:

✓ "Well, I have a very pro-Japanese Issei criticize (me) and I had a littl^e hard time. Because I told those Nisei, you know, young people, "If you have the chance, go to school or get out from camp and go to school." ... And all the Issei said, "You are a leader in this camp ... You shouldn't say such things," accusing me, "Are you Japanese?" (laughs) They even come in the evenings to my place. I had a hard time. But I had to tell the truth for the young people, you know. (I told the Issei) "It's old people like you, it's all right" but young people, 19, 20, young people, they have a chance for a big future."

I asked Mr. Morimoto: "Weren't you afraid that they were going to beat you up?"

He replied: "No, no. They were all my friends, you know. Well, if you have a chance I recommend to get out of camp, you know.

The Issei people got mad at me ... (laughs)

After telling me that he disapproved of the Military Questionnaire and that he had answered Yes-No, he said:

I tell you something new ... Do you know some incident where Co-op, was General Manager, ... somebody assassinate kill?

I said: But before he was killed there were a lot of people beaten up; because they were supposed to be inu and then ... Mr. Noma ...

Mr. Morimoto: Mr. Noma was General Manager of Co-op. At that time I was treasurer of Co-op ... I was treasurer, you know, handle the money and everything. Next victim was Morimoto (laughs).

They said they had long list of about 10 people.

R. Wax: Oh yes. They were supposed to be Number 1 Inu.

Mr. Morimoto: Yes, Number One; Number Two was Morimoto. So government ask me, "Why don't you come inside of the government building."

So they took all family; took us there for 4 or 5 days. But I couldn't stay there, you know ... I returned to my block.

Oh, everybody prayed for me. (laughs)...

R. Wax: What did you do then?

Mr. Morimoto: Radical group we call Manzanar group ... Those group took over Co-op ... So I resigned. Then I took Community Activities supervisor.

Ben Kodama, age 24, is a Hawaiian born Japanese, who has difficulty in expressing himself in English. He is also an Old Tulean. When I asked him about the Military Questionnaire, he told me, "I thought Japan

going to win .. but I'm in the United States ... so I thought I might as well chusei¹ in the United States."

I asked: "And so did you say, "Yes-Yes?"

Mr. Kodama: "Yes, I did.

1. Chusei involves an unquestioning and absolute obligation or duty to the Emperor, the law, and the nation which can never be fully repaid and for which there is no time limit.

I asked whether he remembered the murder of Mr. Noma. He replied:

I thought, "Gee, that's a terrible thing, you know?" But they call, "inu, inu," you know ... I got a call from the people, 'you better come around.'

R. Wax: Was that from the Hoshi Dan people?

Mr. Kodama: Yes, right ... They had a meeting quite often, those people

Kidbi ... mostly Kidbi, you know. The ^{my} educated in Japan and want to make something ... and they all get together in meeting. These loyal to the United States, they call ... (inu) ... they call me ... and then they going to make a violence or something. It was an awful thing.

R. Wax: How did you feel when they called you inu?

Mr. Kodama: Oh, that was really something, you know ... I'm not for those kinds of things, you know.

R. Wax: I guess you must have had friends in your block. So you weren't scared that they would beat you.

Kodama Mr. Kodama: That's true. Yes. But the good thing, I was teaching weight-lifting. Then I know all the people ...

R. Wax: (Laughs) Yes. They would hesitate to beat you up.

Mr. Kodama: That's why.

Kaye Kataoka, was 37 and became a devout Christian at Tule Lake; she was the only woman respondent who spoke openly about having been called an inu.

R. Wax: Do you remember that awful time when a lot of people were being called, dogs or inu?

K. Kataoka: Yes, and I was one of them, ... (laughs) you know, I was living all by myself and they call me inu. That's what you mean?

R. Wax: Why did they do that?

K. Kataoka: Because many Caucasians, like missionary workers, came into my home. And, of course, they wanted to lead me in the Bible passages.

R. Wax: How did you cope with that business of them calling you inu; what did you do?

K. Kataoka: God gave me strength to pull through.

She then explained that her next door neighbor was a "trouble maker" and "I didn't want to become involved that kind of people ... they wanted to get close to me, but I just stayed away and that's why they call me inu." (laughs)

R. Wax: Did they actually want you to join the group?

K. Kataoka: Well, they didn't ask me. I just didn't want to get close to them, and so they call me "Bow-wow" when I passed by their door. They were all Buddhist people. I was the only Christian in the block ... I went to Church on Sunday morning. So they didn't like that either.

One of my most outspoken respondents at Tule Lake was Bob Tsuruda, age 29. Bob relocated in September of 1944. A few months later a mutual friend told me that he had left Tule Lake because he had been threatened. In November 1981 I was able to talk to his sister Noriko, age 22. The first thing Noriko wished to tell me was that at Tule Lake her brother had been threatened and had been called an inu.

Noriko Tsuruda: But you know what happened? .. it didn't dawn on me until a lot later ... you know how the atmosphere in Tule Lake was ... And when you used to come to our barracks ... they, especially the young bachelors, thought he (her brother) was like a spy ... when he was giving you this information, he was giving you, thinking that he had ill feeling toward the Americans. Right? And he was telling you how he felt about this evacuating ... But then they took it the other way.

R. Wax: You mean these bachelors accused him of being a spy?

N. Tsuruda: Right. Not exactly a spy, but like a ...

R. Wax: An inu?

R. Tsuruda:... going against the Japanese. Now this is the way I added it up later when I was thinking about it. He never told me, but I think he was getting threatening letters through the mail. His life was being threatened. So this is why he moved to Utah. And another .. there was a Mr... I just don't remember ... recall this man's name ... but he used to work at the warehouse ... I think Bob used to work someplace where they were distributing food to the messhall ... And he used to go to various messhalls with this head man ... He was a Caucasian ...

R. Wax: Mr. Truman:

N. Tsuruda: You mentioned the name. Anyway, he used to go with him to the different messhalls to show him exactly how bad the situation was ... and how the Japanese people liked to have some Japanese food once in a while ... And so he arranged it so that we used to get some Japanese food from the outside. Now Bob arranged it to be that way. But the people, the Japanese people ... they were always looking at it from the wrong angle ... they would never praise you for being good They all said, "Oh, he's doing that because he's a dog." In other words he was kissing ... he was brown-nosing ... You know what that expressing means? Like he was kissing his whatchamacall .. and they always took it the bad way ... I'm sure that he was getting threatened, his life was threatened and therefore he relocated.

In 1981 and 1982 some respondents still did not care to discuss the inu phenomenon.

✓ When I mentioned the rumors about inu Mr. Osaki, age 19, he abruptly changed the subject. .. And Mr. Kurusu, a conscientious but very cautious respondent, said only "I just watch myself. I don't want people to call me inu."

In contrast, Joseph Kikuchi, age 9, told me that Mr. Noma and his father had been close friends.

You see, he was from the same prefecture as my father. That man was well educated and I think my father took a lot of his advice ... I remember, Mr. Noma used to visit us a lot of time.

He was very logical in explaining what's happening ... I don't know for user, but I think he might of stood up in the block meeting and he might of expressed his point of view and it didn't go over.

Mr. Wax: But nobody ever dared say a word because ...

J. Kikuchi: Right. Because if you stood up and said something, then they would beat you up ... I remember my father saying he (Noma) stood up at a block meeting and expressed his point of view and I think it kind of embarrassed the fanatics. And I think to a certain degree they lost their face and I think that's how they got after him.

Joseph Kikuchi suggested that I ask his brother Arthur, age 15, if he remembered what Mr. Noma had said in the block meeting. But when I talked to Arthur, he said:

Yes. My brother Joseph mentioned the Noma incident, and I don't remember one bit of it.

R. Wax: you don't?

A. Kikuchi: I don't remember a thing ... And my brother Joseph said,

"You must have just wiped it from your mind." And I said,

"That may well be."

Another male respondent, John Sawada, age 20, said that he had known Mr. Okamoto, the young man who was shot by the sentry. He told me that after Mr. Okamoto's death, his family were called informers or inu because they did not "press any kind of charge".

It was a sad thing, and the people said, "They (Okamoto's family) are with the administration" ... They felt real bad. And on top of that, to be called informers ... I thought that was terrible.

OBTAINING LIFE HISTORIES

When I began this project I hoped to obtain longitudinal life histories from some ten to fifteen of the Japanese Americans who had been my respondents at the Tule Lake Segregation Center. But I encountered difficulties. Though I put notices in the Japanese American newspapers and sent out some sixty letters of inquiry I was able to locate and interview only nine of the persons I had known at Tule Lake. Three of those were friends with whom I had corresponded; two were the siblings of one of most helpful respondents at Tule Lake; one was his son; and one was a woman who, at first, did not wish to speak to me.(1) Two of my respondents whom I had known quite well refused to be interviewed.

I then tried to find other respondents by telephoning Japanese Americans who had the same last name. I found none, but one of the men I telephoned told me, "You ought to talk to Mr. Kikuchi. He was at Tule Lake." I called Mr. Kikuchi who, after asking many questions about my project, proceeded to give me an honest, detailed, and moving account of his experiences. I thereupon decided to interview any person who had been confined at Tule Lake who was willing to talk to me. In the process of finding possible respondents who did not know me, I talked to or corresponded with a number of Japanese Americans who had not been "segregated". Though they helped me to find seventeen additional respondents, they also told me that many of the people who had been at Tule Lake would not wish to talk to me.(2) I also learned that many segregees try, when possible, to conceal the fact that they had once been

1. She feared that I would be offended because in February of 1945, her parents had told her not to speak to me again, lest the family be called inu (informers).
2. One respondent who had been segregated told me: "They are still afraid because they still do not trust the fact that the United States citizenship confers no immunity and no legal justice, and so this is the fear that is put into them. And so to this day, you will find, very few people reluctant to even grant an interview." (Ben Hara, p. 10.)

stigmatized as the "disloyals". Indeed, a very knowledgeable older man said that on the West Coast the people who were at Tule Lake do not generally participate in the activities of the other Japanese Americans. "They keep to themselves."

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

I tried to keep the questionnaire and the interviewing procedure as open and relaxed as possible. I asked respondents questions about their life before the war, how their parents earned their living, and how they felt when they heard the government announcement that the Japanese American people were ordered to leave their homes and report to the Assembly Centers. I then proceeded chronologically, asking questions like:

"Which of your experiences in the Assembly Center do you recall most strongly?"

"Was there anything that happened in (the relocation) camp that made you feel especially angry? - or scared?"

"Thinking back about life in Tule Lake, what incidents come to your mind?"

"As you look back at your life at Tule Lake, which experience, would you say, has affected you most deeply?"

At the close of each chronological stage I asked:

"Could you tell me how you were able to cope with (or recover from) this experience (or experiences)?"

I found that most respondents enjoyed answering the question:

"Looking back, what was the most helpful thing you learned about your fellow human beings."(1)

As the interview progressed, many respondents would recall and relate complex experiences which had little relation to the question I had asked. When they chose to do this I encouraged them by silence or by appropriate brief comments.

[1. For the complete text of the interview see Appendix A.]

THE RESPONDENTS

Of the 27 respondents 16 were men and 11 were women, ranging in age from 44 to 77. At the time of the evacuation in 1942 their age range was ⁵4 to 37. Sixteen of the respondents were subjected to the military questionnaire and most of these persons commented on this experience. Four told me that they had refused to answer, ^{arguing that} because, as citizens, they ^{should} thought the questions ^{did} not ^{have} apply ^{yet} to them. Five men told me they said "No-no." One man that he said "Yes-No". Six persons did not refer to the questionnaire in their responses.

Eight of my respondents went or were taken to Japan at the end of World War II. Four of these were children who accompanied their repatriating parents. Two were young men who had renounced their citizenship. Two were "loyal" women who accompanied their expatriating husbands.

Over half of the people confined in the Tule Lake Segregation Center were under 18 at the time they were segregated. When I was at Tule Lake I had very few contacts with these young people. This is one reason why I included the high school debate on the draft - pp. ~~IX~~ 3-5 in section III a. In 1981-2 I was able to obtain eleven interviews with this age group.

Explains
the "no-no"
"yes-no."

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THE MOST SEVERE TRAUMATA

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The Sense of Abrogation of Constitutional Rights

Probably the most severe trauma suffered by the Nisei who experienced the evacuation and detention was the ^{sense that their Constitutional rights had been abrogated,} ~~abrogation of the Constitutional~~ rights. When I asked my respondents how they had felt when they were told that they were to be evacuated most of them told me that they could not believe it.(1)

Arthur Kikuchi, who was 15 at the time:

It was very incredible news because we had tried to figure out what we were going to do on our own when our parents. . .were sent to internments camps. We were preparing ourselves to be without parents. It was completely unexpected.

John Sawada, a Nisei who was 19 at the time:

I told my brother, I said, "Ben, they'll never take us. . .We're citizens," I said. Yes, my folks, they might have to take. .but they will never evacuate us from our home. This was my honest belief". . .

[1. Four of the men interviewed had volunteered for or were already members of the armed forces of the United States. All were evacuated and incarcerated without a hearing.

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IA
Taro Tokunaga, a Hawaiian born Nisei, age 42 at the time:

I was really surprised. I was kind of dazed. I never expected. .
and we have very much crank calls and you know, lot of people
attack my job. . the bank and everything was frozen and we don't
know what we are going to do. . .

Yuriko Kurusu, 27 years old, was born in Japan but was brought to the
United States at age 3:

All I can think of was that we were stunned. You know, we were
stunned. I didn't think it was possible.

Mary Iida, 22 years old:

I am a Nisei and when I first heard that, it didn't. . .

I don't know exactly what to think or . . . it just didn't. .

to leave house and then be herded in kind of a camp like. I said,

"It doesn't seem possible."

Robert Oda, a Nisei, 18 years old:

I couldn't believe it, actually. We had sometimes thought that
perhaps my parents might be, because they were enemy aliens. But as a
citizen I didn't think that that would ever happen. So it came as quite a
shock.

Jennifer Hara, age 17:

I felt it was unfair because we were citizens and did not quite
understand why we were ordered to leave our home.

In contrast, Mr. Morimoto, aged 35 and the only male Issei in my sample
responded to this question by saying:

Well, after all, it was war time. . . We were lucky to intern
in the United States. If I was in Manchuria or Siberia, I

Many of these responses
are similar and thus
repetitive. Why not
summarize the
reaction and give
one or two examples?

would have had miserable time. . .I have a friend who lost
his life in Siberia. . .that is wartime. .not normal times.

RACIAL STIGMA, INSECURITY, INJUSTICE

For many respondents, the consciousness of an unjust and often
incomprehensible stigma or rejection began shortly before the evacuation.

Thomas Kikuchi, age 11²:

When we heard we were going to be evacuated, I didn't quite
comprehend what it was all about. However, I do recall my mother
hiding the kitchen knives because we didn't want the FBI to
confiscate it and charge us with possession of deadly weapons.
Probably the most traumatic experience was my associating with my
buddies. I had mostly Caucasian friends, and one of my closest friends
lived down the road and we usually went to school together on our bikes.
With the declaration of war, his parents forbade him to associate with
me. I'm sure it was just as hard on him as it was on me. I guess
that was my first overt experience with racial discrimination. In school
I was being left out of most activities. Even my teacher treated me at
arms length.

George Okamoto, age 11:

My most vivid memory is leaving home with overloaded suitcases and
what we could carry - and walking seven blocks with this load. When we
left our house all the neighbors stayed indoors - no one came out to say,
"Good-bye". I felt this very strongly - as if we were being treated like
traitors or a criminal.

Lillian Noma, age 20:

I noticed when the war started my classmates stopped talking to me. On the street they didn't even see me. . . Even now, people. . just because of your Oriental features you're not considered American. I was out of highschool and I had passed my state examination. I was hired by the State of California. I was working in the state capital. And I enjoyed it very much. I hadn't been working there too long, of course, when war broke out. . Shortly thereafter I received a letter saying that my presence was upsetting my co-workers because of my Japanese descent and that hereby they were terminating my employment; my co-workers felt uneasy because I was of Japanese descent. That was the most depressing incident, you know.

Joseph Kikuchi, age 9:

It's like you had a close friend, and all of sudden the friend says, "I don't want to see you any more". . . Thinking back, it took years, actually to get to the point where you would feel secure with a Caucasian group. It took me roughly till I was out of college. . . You get that inferiority feeling, because you feel rejected and then you don't feel like putting yourself in that position again. So that you never make close friendship with Caucasian group.

Jennifer Hara, age 16:

The principal at _____ highschool (in California) asked us not to come to school anymore because we were Japanese American.