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longitudinal oral history - draft 1

1944-1945

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LONGITUDINAL ORAL HISTORY OF JOE KURIHARA

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1944-1945

TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER

FEBRUARY 2, 1944

FIRST MEETING WITH JOE KURIHARA

[ Joseph Yoshisuke Kurihara was born on Kauai Island in 1895.

In 1915 he had come to California and in 1917 he had enlisted in the U. S. Army and served with an occupation unit in Germany. At the outbreak of World War II he was working as navigator on a tuna fishing boat. In January of 1942 he tried to enter the merchant marine but was refused. He then tried to obtain employment in two shipbuilding firms but was again refused. He wrote the following account of his encounter with the port master of San Diego:

*"I went to see the Port Master in San Diego to get a permit to sail the sea. Seeing that I was a Japanese, he said, 'No permit for any Jap. We argued awhile. Losing his temper he said, 'Get out or I'll throw you out.' So I told him, 'Say, officer I wore that uniform when you were still unborn. I served in the U. S. Army and fought for democracy. I may be a Jap in feature but I am an American. Understand!' I saw fire in his eyes, but he had no further words to say." (Thomas and Nishimote. 1946:367.)*

Mr. Kurihara was one of the volunteers who went to the Manzanar Relocation Center to prepare the camp for the main body of evacuees who were to follow later.

*"In spite of my experiences in Los Angeles, I was still optimistic enough to think and believe that, soon, the citizens amongst us would be given some kind of consideration, and not just herded about like prisoners of war."*

As optimism was replaced by a deep feeling of grievance, Mr. Kurihara became an outspoken critic of the WRA administration. He also denounced the Nisei leaders of the Japanese American Citizens League, who, he felt, were meekly submitting to injustice. When one of the Nisei leaders at Manzanar was beaten and his accused assailant jailed, the residents of Manzanar staged a demonstration which culminated in the project director's calling in the army. Kurihara and several other men suspected of being agitators were arrested. He was sent first to Moab and later to Leupp

FOOTNOTE 1. [ Many of the Japanese Americans interviewed by me in 1981-1982 told me that for months after the evacuation they had expected that, as American citizens, they would shortly be ~~relieved~~ released. ]

Feb. 2, 1944 Kurihara

isolation camps. Transferred to Tule Lake as a segregant in December of 1943, he was, at first, placed in the stockade by the army. Mr. Best, the project director intervened, and Kurihara was released from the stockade into the "Tule Lake Colony".

During his confinement at Moab and Leupp, Kurihara had written several articles denouncing the evacuation, the living conditions in the centers, and the treatment of the Nisei by the U. S. government. [He had sent one of these articles to The Saturday Evening Post and Collier's, but it was rejected. Mr. Robertson (~~the man who had advised me to take a policeman rather than a soldier with me~~) had suggested that he send it to Dr. Thomas, head of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study.]

I made my last call on February 2 on Joe Kurihara. He was in a large barrack room with two other men. The barrack was extraordinarily neat and I received an impression of business-like order. With its tables holding neatly stacked papers, well-made cots and suspended lights, the room might have been a well-kept army-officers' quarters. One young man was reading a newspaper spread out on a table. Kurihara, a short, slightly bald, stocky man was extremely polite - politer than any other individual I met at Tule Lake. He invited me to be seated. I told him who I was, told him how much the study had appreciated his paper and said I was glad to meet a man of his honesty and ability. As best I could, I described the aims of our study. I mentioned that Mr. Robertson had spoken highly of him and we agreed on the sterling quality of Robertson's character. "That is one man I really respect," said Mr. Kurihara.

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Sensing that Mr. Kurihara would approve of a direct approach I explained our study, in attempting to get a true picture of developments in relocation centers, naturally had difficulty in getting data from those individuals who were at the core of activities and that therefore any material from this source was of inestimable value. Anything that he would be kind enough to write for us would be received with gratitude and would be kept confidential.

Kurihara had not known that we had received his article. Fixing me with a steady gaze he asked me point blank why I personally had liked his article. Taken aback, I said just what I thought. I said that honesty shone out of it and that I admire honesty. I said that I also realized that anyone who would make the statements he did must be very courageous or else crazy. He smiled. He then said that since he had been in Tule he had been watching, thinking, and studying. He would be glad to write an article on Tule Lake but needed time to get the truth and state it properly. I gave him the Study's address on a piece of paper. He said he would memorize it and then burn the paper. We shook hands again and I left.

2. [For additional information about Mr. Kurihara, see Thomas and <sup>NISHIMOTO</sup> NISHIMOTO, "The Spoilage," pp. 363-370, Michi Weglyn, "Years of Infamy," pp. 132-3 Mr. Robertson had been Project Director at the Leupp isolation camp and subsequently became Assistant Project Director in charge of Operations Division at Tule Lake.]

MARCH 15, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

[On my second visit to Tule Lake (March 14-23, 1944)]

I found Kurihara cordial and courteous as before. I had read his article and was able to comment intelligently upon it. He said he had sent his first article (which we have) to the Saturday Evening Post and to Collier's, but they had refused to publish it. He said he could understand their feelings, since this is a time of war. He expressed himself as willing to answer any questions I asked.

I asked if the inu he had remarked upon in his paper were as serious a danger as his statements implied:

*The Administration absolutely ought to refuse to listen to them. Any person accused by any 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 (of the Daihyo Sha Kai). They sell their soul for a few pennies. They make my blood boil.*

*The majority of the inu are now considered persons of low character. On the other hand, we have a lot of loyal people here. Probably they are here for the Administration to make use of them. The Administration didn't have a place to send them till there was room in the other camps. At present there are 400 old Tulean loyal families here. That probably means about 16 hundred people.<sup>1</sup>*

*In every case the Negotiating Committee who were elected even by a few hundred people must be considered the legitimate representatives of the people. When I acted as one of the members of the Negotiating Committee in the Manzanar incident, we were selected by the kitchen workers. They recognized us as their representatives. There were quite a number of block leaders attending the meeting. They also agreed to recognize us as the Negotiating Committee. We negotiated with Mr. Merritt. He agreed. But when things went wrong and the shooting occurred, they (the Administration) said the first Negotiating Committee was not the representatives of the people. If we weren't, why did they negotiate with us?*

[ I asked Mr. Kurihara what he thought of the Coordinating Committee and was astonished at his response.]

*Among those 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 (Yamatani) to jail for defrauding the company of \$40,000 dollars. They have to use force if they want to stay in their positions. There are others too.*

1. (Later, the Relocation Planning Division of WRA estimated the number of "loyal" Tuleans at 1,100. See Thomas and Nishimoto (1946:104, 104n.))

*Murakami*

The Administration doesn't know their past. If they find out, they should be dismissed.

The Administration is making use of the people in the Co-op. They are very much hand in hand with the Administration now.

Right now the Co-op is in a sad spot in this camp. The Co-op is charging an exceedingly high price. It isn't necessary for them to charge such high prices. 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. For an aluminum teapot which used to cost 25 cents and is probably worth 50 cents now, they are charging \$1.25.

Fish - the market price at that time (pre-evacuation) was 19 cents a pound; they are selling it at 65 cents a pound. They are simply robbing the Japanese here. The prices of things are so high and the cost of operations is so cheap; rent is cheap, they have such quantity, they pay such little salaries; there is no reason prices should be so high.

Before the war, shoyu (soy sauce) imported from Japan used to cost \$1.75 cents a gallon. Here for ordinary shoyu they charge \$2.15 to \$2.85 cents a gallon.

Arrival of <sup>internees</sup> people from Leuppé:

We arrived here December 6. We were to be transferred in October. They had trouble here and they kept us in Leuppé till further notice. We left there December 2 and got here December 6. We were put in the stockade and released the 9th. The trouble was here way before.

They connected me with the start of the trouble (strike of October and November 1943) here while I was in Leuppé. It was in the San Francisco Chronicle. I wanted to know the facts. Best, Robertson, Colonel Mesk and Austin were there. I said if I were the instigator of the trouble here while I was in Leuppé, I should be a general.

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(At this point one of Kurihara's room-mates came in. I explained my presence and he joined the conversation. Evidently the fact that Kurihara trusted me was sufficient for him.<sup>1</sup>)

Kurihara's Friend:

At Moab, before we went to Leuppé, Best never talked to us for a week. When he did see us he always had a soldier with a Tommy gun at his side.

Public Meetings:

There are no public meetings allowed here now. But in Manzanar it was forbidden to hold public meetings in Japanese. When Mr. Best was in Leuppé I suggested that if he permit the Japanese to hold an open forum and give them a chance to express their thoughts it would help. He said, "I'm going to do everything they want." But he changed his mind.

1. (I was surprised because usually, when I was talking with Japanese Americans I knew, an unexpected visitor would either leave or would say little or nothing.)/

Theft of Rice:

If we Japanese see a man commit a crime, we like to see him punished. These people who stole the rice deserve to get the full penalty. (Kurihara agreed that public sentiment would have supported severe punishment of the boys who attacked Dr. Pedicord. Other evacuees have concurred in this opinion.)

Mr. Best:

The first fault with Mr. Best is that he yesses too quick. I found that out in all my conversations with him. Before I complete my conversation, he says "Yes, I know; Yes, I know." I'd like to know what he knows because I haven't completed the sentence.

And a man thinks he has made a promise. Two weeks will pass and he doesn't do anything. Two weeks later you go back and he Yesses you again. Unless people have eyes to see and observe him properly, they will always take it for granted that he made the promises. I noticed that in Moab and in Leupp.

[At our first meeting in February I had suggested that Mr. Kurihara might ~~XXXX~~ wish to write a paper for the ~~study~~ Evacuation and Resettlement Project ~~ONX~~ about his first impressions of Tule Lake. He gave me the paper he had prepared.]

Kurihara added that he had written a page on Mr. Best which he intended to insert in the paper he had written for us. But he had thought better of it and had removed it. I did not think it wise to urge him to give it to me at this time.

[Paper by Mr. Kurihara]

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Kunhara - late Feb.  
1944.

A very repulsive sight greeted us 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. Since we have renounced our allegiance to this country, thereby depriving ourselves of our right to demand a fair play, yet somehow either by instinct or through natural inclination, I felt that we must speak for our right and abolish this great injustice. Those inalienable rights which were inherited at birth were so indelibly imprinted on my mind I could not help but feel so even after I have knowingly renounced my loyalty. I am sure others must have felt the same since I have heard them cursing and swearing vengeance.

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

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

There are thousands of young children amongst us. These innocent children will be growing with twisted understanding which will be the basis for their judgement of the white race of tomorrow. At the same time, nussing the seeds of hatred for future wars.

I've heard them cursing, using profane language against the white children which is their way of showing their grudge. Are they to be blamed? Are the white children to be blamed for the doings of their government? No! Neither knows what this terrible war is all about. Yet the evil effects of this war are already affecting the unadulterated minds of the innocent children. This could have been avoided if General DeWitt had been a bigger man.

For the sake of future generations, before it is too late, and if there is any justice left in these United States of America, I would suggest let's take the fences and the towers out.

We are in the midst of wilderness. Miles and miles from town. Even at Leupp, somewhere in the heart of the limitless desert, barbed wire fences with towers at strategic points were erected and manned by guards day and night with tommy guns.

It seemed so ridiculous I wondered if the Americans could be a bunch of fools to think that we would be foolish enough to try an escape when death from thirst and starvation lurked beyond those fences. Here or at Leupp or at any other center, the same holds true, therefore I honestly believe the fences and the towers are not necessary. Quicker they are removed, the better it will be for the good of America.

The location of the Administration buildings, fenced off to protect the administrative forces was bad enough without erecting the fence. Situated out of the way and further separated by the Base Hospital give 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. This error must be corrected.

The more the Administrator and his force get in friendly contact with the Japanese, the better will be their understanding. This desirable aspect of understanding was positively forbidden by the Director in some camps, such as at Gila and Manzanar at the time of Director Roy Nash and his assistant Ned Campbell. The cultivation of friendship should have been the prime effort of the Administrator if he desires harmony and co-operation to prevail.

I was told that the fence was not there prior to the disturbance. I believe that to be true. Regardless, I would say that the fence ought not to have been erected to increase the gap as well as harden feelings when diplomacy on the part of the Administrator would have been sufficient to quiet the situation.

I have seen an Administrator through his kindness change bitterness into smiles and reluctance to cooperation 100% at a time when feeling was running very high among dangerous fanatics. I also have seen an Assistant Project Director who regarded the Japanese people no better than the Indians, and treated them as such. So arrogant was his attitude, he was finally chased out of the camp in connection with an incident.

Through past history the Japanese people are known to be very obedient and submissive especially to the white race. They will go to the extreme to do what they can to show appreciation and would co-operate in every way possible. Likewise they are very patient and stoic. They will suffer unnecessarily to please those who show consideration. Yet what rouses these people to revolt at times?

The constant violation of human rights. The damnable voices of the politicians, branding them as savages, stabbers in the back, saboteurs, rapists, spies and what not along with all the vicious lies the sensational writers can think of. If we were ignorant people it may not matter at all, but we are of proud and intelligent race, backed by a country that commands respect and justice.

Those vicious lies piled upon us one after the other while suppressing our emotions without justification are deliberate excitation to revolt. I sincerely believe the WRA is purposely creating unpleasant atmosphere throughout the camp so that the Japanese will become disgusted of camp life and relocate. There is only one man so far to my knowledge who really strives to help the unfortunate Japanese and that is Mr. Paul G. Robertson, formerly of Leupp. He is so sincere in his desire to help the Japanese people that genuine spirit is manifested in all his actions. He makes no promise but he will fight and will see to it that we get what the Government allows. Had it not been for Mr. Robertson, we who were incarcerated without a trial for a year would undoubtedly be there in Leupp today. Under his administration, I positively would say the Japanese will have no cause to revolt.

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 had 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. This method is being practiced to frighten others with no intention of wanting to fight for justice. It may subdue the malcontents and they may remain quiet while force is on parade, but as soon as this force is withdrawn the trouble may break again.

I myself was kept in isolation camp for one solid year without a trial because of having represented the people as one of the elected committee of five on the bloody incident of Manzanar. Does the authorities think I am cured? No! Not as long as I live. This injustice has made me a confirmed pro-Japanese, toughened and wiser.

Now if the boys in the stockade were properly tried and their guilt established, the Japanese people would accept it as justice but when they are imprisoned as military prisoners without even a formality of a trial, then the Japanese will sympathize with the accused and will entertain grudges and will harbor ill feelings towards the Administration even if the person accused is guilty of a crime.

Such a procedure will not help to eliminate trouble. It will create trouble. I hate to say the present quietitude of this Center is just superficial. The treacherous tide will in course of time claim its toll. How soon the storm will break no one can say, but I am sure it will come if this present injustice is continued. I hope for the good of all concerned the storm cloud will drift elsewhere.

Upon my arrival here I have noticed one thing in particular that justified the Japanese to revolt. That is the food was terribly poor. I positively believe the food per person per day could'nt have gone over 20 cents which is less than half of what the Government really allows.

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

Regardless of what the Dies Committee has said, the food was bad and is bad today. Though it improved a little, the difference is so small, it still must be hovering around 20¢ a day. Why we have'nt had an egg for over two weeks now.

Food is one of the greatest contributing factors that determines the harmony of the camp. It affects the stomach of every man, woman and child. The quality of the food can be judged at times by the mood of the people. Grumbling and cursing, animated criticism of this government is freely voiced. Undue accusation of persons stealing and of grafts goes on without respect of the person under fire. Thus creating suspicion in the eyes of the people without proofs.

Recently proofs were uncovered and the suspects were arrested. I personally hope they will be given the severest penalty if found guilty.

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

Further enumerating on food as one of the greatest contributing factors of revolt. Is it not obvious when thousands upon thousands of men, women and children, the majority of whom are not

working and therefore have no appetite that relishes anything will naturally find fault with food? When the appetite is good after a good day's work, the food may be gobbled down to satisfy the hungry stomach, but when the appetite is bad, the best food is subject to criticism.

Many at time I've looked for meat in the plate and if I am gratified with more than two tiny pieces I consider myself lucky. The plate of stew is just a plate of carrots and potatoes flavored with bits of meat. Be it roast pork, if we get more than two slices of one mouthful each, it looks as if the cook had made a mistake. The rest is dressing and gravy which we use to finish a bowl of rice. Fish is of the poorest quality. Herring which is used for fertilizer is now being supplied to us. With such good with no varieties, I can not blame the rioters when they demanded better food on November 1st 1943.

The housing accommodations are in general about the same throughout all the centers, except in one case in particular. The floor is bare. It is not covered with linoleum. To rectify this this defect was one of the demands that was presented to the authorities by the committee representing the residents. Whether the Japanese are justified in making such demands, I prefer not to express my opinion at this time. However, my contention is if other centers can have it, why not this center.

This type of floor is very unsanitary due to reason that it is very hard to keep clean. If we sweep to tidy the room, the dust is stirred only to resettle elsewhere. It could be noticed for quite a while after sweeping by the dusty odor in the air.

These who were transferred from other centers no doubt must have readily noticed this abominable situation. Day in and day out, living in filth must have created disgust to such an extent that it finally became one of the contributing factors of the trouble.

While in Leupp, I have heard from various sources that Tule Lake is a very dirty camp. Upon my arrival though I was prepared to see dirt, I was very much shocked to find it dirtier than I had really anticipated. I wondered what sort of people had lived here, or what sort of an Administrator was responsible for the health of the residents. This abhorable feeling had given me a very ugly impression on the very first day in camp. Such little thing however, insignificant it may be, adds up in course of time to break the patience of the residents, culminating into a very serious trouble.

So far I have not seen any type of recreation sponsored for the adults, to divert their unpleasant mind. If there is enough work in this camp to keep the adults well occupied, recreation may not be necessary but when work is so scarce as it is here, recreation will play a great part in keeping the people satisfied.

But neither work nor recreation are being sponsored to relieve the dissatisfied from concocting mischief.

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

Administration may wonder why the Japanese act so unreasonably. It was the belief of the officials that the Japanese are very submissive and co-operating, yet they've revolted. Well, who would'nt? To my judgement, it is a wonder that the Japanese have this long conducted themselves very commendably.

The worst thing the authorities can do to create trouble is depriving the residents of privileges. While at Leupp, our radios and phonographs were taken away from us by the order of the chief of Internal Security as punishment because two of us went to ascertain the rules on the use of short wave radios. If is'nt that we have violated any rules of the camp that justified his order but it was that he did'nt like the idea that we went to see Mr. Best directly about it. This has hurt his pride so much he immediately acted like a big bully, thereby creating a cause of trouble. I have never seen such an egotistical person in all my life. So egotistic he failed to recognize the fact that he was hated by all.

The Assistant Project Director Ned Campbell of Manzanar was identically of the same type. He must have his ways. Rule with an iron hand was his policy. No kindness or consideration was shown. Always arrogant which led to his failure.

Short wave radios were forbidden since July 1, 1943 in all the camps. What good does it accomplish? Why must the inductees be deprived of the only pleasure left to them, the pleasure of listening to news from oversea? What damage could they do by listening to it? Could they help their government in any way? How could this government be so small, so small as to persecute the harmless inductees mentally? No good comes from it. It only helps to sow the seeds of hatred for future troubles.

No work is created to relieve the loathsome hours; no recreations are sponsored to divert the minds of the residents; and yet the only source that which will help to ease the minds of the inductees is officially deprived of them. Let not this Government preach DEMOCRACY and the FOUR FREEDOMS in the fact of what she actually practices. American democracy of today is nothing but a hypocritical veneer of greed and jealousy.

It is my sincere belief that if the WRA will permit the inductees to hold an open forum at least once a week or two and given them the chance to get whatever they have off their chest, I am sure the inductees will be able to control their feelings over mountains of grudges.

It is similar to a good cry, that relieves a person and makes him feel better. Isn't it a form of an emotional outlet that acts like the safety valve, functioning occasionally to relieve the steam of a boiler? Without it the boiler will explode if the steam of suppressed beyond its capacity. Likewise the suppressed emotions of the inductees will sooner or later explode if no emotional outlet is permitted.

Therefore if the WRA does not see fit to spend a few thousand of dollars to provide recreations then I would suggest it permit the inductees to either listen to short wave news from across the sea or permit them to yell their heads off to relieve themselves of the pent up emotions, Now and then. It will cost the WRA no extra expense. Neither will it cause any damage to the country, nor harm to the inductees but good all around.

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

The greater majority of these so called 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. But should they remain in the U. S. by swearing allegiance, they would escape that fear of being conscripted since this government then was deferring all Japanese Nationals to 4C and 4F. So they did and considered themselves wise and safe, laughing at those who hastily renounced their loyalty to the country of their birth.

Today we are having our laughs on them. Proving my statement on this serious charge of defaming their character, I need not go into detail in explaining it. Their very actions have already proven it, beyond all question of doubt. For instance, why is it so many of them have stormed the administration at Manzanar, Topaz, Gila and Minidoka in protest to the recently announced order from Washington that all loyal Niseis will be called to serve in the U. S. Army? I have heard many of them are now terribly worried. Many who originally signed NO to questions 27-28 were persuaded to change their mind to YES have again changed it to NO on account of the draft. Why? First, because they were truly not loyal at heart, second because they now see that they cannot escape the draft and the best step out for the time being is to renounce their allegiance. This NO-YES-NO group is doubly despised by the true adherents to Japan and to their Emperor. They are neither Americans nor Japanese. They are men without a country

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

Needless of my statement, political question is one of the most touchy issues of man. Even families split their political belief, father against son, brother against brother and even lovable sisters have fought and died in support of their beliefs. Then why not men and women of different convictions strongly despise and hate each other with whom they've never exchanged words of greetings in their lives before? Will not their hatred roused to white heat when those of contra-political belief are permitted to remain and engage in nefarious work? Their presence is bad enough without further aggravating the situation by fermenting the minds of the residents with their false reports.

Camp Manzanar was sailing along very satisfactorily until the introduction of the J.A.C.L. around the beginning of August 1942. This was the dynamite which only needed a spark to touch it off. I started to blast them to Hell, but they were so well entrenched behind the Administrative wall with official backing, it took several blastings before they were completely routed.

Togo Tanaka, one of the leading sponsors had personally admitted to me that he saw the sign of defeat on the very first night of the meeting. He withdrew and did not appear at the second meeting. However the sneaky Fred Tayama and Kiyoshi Higashi persisted in trying to salvage the bursted pieces of J. A. C. L. and attended without authorization, the National Convention of the J.A.C.L. at Salt Lake City, Utah.

In the meantime the Kibeis were very active trying to form a group of their own to offset the J.A.C.L. Permission to organize was not only denied but even the usage of the Japanese tongue thereafter was definitely prohibited. My petition to form the Manzanar Welfare Organization likewise was denied before presentation by Assistant P.D. Ned Campbell. None other than the J.A.C.L. was recognized and permitted, a discrimination which roused the feelings of the interested and the impartial.

This political controversy would have remained dormant had the J.A.C.L. been kept out of the centers. It was natural that feelings against everything American would be keenly entertained through the sting of evacuation. In the midst of such treacherous atmosphere, the J.A.C.L. had been boldly introduced. Had we been respected and treated as American citizens, the reaction might have been a welcoming one, but when we were classed as Japs and treated as such, I cannot see where in we would further americanize the youngsters of the centers. Unjustly General DeWitt had denounced us as "Once a Jap, always a Jap". Why then must we keep our vows to uphold the constitution of the U.S.? We were not unloyal. We were made disloyal by the greaterst

sabotuers in the service of the country, General DeWitt.

Is it not palpable the Administration had made and is making today the same critical mistake of grouping people of contra-political beliefs here at Tule Lake? The demand to remove the loyals out of this camp had only been partially met. I hope for the good of all concerned, further augmentation of the loyals with the NO-YES-NO group from various camps will not be permitted under any circumstance. We do not care to mingle with the degenerates.

In short, let's take the fences out, the towers should also be removed. If the Army must have them, have them erected miles away. Give the inductees the chance to scout the surrounding hills. Give them every privilege of humanity. Short wave news and free expression of their emotions. Cut out all the vicious lies and discrimination. It is Un-American. All the dirty things said and done will not help win the war. Otherwise do not criticize what they do overthere if America can not practice Democracy and the Doctrine of the Four Freedoms.

Finally make no promise which cannot be kept, or threaten the Japanese. They will surely call your bluff.

7.

MARCH ~~XXXXXX~~ 21, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

[ At Tule Lake I gathered data on current events and attitudes. Simultaneously I tried to learn all I could about what had happened in ~~Osaka~~ ~~Osaka~~ during the ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ strike and the period of martial law. At this point in time I was particularly interested in whether or not the Negotiating Committee and the Daihyo Sha Kai had, for the most part, ~~generally~~ been regarded as "the peoples representatives". Though Mr. Kurihara had not come to the camp until December of 1944, I asked his opinion.]

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

In most cases negotiating committees are born spontaneously. In Manzanar when I was arrested, we figured there was an injustice done. We held a meeting with no previous arrangement whatever. A person who took the lead was nominated to tell the people.

The Negotiating Committee:

Regarding this camp, the Negotiating Committee were those who formerly were considered to be the leaders in various camps. When they took the lead, naturally, they were appointed. The majority of the leaders who were appointed were from Jerome, and they were leaders in their community. When they took interest in this camp, naturally, they were appointed leaders. Whoever is appointed in these cases is a leader in one way or the other.

I was surprised too when I was elected as a member of the Negotiating Committee in the Manzanar incident. That was because I took the lead in destroying the J.A.C.L. (Japanese-American Citizens League). In fact, I was the only one who fought against the J.A.C.L. in Manzanar.

The Coordinating Committee, I think, is the unconscious tool of either the Army or WRA.

When I came in here they took all of my manuscripts, about a half dozen different articles I had written. They went through my luggage. The sergeant told me he was instructed to search my things very carefully. They took these things to F.B.I. headquarters, so Dr. Thomas must not be surprised if the things I have given her are also with the F.B.I. in Washington.

The sergeant promised to send them back to me. If he does, I might send them to you or Mr. Spencer. It was about the J.A.C.L. fight. It clearly expresses my opinion on why I was so bitter.

Reasons Why Status Quo Broke:

The main reason was not because they didn't want to stick with the Negotiating Committee but - one of the main reasons was lack of finance. Another reason is they didn't want to loaf along doing nothing. Time lags so monotonous.

If we were a bunch of Japanese soldiers quartered here, that is a different thing. But these are women and children and civilians. In Manzanar the F.B.I. was making good use of the inu.

Vote on Status Quo:

When the vote was taken here - the status quo lost by 400 votes. That shows that the people who are favoring status quo are greater in number. Because many who favored status quo did not vote. They thought it was the way to go to the stockade. A lot of people thought they might be pulled in. A lot of people feared they might be pulled in. They had a soldier by the vote box.

The Part of the Co-op:

The people in the Co-op had a greater interest (in breaking status quo). It was to their interest. The former secretary of the Co-op is chairman of the Coordinating Committee.

I had a friend of mine pulled into the stockade January 10. Best said he saw no charge against him from the request of WRA. He hesitated to release him. I

went to <sup>Sachs</sup> Schmidt. The last remark he gave to me was "It is up to the Coordinating Committee."

The Japanese are held in the stockade by the Japanese. <sup>Sasaki</sup> Akitsuki is probably following the orders of other people.

Here is a rumor: There are four big gambling places run by the Judo fellows who guard the Coordinating Committee. The other small places are raided, but they just stay from those boys. They are not closed.

MARCH 22, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

[On March 15, one of Mr. Kurihara's friends had given me a document to read.]

I went over to Mr. Kurihara's, unescorted<sup>1</sup>, and returned the document given me by his friend. I intended to leave immediately, but Mr. Kurihara urged me to sit down and talk with him if I had time. I stayed about half an hour. I told him of the (Evacuation and Resettlement) Study's need for documentation of the activities of the Daihyo Sha Kai, for example, the minutes of meetings, and of our need for such material should another movement take place. He promised to do his best and give us anything he was able to obtain.

<sup>Sasaki</sup> Of Akitsuki he said: There are a couple of men under him. They express themselves better in English than he does, and they go over his head in doing things. If he could wriggle out of the committee, all right. But if he waits longer, some day it's going to be too late. He will be blamed regardless of the consequences that follow.

If he keeps on and sticks at it, even if he's really for the Japanese, he's going to be branded as a spy and working for WRA.

Daihyo Sha Kai

To a great extent the Daihyo Sha Kai has distorted the facts to make the people believe they are working for the good of Japan - when to a great extent they are not.

Mr. Kurihara suggested to me that it might be a good idea to talk to George Yamatani<sup>3</sup> to see what a man like him would say. He could probably tell me a great deal about the Daihyo Sha. I agreed, but shrink for seeking this unpopular gentleman out in his barrack. If I were seen, I explained, it might do me great harm. Here I may be wrong but I can stomach just so much inuing on my own part.

- 
1. I was still obliged to be escorted by a member of the Internal Security (project police) whenever I went into ~~xx~~ "the colony". But I took a chance and made this visit without being caught.
  2. The chairman of the Coordinating Committee.
  3. Mr. Kurihara was the only Japanese American who suggested that I talk to men who were hated or feared by most of ~~the~~ people in camp. I could not bring myself to talk to Mr. Murakami, but six months later, at Kurihara's suggestion, I ~~visited~~ ~~Mr. Kira~~ I began to visit Mr. Kira.

APRIL 19, 1944

TALK WITH JOE KURIHARA

[In April of 1944 I visited Tule Lake from April 12 to April 17. On my arrival I found the members of the appointed staff in a state of extreme ~~appreh~~ apprehension. The general attitude is best conveyed by my talk with Mr. Robertson.

Robertson was greatly concerned over the present camp situation. He said he had been debating whether to telegraph me. I asked for details.

*Togafuku*  
A group (of segregants) wrote to the Spanish Embassy and the Dept. of Interior asking what they thought about further segregation. The matter was referred back to the camp officials. Permission was given this group by the Administration (Harry Black)<sup>1</sup> to find out the colony reaction to further segregation. They went about it by circulating a memorandum through the colony asking the people who wanted to be segregated and return to Japan on the first boat to sign here. It was circulated last week, ending Saturday the 8th. It was apparently an opposition group that passed the petition around. Kataoka told me that the group was composed of super-super-patriotic people who didn't have enough sense to know when they were well off.<sup>2</sup>

Some people had suggested that the colony was right on the verge of another incident. Others said they didn't think anything would happen.

Several other things are tending to start up. There is a rumor that the stockade people are being moved away. Some (Robertson thought four) were moved out yesterday; they were Issei sent to Santa Fe. There is a rumor now that the rest will be moved. Some say there'll be a blow up on account of that. They are still urging the release of everybody there. I find the whole colony very tense. *Tanuchi Kawa*

Mrs. ~~Mabanda~~ is behind this movement for further segregation.

The Co-ordinating Committee resigned last Saturday (the 8th). They have not agreed that they will continue until another representative body is prepared to take their place. (Robertson admitted that the Administration had taken no steps to initiate this action. <sup>said</sup> Permission is still awaited from Washington.)

Best is not here. He won't be back till the end of the month. And the present feeling among the Administration is that there will be no further segregation.

There were over 5,000 names on this petition.

1. Mr. Best had left the project on official business and Mr. Black was functioning as Project Director in his absence.
2. [For a detailed description of these events see Thomas and Nishimoto (1946:230-5, 306-7).]

~~XXXXXX~~

So great was the confusion that I was permitted to go into the "colony" ~~with~~ without a police escort. I visited five Japanese American friends and acquaintances and found none of them in a state of tension. The contrast between their nonchalance and the anxiety of the WRA staff was striking.

Mr. Kurihara, however, was deeply concerned. ]

I asked Mr. Kurihara about the sentiment for further segregation, and the possibility of more trouble.

Frankly speaking, you may convey to Mr. Robertson, that if there is any trouble here, the trouble will be against the Japanese only. It will not affect the Administration in any way. No demonstration will be made. I don't know how badly it will affect the Administration. The only thing that will kill it is for the Administration to act in time to hasten the segregation of the Yes-Yes group, the American loyalists. If they don't, it will come to a head. The only other way is to have the Army continually patrol the camp.

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 patrol.

I heard that the members of the Co-ordinating Committee were going to resign and have the people elect persons in whom they can have confidence. If they do that, it might help. The Co-ordinating Committee and the Civic Organizations group are suspected. From our point of judgment, they are loyals.

From the standpoint of the loyals the Daihyo Sha are not representatives. But that does not hold for the rest of the people.

The Administration knows this fact (that the people consider the Co-ordinating Committee and the Civic Organizations group inu). Yet they continue to employ these people. They should know better.

The removal of the internees is not important in the segregation movement but it will cause hard feeling among the people.

The general trend of opinion of the people is: they got to get rid of, sever off the head, of the men on the Co-ordinating Committee. Unless they get rid of these men, there's going to be trouble.

Especially since Easter I notice the food has improved very much. That may change the mood of the people, too. (However, Mr. Kurihara agreed with me, that this lessening in tension caused by better food would be only temporary).

I then asked Kurihara about criticism against the Daihyo Sha when conditions became difficult and painful and money scarce.

Those who suffered will naturally bear ill feeling toward the Daihyo Sha. You know how people are; they try to blame others. Those who suffered had no business to criticize the Daihyo Sha, but they did it.

The people didn't want to leave the Daihyo Sha. They were forced through lack of funds. The difference (in the vote) was so small, and many people didn't want to vote. It was simply to express opposition by not voting. In reality the number of those who wanted status quo was greater. If those who wanted to abolish status quo were greater, the majority would have expressed their opinion and voted.

APRIL 12, 1944 - p. 3

(I asked how important a factor terrorism had been.)

*The Administration has got to believe somebody. That (belief in terrorism) is the best way to wriggle out of the situation.*

*Once the Japanese lose faith in you, it'll be a very hard thing to regain it. They hold a grudge until they die. On the other hand, they will co-operate as long as they can. If they break: that's the end.*

*Best lost the confidence of the Japanese people. I shouldn't say this, but the other day they had a meeting and the demand is, 'Get rid of Mr. Best.' That's going to keep on.*

*There is the greatest tension here. But no matter what feelings may exist here today, that could be wiped out immediately if Mr. Best resigned. You can't blame Best for not staying. But if he sees he's not wanted, why does he remain? He's going to make it bad for everybody, even Ickes.*

[The reader may wonder why I did not begin the interview by asking Mr. Kurihara, "What do you think of the resegregation petition?" But nine months of fieldwork in the camps had taught me to approach delicate or touchy subjects obliquely or indirectly. If then, respondents wished to discuss a topic, they were free to do so. If not, I dropped it. Issei and Kibei respondents sometimes answered a question in the same manner, quoting a Japanese proverb and letting me draw my own conclusions. But since Mr. Kurihara was a very outspoken man, it is possible that I was being too cautious.]

APRIL 14, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA:

Returned to Mr. Kurihara's to discuss the situation and receive criticism on my paper. Kurihara was busy mopping the floor of his "apartment" but insisted on my staying and talking. He had found only one item to criticize. The remainder of the paper, he said, surprised him. He could not see how anyone could have learned so much about the situation. The criticism was on p. 5 where I say that many of the Administrators believe that the men who formed the nucleus of the Daihyo Sha Kai had begun their organization in Jerome and had continued their machinations ever since arriving in Tule Lake.

*That opinion was circulated by the Caucasian people, that the boys from Topaz and Jerome were trying to get hold of the controlling interest and trying to get the people under their control. When those boys had acted, we had quite a discussion in Leupp with Mr. Fredericks. He strongly believed at that time this opinion was gotten through the newspapers, that those boys from various centers were trying to get hold of the leadership in the camp. I argued with him that it wasn't so. The only reason the boys from Jerome took the leadership here was because they themselves were leaders in Jerome. When they got here, they naturally took leadership again, especially of the Jerome faction. Jerome constituted the greatest number. I doubt whether they were trying to get leadership or that the plot was formed before. A thing of that nature happens spontaneously.*

Reasons Why Old Tuleans Were Not Involved:

*The people who were here were satisfied with the conditions of the camp. But the people from other camps were not. The other camps were improved and had better conditions than here. When they came here, they were disappointed. They compared conditions at Jerome and at other centers in the same manner. Things here were so deficient, they couldn't be satisfied.*

*The people from other centers were going through a period of transition. They were not satisfied or happy. They had time to brood. The people who had first come to Tule were mainly farmers in the San Joaquin valley. Their expression is, 'Living condition here is far better than outside of camp.' Even now the people (old Tuleans) say, 'We asked for it over and over again and we didn't get it. What's the use?' So they do nothing. The other people who came here were different. In Manzanar we didn't have to ask for things. They bring it to us.*

Tule Cooperative:

*The people in the Cooperative were running in conjunction with the WRA. They will say this to the people, 'Don't depend on the WRA. Let us supply the things for ourselves.' The officials of the Co-op say that. But do you think the people will then be satisfied? They (the Co-Op) sell everything which the WRA will be furnishing. When they can buy them, they won't press the block leaders to fight for these things. I saw 100 people standing in line to buy a bucket. They asked (WRA) for it, couldn't get it, so they went and bought it.*

General Uprising:

*I doubt if the general uprising will happen for a very long time. The food has improved.*

The Loyals:

*We consider them, those who answered Yes-Yes, as loyal to the United States. Those who answered No, and then Yes, we consider them as komori (bats), neither*

bird nor animal. The No and Yes, and now No, are such, neither Japanese nor Americans. They are men without a country. We despise them worse than those who said Yes.

Whoever said No, must be considered as Japanese, regardless of what they have in their hearts. The only thing we could ask is that those who openly said Yes be removed from the camp. It may split the families, a husband may have said Yes, and wife No. A son may have said No and a father Yes. The father came with the son or the No-No. In any case, if the husband said Yes, regardless of whether it splits the family or not, we want him out.

All those who said Yes - the Issei who said Yes - we can't blame them. But if they were asked a question similiar to the Nisei, they might not have said the same thing. Naturally, they ought to be sent out of camp, whether it breaks the family up or not. This is a serious question. The life of the nation balances on it. They (the Administration) ought to have records here.

They (the people behind the resegregation petition) are trying to narrow it down to only those who have signed the petition, who want to repatriate or expatriate. Their minds are too narrow.

*Yoko Kawan*  
Mr. Akashi (Ishikawa):

Mr. Akashi is a former school teacher in San Francisco. He came from Topaz. He seems to have been pretty well known there.

I objected to the petition. I couldn't sign it. I disapproved because I see their doings are from a very narrow viewpoint. I couldn't see it.

Another point I objected because when that matter was brought up, no clear-cut explanation was made. It was given to the people in a haphazard manner. I couldn't be satisfied. I previously would not sign my name to anything unless I know thoroughly what it means. Many now regret signing the petition. They may have been afraid. It was a good cause without leadership. I think they should have explained it so thoroughly that even a child could understand it. Their attitude was take it or leave it. It was too much of a high pressure group. Their associates were people that I could not place my confidence in. When I'm convinced 100%, I go the limit.



IN KURIHARA \* for me to get copy and return

Dec. 3,4, 29,30,31, 85, 86, 87, 103, 104.

Jan. 53, 54, 64, 65, 66,

64 5 and 66 are Ok but belong in batch 56 to 66 that Chris many  
not have corrected.

83,

MARCH " not typed onto processor

240  
p. 318-<sup>RD</sup> 70pl  
Copied to Oct. p 66

SA. (28) 37 do not copy  
APRIL 20, 1945, p. 4

"Wakayama's desertion from Santa Fe may make some of the Hoshi-dan and Hokoku-dan people quit.

Three or four people bugle here in this block early in the morning for ten or ~~15~~ minutes just for the sake of the few members in this block. There are doctors in this block and other people who would like a good rest.

15

If it was good bugling that sounds pleasant to the ear it would be all right. But most of the time it's flat or off beat. It's really annoying. [Hokoku bugling was the.

VICE ATTACKS "RESEGREGATIONIST ATTACKED"

Heard today from two Caucasian informants that there had been a serious beating in camp. It occurred in the block 54 mess hall at noon. A group of boys attacked a Sokuji man <sup>[Raichiro Miyamoto]</sup> with two by fours and beat him up. The Police acted immediately and arrested 11 assailants taking them to the <sup>2</sup>Klamath Falls jail. Kimura, two Yamamotos and two Shitanishi brothers were arrested. Kozaka ~~was~~ taken too. Before the arrests were made <sup>leaders of</sup> the Sokuji and <sup>Hootoku notified</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Administration that if ~~any~~ <sup>steps</sup> were not taken immediately, they would take matters into their own hands. <sup>and</sup> They <sup>Mr. Noyes,</sup> have 1,000 young men to call on. <sup>He</sup> One informant <sup>seems</sup> very excited and worried about this. <sup>He</sup> assured me that he had lost no time in seeing that the assailants were arrested and is now hoping that the Sokoku men will keep hands off. The Sokoku has hinted at possible killing, <sup>he</sup> told me.

<sup>Mr. Robertson,</sup> Mr. Best, I hear from <sup>is</sup> is tremendously afraid of publicity. ~~is~~

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

Dec. 15, 1945

said they

*I'm fed up with this camp. They don't want to bow their heads and come under us. So to save their faces when they return to Japan, they must do something.*

*The third group just does nothing. They don't give a damn what happens. They don't bother us.*

*Most of us realize that we've been playing too much of a gentleman act. We should have done something before they started.*

(Yoshiyama added that his group knew that many of their plans were being reported to the Administration and he knew who was doing it, Kai and Kuratomi.)

He also asked about the completion of the new stockade adding, *"If Best wants to pick us up and confine us again, it's O.K."*

He also showed me a letter from Mr. Okamoto, who advised him against renouncing his citizenship rashly.

INTERNEES' FAMILIES LEAVE FOR SANTA FE

A noisy demonstration with songs and Banzais was held tonight as the families left the camp.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Yoshio Nakazawa is the name of the man who wrote the article exposing the Resegregationists and the Hitomi murder. He is at the Granada Center, family no. 128.<sup>1</sup>

Kurihara was in much better spirits today. It seems that one of the chief councilors of the Sekuji Kenkyu had called on him and had a long talk with him. Kurihara is now sure he has Wakayama *shivering in his shoes*. This man informed Kurihara that a few weeks ago Wakayama was responsible for several beatings.

*They even talk about each other. You see how they are.*

*They figure I'm not bluffing. They don't want to be dragged out. They tell me it wasn't them, but it was this guy (Wakayama).*

*A friend of mine spread the truth to the people of Manzanar. Those boys have such confidence in me that they will not tolerate any nonsense. Even that bunch of boys in Manzanar -- Wakayama has about 30 boys under him -- they will definitely refuse to support him if he ever counsels any violence on me. He will be very much surprised to hear that.*

*I hold the respect of those boys because I was in San Pedro along with them.*

*We hear that when Mrs. Wakayama had a baby recently the chief surgeon in the hospital coddled her. He greeted her every morning and treated her like she was a princess. I don't know why she should get special treatment. We think Mr. Best gave them special orders to be nice to her so that Wakayama wouldn't get mad.*

Kurihara also asked me how the new stockade (or jail) was getting along.

TALK WITH YOSHIYAMA

Yoshiyama was discouraged and saddened today. He said he was sick of the people in camp. The first cause of his sadness was that 13 people were leaving for Crystal City tonight to join the heads of their families who were moved from the stockade here to Santa Fe. Yoshiyama's efforts to stop this had been a dismal failure. The second reason for his depression was "that there isn't going to be any trouble for some time."

(Indubitably, the "wise old heads" of the Hooshi-dan have decided, at least temporarily on non-violence.) In fact, Yoshiyama said, "there wasn't going to be any trouble for a long time."

He also showed me another letter from Mr. Hayashi in Santa Fe, apologizing for his harshness in his last letter. Hayashi said he had been influenced by the majority of the group in Santa Fe and had lost sight of the higher aims of the Negotiating Committee. He thanked Yoshiyama for all his efforts in his behalf. Hayashi is not being sent to Crystal City; nor is his family.

*There are three groups now. One group is our group, the Resegregation Group or the Sokuji Kikoku, and its subsidiary, the Sokoku Kenkyu-dan. The other group is trying to hold back our group because they've made a mistake before. Kai and Kuratomi, we were waiting for them to come out and have Reverend Kai be one of the advisors and Kuratomi one of the dancho or big shots of the young men's association. They forgot how much we had done for them.*

*There's nothing we can do for quite some time.*

<sup>1</sup> I wrote to Mr. Nakazawa, asking if he would care to send the study his article, but he did not respond.

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INTERNEES' FAMILIES LEAVE FOR SANTA FE

A noisy demonstration with songs and Banzais was held tonight as the families left the camp.

APRIL 9, 1946, MONDAY, p. 1.

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN

Mrs. D<sup>eschin</sup> informed me that Noyes has been meeting in the colony with the Hokoku and has been attempting to work out some kind of compromise with them. As Mrs. D<sup>eschin</sup> understands it, the suggestion <sup>being made</sup> is that if all those belonging to the Hokoku who wish to be interned are interned, the bugling will stop. ~~(So far so good, sorry about bedouins what about the Hokoku people who want to be reunited?)~~

TALK WITH KURIHARA

All has been extremely serene, <sup>Mr.</sup> said Kurihara. The only thing that promised the slightest excitement was Mrs. Wakayama's statement that she was to be reunited soon with her spouse in Crystal City. Some of the Internment widows were so incensed that they called on her and threatened her with bodily harm.

"The rumor went all over the camp. They said his wife had everpacked. The rumor started from her. As soon as she received a telegram from her husband, she thought she was going to leave the camp in a very short time. But she's still here.

<sup>Kurihara</sup> also told me that <sup>Dr.</sup> Opler had come <sup>to see him</sup> ~~the other~~ day. Opler brought up the Wakayama rumor and wanted to know what <sup>Kurihara</sup> knew about it. <sup>Kurihara</sup> had said that he didn't know anything. Another thing that <sup>Kurihara</sup> can't understand is that Captain Martin, on his visit here on March 24th, had told the evacuee committee that <sup>he</sup> had spoken to Tachibana. <sup>Kurihara</sup> wondered how he could have seen Tachibana on his way here.

"The Hokoku has stopped bugling since Sunday."

Meetings of Hokoku and Noyes

I thought those meetings were a mighty good thing. I heard that if they don't stop bugling and continue their semi-military exercises, they were going to be sent to some camp and forced to do hard labor.

~~(Monday N. ...)~~ I heard that on Friday or Saturday. The next morning they were bugling, but on Sunday we didn't hear a thing.

But the Hokoku <sup>boys</sup> ~~boys~~ say that they'll stop bugling if they're

MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1946, p. 2.

(picked up and sent to an internment camp.

Immigration and Naturalizations Service here at Tule

K. <sup>Miyahara said</sup> stated that the presence of this body here had made next to no impression on the colony and is causing no talk.

"I heard only one person summoned to appear. It affects the Issei only."

Spanish Consul <sup>and</sup> ~~leave~~ Japanese

K. <sup>Miyahara</sup> laughed. "We lost respect for the Spanish Consul long ago."

Mrs. Wakayama

"If Mrs. Wakayama had really gone, the other Hokoku wives might have done her bodily harm. Several people came to me to ask me whether the rumor was true or not.

Hokoku's Beliefs in Reuniting of Families.

"I've noticed no change in their feeling about reuniting families. They refuse to believe it (will not take place). They didn't get excited (about the statement that there would be no re-uniting) as I had anticipated.

c "It was mainly the women who got excited about Mrs. Wakayama. They themselves are missing their husbands."

Cut in Rice in Tule

They cut down the rice from 65 to 50 pounds per hundred person. We are saying that we'll be getting two meals a day pretty soon.

Do not copy

FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1945, p. 2.

President Roosevelt's Death

K<sup>uribara</sup> made no expression of condolence. Like many people in camp, ~~who were~~ <sup>he seems to be</sup> strongly anti-Roosevelt. ~~he probably gains some satisfaction out of it.~~ He said with some satisfaction:

"I heard Mr. Truman made a statement in the Senate that he cannot assume the responsibility."

The Hokoku

"The people were influenced strongly to sign. The youngsters have no mind of their own. People call the Hokoku Boryoku-dan ~~(an organization which resorts to violence)~~ <sup>(terrorists)</sup>.

Irya who came in with sergeants

"The WRA wanted to use them for spies. That's the way we see it."

Result of More Pick-ups

"I think the Hokoku-dan will be busted up. But the Hooshi-dan will coerce the youngsters to bugle. They're just doing it to spite ~~the~~ the Administration.

"Their number hasn't increased, but it has decreased since the last pick-up. That shows another pick-up will completely uproot them. I think they <sup>sh</sup>ould be told that they will not be rejoined with their families.

[Hooshi-dan]

"They must push resegregation as much as they can because they're ashamed in front of the Japanese here. They want to make believe they can make the Administration do it and they don't want to lose face with the Japanese."

APRIL 9, 1945, MONDAY, p. 1.

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN

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"The Hokoku has stopped bugling since Sunday."

Meetings of Hokoku and Noyes

I thought those meetings were a mighty good thing. I heard that if they don't stop bugling and continue their semi-military exercises, they were going to be sent to some camp and forced to do hard labor.

~~(Sunday W. approved)~~ I heard that on Friday or Saturday. The next morning they were bugling, but on Sunday we didn't hear a thing.

But the Hokoku <sup>Noyes</sup> ~~has~~ say that they'll stop bugling if they're



APRIL 20, 1945, p. 3.

between the Army and WPA is the big point among the residents. When we ask the WPA they say the problem is the Army's. When we go to the Army they say it's WPA. A lot of people are just wondering.

#### Hokoku and Army Rumor

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

#### Myer and Block Managers

They asked Mr. Myer about the Excludées. He didn't answer. He said the Army was handling it.

#### Hokoku

I don't think the exchange agreement with the Hokoku worked out. Because of the families here have their men interned and now they will maintain the status quo. (Evidently status-quo has now come to mean the continuation of bugling.)

I heard a large group intended to quit the Hokoku.

I think if there is another pick-up made the future will be pretty bad. I think more people will join those bunches (Hokoku). The people will believe they will be forced out if they don't.

#### People in other centers wish to come to Tule Lake

(This is a remark which I hear constantly.) I hear lots of people in the other centers wants to come up here.

Here Mrs. Oda said, "The letters I get from Gila say that 80% of the people are going to gambaru (*hang in there*)."

#### The Fence

Taking the fence down would help the people a great deal psychologically. It really might help some to relocate.

#### TALK WITH KURIHARA

I've noticed no worrying in this block about Mr. Myer's speech. The Block Manager told us about it while we were in the latrines. We just laughed it off without coming to any definite conclusion.

"We don't pay any attention to Mr. Myer. All we said was "Ana bakatarin." That means, "That damned fool." I don't think there is any worrying about it or talking about it.

#### Relocation

"If they really wanted to get the fence-sitters out they ought to say that all those who want to go out must go out by a certain date. Then all the fence-sitters will move fast.

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

\* \* \* \* \*

OBSERVATION

Noticed while walking through the ~~xxx~~ colony today that a seagull overhead had a red ~~g~~ circle painted on the underneath side of each of its ~~xxxxxx~~ wings. Now I know ~~xxxxxx~~ why the children catch them.

OCTOBER K# 13, 1944

TALK WITH MR. PENN

Kira tried to get all of the block managers in the Manzanar area to resign with him. He did get the fire inspectors to resign. However, the Administration refused to accept the ~~xxxxxx~~ resignations. As far as I know, Kira is still block manager.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

[I asked Mr. Penn about the current rumor that the Department of Justice would soon take over the administration of Tule Lake.]

I had a long confidential talk with Myer<sup>1</sup> and he told me that he really doesn't know about the Department of Justice taking over. I think Mr. Best jumped the gun on this. I don't think Myer intended him to do that. The rumor around here was so strong among the Administrative staff that I thought I'd ask Myer where I stood. I reckon it's about a 50-50 chance.

1. National Director of WRA

OCTOBER 15, 1944

As I was walking home late in the evening ~~annnnnnnnnn~~ a member of the Internal Security stopped his car and shouted at me that there had been another beating in the center.

OCTOBER ~~KX~~ ~~x18y~~ 16, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KATO

In mid-November of 1944, with the imminence of the renunciation of citizenship and the "take-over" by the Department of Justice, the Resegregation group leaders decided to institute a membership purge. They posted statements in the latrines and laundry rooms which, in effect, said the following: True Japanese life was austere and full of sacrifice; people who could not do without American luxuries such as rich food, liquor or cosmetics, and people who were addicted to degerate vices ~~xx~~ such as gambling and sake drinking had no place in postwar Japan or in the membership rolls of the Resegregation Group. Having defined the "true Japanese" and the "not Japanese" in this manner, the leaders send curt notices of expulsion to some of their more moderate charter members and to a number of the friends of Abe, Kunitani, and Tada. <sup>1-</sup>/<sub>-</sub>

1. "Doing Fieldwork," p. 163

There now emerged the potential of a confrontation between the Resegregationists and the friends of Abe, Kunitani, and Tada, ~~xyxxx~~ were frequently referred to as "the gamblers."

On the night of November 20, when 56 relatives of Issei members of the Daihyo Sha Kai, who had been interned, left Tule Lake for Crystal City. The Resegregation Group, the Abe-Kunitani group, and the Ward VI language school all participated in an elaborate farewell ceremony. When the farewells were over, Tetsuo Kodama, a noted ~~judo~~ judo champion and a close friend of Abe and Kunitani, approached Mr. Yamada (~~xxxx~~ also a judo champion and leader of the Wokoku) and accused Yamada of having called him an inu. This was a challenge to fight, which Yamada ignored, but the news spread rapidly through the camp and ~~intxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ many residents were intrigued by the prospect of a feud between "the gambling group" and the "super-patriots." <sup>2</sup>

2. "Doing Fieldwork," pp. 163-4. "The Spoilage," pp. 330-331.

## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

DECEMBER 9, 1944

## TALK WITH KURIHARA

(The following is verbatim)

Since you left I have been looking forward to an incident almost any day or any hour. When you came on the 20th (of November) I was already looking forward to an incident any day.

When the families left for Crystal City they were on the very verge of causing a riot. It was between two factions, the [Resegregationists] seinen-dan and the Tsuda group.

Mr. Kimura (of the Tsuda faction) is the one who approached Mr. Uchida that night. They say that Mr. Kimura threatened Mr. Uchida that night and approached him for a showdown. There were several on each side and they surrounded Mr. Uchida. Mr. Uchida (who is the danshō or leader of the Sokoku Kenkyu seinen-dan) had quite a number of Seinen-dan members with him. They say he had about 500 of his members around him. They in turn surrounded the Kimura bunch. If they had come to grips there would certainly have been a killing.

As the story is told, Uchida came out of messhall 8. Kimura stepped forward and accused Uchida of branding him as an inu. So the argument started.

As I see it right now, the Tsuda bunch is rather trying to start an incident against the Seinen-dan. The Seinen-dan is rather trying to avoid the incident.

The size of the Tsuda group is not known. But they have quite a number of gamblers in it. Tsuda, as you know, is running the gambling houses.

On the other hand, I feel that Tsuda's bunch has a certain amount of backing from the Administration. They are so arrogant because they have the backing of the Administration. If anything should happen, they know mighty well that the leaders of the Seinen-dan will be picked up and segregated. Wakayama and Tachibana know that. So, as you say, Tachibana has been holding them down, trying to avoid any violence or any incident. The Administration is doing this because they want to get the leaders of the Seinen-dan out of camp.

Now I do regret to see that they have the backing of the Administration. The Administration itself is playing with fire.

Personally, I'd like to see them come to grips. Then the Administration could get rid of Tachibana and then the people would get rid of the gambling group.

The people have reached the point where they are now very careful of what they do and say and they will look for justice. Since you left, this is the only thing causing some sort of unrest in camp.

In regard to the rumors about people going to be thrashed, everything died down completely.

They (Tachibana and Wakayama) are terribly worried. A man (one of the advisors of the Sokuji Kikoku or Resegregation group) came to see me on Friday, November 17. On Saturday, November 18, Wakayama resigned from both organizations. I heard just recently that Tachibana also resigned and they've got new leaders now.

The Seinen-dan has changed its name. I told them that it wasn't the name that was important; it's the leader that's important. I told them that if they get the right kind of leader, the Seinen-dan will again start to grow.

December 9, 1944

471.  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

*Okimura*  
A man like *Ishigami* who is sincere and unselfish and a few others, who would devote their time solely to the development of the young men, if they got men like that they would succeed and flourish. With *Wakayama* and *Tachibana*, and *Akashi*, they are just going to drown the whole thing. *Hiro Yamashita Ishi Kawa*

I hate to see the Seinen-dan broken up. But I also hate to see the radical leaders taking hold of it. I'd like to see them come to grips because then we'd get rid of those guys.

The gambling group will have the upper hand because they have the backing of the Administration.

I've also heard the rumor that the agitators were going to be picked up. They were scared stiff. But how true it was, we don't know.

I got a warning that they were trailing me and watching me closely every night.

Kurihara knew about the establishment of block 99 for the Hawaiians and added that he had spoken briefly to Mr. Tsumida, the leader of the group.

#### Renunciation of Citizenship

I can't say as to the general opinion of the public. But those who are really sincere and wish to renounce are very pleased. I haven't been interviewed yet.

#### On Rumors About Mr. Matsuda

My guess is that Mr. Matsuda became active because the other boys resigned. If he is active, I'm glad to see that he has been reinstated. Matsuda is not so radical.

#### On Togo Tanaka

While discussing our conference at Salt Lake I mentioned Togo's name just for fun. Kurihara said that Togo had probably said harsh things about him. I said, "No." Kurihara said:

I respect Togo. According to his standpoint I can see what he was doing. I condemned him because he deliberately stated and said, 'What can he do?' (Togo was referring to Kurihara.) So I concluded I'd show him what I could do.

#### On the Coordinating Committee

I believe they were distrusted from the start. Before they even were organized, people said it wasn't necessary. The people didn't have any confidence in them.

*Sasaki*  
I've heard some good things about *Akitouki*. He probably wanted to be a leader here because he had good family connections in Japan. I think he wanted to gain the confidence of the people.

November 1, 1944 - p. 1

LETTER FROM MR. TOKUNAGA

58.  
NOVEMBER 1, 1944

Received the following letter yesterday from my beaten up friend, Mr. Tokunaga:

dated October 28, 1944

*I thank you very kindly for your letter expressing your sympathy to me. I am alright, and feel as if nothing happened to me now.*

*The very first word I uttered right after the attack was "Baka!" (Baka is a very strong term meaning fool.) I rather feel sorry for those who attacked me because they do not know what they were doing.*

*Be rest assured that your calling me was not the cause of the attack, and I welcome your coming at any time. However, it might be best for both of us to keep quiet for a while.*

*Thank you again for the letter.*

*Sincerely yours,*

*Itabashi*

(I shall answer this letter and see what happens. I don't want to hold off too long in seeing Mr. Tokunaga, providing, of course, that it is safe for him. If Mr. ~~Kita~~ <sup>Yoshiyama</sup> starts some violent trouble after Meiji Setsu, as he has threatened, I may have to curtail my visits.)

#### CURIOUS TALK WITH OPLER

Opler asked me a number of questions which I did not think it safe or proper to answer. Then he asked me if I had checked on the Sokoku Kenkyu name change and I said that I had not heard that it had been changed. "I can't understand it," said he, "I've sent boys right up to the throne to ask." Opler also told me that he had been reading the FBI report on the Hitomi case. It was, he said, full of lurid de-

*Nma*

11. In our long conversation of October 30, Mr. Tachibana told me that the adult Resegregation Group (Saikakuri Seigan) was formally going to change its name to Sokuji Kikoku Hooshi dan (Organization for Immediate Return to the Homeland to Serve). He did not tell me that the name of the young men's organization, the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan, which has been organized in August, was also to be changed. I am not sure why I did not follow Dr. Opler's lead and ask my Resegregationist respondents about this matter, for I spoke with Mr. Matsuda on November 7 and with Mr. Yoshiyama on November 10 and 20. However, on December 9, the day after I returned from the conference in Salt Lake City, I asked Mr. Matsuda about the change. He told me that the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan, had recently changed its name to Hookoku Seinen dan. Hookoku, he explained, means: serve the mother country. He also told me that he had first used the term Hookoku in his newspaper and that an organization in Japan was called Hookoku. Mrs. Matsuda added: "the boys now figured that they had passed through the stage of Kenkyu (learning) and were ready to take up Hookoku (service)." (Thomas and Nishimoto state that both organizations formally changed their names on or about November 10 (pp. 322-3), but I do not know the source of their information.)

It is interesting that those of my respondents who were not active members of the Resegregation Groups continued to use the term Sokoku until late January of 1945.]

*mit*

59  
Murakami

Tani

Nma

tails about the blood brother gangs in the Manzanar district. It also tells how Tateishi, "Mr. Best's pet inu", ran flourishing gambling joints in the colony. Moreover, the statement is made that Yamatani was to have been killed on the same night Hitemi was murdered. I asked Opler whether, in his opinion, evidence indicated that the murder had been a political or personal. He said there was too much evidence on both sides, but that the FBI had certainly gotten a lot of information. "What Internal Security has here doesn't amount to a thing."

Goodman

TALK WITH MR. NOYES, NEW PROJECT ATTORNEY

Goodman

Mr. Noyes told me that the report referred to by Opler was not prepared by the FBI but by the Department of State. He also told me that he had given Opler the report to read -- and he might also have given it to me except that it has now been returned to Alturas (perhaps there is a copy in Sacramento).

Mr. Noyes also told me about a knifing which took place Monday night (October 30) in the Manzanar section. It seems that three young men were on the way to Japanese school at about 6:45 in the evening. They passed two Issei (one was Mr. Shimada) and noticed that the men were urinating. According to the boys, one of the Issei yelled an insult at them. One of the boys turned and made for them. His friends tried to hold him back. The Issei's friend tried to restrain the man who had yelled the insult. Words were exchanged. Suddenly the Issei drew a knife, slashed the young man across the face, severing the temporal artery. He returned the knife to his pocket so fast that none of the boys saw the knife. Even the wounded boy said that at first he thought he had been scratched. The Japanese Internal Security does not seem eager to press the case. It is rumored that the Issei who knifed the young man is a friend of Mr. Tachibana. The attack took place in block 78. There is no evidence whatever that it is tied up in any political matter. The defendant was turned over for trial to the County Authorities and is being held on \$1,000 bail. The Project Attorney anticipates pressure from the block in the form of some petition extolling the man's character which will be forwarded to WRA. But the WRA no longer has any authority in the matter. Mr. Noyes said that the WRA does not like to have the matter tried by the state.

Nakano

Goodman

TALK WITH JIM TAKEUCHI'S WIFE, SISTER, AND SISTER-IN-LAW

Mrs. Takeuchi was depressed. She is leaving camp on the 8th of November to go to Rower, where she will remain until she is allowed to relocate. Takeuchi himself is in Topaz. He applied to the Sioux Ordinance Depot of Sidney, Nebraska, for a job but was refused because all of his family are in Tule Lake. He plans to appeal, however.

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

People around here seem to dislike the Manzanar people. They even say that the Co-op Board was being run by Manzanar, by a man named Nomura. (Nomura, the manager, resigned several weeks ago because of pressure.)

People seem to think Nishikawa is O.K.

They say that the knifing still has some connection to the baseball fight.

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

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

Smith

NOVEMBER 6, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Called on Mr. Kurihara today for our weekly chat. He was still hale and hearty. I reported on the number of people at the Sokuji Meiji Setsu ceremony. He agreed with me that this was a pretty good criterion of the actual strength of both organizations, saying that they had forbidden non-members to attend the ceremony. He added that they were claiming a strength of 12,000. Every mess hall, he told me, had their own ceremony. On the Meiji Ceremony he said:

*Whoever does not take part in it is looked upon as not loyal. He is really not a Japanese. It is a good thing that WRA permitted it.*

(Kurihara meant this appreciatively and not threateningly.)

He also said that he had been wrong about the prediction that he made last week when he predicted trouble before the 10th. His informants had predicted that two or three people would have their heads beaten in.

*But in consideration of the Emperor's birthday, they didn't do it. Still, the threat may be carried out sooner or later.*

He agreed that the pressure group may devote its efforts to getting Best out, but on the other hand they may confine themselves to beating up their fellow Japanese.

*They are not leading the residents on the right path or the right way.*

I contrasted the present pressure group with the Daihyo Sha Kai; Kurihara agreed that to him there was a considerable difference in methods:

*This one (group) calculate things very carefully before they start it. I wouldn't say that if I didn't know the facts. If you were Japanese, you would notice it right away. They are always saying, "When we get there." Whom do they mean? They think they are going to be rewarded. If they think they're going to fool the Japanese officials in Japan, they're going to make a mistake.*

(Though not Japanese, I have noted this obsession with future status in Japan on several occasions. I've even got it in verbatim statements.)

*They have carried things too far. Knocking in the heads of people who are not for them.*

*Just because I don't join their organization, they say I'm not loyal. How could they measure my loyalty that way?*

Discussion of Inu Beatings:

I was at this time very anxious over the possibility that more opponents of the Resegregation Group would be called inu and would be assaulted. I was particularly worried about Mr. Kurihara, because he had been so open in his criticism. I therefore opened our conversation with a very oblique question. Since I knew that Mr. Kurihara had arrived at Tule Lake in December of 1943 and that he had witnessed the depressing and desperate strike situation at that time I asked him to compare how people had felt about inu in December with how they had felt in June. I did not, of course, remind him that in June he himself had said: "The people are enjoying the beatings."/

*December)*  
Of course, (in June) quite a number of people were suspected as inu. Then the camp was still undergoing transition. The people were not fully settled. Manzanar came in in March. At that time the Co-op was also under criticism. The Coordinating Committee were considered inu too. This developed for several months and was bound

NOVEMBER 7, 1944

to come to a point where feelings would reach a climax.

Beatings like that were rare in camp before May. I believe a bunch of boys ganging up on somebody is due to agitators who arrived here with the Manzanar group.

(I then asked Kurihara about the report that there were now many organized gangs in the Manzanar section.)

There are not many gangs in Manzanar. Probably the original bunch who came in in October and moved to block 75 were considered rough. To me they are nothing but a bunch of bullies. They can say things but they cannot carry them out.

But this other bunch which this person (Wakayama) has organized as his gang, to carry out his orders - they have done some of the beatings. To my personal knowledge there are only two bunches of roughnecks in Manzanar.

The common people of Manzanar don't want anything to happen. Many have expressed the desire to remain as peacefully as they can in camp until the day of deportation. They never forgot the painful incident of Manzanar. They came here with the true intent to remain as peaceful as they can.

Kiri Wakayama said in Manzanar that he had nothing to do with the riot -- as much as he agitated! Such deliberate lies he told, just to get out of it.

Knifing in Block 78:

In respect to that I wonder what Mr. Wakayama is feeling today. He definitely told the people in the mess hall that he'd assume any responsibility. "The little bugs must die so that the big bugs may live."

That's a very agitating statement to make in Japanese. (Evidently this remark may be interpreted in many ways.)

He just told the people to go ahead and do anything they want. "I'll stand responsible," he said. This man did it and he's in jail now.

When he was arrested by the colonial police, I was told that Wakayama and Tachibana and another person went and asked for his release stating that he was a very nice person. But instead the police imprisoned him.

Wakayama was not able to effect his release. I wonder how he feels today. Probably the people feel that what he tells you and what he could do are two different things.

Having the Project Attorney's account of the preliminary hearing in mind, I said, "Are you telling me that this knifing was of political significance?"

I certainly am, said Kurihara.

If the man lived in block 75 or 82 (Tachibana's and Wakayama's blocks respectively) then Tachibana or Wakayama could go - but they don't live in the same block. There is a definite connection.

The Japanese Internal Security is afraid it will be beaten up. If there were no organization, they might have spoken their mind. The man (the attacker) is a fanatical supporter of the Sokuji Kikoku. Now if he's released, Tachibana and Wakayama will feel so proud that doubtless they will do something really serious.

(Must remember to ask the Project Attorney about the role Tachibana and Wakayama played at the hearing.)

/1. For a brief account of Mr. Kurihara's own role in the Manzanar riot, see page 25 of my fieldnotes for February 2, 1944.

visits which have not been overfrequent. He remarked again, that he lived in a very tough block.

TALK WITH PROJECT ATTORNEY ON KNIFING TRIAL

[Mr. Goodman]

(Since Kurihara had considered this attack so significant, I asked the Project Attorney to tell me what occurred at the trial.)

On the 5th I got word that the District Attorney was going to give him (the defendant) a chance. He said his friends could meet with the prisoner and also meet with the District Attorney and have a discussion so that the man would feel he was given a fair trial and that his Civil Rights had been protected. My only position on the whole deal had been one of a neutral observer to see that the man was told he could employ counsel and that a fair discussion of the probabilities of the case was held with him -- what the probabilities were if he pleaded innocent or guilty.

My policy was to keep out of being in the middle. Therefore, in holding the meeting at the District Attorney's office before the trial I insisted on these points: that any decision to be made on the plea had to be the prisoner's own plea after his own consideration.

The fact that the District Attorney stated that he was not going to press for a penitentiary sentence -

(Here I asked what had caused the District Attorney to come to this decision.)

1 - the nature of the evidence, 2 - the age of the defendant, 3 - the fact that his past record was clear.

Mr. Tachibana, with two other friends of the defendant, went along to the trial at Alturas. He was very gracious and polite. He addressed the District Attorney as 'your honor'. In the discussion which was held in the District Attorney's office in the presence of the prisoner, he asked the District Attorney what he would advise they should do. The District Attorney said, "If the man, after consulting his own conscience honestly believes he did not commit the assault with the knife, he should plead not guilty. If, after consulting his own conscience, he felt he did commit the crime, he may as well plead guilty and take some medicine." He, the District Attorney, said he would then make a recommendation to the court and would personally plead for mercy - for a county jail sentence.

Tachibana explained this to the defendant. The defendant stated that he realized that what he did was wrong and that he would plead guilty. After the conference I asked Tachibana whether he felt that the conference was handled in a fair manner, and whether the defendant was happy that he had his friends there. He said it was handled fairly.

When Tachibana and his friends came in, the District Attorney got up and shook hands with them and welcomed them in a very friendly manner.

During the entire proceedings, Tachibana tried to make it sound as if he weren't a personal friend of the defendant, that he was not one of the delegates - that he was just an intermediary.

It was also explained to the defendant and his friends, that the District Attorney's recommendations were in no way binding on the court - that they were advisory, but that they were usually given considerable weight.

(I then asked if Tachibana had contacted the Project Attorney at all, previous to this trial.) He said he had, that he came in after the man was taken to prison, with the two delegates. He was sentenced to 90 days in the county jail. The man's name is Kiyo Shimida.)

John Nakano

Yamashita

Yamashita

Yamashita

Yamashita

*Yamashita*  
 The complaining witness at the conclusion of his testimony on the stand - and all during his testimony at the trial, he did not testify as strongly as he had before. He said, "I will appreciate your giving this man as light a sentence as possible. The Internal Security officer (Japanese) concurred too.

Tachibana and the defendant made a pledge in open court that what the defendant did was bad, that he would not drink anymore and that he would not do this act again.

The Project Attorney also told me that in the drive to Alturas, Mr. <sup>Stor</sup>Ross and Mr. Tachibana got along very well together.<sup>1</sup> The three Japanese delegates had also said that they would raise two or three hundred dollars for the man's defense. The Project Attorney said he was disappointed in Mr. Tachibana. "Why?" I asked.

*Yamashita*  
 I've heard that now he and the others are going around beating their chests and saying, "I did it all."

(The Project Attorney had hoped that Mr. Tachibana and the delegates would show some gratitude for the fairness and mercy shown the defendant. The fact that the Resegregationists were willing and able to raise that much money is interesting.)

#### TALK WITH THE MATSUDAS

Mrs. Matsuda told me that there is a big rumor in camp that Mr. Robertson was sent away a while Black and Best saw to it that "the books were all fixed up" before the Justice Department took over. (Robertson is due back here tomorrow.) I expressed my appreciation for being allowed to attend the Meiji Setsu. Mr. Matsuda said apologetically that he didn't understand why some of their members had not chosen to stand in the firebreak but had remained on the outskirts next to the barracks. (It is with these folks that I stood.) Perhaps they were afraid, said he. I asked what the writing on the wings and the image at the extreme rear of the stage were. I was told that both were the Kimigayo (the Japanese national anthem). Evidently I was so far away that the writing to which everyone bowed had appeared like a picture to me.

NOVEMBER 9, 1944

1. I recall that Mr. Tachibana told me that he thought that Mr. Ross was a spy.

-15- 64  
NOVEMBER 9, 1944

*Itabashi*

TALK WITH MR. TOKUNAGA

Received an invitation from Mr. Tokunaga today to call on him. I found him looking as chipper as ever with his four stitch scar beautifully healed up.

Story of Beating:

I never thought I had any enemies in camp. For a few days I thought it was a case of mistaken identity.

I was coming home from a religious meeting at block 52 - I heard noisy footsteps. One of my friends was at my side and the other was 15 feet ahead. The first man who was attacked yelled. I turned around and saw that big stick. I can still see the club like a frozen picture but I don't know anything after that.

When I got up I didn't even know I was hit. I felt something dripping. I noticed the blood. I thought I was clubbed.

From the start until today I never felt any pain. I walked right home and the blood stopped bleeding on the way. I went to the shower room and washed myself. I saw that the cut was spread open. The ambulance came and we went to the hospital. They put in four stitches. The most pain I felt was when they put in the four stitches.

After that, for a few days, everybody asked me why and how. I said I think it's mistaken identity. Then one man who hasn't signed for resegregation and very antagonistic to the segregation group, he spied all over camp why I was hit. He told me the reason I was attacked. I and one other, Mr. ~~Amataka~~ *Amataka*, both of us, didn't sign. The resegregation headquarters said that on account of us the people didn't sign.

I didn't speak against it. Whenever they asked me I just said that I didn't sign it for this reason or that. There are six families in my barrack and only one family signed.

Another thing he spied out for me, about a month before that date I made a lecture at a religious meeting. I said that this camp is no place for young men to make any trouble. They should study. I talked about 45 minutes. What I said there was reported to (Resegregationist) headquarters. *Kina*

One week after I was attacked the resegregants of Ward VIII had a meeting and ~~Tachibana~~ *Tachibana* and ~~Wakayama~~ *Wakayama* made speeches. And ~~Wakayama~~ *Wakayama* spoke first and very aggressively. He said, "For the greater cause it can't be helped to sacrifice the small cause. Young men, go ahead and do it. I'll take care of you."

Then ~~Tachibana~~ *Tachibana* stood up next and said, "Our group is not for violence. Our idea is not to do any harm to the non-segregants. This group (the boys ~~Wakayama~~ *Wakayama* referred to) is not a member of our group." He said, "I'm very sorry that the resegregants are taking to violent actions."

*Itabashi*  
Mr. Tokunaga then told me:

Among the resegregants there is one group already against violence, a modest group and then ~~Wakayama's~~ *Wakayama's* violent side. *Kina*

Knifing in Block 78:

This boy's father signed the petition but he's very much against ~~Wakayama~~ *Wakayama*. That's why we think he was knifed. *Kina*

Sentiment toward War:

*Itabashi*  
(In the letter I had written him I had asked Mr. Tokunaga if he would care to tell me how the people in camp felt about the war. In answer to this question, he said:)

1. See fieldnotes, October 30.

*Amaya*  
*Yomashita*

Every Issei Japanese all blindly believe that Japan will win. So it's out of the question how they feel. Of course the Issei Japanese in other camps might have doubts about the outcome of the war. But the Issei in this camp all believe final victory is theirs.

So, what you call fence sitters, the Nisei all don't know why the Japanese war started and how the war future would be. So they might change their mind as the situation changes. But the Issei, I don't think.

Some Issei still have property outside. So they want to dispose of that after the war is over and then go back to Japan. That's why they say they don't want to go back on the first exchange boat.

Those Issei who leave camp for the outside are disgusted at the conditions in camp (Tule Lake).

Even among the segregants there are many who want to live in peace.

Return to Trouble:

*Tina* When we came from Manzanar last February everybody said we don't want trouble. But when *Wakayama* started making trouble, the whole ward VIII got stirred up.

*Kurihara* says, "Give him plenty of rope and he'll hang himself up."

Speaking of Mr. *Tachibana*, Mr. *Tokunaga* said: "He's like *Wakayama* too, but he's not so extreme."

I heard a rumor that the Japanese government said that some Issei in this camp is good for nothing. In the first place, when the Japanese government heard of the trouble the WRA Administration was torturing them.<sup>1</sup> But the officials thought that soon the Japs would be beaten, so we can treat them as we wish.

Of course, my feeling, when we were chased into this camp, the Federal government didn't mean to harm us. But the WRA officials thought that soon the Japs would be beaten, so we can treat them as we wish.

And they treated us that way. In Manzanar, Mr. *Nash* was so bad that one day he was nearly beaten. We thought, "This isn't the policy of the Federal government toward us."<sup>2</sup>

When we came to this camp from Manzanar, the food was so terrible for two months. (The food at this time according to many old residents had greatly improved.) We found out that was a trick. They didn't want to send people here. The food in Manzanar was so good while our food here was so poor.

Now when they want the camp residents in Manzanar to leave for the outside, they give them the poorest food. They say, "If you want better food, you go outside."

War Situation:

Do you think that the American public believes the news they are given about the fighting in the Philippines and on Formosa. We hear the opposite things from Japan.

The Japanese strategy was actually the same as I guessed. In June the Japanese Salt Lake City newspaper said, "What's the matter with the Japanese navy?" Then I wrote four pages on the subject of the Japanese Pacific strategy as I see it. I said that the big naval battle will be around Formosa and the Philippines.

What I would like to know is that if the American Navy won the battle as they claim, why are they sending more American forces to Leyte island?

Another thing, the recall of *Stillwell* and the resignation of the ambassador. The papers say it is only ? . My guess is that *Stillwell* and the American government advised *Chiang Kai Shek* to wait until the Navy battle. If they win, America will

/1. Mr. *Tokunaga* may be referring to the rumors of mistreatment of segregants confined in the stockade./

/2. Many segregants tended to blame seemingly unjust or cruel policies or decisions on the local administrators rather than on the federal government. Indeed, I shared this view for most of the period that I lived in the camps. See "Doing Fieldwork,"

NOVEMBER 10, 1944

TALK WITH YOSHIYAMA

*yamashita*

Went to Yoshiyama's today, with a copy of the first meeting of the Daihyo Sha Kai to see if I could get him to explain the confusing sections. Before we got to work he told me that he wasn't going to be able to show me some real trouble as he had hoped. He told me that he had gone to see Mr. Tachibana and put before him a plan to circulate a petition throughout the camp asking for the removal of Mr. Best. Simultaneously, in one night twelve inu were to be beaten up. Mr. Tachibana, it seems, had not approved of this plan and prefers to wait and see if the Department of Justice will take over the camp. According to Yoshiyama, Mr. Tachibana had said that Best would send him (Tachibana) to Santa Fe immediately if such violence broke out. Yoshiyama was disgusted at Tachibana's caution. He said he doesn't care where they send him. He said he was going over to see Mr. Wakayama tomorrow morning.

*Kato*

Yoshiyama also said that he had gone to see Mr. Best about his renunciation of citizenship. He's sending for a form. If he renounces his citizenship, he feels sure that Best will ship him immediately to Santa Fe (the internment camp for non-citizens). Yoshiyama also told me that the inu living in his block had a meeting the other day and talked about making a petition to get him out of the block. He told me that he had told Mr. Best that if they did that he'd bring his boys and beat up the whole block. He has two hundred boys, he said, and also a special group of ten boys who have sworn to die for him. These ten have even given him their wills in case they die or go to the electric chair. "Only five other people in camp -- and you -- know about this," he said. (Ye Gods! If somebody inus I will probably be blamed.)

TALK WITH MR. ROBERTSON

*Penn*

My talk with Mr. Yoshiyama had made me very anxious. If he "went to Mr. Kira with his plan" there might well be another series of beatings. I could not stand by and see this happen. In consequence, for the first time in my experience as a field-worker, I became an inu. I called on Mr. Robertson and told him about some of Mr. Yoshiyama's threats. Mr. Robertson, however, looked sad and helpless and responded almost as if he had not heard my statement.

*Kato*

Robertson told me that the Administration is now convinced that things in the colony are in a state of exceptional peace. The factions are fighting among themselves, but all else is serene. Nothing in the way of trouble is anticipated at all. Moreover, at the last staff meeting Best read a letter from Dillon Myer in which Myer stated that Tule Lake was in the most peaceful state he had ever seen it. Moreover, Best had told Robertson that he had had a talk with Yoshiyama and that he was convinced that Yoshiyama was being very quiet and had decided to behave himself.

*Kato*

*Penn*

*Kato*

NOVEMBER 13, 1944

Called on Mr. Kurihara today. He opened the conversation by saying that he knew very little because he had purposely stayed at home. /His tone implied that he was staying home because going out put him in danger, but I did not think it wise to put this in my notes. I then told him that I, too, had heard rumors that people might be beaten up. He nodded, but said nothing./ I then asked him whether his written denunciation of Wakayama is in capable hands. In other words, if the "gang" attacked him, would the people to whom he has entrusted the papers, really have the guts to give the papers to the authorities. He seems to think they will; in fact, one copy is with a friend in Manzanar.

Kurihara told me that Wakayama knows that Kurihara is opposing him tooth and nail. If he murders Kurihara or beats him up -- he's exposed. But if Wakayama leaves Kurihara alone, he /Wakayama/ must "sit and shiver constantly". /This state of affairs did not sound promising to me, but I did not say this to Mr. Kurihara./ I did my best to talk Mr. Kurihara into taking some kind of action, pointing out that it would be better to put Wakayama in jail right now if it could be done than to wait until some innocent people are beaten or killed. But Kurihara did not seem to think much of my suggestion. He told me not to worry about him. He's laying a trap for Wakayama. He's told one of Wakayama's spies, he says, that he goes out two nights a week to a class on Japanese military singing. If they lay for him, they're going to die too. Then he opened a drawer of his desk and showed me a curious weapon, a stout club, about six inches long, to which a pipe joint was attached by a leather thong.

/I left, still feeling very apprehensive./

/For the next week I stayed in my room working very hard on a paper which was to be delivered at a conference of the members of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study to be held at Salt Lake City. However, just before I left Tule Lake, I called on Mr. Kurihara and on Mr. Yoshiyama./

Kato

NOVEMBER "XXX 20, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Yoshio Nakazawa is the name of the man who wrote the article exposing the Resegregationists and the Hitomi murder. He is at the Granada Center, family no. 128.

Kurihara was in much better spirits today. It seems that one of the chief counselors of the Sekuji Kenkyu had called on him and had a long talk with him. Kurihara is now sure he has Wakayama shivering in his shoes. This man informed Kurihara that a few weeks ago Wakayama was responsible for several beatings.

They even talk about each other. You see how they are.

They figure I'm not bluffing. They don't want to be dragged out. They tell me it wasn't them, but it was this guy (Wakayama).

A friend of mine spread the truth to the people of Manzanar. Those boys have such confidence in me that they will not tolerate any nonsense. Even that bunch of boys in Manzanar -- Wakayama has about 30 boys under him -- they will definitely refuse to support him if he ever counsels any violence on me. He will be very much surprised to hear that.

I hold the respect of those boys because I was in San Pedro along with them.

We hear that when Mrs. Wakayama had a baby recently the chief surgeon in the hospital coddled her. He greeted her every morning and treated her like she was a princess. I don't know why she should get special treatment. We think Mr. Best gave them special orders to be nice to her so that Wakayama wouldn't get mad.

Kurihara also asked me how the new stockade (or jail) was getting along.

TALK WITH YOSHIYAMA

Yoshiyama was discouraged and saddened today. He said he was sick of the people in camp. The first cause of his sadness was that 13 people were leaving for Crystal City tonight to join the heads of their families who were moved from the stockade here to Santa Fe. Yoshiyama's efforts to stop this had been a dismal failure. The second reason for his depression was "that there isn't going to be any trouble for some time."

(Indubitably, the "wise old heads" of the Hooshi-dan have decided, at least temporarily on non-violence.) In fact, Yoshiyama said, "there wasn't going to be any trouble for a long time."

He also showed me another letter from Mr. Hayashi in Santa Fe, apologizing for his harshness in his last letter. Hayashi said he had been influenced by the majority of the group in Santa Fe and had lost sight of the higher aims of the Negotiating Committee. He thanked Yoshiyama for all his efforts in his behalf. Hayashi is not being sent to Crystal City; nor is his family.

There are three groups now. One group is our group, the Resegregation Group or the Sokuji Kikoku, and its subsidiary, the Sokoku Kenkyu-dan. The other group is trying to hold back our group because they've made a mistake before. Kai and Kuratomi, we were waiting for them to come out and have Reverend Kai be one of the advisors and Kuratomi one of the dansho or big shots of the young men's association. They forgot how much we had done for them.

There's nothing we can do for quite some time.

/1. I wrote to Mr. Nakazawa, asking if he would care to send the study his article, but he did not respond./

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

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

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

MARCH 18, 1945

DEVELOPMENTS OF WRA VS, HŌKOKU

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

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1. In mid-October, Reverend Aramaki, the ~~xxxxxxx~~ head of the Sokoku Seinen dan resigned. It was said that he resigned because of widespread rumors ~~xxxxxxxx~~ imputing immorality.<sup>7</sup>

March 19, 1945

Rosalie Hankey Wax

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March 19, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

(The following is verbatim)

Relocation

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

Biddle's Statement

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

WRA's New Regulations

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

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

Sunday's Demonstration

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

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

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

The Ho:koku believe they will be reunited anyway.

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

Last night I heard the rumor about Reverend <sup>Aramaki</sup> Tsuna again. 1

Army Coming Into Manzanar (In December 1942)

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

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

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

Reluctance To Leave Camp

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

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

Rumor On Why No More Pickups

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

TALK WITH NOYES

*M. Goodman, Project attorney*

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

Sunday Events

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

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

That might have resulted in a fight.

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

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

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

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

Final renunciation figures:

7250 Citizens in Tule Lake  
5557 ~~Renunciations~~ Renunciations

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

April 9, 1945

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APRIL 9, 1945

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN

*Krauss*  
*Krauss*

Mrs. <sup>Krauss</sup> Deschin informed me that <sup>Brookman</sup> Noyes has been meeting in the colony with the Ho:koku and has been attempting to work out some kind of compromise with them. As Mrs. Deschin understands it, the suggestion being made is that if all those belonging to the Ho:koku who wish to be interned are interned, the bugling will stop.

*Krauss*

TALK WITH KURIHARA

All has been extremely serene, <sup>Tina</sup> said Mr. Kurihara. The only thing that promised the slightest excitement was Mrs. <sup>Tina</sup> Wakayama's statement that she was to be reunited soon with her spouse in Crystal City. Some of the Internment widows were so incensed that they called on her and threatened her with bodily harm.

The rumor went all over the camp. They said his wife had even packed. The rumor started from her. As soon as she received a telegram from her husband, she thought she was going to leave the camp in a very short time. But she's still here.

<sup>Kina</sup> Kurihara also told me that Dr. <sup>S</sup> Opler had come to see him the other day. Opler brought up the <sup>S</sup> Wakayama rumor and wanted to know what Kurihara knew about it. Kurihara had said that he didn't know anything. Another thing that Kurihara can't understand is that Captain <sup>S</sup> Martin, on his visit here on March 24th, had told the evacuee committee that he had spoken to <sup>S</sup> Tachibana. Kurihara wondered how he could have seen <sup>S</sup> Tachibana on his way here.

The Ho:koku has stopped bugling since Sunday.

Meetings of Ho:koku and Noyes

*Goodman*

I thought those meetings were a mighty good thing. I heard that if they don't stop bugling and continue their semi-military exercises, they were going to be sent to some camp and forced to do hard labor. I heard that on Friday or Saturday. The next morning they were bugling, but on Sunday we didn't hear a thing.

But the Ho:koku boys say that they'll stop bugling if they're picked up and sent to an internment camp.

Immigration and Naturalizations Service Here at Tule Lake

Kurihara said that the presence of this body here had made next to no impression in the colony and is causing no talk.

I heard only one person summoned to appear. It affects the Issei only.

Spanish Consul and Japanese

Kurihara laughed. We lost respect for the Spanish Consul long ago.

*Target (the representative of the Spanish Consul)*

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Mrs. <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama

If Mrs. <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama had really gone, the other Ho:koku wives might have done her bodily harm. Several people came to me to ask me whether the rumor was true or not.

#### Ho:koku's Beliefs in Reuniting of Families

I've noticed no change in their feeling about reuniting families. They refuse to believe it (will not take place). They didn't get excited (about the statement that there would be no re-uniting) as I had anticipated.

It was mainly the women who got excited about Mrs. <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama. They themselves are missing their husbands.

#### Cut In Rice in Tule

They cut down the rice from 65 to 50 pounds per hundred person. We are saying that we'll be getting two meals a day pretty soon.

#### TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN

[I called on Mr. Goodman ~~xxx~~ after dinner and found him very anxious and tense. He had offered the Resegregationists their choice of three propositions - and they had chosen "No. 3, that the activities would stop if all male members over 18 who desired it, were interned." (See Fieldnotes for additional detail.)]

I brought up some objections to Goodman's plan, the ~~✓~~ chief one being that it would not stop the ~~xxxx~~ fundamental trouble - the old issue of resegregation... it would not stop the adult Resegregationists from pressuring for reunity with their interned males. To them, this signified a successful consummation of their old aim, resegregation. Goodman ~~did~~ did not agree. He said that the ~~nix nix~~ only alternative was to use force, tear gas, and guns. . . Then he told me that the real reason he was taking action was that he feared that if he didn't ~~xxx~~ the Department of Justice would crucify the WRA again by getting this marching and bugling into the newspapers, ruining relocations etc. . . I asked ~~xxx~~ Mr. Goodman how many meetings Noyes had had with the Ho:koku in my absence and he said he'd been ~~xxx~~ meeting ~~nix nix~~ with them almost every day since last Monday. He was all worn out.

APRIL 13, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARAOn Proposed Pickup

I spoke to the boys here and got their opinion and that conversation. I came to the conclusion that although there will be a great deal of injustice done to many of those dumbbells, if they intern another 500 or so, the Ho:koku-dan will be busted up completely. They may or may not stop bugling after that. There are some boys less than 10 years old bugling now.

The Ho:shi-dan might incite the people here to act one way or another. The majority of the people who don't belong are not going to be stirred up by the Ho:shi-dan.

If the people are not reunited, it's their own fault.

As it stands right now I doubt if they'll quit (bugling).

To give you the true facts as I see it, the Ho:koku-dan and Ho:shi-dan members are not so arrogant as they were.

(Sally [<sup>WaKida</sup> Yamashiro] said the same thing yesterday. The people don't glare at her in her block anymore.)

As I see it today they feel more shy than they used to. In the beginning, if anyone didn't belong, they insulted them. Today, it's just the other way. So they themselves came to realize that they're not so powerful; and no longer have an organization back of them to enforce their ideas. Many of them want to quit. Many don't care to belong to it anymore.

Relocation

I hear from Manzanar that one-third of the people are going to relocate. The remaining 2/3 are not going to relocate.

We went over the possibilities of what might happen in late summer if more force were applied to get people to relocate. Kurihara thinks it is more likely that the people will riot rather than renounce citizenship.

President Roosevelt's Death

Kurihara made no expression of condolence. Like many people in camp, he seems to be strongly anti-Roosevelt. He said with some satisfaction:

I heard Mr. Truman made a statement in the Senate that he cannot assume the responsibility.

The Ho:koku

The people were influenced strongly to sign. The youngsters have no mind of their own. People call the Ho:koku Boryoku-dan (terrorists).

Loyals Who Came In With Segregants

The WRA wanted to use them for spies. That's the way we see it.

Result of More Pick-ups

I think the Ho:koku-dan will be busted up. But the Ho:shi-dan will coerce the youngsters to bugle. They're just doing it to spite the Administration.

Their number hasn't increased, but it was decreased since the last pick-up. That shows another pick-up will completely uproot them. I think they should be told that they will not be rejoined with their families.

They [Ho:shi-dan] must push resegregation as much as they can because they're ashamed in front of the Japanese here. They want to make believe they can make the Administration do it and they don't want to lose face with the Japanese.

TALK WITH KURATOMI

From what I've heard the Ho:koku gang is breaking into segments. Some of them though will go to any extent to be reunited with their families. They will resort to any action to realize that prospect. Making a compromise will cause more trouble to the WRA and Justice will have to step in and take over.

On April 16, Dillon Myer, the National Director of WRA visited Tule Lake. He delivered a long address to the Caucasian staff members in which he emphasized the need to need "to build the community back to a normal ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ condition as fast as we can without making too many mistakes", <sup>and</sup> /the need to encourage relocation." He also told the staff that "the people in this room are probably faced with one of the most difficult jobs in the U. S. . . I'm going to ~~xxx~~ do everything I can to see that the staff doesn't suffer by staying here and finishing a good ~~job/xxxx~~ job out. But I want guarantee anything."

Dillon Myer also addressed the block managers at Tule Lake. An account of this meeting was given me by Mr. Tada:

Myer spoke to the block managers yesterday. I stood outside by the window to listen because I didn't have any business inside.

He stressed his intention is to relocate the people. He gave out five reasons ~~xx~~ of the WRA ~~policy~~ policy of closing the eight centers including Tule Lake. He didn't definitely set the time, but he said by 1966 this camp will be transferred to the Justice Department.

1. Was that it's more than fair to relocate the Nisei. They ~~xxx~~ are entitled to get out and lead a normal life.

2. Was that all the patriotic effort of the Japanese American soldiers have achieved in Italy ~~xxxx~~ influenced the American people to change their minds toward the Japanese.

3. Was of all the undying WRA effort has been gradually beginning to show outside that the Japanese should relocate. The people are accepting the Japanese.

4. He gave credit to those who had already resettled outside. They had done a splendid job. The Japanese have more friends now than ~~xxx~~ prior to evacuation.

5. He said that the welfare agencies outside were more willing to help now than they would be after the war.

Mr. Tada then remarked:

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

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible, appearing to be a series of lines or paragraphs of text.]

TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN

I was given the go-ahead to work out a program. Myer has talked it over with ~~XXXXX~~ Innes. They have tentatively agreed that we could have another removal (internment). . . .

I had them (Resegregationist leaders) working for me getting the signatures of ~~XXXXX~~ people who agreed to abide by the conditions. I told them how to prepare the signatures, aliens, citizens, women, etc. They got the name, address, family number, and alien registration number. . . They even signed up the kids one and two years old. It's just like the old Resegregation Movement. . . .

A half a dozen families are going to go to Crystal City from here. The men are being transferred from Santa Fe, & Kira is among them because he has a bad heart.

Before I left Mr. Goodman asked me what would happen if the men whom he has lined up for internment were not interned. ~~NI~~ I said I didn't think anything

TALK WITH KURIHARA

I've noticed no worrying in this block about Mr. Myer's speech. The Block Manager told me about it while we were in the latrine. We just laughed it off without coming to any definite conclusion.

We don't pay any attention to Mr. Myer. All we said was "Ana bakataria," that means, "That damned fool." I don't think there is any worrying about it or talking about it.

Relocation

If they really wanted to get the fence-sitters out they ought to say that all those who want to go out must go out by a certain date. Then all the fence-sitters will move fast.

<sup>Kira</sup>  
Wakayama's desertion from Santa Fe may make some of the Ho:shi-dan and Ho:koku-dan people quit.

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

If it was good bugling that sounds pleasant to the ear it would be all right. But most of the time it's flat or off beat. It's really annoying.

APRIL #23, 1945

Talk  
TALK WITH ~~GEORGE M. KUNITANI~~ MR. KUNITANI

[~~On~~ Mr. Kunitani, who had been chairman of the Daihyo Sha Kai and had ~~xx~~ then been imprisoned in the ~~six~~ stockade, was one of my ables dependents.]

Yesterday they held a part for a fellow who's going to Crystal City. The common people there said that they didn't think that Justice was going to have another internment. They say WRA may be thinking that, but they don't ~~believe~~ believe it. I was rather amused by that.

On Myer's Speech to the Block Managers

As you knew the ~~xx~~ majority of the Block Managers are old men. I feel that at least one-third of them don't understand English. In my block the Block Manager made no announcement whatever. I think the people should have been notified of Mr. Myer's object. I dare say that over half of the people in camp don't know ~~xx~~ what he said. The Newell Star description was very obscure.

On Mr. Wakayama Kira

Mr. Kira's being taken to Crystal City will have a very queer reaction. The Hoshi-dan people felt that he was one of the leaders. Now they are suddenly confronted with the fact that he and his brother-in-law are the only ones being sent from Santa Fe to Crystal City. Some mothers and wives have recently received letters from ~~Santa Fe~~ the Justice Department, after they asked for family reunion, telling them there is to be no family reunion.

New Political Movements Starting in Camp

Right now a new movement is starting. The representative body to deal with the Spanish consul is one group, the Warden's Organization is another group and the Civic Organizations is another group. Mr. Yahui, Mr. Wagatsuma, Shimizu and Iwe - they seem to be getting together and making a bid for prestige. I hope they won't do it for personal glory.



MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1945, p. 1.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

I asked K<sup>Kurikawa</sup> if he had heard of the rumor of the reactionary organization Kurstomi had told me about last week. He said he had not, but <sup>added</sup> ~~stated~~ that if that group started anything, they wouldn't get anywhere with the people. He'll keep his eyes open for them, though.

Relocation

If they (WRA) start to encourage people to move and relocate, they're going to find pretty strong opposition.

Shortwave statement on "long war"

That statement was made by General Yamashita in the Phillipines, as he prepared to oppose MacArthur. He said he would fight for 20 years. Some of the, especially Issai, I think, did contemplate relocation after hearing that.

Talk on Dept. of Justice

Some people are talking about what will happen here when Justice takes over. I've told them Justice will have to maintain the farm here, and various enterprises to supply the needs of the camp. I believe the Dept. of Justice prefers to use the people where they want to work. Of course, some of the work will be cut out.

Since my mind is made up, what difference does it make if Justice, WRA or the Army runs the camp?

Break Entrance to Opler's Office Broken Into

(Opler's office is quite close to K's barrack.) "I heard about that. It seems some intruder ~~was~~ was just about to ransack the place when the janitor came around and he got out. They probably wanted to steal the typewriters or something.

(K<sup>Kurikawa</sup> and I guess that the act was not motivated by hostility toward Opler.) <sup>Kurikawa</sup>

(K<sup>Kurikawa</sup> also had a writeup of the Manzanar trouble, which he offered to give me when he has it typed up. I don't know whether we have this <sup>manuscript</sup> or not, but when offered, it's always best to take. So I <sup>said</sup> ~~took~~ that we would be very grateful for it.)

(<sup>Hina</sup> "Wakayama was in the U. S. Army all right - but 'in the National Guard' of Hawaii - he never saw any action.

[In mid-May I was obliged to leave Tule Lake and return to Berkeley.

When the atomic bombs were dropped on ~~Hiroshima~~ Hiroshima and Nagasaki,

I received several terrible denunciatory letters from Mr. Kurihara, to which

I could not bring myself to reply. When, in ~~XV~~ November of 1945, Mr.

Kurihara was shipped to Japan he sent me a postcard on which he had written,

in ~~blank~~ blank verse, a poem bidding farewell to a friend.]

JANUARY 31, 1945TALK WITH KURIHARASentiments Toward Innocent Men Taken to Santa Fe

In the first place they shouldn't have joined the organization. I believe some of those boys whom I would say shouldn't have been sent to Santa Fe will benefited by the pickup. They will have to associate with those boys for some time and they will find out the true nature of those roughnecks. They'll have plenty of time in there and after they are released, it will be better for them.

After it (Ho:koku) was organized it went wrong because of the leadership of the men who led the organization. They should have been punished very severely.

Pickups

They were expecting it so they weren't surprised at all.

The people (not Ho:koku) aren't crying about it.

(I remarked here that some people had seemed very sorry about the pickups.) Said Kurihara sternly:

You don't live right amongst the people and feel the pressure. Very fortunately this block is not as crazy as the others.

In certain blocks the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi-dan went around to take signatures to determine whether the original members are sticking with them or breaking away. In several blocks, I hear, a good many are breaking away.

Kurihara also asked me if it were true that <sup>Mitsune</sup> Sakamoto had been beaten outside of the stockade after he had arranged for the release of the teachers. I said, no, because if this had occurred I would certainly have heard of it.

Department of Justice Statement

It amused me a good deal. It sure disgraced many of them (Ho:koku). If they had shame enough, they wouldn't have the face to come out with. We all agreed that it ought to have put a stop to it (Ho:koku). But it seems it didn't.

News of Exchange

Everybody is rejoicing. But who's going to get the chance? They're all happy about it. But only one out a hundred will get the chance.

I remarked here that some people had not seemed very happy about it and had scoffed at the idea. It occurred to me that these reactions might be coming from the people who really didn't want to go back to Japan. I suggested this to Kurihara. He agreed, saying,

They are afraid of exchange because they fear they will

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1. On January 29, the Newell Star published a statement by DGTTECC  
Dillon Myer to the effect that "those who do not wish to leave the  
~~XXXX~~  
[Tule Lake] center at this time are not required to do so ~~and~~ and may  
continue to live here or at some similar center until January 1, 1946,"

January 31, 1945

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be taken into the Army. [in Japan]

The statement Mr. <sup>norden</sup> ~~Burling~~ made about the draft dodgers was very true.

#### On More Pickups

If the Ho:koku doesn't know when to stop, it will do them good. I heard from a certain party who wrote back from Santa Fe stating that 'This is no place for any of us.' He said he thought that all who are in Santa Fe would be all Japanese, but they are not. He shouldn't complain because he himself claimed to be a real Japanese. Some people I have talked to are rejoicing over the justice that was done to them.

#### Department of Justice Statement

When that statement was put out in messhall 8, for two days the people were crowded around it and reading the news. Many were so interested they were reading it for a couple of days at least.

#### Dillon Myers' Statement of the 29th <sup>1</sup>

Kurihara was utterly disgusted with this statement. In fact, it had annoyed him so much that he composed the following which he gave to me:

December 14, 1944

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DECEMBER 14, 1944

*Ishibashi*  
TALK WITH MR. TOKUNAGA

*Ishibashi*  
Mr. Tokunaga was in good health and very high spirits. He could hardly wait to tell me the good news:

I've heard WRA has called in 18 of the Resegregationists.<sup>1</sup> The people first thought they were arrested by the FBI. All of them are pleased. Excepting those who are members, of course. They want them to be taken away. Kurihara was most pleased of all.

*Ishibashi*  
I then told Mr. Tokunaga that I had heard that Mr. Wakayama had not applied for renunciation of citizenship. Tokunaga was amazed, since Wakayama has been making such a tremendous show of his super-patriotism. He forgot himself far enough to exclaim,

Why, that dirty son-of-a-gun. I thought he renounced it a long long time ago.

The members of the Sokoku are narrow-minded. Many of them were sorry after they signed and found out what was inside. But if they cancel their signatures, they're scared. So they can't cancel their signatures, not even if at the same time they didn't want to be one of them.

I understand that Wakayama and Tachibana have both resigned.

*Ishibashi*  
Tokunaga then asked me if I had heard how Kurihara had stopped Wakayama. I said I had heard some of the details but not all. *Kira*

*Ishibashi*  
Well, said Tokunaga, maybe I shouldn't tell you if Kurihara didn't.

But, said I, Kurihara is such a modest man that he won't tell me because it would seem like boasting.

*Ishibashi*  
Tokunaga agreed that Kurihara would never tell me the full part he played and so he proceeded to give the following account:

*Kira*  
Wakayama was in Terminal Island before the war and so was Kurihara. So they know each other for a long time and Kurihara knows the personality of Wakayama and that he is always for himself only. *Kira*

He knew everything that he did in Manzanar. He knew Kira was a coward. And still he bragged himself. But Kurihara kept quiet as long as Kira didn't do any big wrong. BGC But since Kira's followers had attacked me at night 1. ~~from~~ Mr. Norden, representing the Department of Justice, had arrived at

Tule Lake on December 6 to open hearing for renunciants. ~~xxxxxx~~ When he heard of the Resegregation Groups, he proceeded to investigate ~~the~~ then and interview the leaders.

Kurihara was as mad as a bulldog. He came to me immediately the next day and said he's going to either kill him or have him arrested because he knew everything what he did in the past. I told him to be quiet and to see what will happen in a month or two.

Then a young boy was slashed. And the fellow who attacked him was one of the men who attacked me.

And then Kira tried to attack Kurihara. He planned it and Kurihara found out. And then Kurihara was kind of ~~xxxx~~ alarmed. And one of the Sokoku men, a mean fellow, he and one other went to Kurohara early in the morning. Both went there and stayed there talking until two ~~xx~~ o'clock in the afternoon. And Kurihara said to them, 'I might be attacked and killed, but in the meantime I might kill a couple of you. I dedicate myself to the justice and welfare of ~~the~~ the camp. That's the only way we can keep the peace in the camp. When Utabashi and Amaya were attacked, I was ready to punish Kira. But at the ~~request~~ request of Itabashi and Amaya, I withheld. But now I am ready. And then he told those two men who were representatives of Mr. Kira all that he knew about Kira and his ~~movements~~ movements. He said, "You are having as leader such a man as Kira. Do you know about this? These two men were surprised.

Before this, these two men had said, "As long as we let you alone you shouldn't mind what ~~it~~ happens in camp." ~~Then~~ Then Mr. Kurihara was madder than ever. "What!!!" he said. Then he told them all about Mr. Kira.

And that was Thursday or Friday, The next morning Kira resigned, for the reason that his wife had a baby and there was a lot of work to do in the house. And the baby was born about four months ago.

Ever since Kurihara had told all about Kira a lot of people have found out what he was. The people didn't know (before) and they worshiped him humbly. But now they've found out that he's a coward and just doing everything for publicity.

[On the night of October 30, a young man, whose father (it was said) had spoken against the Resegregationists, was attacked with a knife by a man known to be a follower of Mr. Kira. I asked Mr. Itabashi about this.]

~~Staking~~ ~~min~~ ~~fair~~

Everybody was mad that he was given a light sentence. I understand the boy's father is a Sokoku man. He didn't know the inside of that party was so rotten. <sup>When</sup> ~~Then~~ he found out how rotten the inside was, he was indignant at Kira and was ~~was~~ speaking about it openly. That's why he son was attacked, I heard.

DECEMBER 15, 1944

Matsubara

RESEGREGATIONIST ATTACKED

I was told that

Kodama Sawadas

Heard today from two Caucasian informants that there had been a serious beating in camp. It occurred in the block 54 mess hall at noon. A group of boys attacked a Sokuji man [Kaichiro Miyamoto] with two by fours and beat him up. The Police acted immediately and arrested 11 assailants taking them to the Klamath Falls jail. Kimura, two Yamamotos and two Shitanishi brothers were arrested. ~~Kozaka was taken too.~~ Before the arrests were made leaders of the Sokuji and Ho:koku notified the Administration that if steps were not taken immediately, they would take matters into their own hands. They said they have 1,000 young men to call on. One informant, Mr. Noyes, seems very excited and worried about this. He assured me that he had lost no time in seeing that the assailants were arrested and is now hoping that the Sokoku men will keep hands off. The Sokoku has hinted at possible killing, he told me.

Shirayama

DECEMBER 16, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

On Kuratomi or <sup>Kato</sup> Yoshiyama serving on Internal Security

Personally, I don't think it will work. The Japanese are not foolish enough to take chances. I don't think they'll care to jeopardize their own life. Of course, a lot depends on their influence.

Possibility of Sokoku Seinen-dan going wild

Matsubara

Matsubara

I was informed that the <sup>Kodama</sup> Kimura bunch didn't have anything to do with that beating. The man who was attacked was Miyamoto and his son. And Miyamoto is one of the very ardent supporters of the Ho:shi dan. Now he was beaten by one of the former members of the Seinen dan who was dismissed or asked to resign. And the people who did the beating, although the notice is placed on the bulletin boards, could never have beaten this person. I heard there were only 6 men in the group which attacked Mr. Miyamoto. Matsubara

So there is an internal trouble among themselves.

Tada

There are quite a lot of rumors. That the attacking group was Tsuda's group and Mr. Kimura is considered one of those that did the beating. From the rumors circulating through camp now, Kimura would be

Kodama

Kodama

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(the following is verbatim)

picked up. In reality he's innocent, from inside information.

So I think it's up to the Administration to release these boys. Quite a number of people were right on the spot of the beating and through them the information will leak.

From what I heard, the person who did the beating has spoken before the crowd, openly denouncing the Ho:shi dan policy. He was denounced as a spy and asked to resign and was dismembered. He wanted to know the reason he was dismembered. They couldn't give him the reasons. So the secretary Miyamoto couldn't give the reasons. So the other person beat him. This is nothing but an internal explosion.

*Matsubara*  
I think there will be more trouble. This is the beginning of the disintegration of the organization. If the leaders are picked up now and thrown behind bars the camp will quiet down. If not - the fire has started. It will be depending on the way the wind blows. The whole building will be burnt down.

If the U.S. government wishes to avoid any extra trouble with the Japanese government (and there is bad trouble in camp here), undoubtedly the Japanese government will step in and do something to the United States citizens over there. The trouble is very little now. But if this trouble gets big enough for them to take an interest in, the government here as well as the people will suffer.

#### Attitude of the people on the beating

*Matsubara*  
I think the people are now disgusted to some extent and are glad to see things of that nature (like the beating) happen. If they were opposed to it, I think the men who thrashed Miyamoto would have been mobbed on the very spot. But I heard they stood and listened to what he had to say like a good audience. He made his speech after he had beaten Miyamoto. He spoke against that organization - how crazy they were, etc.

#### Sokoku and gamblers

The Sokoku is against the gamblers so naturally they would invite their opposition. They (Sokoku) have been talking about that for some time. They intended to clean out the gamblers but I don't see why they didn't take the action.

#### Kurihara's Renunciation of Citizenship

I don't want to be questioned again. I've been questioned so much. I don't want to go through that rigmarole again.

#### Kurihara Questions Me

[Mr. Kurihara suddenly asked me how, in November, I had found out that a series of beatings was being planned. I hesitated to tell him, for while I had squared my betrayal of Mr. Yoshiyama with myself, I did not want to mention names and I was afraid that stern-

*Kato*

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principled Mr. Kurihara would think I had behaved like a sneak or, possibly, like an immoral woman. But I felt a strong obligation to him and so, hesitantly, I told him what had happened, adding, 'I was afraid that you would scold me.'] He replied:

Do you think I would scold you when you saved my life?  
Then he smiled and remarked: Young men are certainly foolish.

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Gunderson: Did you tell Mr. Imachi to get out of the block?

Miyamoto: Yes, I did.

Gunderson: How long had you know Mr. Imachi?

Miyamoto: I've known him for a short time.

Gunderson: Do you know who called the police?

Miyamoto: No.

GUNDERSON RECALLS UCHIDA

Gunderson: You stated you live in 32. Someone told you there was a fight in 54. Did you call Internal Security?

Uchida: Yes.

Gunderson: Is there any feeling on your part that this was anything but a personal matter, between Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto?

Uchida: I don't know.

Gunderson: Personally I'm asking - all the witnesses for the prosecution have had clipped heads and all the witnesses for the defense long hair. I'm judging a case between two individuals and not between two political organizations. To the best of your knowledge do you feel it is a personal matter?

Uchida: (Looking indescribably uncomfortable and weebegone) I don't know.

Gunderson: If it were on a larger basis would you be in a position to know?

Uchida: I don't understand. (Asks that question be put into Japanese.)

(Tsuda asks Uchida to put the question to Tachibana.)

Uchida: I'm very sorry but I don't understand. What do you mean by larger?

Gunderson: Is this a personal matter or is it between two groups?

Uchida: I don't know.

Gunderson: You made the telephone call and I wondered if you as an officer had made the call?

Uchida: I know Mr. Miyamoto myself.

UCHIDA DISMISSED - TEN MINUTE RECESS FOR PREPARATION OF HEARING OFFICER'S STATEMENT.

[Here, one page of my notes has been lost.]

DECEMBER 21, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kina

I gave Mr. Kurihara a quick resume of the highlights of the trial, part of which he found very amusing. On the rumor that Wakayama was still active he said:

Why didn't he (Best) chuck him into jail? Giving way to him really makes me disgusted. I've heard that they rounded up the boys with the bugle and summoned the members of the organization. It looks to me as if block 82 (Wakayama's headquarters) was informed immediately. So he immediately summoned the boys who are his ardent supporters. I heard

Kina

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(the following is all verbatim)

*Suguki* that *Genji* led the group on a forced march to block 54. (~~Gad~~ this gets crazier and crazier.) And directed them to take positions at various points. Therefore, *Genji* is acting as *Wakayama's* lieutenant in that block no doubt. After he got there he listened to what Mr. *Imachi* said. After listening he felt there was good sound reasoning back of it. Indirectly he admitted he couldn't order the boys to proceed with the fracas and *Wakayama* at that time was standing far away and taking in the sights. The ridiculous part is that he didn't take part in it. He said he didn't take part in it.

*Kina*

*Suguki*

*Kina's*

*Hanayuchi*

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
 I remarked that most of the people who testified for the Resegregationists had been very poor witnesses at the trial. Some had looked downright terrified.

The Seinen-dan was coerced to go as witnesses. They didn't see all of it or know the story. They were probably picked by the leaders to go and they went without know the true story.

Families Leaving Sokuji Kikoku

I heard many families have resigned. They used to be very strong in block 54. Formerly there were only six families who were not members. But now - today there are only five or six families belonging. In block 25 the members seem to have protested very strongly about some people there and they were asked to resign. One hundred more did resign.

All those who had been asked to resign are willingly resigning or breaking away. Many are breaking away whether they are asked to or not.

My conviction is that there will be more trouble, but probably not on a large scale.

Leaders of Sokuji Kikoku

They're trying their best to keep this down. To what extent they will succeed I don't know. But that man *Wakayama* will continue to agitate and cause trouble. He's insane in that particular way.

What I am afraid of is that in these boys who were released (gamblers) there will be a certain <sup>hard</sup> feeling implanted in their minds through their arrest and that the grouch will not be released until they take action.

*Matsumoto's*  
Part of Imachi's Speech

He said, 'This organization is making hoodlums out of the boys here, a bunch of gangsters. Are you people who are the fathers and mothers of these precious boys going to permit this organization to make hoodlums out of your boys?'

The people that I've talked to are very happy over this. It's wonderful that this has happened. This is the beginning of the end of the organization.

But I hate to see it disband. With a good leader and organized right it would be all right.

In general, the people are rejoicing over the fact.

They tried to make a new start by changing the name of the organization.

FOOTNOTE,

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

I said, 'If you put in a very good leader you won't have to change the name of your organization.'

The more they trust <sup>Kina</sup> ~~Wakayama~~ now the better it will be, because when they finally find out that he isn't what he says he is, the greater will be the repercussions.

### Opening of the Coast 1

There has been quite a disturbance here. Of course we expect that quite a number of people will go out. But the majority will remain.

They seem to know that the Army and the WRA will kick them out anyway. But they're not going out voluntarily.

You'll find probably 99 families out of a hundred are financially embarrassed. If they had any kind of work to go to when they leave, that would be some protection, they might not be so worried. But if they have no work promised - they will be tremendously worried in their minds. You can't blame them for refusing to go out.

I blame the United States government. It ought to know that after three years working for a mere pittance, people can't go out. Many have spent their money and are utterly destitute.

If its a single man like me, I could get any kind of a job. With a family that cannot be done. I could do manual work. If it's permitted me to go back to the coast, I could jump on any boat and make my living as an ordinary fisherman. Or I could be an accountant. But with those who are not trained - - -

Anyway, the United States has done a most disgraceful thing in history. It repeats it again. It is one of the blackest things in the history of the United States.

I'm pretty positive I'll be detained in camp so I have nothing to worry about. Financially I'm provided to leave camp and get along for a year without working.

~~I then asked Kurihara how the people would feel about the release of the eleven boys on parole:~~

~~If the boys are released, we don't care what the verdict is.~~

### TALK WITH NOYES

I knew Noyes would be very excited and communicative after the trial so went over to pick up what I could.

We had a long conference with Tachibana, Kuratomi, Uchida and Tsuda after the hearing at which time it was again explained why the men were being parolled to Sanborn. Sanborn asked Uchida whether he could control his boys. He asked Tachibana whether he could control the situation. They also asked Kuratomi and Tsuda - and Kai and Wakayama were mentioned too. It was explained to the leaders of both sides that if any incident occurred they would all be responsible.

77a.

[On December 27, 70 men, most of whom were officers of the Sokuji Kikoku  
Hōshi dan or the Hōkoku Seinen dan were arrested by the Department of Justice  
and removed to the detention center at Sata Fe.]

FOOTNOTE

1. John L Burling, Assistant Director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Justice Department, had been conducting interviews of persons who had renounced their citizenship.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara was not feeling regretful or sympathetic.

They (Department of Justice) made a pretty clean sweep.

*Bahiro*  
I asked if he thought any one in camp would be capable of committing murder over this. He said nobody he knew would except perhaps Tsutome Higashi, who is an unbalanced fanatic. Higashi, incidentally was the man who stormed into Burling's office and demanded to be seen. He is now the new head of the Ho:koku Seinen-dan (young men's organization). *Masato ISHINO*

I expect a little trouble. There may be threats made. Whether they will be carried out, I can't say, but they will create fear and unrest throughout the camp.

The Administration may figure that since some of the leaders have been picked up, things will quiet down. But I think there will be more troubles.

As to killing - I doubt very much if *OKIMURA* ~~Ishigami~~ said that. He's not that type of person. But undoubtedly, threats have been made.

The people have experienced a little fright after the incident (last November). They are not starving for excitement and will not demonstrate as a mob.

If the gamblers were raided and cleaned out, then the Ho:shi-dan (Resegregation Organization) would come to see that they (~~Kai~~ and ~~Kuratom~~) are not dogs. It depends on who they would bag. *are Kunitani*

Of course, quite a lot of injustice was done in picking up the boys. The boy next door had just joined the Seinen-dan and in less than a month he was picked up. His wife is pregnant and that causes tremendous worries for her as well as him. Although I don't sympathize with none of those boys personally.

Prospects In Santa Fe

*Kina*  
As far as ~~Tachibana~~ and ~~Wakayama~~ are concerned, I foresee if they are quartered in the same barrack in Santa Fe (and there probably will be 30 to 50 men in one barrack) I predict those guys will have a nasty time fighting among themselves. I sure would like to be there and listen to the arguments. It will surely be comic. Undoubtedly ~~Tachibana~~ will blame ~~Wakayama~~ for transforming the organization into a gang of hoodlums and probably ~~Wakayama~~ will blame ~~Tachibana~~ because he didn't have enough guts. Constantly they will fight among themselves. They're caught and in a place where they will experience hardships. Leaving their wives and children like this, they have lots to worry them. *Yamashita*

I suspect something about Mr. Best permitting those boys to organize. In Gila, they had a young men's association. They were engaged in political matters and harming the peace of the camp. Their leaders were sent to Leupp. Afterward Best found out there were many more of the (Gila) Seinen-dan who were loyal

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Wakida

to the U.S. than those who were not. Probably he figured it would be a good thing to have it here too. He consented to Yamashiro and Fukumoto to organize their Seinen-dan here. Then when these guys (Ho:koku-Seinen-dan) approached, he couldn't refuse them. Probably he thought it would be a good thing too. But the doggone thing has grown to such an extent it was a nightmare for a while.

Kina

I would say this, if they didn't have such a person as Wakayama for a leader or an advisor, that organization would have been a wonderful thing. But they had bad leaders so radical in nature they wanted to use the strength of the organization to gain their own power.

People are sympathetic with those who were picked up but they are rejoicing too. To be sympathetic is natural. And that will die out soon. Personally, I think it's a very good riddance.

JANUARY 5, 1945

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

After asking me what had happened to the seventy men picked up and who had picked them up, Mr. Itabashi said:

All I wish is just peace for the camp. Most people are glad that the extremists were ~~xxxx~~ taken out. The trouble is, the cause trouble. Otherwise I haven't any enmity against them.

When we came from Manzanar we heard that about ~~xxxx~~ twenty men were to be killed in this camp.

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Kurihara informed me that very few people were believing the rumors spread about ~~Kai~~ and ~~Kuratori~~ by the Ho:shi-dan. *Kunitani* *che*

Attitude of People Toward Leaving Camp

I have noticed that people are stiffening in their attitude. Last week some were saying, 'If they make us get out, we'll go.' Now they are determined not to leave.

If they use force, undoubtedly they will succeed in kicking them out, but undoubtedly, there will be trouble too. It might be possible to get out *at least 50% of the people.*

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~~At least 50% of the people~~ if they would pay them a part of the damages they have suffered. But the majority of people I have talked to recently, say they're not going out.

If they do force them to go out that will cause trouble and may start litigation. If any attorney would take the case on a contingent basis, probably a suit could get started.

(Kurihara seemed most enthusiastic and convinced of the rightness of starting this suit. He said a good many people have begun to talk about it but action has not crystallized. The people do not know whom to ask for advice. He feels that as things are going the people may wait until actual force is put upon them by WRA, at which time it may be too late.)

#### Notices Put Out by Ho:shi-dan

I noticed their publications in the latrine. But I don't hear any comment. I think the people no longer care about it.

#### Bulletins on Information Put Out By WRA

~~(I haven't been able to get a copy of these bulletins which were released today, since I can't ask Japanese to give them to me. I'll try to get them from Noyes.)~~

Most of them read the bulletins right through and if they don't understand - all right. Many think they understand but they don't.

~~Kai and Kuratomi~~  
Abe Kunitomi

I told Kurihara that I was sure that ~~Kai and Kuratomi~~ <sup>Abe Kunitomi</sup> were going to make another bid for political power. He said he knew this, but added:

When they do that they better look out. If they do stick their heads out so much, they're going to get into deep water. ~~Tsuda's~~ <sup>Tade</sup> reputation is particularly bad.

#### Pick-ups

Many people are <sup>not</sup> speaking very good of the men picked up. They say 'They were agitators and trouble-makers.' It was different when I was picked up in Manzanar. 10,000 people were behind us! They sent gifts to the jail and even to Moab.

#### Kurihara's Hearing

Kurihara told me that he had been called up three times for a hearing by the Army. The second time was a mistake and third time he did not go. He too has been given an order excluding him from the West Coast, the Atlantic Coast and South Arizona.

I could go anywhere else. But my intention is to stay in camp until I'm forced out. If possible, I wish they'd send me to Santa Fe. No matter where it is, they won't get me out because I've sworn before hundreds and hundreds of people to remain in camp and remain a true Japanese. Does anybody think I'll go back on my word? Not if I'm a man!

(Kurihara also informed me that <sup>S</sup>Oppler had come to see him this morning, asking him how the people felt about leaving camp. Kurihara said he had figured out why <sup>S</sup>Oppler finds out so



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JANUARY 5, 1945

UNVERIFIED RUMOR OF IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN A RELOCATION CENTER

The camp buzzed like a hornet's nest today with a rumor that one of the relocation centers ~~has~~risen against the forced closing and the Army has imposed Martial Law and a curfew. Some persons said Minidoka and some said Manzanar. How the rumor got started I was unable to find out.

I called on Kurihara to see if he had heard. He said the people are talking of it all over camp. He was rather satisfied with himself for having predicted trouble yesterday. "And Minidoka is one one of most '~~XXXXXCC6T666TC~~ 'loyal' centers," he said, with grim satisfaction.

He feels sure that this news will ~~xxxx~~ help people make up their minds about how to act here.

When I called, Kurihara was busy composing a letter to Manzanar ~~toxxxxxxx~~ to inquire what steps they are ~~xxxx~~ taking there regarding the compulsory closing. He hinted that he would like to have all the camps get together and hire some first rate lawyer to take up their case.

[There was no foundation to this rumor.]

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Rosalie Hankey Wax

JANUARY 15, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

I asked Kurihara whether in his opinion <sup>Kumitani</sup> ~~Kuratom~~ and <sup>Abe</sup> ~~Kai~~ were of real sociological danger to the camp. He said "No."

Kurihara also told me he had been interviewed by one of the women (on Burling's staff) in renouncing his citizenship. She asked him many questions but he held to his resolution. Now, he supposes, it will be up to the Attorney General.

Closing of Camp

People with large families are worrying themselves to death. After all the wrongs they have done to the Japanese, nothing they do now will do any good. If any kind of troubles break out in any of the camps you will see that it will be contagious. That will rouse the feelings of the public (outside) and then it will not be safe to go out. Right now the Japanese are most afraid of the hardships they are going to face.

Also, a certain rumor is being circulated that five Japanese were killed in Fresno or Stockton. Things like that are not good.

Renunciation of Citizenship

I've seen a lot of young boys very anxious to renounce it. They are talking a great deal about it now. They aren't talking much about relocation.

The people of this camp who renounced their citizenship and also wish to expatriate or repatriate should be kept here for the duration of the war.

I've heard that 95% of the people in the other camps have declared themselves against being relocated, which naturally has surprised Mr. Myer and the other officials.

From that standpoint - you can come to the conclusion - 'Once a Jap, always a Jap.' Regardless as to what the Japanese in the other camps said, when it comes to a showdown, they are Japanese at heart.

My own bitter experience prior to evacuation, I shall not forget. Evacuation was the last straw that broke my patience. When I came back after the first world war and walked the streets in my uniform, they insulted me and called me a Jap.

After this war, there may be a real racial war. And the Japanese boys who remain here believing they are fully Americanized, I'm afraid they're going to meet hell at that time.

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War Situation

A good many people in this camp strongly believe that the tide of the war in the Pacific will change completely. I know that all throughout the camp, the Japanese have been stating this is the turning point of the war. They have led America into a trap. We are looking forward to the battle of Luzon which is going to be the last chance of the United States ever to conquer Japan.

I look to 1945 as the last year of the war. If things go bad for the Allies, June will tell the story.

Ho:shi-dan

One of the Ho:shi-dan leaders is coming to see me as to why I object to the Ho:shi-dan. I'm prepared to give him plenty. Of course it all depends on how he acts. If he acts like a gentleman, I'll treat him like a gentleman. If they corrected themselves, they could get somewhere. But if they try to bully me, they'll make a mistake.

There are now only two in this block connected with the Ho:shi-dan. And there are only eight in block 8.

Letter from Santa Fe

I heard that a boy wrote from Santa Fe saying, 'After we were picked up, and sent away there sure must have been a lot of trouble in this camp.' They expected the camp to be turned upside down. But it was very quiet.

~~... Kurihara questioned about my visits - Having inn  
around keeps everybody on edge -~~

JANUARY <sup>22</sup> 13, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Effect of Burling's Visits on Renunciation of Citizenship

No, whether Mr. Burling came or not, the intention of many of us from the very start was that we wanted to renounce our citizenship. All those who came here came with the intention of going to Japan. If they are going to Japan, American citizenship is of no use to them. A number of the boys I've talked to, they don't care to hold dual citizenship rights and they want to make it clear on which side of the fence they are standing.

Pressure From the Ho:shi-dan

Undoubtedly, pressure from the Ho:shi-dan caused some people to renounce their citizenship. As to the number, it is very hard to state.

Change in Attitude in Leaders of the Ho:shi-dan

A good majority of them are waking up to the fact that what the leaders were trying to make them believe was not the true Japanese spirit. Then they are worrying. Because in many of the blocks about 2/3 of the members have quit the organization.

The leaders are getting more sensible. After the first bunch were arrested the second bunch who were installed have brought up the subject; heretofore we should act more reasonably and in a gentlemanly manner. Today they are advising the boys not to go around and boast themselves as true Japanese just because they belong to the organization. They also have decided to conduct the organization in a very gentlemanly way. But amongst them there are a few hot-heads who still want to parade as if they were true Japanese.

I believe more injustice will be done if most of these men were picked up.. I firmly believe the majority of the leaders today are more conservative. If they are picked up an injustice will be done there. After this bunch is picked up, I'm almost convinced, probably 99% of the hotheads will be picked up. The next bunch will be a more responsible and co-operative bunch.

Burling's Proposed Statement

That statement should come out. We Japanese people are accustomed to discipline and respect discipline. A stern and just administration will find full co-operation.

Leaving Camp

The majority of people in Tule Lake believe they don't have to go out. They will not change their minds. Why should we come here in the first place if we didn't want to renounce our citizenship? Of course they're staying here.

95% of the residents of the other camps have expressed themselves as unwilling to leave the camp. That's a statement that came to me in a letter.

(Since I wished to check the reliability of this statement I pressed Kurihara a little farther for the source.)

This was the decision made at a meeting held by the block managers. (He would tell me no more.)

(Incidentally, I am sure that none of the people in the colony have any idea how many persons have renounced their citizenship. Estimates would probably go as high as 3,000, no more.)

The true motive behind the renunciation of citizenship is that they don't want to get out. They want to remain in camp for the remainder of the war. When WRA comes to realize their mistake, it will be too late.

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Rosalie Hankey Wax

(Kurihara had not heard about the rumor that the Department of Justice would take over the camp on the 20th.)

But there is a rumor in camp that the new leaders of the Ho:shi-dan were to be picked up on the 21st.

#### Co-op

There was no pressure or trouble behind the resignation of the officers. I know about that. They wanted to be released because they had done their duty and they wanted to give somebody else a chance to run the Co-op and see how they like it and be informed. Within the board there has been no disturbance of disagreement or any heated argument.

#### On Getting Out of Camp

We don't want to get out. We want to stay here and nobody is going to throw us out.

#### General Feeling in Camp Now

The people seem free from fear and there is no unrest in camp except the rumor that after the next bunch is picked up a certain person will get thrashed (Kai?). Minor troubles may take place but nothing is stirring in the camp.

#### Talk With Best

Mr. Best wanted to put me on the free list. I said, 'Whatever you do I will appreciate it but just because you put me on the free list doesn't mean anything. I have absolutely no intention to go out.' If they put me on the free list, I may be forced to go out.

Once the Japanese have it in for you, they'll never forget.

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#### CHAT IN LIBRARY

While talking with several people [Japanese Americans] in the library I found that they all expected a statement from the WRA today, having been informed that the government's policy toward Tule would be decided by the 20th. No statement has come out and I haven't heard of any on its way.

#### EXCHANGE SHIP NEWS

The Caucasians are much disturbed by this news. It is being said that the statement about Japan wishing to have an exchange ship refers especially to Tule Lake. I haven't seen the statement yet. If it's true, Burling will have to change the statement he planned to issue tomorrow or the day after. In it, he stated categorically that the chances for an exchange ship were infinitesimal.

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JANUARY 28<sup>th</sup> 1945

[On January 24, Mr. Norden of the Department of Justice notified 171 male members of the Resegregation Groups that they were to be interned in two days. On the same day he had mimeographed copies of a letter to the chairman of the ES Hokoku and the XXXX Hoshi dan posted in all the messhalls. In this letter he condemned the activities of the Hokoku members and the Hoshi dan elders who "encourage the activities of the young men." He concluded with the warning that "since these activities are intolerable, they will ~~xxxxx~~ not be tolerated, but on the contrary, will cease."]

[I did not know that Norden had scheduled an interment and so, on January 25, I went to see my friends the Wakidas, intending to ask them how people felt about Norden's statement.]

On my way to the Wakidas I noticed people standing about in groups and talking. When I knocked on the Wakidas' door, Sally's mother opened it, took my arm and quietly pulled me inside. [George and Sally made signs of silence and both looked very anxious.] They told me the notice of another interment had just come out and that the people in their block had accused them of being inu because I came to visit them. I offered to leave but they asked me to stay. That afternoon I wrote letters to my respondents, asking them to tell me when I might visit them.

JANUARY 30, 1945

LETTER FROM KURIHARA

After my disturbing interview with the <sup>Wakidas</sup> Yamashiros last Thursday, I wrote to Kurihara asking him if it were safe to call.

Dear Miss Hankey:

There is no tensivity in camp that warrents caution. At least I do not feel the need of it.

<sup>Also</sup> Mr. Doi was released with several others to the rejoicement of many. I know of two others for whom I wanted to intercede, but finally back-out because I came to conclusion several months of close association with those bunch of hot heads will do them incalculable good.

You may call whenever you wish.

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January 31, 1945

DISSERTATION

We, who are residents of Tule Lake do not share in the rejoicement of Mr. Ickes and that of Mr. D. S. Myer. The lifting of the Ban does not mean a thing to us. We came here with one thought in mind, that is to be 100 per cent Japanese and nothing else. For that reason we have renounced our allegiance to the U. S. and today, literally 100 per cent of the Niseis of this Center have applied to renounced their citizenship.

We are not fence sitters. We have most positively declared ourselves heart and soul Japanese, and as Japanese we wanted to be treated in every way respect. After we have applied for Expatriation, and after we have unequivocally renounced our allegiance to the U. S. why should we be considered anything else?

Mr. Ickes and Mr. Myer are abysmally ignorant of the Japanese hereditary character. Their rejoicement is an untold sufferings to us. We flatly refuse to entertain their interpretation and flattery in any shape or form. We are Japanese and as Japanese we shall and will remain. We do not wish to be freed for the duration of the war. We have and will refuse to assist this country in the prosecution of this war.

At the outbreak of the war, <sup>we</sup> were branded as unloyals, fifth columnists, and as saboteurs. On the strength of these flimsy charges, we were corralled without even the benefit of a doubt. Now that the country is facing a critical shortage in man-power, she is not only forgetting the shameless violation of our Constitutional Rights, but is again deliberately ignoring our renunciation and declaration to save her miserable carcass. She absolutely has no definite policy. Like the Democracy she preaches, it is applied to suit her conveniences as the occasion requires.

The blunder that this government had committed is so great, nothing will ever wipe it off from the pages of history. After three years of suppression, she now tells us, revocation of citizenship in itself or the fact that any resident has applied for repatriation which clearly indicate his loyalty to Japan, will not be regarded by any Government Agency as grounds in itself for detention. We, who could not be trusted and were corralled could now be trusted even in the defense plants after we have sworn severance. What a government! Oh! what a Government!

We Japanese were economically self supporting, but our economical foundation was up-rooted beyond repair and after rendering us destitute through years of servitude she plans to close and force ~~us~~ us out without reparation. Such is the American justice. We had enough of it. Therefore we niseis have gladly renounced our American Citizenship. A right only in name is better without. The American Democracy is a monstrous mockery. It belongs to the Whites only. It is not for me or for my kinds.

The damages which we have suffered are incalculable. The economical foundation which our fathers have built through years of hardships and deprivations was up-rooted in a merciless sweep over night. It has bankrupt every one of us to such an extent that none of us can ever re-establish ourselves within a generation or two.

In the face of such pitiful predicament, the most generous W. R. A. is priding itself over the presentation of \$25.00 to those who leave the camp, instead of with \$2500.00 which is a mere fraction of our loss. Let this be

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another American Justice which will shame the coming American generations of this hypocrite America.

In my article entitled, "Niseis and the U. S. Government," written at Isupp, Arizona, during the summer of 1943 clearly states that when the U. S. government come to realize her mistake, it will be too late. She has awoken from the dastardly error committed, but she ignores the damages. In the face of such unpardonable error deliberately committed, does this government expect our co-operation to carry out her plan of relocation? If there is any compunction in her heart, let her re-imburse our losses now. If America is really and truly proud of her Democracy, this is the time to right the wrong.

We who gladly renounced our allegiance to these U. S. were loyal before Evacuation. It is also true that the Japanese Government instructs us to be loyal to the country of our birth. Then what has made us changed? Discrimination through jealousy; Persecution through hatred; and finally deprivation of our Constitutional Rights through Evacuation, which was the last straw that broke our patience. Who in this world with any spunk of manhood in him, wouldn't?

We Japanese are of a proud race whose culture and history dates back to time immemorial. In due respect to those who founded Nippon, we cannot and we will not submit ourselves to Western bigotry any longer. We will uphold her tradition with every ounce of our might. Henceforth, let America understand and guide her destiny with prudence. Even the humble Negroes will some day rise. They too have fire in their blood. In the face of what has been done to us, we have revolted. Please do not call us unloyals. We are seeking consolation in the realm of our fatherland Nippon.

Unshamefully Mr. Iokes and Mr. Myer speak of jobs available in war plants. Much as we wanted to work and produce in every line of industry, we were turned down with contempt. Now that this country has reached the bottom of her man power, we are enticed to seek opportunities in defense plans, enemy-aliens or not. Our day of appreciation is over. We care not to work. Let this nation suffer in the mire of her making, never to rise again.

We and the world know that America is bankrupt, pitifully short of man-power and is on the verge of collapse. There is no reason why we should now come to her assistance and save her from national humiliation. We view it with deep satisfaction. It will be an act of mercy if we only could help to end her agony with a little push.

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FEBRUARY ~~XXXXXX~~ 7, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

On Attitude of Ho:koku Young Men

We've talked to them but they don't want to believe. They get so arrogant and stubborn. We've talked to them. They think it's a great chivalrous thing to do. They don't want to believe what we tell them. They must find it out for themselves.

Kurihara told me that <sup>Shitanishi</sup>Shiroyama, whom, I believe, was one of the Ho:koku officers was a decent boy and really shouldn't have been taken.

<sup>Hara</sup>  
On Kawada - New President of Ho:koku Seinin-dan

I hear that he threatened to kick each and every boy out of the organization if they continued to make trouble and make threats. In a way, it looks to me as if he's the type which will cooperate with the Administration or he may be forced by the members to carry on the activities in such a manner as to hurt the feeling of the authorities. He made that statement at the



ordered the arrest of 650 members of the Resegregation Groups.

On this occasion the president of the Hōkeku was authorized to call an emergency meeting of the members. Answering bule calls, the young men of the organization assembled immediately and each of those listed for removal accepted<sup>h</sup> personal notice of internment.<sup>1</sup>

1. "The Spoilage," p. 357

February 12  
On the ~~same evening~~ the WRA Internal Security raided the headquarters of the Resegregation Groups, confiscating a Japanese flag, Japanese posters, ~~the safe~~  
a safe, and other materials. ]

~~and interment of 650 members of the Resegregation Groups. 7~~

FEBRUARY 13, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Those rumors are being heard throughout the camp. It has a tremendous effect. People are joining the Ho:koku. It's going over like a wild fire. Those who were strongly opposed to the Ho:koku are trying everything to get in it. The membership is growing by leaps and bounds.

The membership was decreasing very rapidly but this rumor in the form of propaganda has spread throughout the camp. It began about Saturday morning.

Several people have come around to see me and ask for advice. Instead of giving them advice I gave them hell for

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(the following is all verbatim)

not being able to judge the situation for themselves. Because it's nothing but outright lies which ordinary common sense would tell.

The people are in a quandary and don't know what to do. They just follow the mob. I told them, 'Your group are like a bunch of sheep.'

Reaction To Latest Big Pick-up

[February 11]

There doesn't seem to be anybody grieving about it.

An Americanization program will create a tremendous reaction against the Administration. Everybody will rise against it.

They're getting serious on those things too late. If they are going to try some drastic methods in stopping it, they will find opposition. If any Japanese steps away from the Ho:koku he will be called a hikekumin (unpatriotic) - a traitor to Japan.

WRA doesn't want to understand the Japanese people and doesn't study them enough. If a man hasn't any knowledge of people, he will continually make mistakes.

The hold of the Ho:koku is very strong now. They have taken root. The Administration must see that fact right now, because this thing is contagious. Other camps are getting excited about it too. To what extent they will follow, I don't know. The nearer the day approaches to leave the camp, the group will solidify itself and there will be trouble.

A statement should be made that such rumors spreading in the camp are not true, that those who have renounced their citizenship will be recognized as aliens and will not be drafted. That should be made to ease the feelings of the people here.

I wouldn't blame any of the parents here for not wanting to have their sons serve in the United States Army. To prevent that they will go to any extent. These parents are advising their sons to join the Ho:koku-dan to avoid being drafted. They are taking the safer side.

I gave those parents hell for being so jittering and not having a mind of their own. Renunciation is the only idea. Parents want their sons and daughters to renounce so that they can go to Japan with them. It's fantastic in a way. I believe it's in the blood of those boys that they will stick with their own kind.

Another rumor which has brought on this change of mind is that whoever joins the Ho:koku-dan will be the first to go to Japan.

If the exchange ship were to come and would take back only those who have stayed here quietly and obeyed the laws - boy - it will be a blow to the Ho:koku.

Picking Up The Women

It will be a nice thing. I shouldn't say so because it sounds cruel. I was surprised that some of the women should take such an active part. If they are picked up I believe they will resign from the Ho:koku.

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Some of the men in this camp should be picked up and confined for the good of the Japanese people as a whole, for the good of the camp and for the Japanese.

Remarkable Statement on Ambivalence

The trouble with most of the Japanese in this camp or in any other camp is that their mind is not made up. They swing from one side to the other. They will fluctuate.

News From Santa Fe Internee - Probably Ueda

A man from Santa Fe brought back the news that the boys sent there have already divided into two and are asking for resegregation. They will fight unendingly and continuously.

*abo (See January 28)*

Kurihara also told me that Doi had been to see him and told him that he was really afraid to go back to block 59 and live there. Kurihara invited him to come and live with him, but Doi is still sticking it out in block 59.

*abo*

A very decent hard working boy was picked up in our block. He was very pleasant and easy to get along with. I asked him if he belonged to the Ho:koku. He said 'Yes, I belonged but I didn't partake in any of their activities.' 'Why didn't you resign?' I said. 'I didn't think it was necessary,' he said.

Another reason I think many of the young boys are joining is that when they leave here hundreds and hundreds of people come out to see them out. It gives them such a chivalrous feeling, seeing the boys being sent away with such a big farewell and such public acclaim. 'I must be the next one and be that way,' they say. That's a crazy idea which I don't see. Young boys' blood boils like that.

*Kina*

*Nakano*

*Noma*

*Amaya*

Kurihara then told me that Shimada, who was arrested in the knifing case several months ago, was Wakayama's right hand man and had lead the beatings of Hitomi's brother, Merimoto and of Aritaka and Tokunaga. I told Kurihara that Shimada was scheduled to go out of camp on the next trip. Kurihara said,

*Nakano*

*Amaya*

*Itabeshi*

Well, then I guess I can get rid of this.

Thereupon he went to the back of his room and pulled out from the corner the wickedest looking weapon I have ever seen. It was a bludgeon with a piece of curved pipe attached to it by a cord. He told me that he carried this with him whenever he went to his Japanese military singing classes, since he knew that since Shimada came back from jail, Shimada was going to take it out on him. He also told me that the two large rocks on his desk (about the size of baseballs) could be used in case of attack. On the shelf near at hand was another convenient pile of rocks. Shimada must indeed be a bad egg.

*Nakano*

Thereupon he asked me to buy him half a dozen shirts and two towels in Klamath Falls which I said I would do at the earliest opportunity.

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FEBRUARY 13, 1945

TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN, PROJECT ATTORNEY

*Goodman*  
Following Kuratomi's request I went to see Noyes, <sup>and</sup> told him about the rumors, and passed on the advice given by Kuratomi. Noyes was in a receptive mood and stated that a proper statement would come out in the next Newell Star which will be released Thursday. The Department of Justice has also prepared a statement. Noyes also informed me that he had met with the officers of the Ho:shi-dan and the Ho:koku-dan this morning (these are new officers). The men appeared to be utterly stunned by the raid of Monday night. He was also impressed with the information that people were still worried about what would happen to them after January 1, of 1946. He told me that the Administration here had asked for a clear statement from Myer stating that the people in Tule Lake were not to be pushed out at all. But Myer had come back with the compromise statement of January 29, which appears to have done little if any good.

The Ho:shi-dan men wished to know why their office had been raided.

Because your activities are unlawful, said Noyes. *Goodman*

"Why are they unlawful?", they asked, saying that they had received no warning. Noyes asked them if they had not read Burling's statement. They said they had not read it because it had been torn down from the messhall board. *Goodman*

Yes, said Noyes, By members of your organization. *Goodman*

Noyes told me several times that they appeared stunned and dumbfounded. They had immediately sent telegrams to the Spanish Consul about the raid, which was how Noyes got the names of their newest officers. Minoru Hinoki is president of the Ho:koku and Shigeyoshi Kawabata is president of the Ho:shi-dan. Noyes told the group of officers that if they would go back to the colony, dissolve their organization, and live as peaceful citizens, everything would be all right. *Goodman*

If you are true Japanese, he said, you are going to help your people live in peace and security. *Goodman*

They asked if they could continue their exercises. Noyes stated that exercises of militaristic character would not be permitted. Any exercising they wished to do with the approval of Community Activities would be all right.

Bugle playing and ceremonies are going to cease. You ask me how, but I'm just warning you.

He also told the men that the women might be picked up and that they would be put in separate internment camps and not reunited with their families.

There is not going to be any Ho:shi-dan or any Ho:koku-dan. It's all over.

~~The group wanted to meet with Noyes again in the afternoon, but he said he did not have the time.~~ *Goodman*

The group asked for the return of their beautiful Japanese flag and when they were told this could not be granted they asked Noyes to burn it in their presence. They have refused to open the safe, until they hear from Washington about the disposition of the flag. One of the signs picked up in the Ho:shi-dan headquarters stated that it was not permissible to speak English there and that any violator would be fined at the rate of one cent a word.

FEBRUARY 19, 1945 <sup>96.</sup>

[On February 19, I made the following comment in my notes.]

The activities of the Hōkeku have by no means quieted down. On the contrary they have become noisier than ever. Long and loud early morning ~~bugling~~ bugling continues and occasionally the group drills in mid-afternoon. The Number of participants, ~~mmmmmmmm~~ is, however, depleted. Mr. Wilson of Internal Security tells me he counted about 65 in the afternoon drill, and many of these were children.]

February 20, 1945

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

FEBRUARY 20, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara opened the talk by giving me a letter to Mr. Best, which cleared the status of a boy whom Kurihara said,

had been high pressured into joining the Ho:koku and was now afraid that his name had not been taken off the membership rolls.

This last bunch who joined the Ho:koku-dan joined mainly to escape the draft. In Manzanar it is really bad.

Yesterday I was snooping around in the Manzanar district. The point is, that some of the boys in that district are smart. Some of them when they found out that they had been misled, they were going to beat up those who had told them the falsehoods. They had a block meeting in block 76 to prevent the boys from beating up the agitators.

Kurihara had been present at the raid. He said,

I heard 50 had been sent to jail. So far I have heard no objections to the jailing.

Effect of Statement

*Spindler [by Dept. Justice]*  
Mr. Rothstein issued a statement which cleared the doubts among many people. On account of that, many have been reconsidering and quitting the organization.

Effect of First Raid on Ho:koku Headquarters - February 12

Many people who are against the Ho:koku - I hear they are glad it was done. It scared some of the Issei too. Many Issei who were advising the Ho:koku are resigning or wanting to resign. As I see it, those people who have been pulling strings from the rear ought to be sent away regardless of whether they resign or not.

The meeting about beating up the agitators came about because of Mr. Rothstein's statement - it was held the day before yesterday (Sunday) in block 76.

*Spindler*

Fate of Persons in Santa Fe

I heard quite a number are applying for parole. I was going to suggest this: if any of them are going to be paroled, half a dozen or a dozen or so can come back to camp - those who are nice boys. They'll spread the news of what took place in Santa Fe after they got there. That will help the parents here to make up their minds, regarding their

sons. The people here really don't know what Santa Fe is like. They think it is a fine, safe place for their sons. When they hear the true story, they'll think twice.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara too, Blames Recent Panic on Issei

Kurihara opened the boy who Kurihara said - It's the Isseis who are at fault right now and I know in many cases the sons and daughters signed up although they had made up their minds not to join. The parents are forcing them to join through pressure.

Kurihara then made a few minor corrections or rather suggestions in the manuscript I had allowed him to read. I asked him about the mysterious threat made after the murder of Hitomi and he loosened up so far as to tell me that the threat was made by Wakayama to his henchmen and that it leaked around pretty fast and that it was a specific threat against the life of a Caucasian should the verdict of the Okamoto court martial be unfavorable. For this reason, Kurihara had warned me. [See fieldnotes, July 4 and July 17.]

Kina Yamashita  
Wakayama's and Tachibana's Activities of August to October 1944

Kina Yamashita  
Wakayama and Tachibana spoke in the mess halls and the auditorium and they appeared to be great speakers and well educated. They had the cleverness of fooling the Isseis with their manner of thinking. The Isseis fell in love with their way of expressing themselves - so like a great man that they thought they were great men. Many believe in them very sincerely. There is where most of the fault is.

Activities in Santa Fe

Yesterday I heard that men sent to Santa Fe from the Ho:koku are writing to their families here, asking them to apply for transfer to Crystal City.

The people should be informed of the delay in rejoining their families and it will make them stop and think. It's fairer to give them a good warning first, than to have them get in a mess and treat them cruelly thereafter.

I also heard that they have moved food for 150 men into block 99.

(This may mean another pick-up or it may be preparations for housing Ho:koku people in the new stockade.)

Kurihara then gave me two articles he had written over the week-end.

FEBRUARY 28, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

I asked Kurihara about the rumor of the boys from Santa Fe returning here. He corroborated it:

The boys in Santa Fe say they expect to be back in camp within a month. That rumor has been circulating for a week or more. Where do they get that idea? I've heard quite a few have applied for parole.

If it's possible to bring back ten or twelve boys to the camp they will spread the disagreement among themselves, how they acted. They really weren't acting as true Japanese. By giving the rest of the boys in camp such information, these boys here would stop to think. It will help them to make up their mind.

That was my experience when I was in Moab and Leupp, that the officials made a big mistake not to send some of the boys back to the centers. There was disagreement among the boys in Moab who came from the various centers. I've noticed each and every group has split in two and fought among themselves.

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The officials at Santa Fe or Bismark ought to know whether those persons should be sent back. They could check their names.

#### Discussion on Ambivalence

We now went into a discussion on "loyalty" and here I really had to respect Kurihara more than ever for his honesty. I had made the statement in a recent part of my manuscript that at least 90% of the people professing loyalty to Japan were not really loyal. I said Kurihara might differ with me. He did, going into quite a speech and insisting that 85% of the Japanese in this country were loyal to Japan. I said,

That is true as far as affection and respect for the old country is concerned. But - how many of the Japanese in this country would be willing to enter the Army and die for the emperor or would be willing to give their lives as is the duty of every Japanese civilian?

Kurihara took this like a man, thought a minute and said,

You're right. Then he said:

The Issei are really on the fence. If it looks as if Japan is going to win - they jump to Japan. If it looks as though things will go the other way, they will jump the other way. To speak honestly, I was surprised to see how many Japanese can't make up their minds what they are going to do.

Many Issei and families are forcing their sons to join the Ho:koku-dan merely to escape the draft. I told them, when they get back to Japan they will use some means to keep their sons out of the Japanese Army. They were very surprised to hear me say that.

#### Internments and Relocation

Are they going to permit the boys in Santa Fe and Bismark to relocate under parole if they should apply?

I asked Kurihara what led him to ask me this question.

I think 50% of them will try to get out within the next six months. I predicted this, and if the government is not going to let them out, why my prediction won't count. If they are let out, when the leaders get to Japan, they're going to have a terrible time to explain.

#### Wakayama and the Co-op

I asked about <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama and the Co-op.

What really happened was that they asked me to take the job as Co-op treasurer. <sup>Nishimi</sup> <sup>Matsumura</sup> ~~Komiyama~~, ~~Fujizawa~~ and ~~S?~~ asked me

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to take it. I was about to take it when Mr. <sup>Matsubara</sup> Fujizawa came out with the statement, 'I've spoken to Mr. <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama with regard to your appointment and he OKed it.' So I made up my mind I'm not accepting it. I said to myself, 'Why must I be approved by Mr. <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama to get the job?' If such is the case and people believe it must be so, I turned it down flat.

<sup>Kina</sup> Then I also know that <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama had quite a number of henchmen - between twenty and fifty - who called themselves the Seigi-dan. That means a group which fights for justice. (Here I could not help breaking into laughter in which Kurihara joined.) He had this bunch here to back up anything the officials of the Co-op said or did. They were the strong arm which <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama was going to use so that what he wanted to do through the officials of the Co-op would be turned out. This bunch, the Seigi-dan was composed of San Pedro boys. So when he intended to give me a little thrashing, this bunch, knowing me, had refused to carry out his order.

<sup>Shitinishi</sup> Mr. <sup>Kina</sup> Shiroyama at that time made the statement that if <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama gave the order to come and beat me up he will defend me with his life. He was assistant block manager in 82, a young fellow, and dragged into the Ho:koku.

<sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama was trying to be a Toyama Mitsuru here. (1)

In messhall 8, Mr. <sup>Okimura</sup> Ishigama stated (in late October) that the organization (Ho:koku) wasn't for Mr. <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama and that he didn't have anything to do with it. And also at the meeting in block 4 (October 21) Mr. Tachibana stated that the organization didn't belong to <sup>Kina</sup> Wakayama. <sup>Yamachita</sup>

MARCH 3, 1945

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

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

CORRECTIONS - SEPTEMBER

9  
and Mr. Takahashi went  
had various meetings  
Secretary were already  
XXXXXX  
the work of  
11 continuing  
3 p.m. meeting held  
Hawaiian  
p. 12.  
XOI

DONE

[On March 4, the Department of Justice ~~xxxxxxx~~ arrested and internment an additional 165 men.]

...the ... of ...

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

March 12, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

The prevailing rumor is that <sup>Kira</sup>Wakayama has made an application to be returned to Tule Lake. There is also a rumor that Reverend ~~Tsuha~~ <sup>Aramaki</sup> has already left Santa Fe - has relocated.

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

Letters From Santa Fe

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

Reaction To Salt Lake City Conference

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

Rumor of Next Pickup

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

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

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

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

Yamato Seinen-dan

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

<sup>Kubo</sup> ~~Kitadanai~~ was <sup>Tada</sup> ~~Tsuda's~~ bodyguard.

Ho:koku and Relocation

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

Relocation

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

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

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

How To Really Stop The Ho:koku

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

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

MARCH ~~XX~~ 16, 1945

[ On March 16 the WRA announced that all <sup>of</sup> Resegregationist activities were unlawful and punishable by imprisonment:

It has been the WRA policy at the Tule Lake Center to permit Japanese ~~XXXXX~~ social and cultural activities except when they lead to disturbing the peace of the community. ~~XXXXX~~ This policy will continue in effect. However, activities which are carried on under the ~~xx~~ guise of social or cultural objectives and which lead directly or indirectly through inducement, persuasion, coercion, or intimidation and other action in the promotion of Japanese nationalistic and anti-American activities, and the disruption of peace and security within the center, whether by individuals, groups or organizations, will not be tolerated.<sup>1</sup> 7

1. Tule Lake Segregation Center, Special Project Regulations, March 16, 1944.

MARCH 17, 1945

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

Announcement of ~~the~~ "Regulations"

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

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

MARCH ~~XXXX~~ 17, 1945

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

[ After discussing the situation in the camp at ~~xxxx~~ length, I told Mr. Itabashi that I had heard that Mr. Yamashita had been placed on the garbage detail in Santa Fe. He said: ]

He belongs there.

[ He then told me that he had ~~xxxx~~ visited Mr. Yamashita after he (Itabashi) had been beaten. ]

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

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

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