

10:4

Notes

83/115  
C



JAPANESE --

My grandparents came to U.S. to stay -  
some didn't dare to back to old country -

Many Japanese - ~~roughly 50,000~~ came generation later - as several explained  
with a five year plan - work terribly hard - ~~make~~  
enough money to be well to do in Japan and return  
kept becoming 10 - 15 - 20 year plan -

by 1940s -- about 80,000 young people born in U. S.  
Born in Japan - Issei - first gen.  
U.S. Nisei - second generation --

Since parents hoped so hard to return -  
forced their children to go to Jap. language school - learn  
W. if could afford it sent some back to J. to  
be education -- called kibe  
literally - returned to America -  
in usage -- Japanese manners - spoke J. fluently -

Even more J. immigrated to ~~Jap~~ - really established -  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the population -  
Hawaii -

~~Nisei~~ Japn. Nisei were older - had served in World War I -  
More self-assured - ~~more~~ - took it for granted were  
American - you did not push a Hawaiian Jap. around.

In 1930's - Japanese Americans in U. S. two disadvantages --

1. Ironically - because worked so hard - ~~hard~~ saved - efficient  
especially in farming - ~~more~~ more successful than White farmers  
~~more~~ some White farmers very hostile -

Those dirty Japs they work so hard they ~~make money~~  
a white man can't make an honest living -

Irony because contrast to Indians -

Teachers - Bureau always telling Indians if you'll only work hard  
and save - get ahead - problems solved --  
Hah!

2. Second problem -- Sino-Japanese war -- Japan taking over Manchuria  
treating Chinese brutally --  
general feeling - Japanese militarists - dangerous bunch -

In 1941 I was 29 - grad student - at U. of Calif -

For several years - everybody I knew somehow hoping we could avoid  
war - Nazi Germany seen as big threat - also worried about  
Japanese taking over in Asia -

Dec. 7, 1941 - writing a term paper - Sunday - radio music - Japanese  
planes bombed Pearl Harbor - battleships - hundreds killed  
surprise attack -

Declaration of war -- blackout -- rationing - mandatory courses  
for war effort -- Oriental history and first aid -  
Vivid memory of Landlady -- Japs will land and we'll all be raped.

Precisely how it came about that Fed. govt. decided to take ~~an~~ unlawful and  
appalling step of internment all the Japanese Americans on west ~~coast~~  
coast will probably never know --

Morton Grodins - placed most blame on Calif. farm pressure groups and  
newspapers -- (read)  
also were voices raised against -- 18-19.



Recent years -- young historians - trying to show it was the military --Commanding Ge  
John Burling ~~xxx~~ Asst. to Attorney General told me that major factor had  
been overwork and confusion - each dept. in govt. believed others  
had approved it --

~~ONEXIX~~

Though Army rep rt - sounds as if General DeWitt weally ~~was kept speaking~~  
was one to initiate swauwking -- kept harping and harping --

Sec. of War - Dept of Justice - agreed

President signed executive order - auutorizng Sec. of War to  
preserbie r stricive areas -- frdm which any alnd all person  
to be excluded --

Final R<sup>c</sup> mmendations of the Commanding Gene al - Western Defense command and Fourth  
Army - Submitted to the Sec of Wa - Feb. 14, 1942 --

Read p. 14 --

Applieed to Areas on Pacific Coast -- not others in country -- never to German, or  
Italian -



FIELD WORK IN JAPANESE CENTERS

24.

I<sup>st</sup> Spring - after Pearl Harbor -

Army High command - interned all persons of Jap. descent  
~~so through~~ in Calif.  
so through - even  $\frac{1}{4}$  Jap. eskimo interned -

Had committed not acts of treason (Hawaiians not) -

Pressure by Californian farmers and conservatives -- pushed through  
before ~~the~~ calmer heads prevailed --

More than half were American citizens -

I being of German descent - thought this ~~was~~ unfair - nobody listened  
some very very nasty -

Reasoning of General DeWitt -- The Japanese race is an enemy race -  
There is no reason for not assuming that any Japanese will not turn  
against this nation when the final test of loyalty comes.. The very fact  
that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming  
indication that such action will be taken.

34 - Army's ~~Final Report~~ Final Report on Evacuation -

signed by Sec. of War and Marshall the chief of staff.

Picked up Great loss - *economic - education - psychological abuse*

Assembly centers -- relocation centers - in most god-forsaken parts  
of country - Ariz. desert - Arkansas, Utah - Tule Lake  
Modoc wild goose country - *dangerous -*

*Life in home states - better outside -*

Life in centers - not torture - but just horribly uncomfortable - *and*  
very crowded - employment - 10 to 18 a month - generally bum food -  
*humiliating*

supposed to have community council -- ~~xxx~~ experience in democracy  
only Nisei - permitted to serve - very young -  
besides given no power anyway --

Some young people still remained passionately attached to U. S.  
believed what they were told - this had to be--

Others - took more practical view -

life in America might be impossible - after war -

life in Japan not much better - depended on relatives and contacts  
sensible wait and see attitude -

Very imp. - Administrators - WRA - ~~xxx~~ heads and members of study  
even half dozen Japanese in centers - did not appreciate this

*ambivalent - undecided - a torture*

~~Believed just like us ideal Americans and not for xxxxxx~~

Racists had said - all Japs treacherous -

Liberals - retorted - no just like us ideal Americans -  
give life and limb for country --

Had I started work then as outside -- bad enough - but come in at beginning  
make out --

But I started after other things done to ~~xxx~~ them --

Army having got these people on their hands - turned over to

WRA -- main job - how in the world to get them off -- *sent to Interior*  
relocate the good in America - lock up the bad or send them back to  
Japan --

Had a great idea -- *Require interned* ~~Force~~ all Japanese to fill out a questionnaire-



Meanwhile - having impounded all these people -- 126,000 --

War Rel. At or -- Dept. of Interior --

How - in what way to ~~reintroduce them~~ replace them in American society -  
crudely - how get them off their hands -- worrisome example of Amer. Incians

Concern with how ~~Americans~~ other Americans would receive them - is sent to  
non-western areas --

Concern so that any who might be Pro-J. fanatics - not let loose to commit sabotage

THE IDEA OF A QUESTIONNAIRE \* TO determine loyalty --

If loyal -- serve in army or relocate

If loyal to Japan -- kept in separate center and ~~separately~~ sent over there.

Army defined it as a favor -- permitting Japanese Americans to serve --

Questionnaire of ~~the~~ citizens -- headed SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM -

For Females and No Vote -- was headed WRA Application for leave clearance --

READ QUESTIONS -- p. 57.

drafted from behind barbed wire -

for Issei - meant they had no citizenship at all -

for all -- fear of immediate forced relocation ~~into~~ into hostile areas -

Still remarkable thing

in some centers - Proj. Dir, Respected Jap. leaders - explained --  
went smoothly people signed -

but in most there was tremendous turmoil - and in one ~~area~~ Manzanar a riot -  
Families split -

Some ~~criticized~~ Nisei denounced Amer. govt.

Some - Issei and Kibei -- ~~made~~ speeches abt. loyalty to Japan

Some Nisei - spoke for wisdom of saying yet --

In several centers - men who spoke for signing called inu (dog - stoolpigeon)  
assaulted and beaten up.

Dept. of Justice arrested several hundred agitators -- supposed to have been  
betrayed by inu ----

Things were just generally a mess.

*had expected 3,500 members - got 1,500 - Expected only 1,500 - got 20,000*  
To enter this kind of citizenship as college student to do field work  
especially with instructions to report all people said -- was not  
easiest job in the world --

I had a terrible time -- nobody would talk to me --

Japan. were having a worse one --

Did not realize that they did not dare talk to me --

because ones who had said they were loyal could not ~~be honest~~ - afford to  
be honest -- had signed in a wait and see attitude - every Japan victory  
made them ~~own~~ if wrong --

and because anyone seen being friendly to a Caucasian - likely to be suspected  
of being inu. --

For 3½ months scarcely anybody talked to me -- Dr. Thomas head of study kept sending  
reproving letters - why no data -  
as close as ever in my life - to having a mental ~~breakdown~~ breakdown -

*Told Dr. Thomas reluctant to line me because I  
was a woman --*



In camp several months time came -- to ship out disloyal --  
 were given hearings -- opportunity to recant --

I got first bright idea -- being pressured to talk to Yes Yes - nobody talk  
why not see what happens if try to talk to disloyal

Knocked on door - half - invited in - pour out their feelings --  
Lost faith in America -- no future - here --  
others franker-- no jobs -- ~~gave~~ parents to support -  
family and did not want to be drafted --

very eloquent statements -- p. 94 - 95 -

One young man even wrote me as essay of 30 pages --

Taken o f by train - I went wt see them off -- waited about an hour - inces sant use  
of trai n otoilets --

IN November - read in papers about terrible Jap riots in Tule Lake --  
by disloyal people - Called in the Army  
but letters to me different story --  
one man sent back -- much more like demonstration-- very curious  
then read of whole center gone on strike -- what's going on.  
In 2000-2001, I read in the papers about terrible Jap riots in Tule Lake --

Late Jan. s id Dr. Thomas could send an observer -- nobody to send but me  
no Japanese -- men refused to go --  
I wanted to go - out of plain curiosity and excietment -- find out what went on.  
Vnry little trouble in people talking to me - know some - intro. to others  
~~had~~ wanted to tell their side of story

Here's what happend

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ *from time time on -*  
 Displays moved into center - first thing they did was behave like  
 genuine democrats -  
 elector rep. body -- committees - investigate center  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ *see but pgs. -* elected rep. approached Ad. with requests *from*  
 Ad. behaved with incredible stupidity -  
 Jap. Rep. with incredible ~~innocence~~ innocence.  
 believed it mattered that they proceeded democratically

EMess -- Proj. dir. got panyic ~~strike~~ stricken - turned center over to Army  
arrested aliof the repreesenatives.



5.

Next morning people come to work as usual  
several thousand --

poor soldiers hadn't been told -- thought this was a riot  
threw tear gas at them --

everybody mad and went on strike --

Neg. committees couldn't help -

Army hunted out and confined all elected members of Daihoi Sha Kai  
in special stockade --

Now people really mad - had a cause - won't give up strike till you  
release representatives. - *gini*

Sit. awful for Army and WRA - had to have labor to run the camp - no garbage  
no coal - no hospital - no secretaries -

people had out two months -- WRA got a group of well meaning collaborators  
suggest a referendum vote --

COORDINATING COMMITTEE \*\* Original residents - Coop managers -  
voted to give up strike by barest majority -



That's when WRA let me in to start field work --

knew many in center -- ~~it~~ saw immediately that sit. still very bad  
most people felt undfairly abused - called Coordinating C'm  
a bunch of inu - steel-pigons - teadies to the  
administration .

MOST IMPORANT POINT IN HISOTYR OF CENTER \* by confing leaders of  
DAIHYO Sha had locked up most of men who believed in democratic  
processes - do things in a relatively reasonable and decent way  
bargain and compromise --

Soon found out that there was a <sup>long organ...</sup> body of underground fanatics -  
petition - a new segregation -- for those truly loyal - release  
detainees - sep. fence --  
others confined in fence- for fence-sitters.  
just come to escape draft -- or wait and see

Ad, not not grant pseeleition -  
instead - advise of anthropologists - treated people reasonably well  
more food - ~~more food~~ more entertainment -  
but people still refused to ~~enlx~~ elect a new and genuine rep. body  
our rep. are in the stockade.

Got to know some of R~segretationsis group very well -  
Mr. Yamshita - moustances - Jerry Vollna -  
dominiering lady. Mrs. Tsuchikawa - ~~Mr~~ Madame Chiang Kai Shek  
really wild -  
must bring up children to be Japanese - can't do it in these  
camp full of inu and fence sitters --  
it ~~is~~ we who are true Japanese - Yamato Damashii  
called anyone who disagreed with the inu --

Also, of course, knew many other people well --  
critics of Reseg. -- folk waiting to see which way wind would blo -

My best friend - man who helped me most was a Haw iian Japanese -  
Joe Kurahara - about 50 had served in world war 1.

kind of man he was - p. 367 - Spoilage -  
had seen some of articles he'd written -  
The man who worte those was either very honest or crazy -- Lauges -  
Kurihara was a very brave man --

\* \* \* \* \*

Might have smoothed out -- except for tragic accident  
Soldier shot young man in the stomach -- really senseless -

Terrible effect on the people - though Ad. did what it could - <sup>public</sup>  
~~several - several~~ <sup>public</sup> <sup>discovery</sup>  
everybody - even sanest and kindest people began to talk about the inu

When we came here thought no more inu but now you see them aerywhere  
Reseg. spread all sorts of stories - men they dislied Coordinating  
Commitee - were inu. -- betraining people to the ad.

I a horrible way - people ~~nx~~ enjoyed heari ng of beatings and so  
did I -  
Ad made such a mess - served them right -



7.  
worse three mor beatings -- I had about all I could take

went to Mr. Penn - Assist. P. oj. direcotr and begged him to have Coop  
give a refund --

He said he'd ~~begged them~~ ask them to but theY're books were in order  
But he also told em that the Reseg. Group had told him that the ~~xxxxx~~  
things m ght be worse - there might be murder

The next nig t- General manager of Co-op found in front of barrack door  
knife pushed through laryn th base of brain

people really terrified -

all Jap. police resgiend -

Coord committee and Xoop men - wives and children fled to hosptial

Reseg. went about with ~~xx~~ knowing smiles -

People praised the murder - I ~~fhknknnsanxway -xxx~~

~~I approved of it -~~

Saw refugess in hospital - eyes like people being taken to death -

I thought - serves them righ

But these people had been good to me - courteous - Mr. Sasaki given  
me tranlation of all minutes of Daihyo Sha Kai -

*hew*  
people soon began to feel ashaamed -

I, so full of sl f-righteous blindness - toxx write reports - make an assertion  
about how people felt -

support it by quotes which said the opposite.

Had identified with strikers - and with super-patriots -

Accepted false Japanese ideological model -- swallowed it whole -

Powdermaker similar exp ri. i eological centricity harder to combat than  
ethncentricity --

Laek of understanding - crazy s lf-rigeoo sness - identify with imaginary  
true Japanese -- always behave so could not be identified as

cowardly or vacillating fence sitter - which was  
what mostpeople were.

No way to avoid it - happens to you -

Comfort -- and advice - always - whether sense you are a little crazy or not  
keep verbatim notes -- get sane again you'll have them

keep on talking to as many diff. people as possible -- really couldn't  
close my ears to what people told me too long

helped by bizarre incident --

cut letg.

\* \* \* \* \*



In middle of all this disorder - over murder --  
 representative of American Civil Liberties Union arrived at center

What happened -- was that some of men confined all this time in  
 stockade ~~xxx~~ without charge or trial --by Army -  
 had decided to appeal to ACILA --- not a very true Japanese thing to do --  
 Kuratori - Tsuda - Kai  
 nothing happened - went on hunger strike - in fact on two - with  
 this threat and perhaps word of ACILA were ~~rel~~ finally released  
 my job to try to get to know them - their ~~sobtyr~~ only  
 they knew some of details of what happened earlier --  
 hood  
 Got to know some minor leaders well Mr. Kato -- real ~~xxxxxxx~~ and agitator  
 Mr. Kuratomi - quiet - scholarly --

Also Mr. Kuratomi - was helping me -- suggested that I become acquainted with two men



Three months later an anti-fanatic - ~~xxxx~~

Introduce you to characters in the drama --

Already mentioned Mr. Yamashita - moutaceos - one of major leaders of Superpatrots

But it is time accepted me as hisotrian for group -

told me everythiing good doing - study of Japan -

drill for young men like men in Japa. Army -

Japanese Sprit --

Also from beginning had been ~~xxx~~ friends with Mr. Kurihara - very diff. men

Hawaiian Nisei - 50 - servied in army in World War I -

volunteered - very rude -

spokesman at uprising at Manzanar - intered as dangerous

wonderful man - kept up on all politics - but out of them -

liked to discuss them -

one of most admirable men I've ever knwon

he suggested I get to know two other men - *the lin greated smug*

On was Mr. Kira -- really head of ganag of beaters - and probably murderers

big shot in Resegregation group

went to seeh him - rather often -- flabby little man - smoked glass Van

to sit had to bow to Japanese flag -

bragged about how he ordered the project director around -



Mr. Kur. also recommended Mr. Itabashi - they were friends  
devoted member of Seicho-no Iie - sect Believin faith healing  
didicating life to planning lecture tour in Japan  
what good things America had done for Japan -- not just evil ..  
very reasonable and kind man -- but if reas. and kind in T. Lake sounded  
a little cracked --

Mr. Kato -- he was young man - Kira's lieutenant -- hid own gang  
had been sec. to the Daihyo Sha Kai --  
helped me with minutes -- very brave young fellow --

\* \* \* \* \*

In Sept. about 2½ months after murder of Hitomi - Rese. came out with new  
and much more stringent petition --  
immediate repatri. and renunciation of American citizenship

found out right waay b cause Mr. ~~Tachikawa~~ Yamashita showed it to me  
beforehand and asked if he would get into trouble -

No - but I knew that most people in center would signit -  
Really a flop -- people had just about had it -  
Loud complaints to me -- but did not dare complain to anyone else  
no ~~the~~ policie - everybody knew what had happened to Hitomi

Rese.g pushed on -  
One said - We have killers in our org.  
Mr. Kira \* Dai no mushi wo tasukeru niwa  
Sho no mushi wo  
The little bugs must died so that the big bugs may live.  
Boys - go ahead - we will protect you.

One ~~man~~ group of men did speak out openly -  
elders of Seicho-no Iei - Mr. Itabashi -  
he told me he had advised boys not to sign - not to do violent things  
Told Kira himself - The Japanese government is not so narrow minded as you."

Uuuuhh. Mr. I. there are dangerous men in camp  
Laughed - ~~Then Japanxxxxxx~~ When Jap. bark they don't bite.

Three months later coming from church - he and three other old men  
brt ally beaten up with clubs and a hammer.

For ten days I didn't know I had been beatn up - just ~~xxxxxx~~  
~~xxxxxx~~  
~~xxxxxx~~  
heard three people - knew they were up to it again but not who.  
lots of visits -  
additional probelm - Mr Kato - told me he did not love his wife  
so meek - ~~xxxx~~ and old fashioned - he liked spirited and brave women  
girl ~~xxxxxx~~ blushed furiously --

didn't know wha to do - a dangerous man - also not very bright - more dangers  
invaluable responsdent -- never could keep his mouth shut.

Meanwhile since hadn't seen him for a while called on Mr. Kuriha  
stern - not say much -  
told me in shaking voice how Kira had had three men beaten up - with  
clubs and a hammer - it was the act of a bunch of cowards.  
one of the men you know - Mr. Itabashi.



I heard this my face got cold / all I saw was myself running the three miles to Mananar section where Kira lived - grabbing him by feet.

but I'm ashamed to say - so well trained - kep on taking down Mr. K.  
words verbatim -

cite them here - p. 137

Resolved to try and stop this terrorism - private vow to get even with Kira.

Breaki g primary rule of fieldwork - non-interference --

II liked K'd have told them go to hell

~~Anyways xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Meanwhile - son of man who had talked against petition was kifed.  
not killed -

went to see ~~Mr. Kato~~ Kira - crazy sounding boasting -

I was afraid they would kill Kurihara - he would not keep quiet -

Just how and when -- ?

So I went to see Mr. Kato --

Dirty trick -

reading book about ~~bushido~~ bushido - ~~xx~~ how I admired ~~great~~ heroes  
great sacrifices to preseve their honor -

he got the hint -

/ But much later - genuine des. of samurai - alughed and laughed  
you really did fool him - bushido does not apply to  
~~any relationship~~ relationship between men and women  
~~xx~~ I didn't know this and Kato didn't either

but nonetheless told me all about the great plan - twelve imu in one night  
really show everyone Reseg. meant businessx--

another big mess of beatings -

called on Penn -- he knew it too couldn't do anything - Ad voncined everuthing  
peaceful.

went to see Mr. Kurihara - told me not to worry -

sant out list of all Kira had done - to friends outside center -  
if murdered - turn it over to authorities --

I still worried - but underestimated Mr. K. aweek later hea d that

Mr. Kira had resigned position

Kato told me - orders had come no more baattings -- very annoyed at this.

Kurihara dever did tell me what he'd done but leared from Mr. Itabahi and  
another friend --

K. had sent message to Kira to come to see him

go-between -

What di you care what we do to pelple in camp so long as we let you alone

\* \* \* \* \*

One important point -

Fieldworker - recording what going on - or as activist  
Relatively incpmpetent and inefficient - not understand sit. false ~~xx~~  
ideological view  
Impressively effective - both as recorder and activist - when I did -



During Aug. early Sept - really dismal and disorganized -  
Mr. Kurihara suggested I might talk to two people

Mr. Kira -



Few days later met Kuratomi -- ~~chikim~~ spokemans of the Old Negotiating committee  
a young, urbane, sensitive man - very good looking  
but with me - contrasted to Kato and Yamada - reserved and diffident -

had been a New Deal democrat -- still upset by murder interrogation  
wondering why no mention of Reseg. Group --

So refer to them indirectly -- I hear Sokoku has many members --  
Prediction for private benefit -- before many months there will be a split  
in that organization --  
Aha!

Few days later - Mrs. Tsuchikawa tells me passionately that Mr. Kuraomi  
~~xx~~ and Kai wives are ~~xxxx~~ now so outcasts.  
had not been sufficiently grateful for attempts to get out of stockade  
borrow money to fight indictment for murder --

Common field work predicament --  
ideally stay on reasonably good terms with leaders of two hostile factions?  
Not too difficult --

Read from p. 80 - 82 --

Each situation diff. -- depends on data you want --

Pine Ridge -- wanted schools - not study Indian factinism.  
escaped one factin and adopted by more powerful one  
let them protect us --

In Oklahoma we failed -- Members of establishment -  
would not tolerate us under any circumstances  
Earl Boyd Pierce - challenge Murray to denounce his friend --  
different political manners -

\*\*\*\*\*

*here*  
Resegregationists try again -

Now these lectures noble Jap. culture and history - really ~~xx~~ been first  
part of a program --

I didn't know this nor did Ad -- I think men like Kurahara Wakida  
suspected it -- Kuratomi

*again ending*  
how it worked out - interesting -- despite that I was I was in think of it  
nothing like being lucky --

Called on Mr. Yamahita - big shot with moustachios -- Stanford student  
gossipped -- quizzed me on how Ad. was feeling --  
any interest in Sokoku -- truthfully I heard nothing

Asked several questions so obtuse - couldn't understand him  
wife knitting - Why don't you tell her the truth - you know  
you can trust her.

The philosophy of the majority of the residents here and hereafter will  
be changed -- like Marx manifesto

How is that?

Gives me petition -- read it while memorizing -  
planning to circulate it without permission of Ad.



Atte, 1st tp force the issue of a resegregation --

8 Read p. 84 -

and comment --

The petition was an even bigger flop than I thought it would be -  
great many people said wished the agitators and super\* would leave them alone

Outspoken men more so to me at least

Kurihara - They threaten to use force if they do. I'm not going to  
stay quiet - even if they call me an inu.

Wakida - really furious -- I'm Japanese no matter what they say --  
If we swear to be Japanese we are Jap. - We don't show it by  
signing petitions -

Reseg. disappointed -- but put on a bold face.

Mrs. Tsuchikawa said We're going ahead -- as we were even if the  
people squawk.

So they went ahead -- really amazing --

Read pp. 86a to 88

For next week my field work rather - wierd --

knew 3 men beaten up - because Caucasian Chief of Police told me -  
did not know who - or why  
Japanese I saw did not talk about it -

Innocently called on Mr. Kira --

really mad -- 3 boys  
more bragging -- demonstrating offensive spirit.  
talked as if he was the power in camp - like a dictator

Called on Yamashita -- I heard some men beaten -

Mrs. Yes but they weren't killed --

Also went to see Mr. Kato --

very helpful -- explain questions from Dr. Thomas-

Boasted of terrorism at time of strike -

not only led the fracas - but had plans to burn down the  
Co-op warehouses -

Also Topaz Bomb --

Interspersed this dossier of heroic misdeeds with state tns

abt. after return to Japan o work for democracy

improvement of status of women other abuses

confided were wrong even though kind of dangerous thoughts that  
true Jap. ought not have.

Should have known better -- just not spent enough time with young men



served tea by wife - two weeks married -- very Japanese  
 gives me very ~~xx~~ fine doc. gets ~~wer~~ read and tells me he does not like  
 his wife  
 too Japanese - meek -- forced him to marry her - sending go-  
 between --  
 he tried to treat her with respect but she insisted on following  
 Japanese pattern -

my wits really deserted me --  
 mumbled paltitude - about many people learning to love their sp uses  
 after marriage -- and took my leave--

What to do -- ~~very xaxuxblexindenxax~~ --

I kind of liked Kato - though he was a hood -

very obligated - did not want to hurt his feelings

Besides - because he was in with Kira - very valuable informant  
 spill some of the inside plans of the reseg. group.

Some polite ~~xx~~ Japanese way to say No -- see him less often  
 take my chances -

Innocently called on Mr. Kira

sounded really mad -- like a crazy emperor -

bullied the Project director --

hundred of his boys had demonstrated their offensive spirit  
 as if he were dictator of the center.

Also made clear he was supporting Reseg. - sounded reasonable to  
 go as a group even though some foolish people were objecting -

From's Kira's went directly to see Mr. Kurahara - liked to chat about Kira.

He seemed absentminded - did not listen -

told him about the boy's demonstrating he said

REad - p. 93 -

\* \* \* \* \*

Managed to do an appalling amount of work --

keeping track of Reseg. activities - dues paying

Set up two open and formal organizations / changed names

Sokoku to Hokoku -- Study to serve

drill every morning - before daybreak - chant Wash-sho, wash-sho even  
 in admin. section

Adults - Org. to Return Immediately to the Homeland to serve  
 accepting only people who had signed the sept. petition -



End of Oct.

~~A few days before~~ - Kira's right hand man - knifed the son of a man who spoke against reseg. -- told by Kurihara -  
Ad-. arrested knifer -- Yamas and Kira appeared at trial -  
couple of mths in jail - boasted responsible for light sentence  
I will protect you --

Worse and worse relationships between Reseg. and Kuratomi -  
so vicious - I decided to stop calling on Kuratomi -  
figured he was intelligent and would understand -

Many people -- ~~xxxx~~ did not like reseg. - crazy super-pat.  
but nagging gear that they would impress American or Jap. govt.s  
end up in an advantageous position

While all this going on - the ad. seemed to think that everything was going extremely well -  
no more demonstrations or murders -- embarrassing stockade was gone  
waiting ~~xxxxxx~~ and stalling for camp to be taken over by Dept. of Justice -  
get rid of it.

What happened chronologically --

Read Oct 27 -- p, 96.

*illustrates  
some new info as agreed } field work*

Most other people not interested in Reseg. or knifing -  
Talking about imminent presidential election - Dewey or Roosevelt  
all solidly for Dewey --  
war news from Phillipines - great victories for American forces.  
Jap. short wave radio said just the opposite -

even Mr. Kurihara -- found him writing poetry -  
denial of war news -- but used rhyme and sounded childish -  
I suggested blank verse -- helped with several poems -  
delighted --- left him composing a poem - Smile Japanese smile -

Attended big ceremony Meiji Setsu --  
celebration of beginning of Meiji Empire.  
long bitter cold -  
cool boys - in best suits - no overcoats -- temp of 15 above --  
long speeches --  
patriotic bugle calls - way off key -  
all bowed to rising sun - which wasn't rising -  
starting and moving --

Dai Nippon Teikoku Banzai

Very moving and pathetic -- said in my notes I'd never forget it - but I did.

Called on moderates who had joined the Hokoku - some trying to get out  
Mt. Kurusu -

I try to avoid anything. I haven't been going to the meetings. Frankly I myself  
am awful careful of those boys. They do somethings very extreme, so I just kind  
of take more careful step. I watch my language.

Mr. Itabashi recovered asked me to come to see him -  
very chipper -- big scar -- expressed no rancor  
of Kira said - Mr. Kurihara says- give him enough rope and he'll hang  
himself up.

*Seemed up courage to call in late 100.*







3. a

I had never heard term participant observation - never read to lectured  
on interviewing - never heard of symbolic interaction  
social structure - value systems - ambivalence -  
or even rudiments of statistical method -

Studied anth. with Kroeber and Lowie - (8)  
knew about diffusion, invention, kinship systems, primitive soc.  
Darwin, Tylor, Morgan, Boas, Coon, Childe, Kroeber, and Lowie  
collected variants of ghost series - published them -

not much value understanding life in a detention center -  
whenever I tried to put any anthropological ~~theory~~ to use Dr. Thomas  
got mad -- interest -

What had fitted me for this field experience was my pre-college life -  
for eight years - 20 to 28 - lived through great depression -  
solicited and done housework by the day - 25 cents an hour -  
a year on relief - bag of starchy groceries a week -  
worked on several WPA projects -- stay alive -  
8 years in Mexican slum area --

With energy - faith - cannot understand and or explain put  
four younger siblings through high school and into college

I was ~~tough~~ easily discouraged - not afraid to work hard -  
liked to work

Part of work at settlement house - recreational leadership  
whenever I opened my mouth at meetings - nobody paid me no mind  
worked as well as any - but never get a job at it because  
~~didn't have college work~~ did not have college work -  
particularly good with delinquent girls - didn't think they were -  
got so irritating - by age 25 - decided to get some college  
first be a policewoman - 2 years of Jr. college -  
big and strong - police work needed people like me -

8 years - part time high school -- all hours put in -  
went calmly ahead -- dogged determination -  
If I really wake up my mind - want to do something - incredible patience -  
would not let the damned system stop me -

after a year - director changed work schedule - could not put in  
mornings at high school -  
still determined to try --  
night school principal -- asked him if I could read at home - and take  
exams.

Conversation -  
Figured it out - get HS diploma in one semester - go to JC - take  
college requirements - through in two instead of eight years.  
~~one~~ a great guy -

Never been happier than that evening - like heaven -  
Always study real hard so William Kellogg would not regret what he had done.  
you get kicked around so on relief --

Worked incredibly hard - one semester - 4 hours sleep  
teaching physical ed. on ~~WPA~~ WPA - made you very sleepy -

Decided to work with delinquent girls - be a PHS. Ed teacher in high school -  
curiously dumb - making A's head of classes in college physics,  
mathematics, German - sciences -- studied hard - PHS Ed teacher



never occurred to me that I was ~~competent~~ unusually competent  
academically - or intellectually  
curious - not doing partic. well in Phs Ed - only if needed brains -  
inventiveness -  
bum at Team Hockey - C in tap-dancing -

Get a scholarship -- 225 dollars a semester - work for board and room -  
went to teacher in Politl science I respected  
always saying how foolish U. S. was - 1936, 37 - not to learn anything  
about Asia - China and Japan - ~~hardly~~ hardly anybody came-

Asked me what I wanted to be - he said Rosalie You're a fool -  
neve stand it in school system -  
~~be~~ work on university level -- real B. A. degree --  
went into wash-room and cried -  
brother said what the hell - if I ~~think~~ always be a Ph. Ed teacher --

Why not -- siblings take care of themselves - brok a job with eletric co.  
take care of my mother -  
what to major in - Phisics, German - discoueaging very hard to get job.  
not sure why I iceked anthroplogy -  
Chinee students not deliquent -- liked the Mexicans -  
~~xxx~~ no teacher there to discourage me -

Prof. Lowie was kind  
saw little of Kroeber - because of gossip -  
really amazed him -- thought I was a phenomenon - baffling and amusing.

The war provided one occasi n I swaw P. of. Kroeber exstatically happy -  
Dept. of Anth. r ceived small funds for Army Specialized Training Program -  
anthros ~~xxx~~ help in war effort  
told us anthro. that anthropology entering a new era -  
trained anthrops. in demand all over the world --  
irony - that it happened -- to great turmoil and divisiveness among  
anthros - today --

shortly after starting this K. suffered a heart attack -  
Life at Cal getting more and more tepid and dreary - almost all grad. students  
gone - but me -- 2 real male corcks -  
students left were really uninspiring --  
wld have gone into Waves except refused me because eyesight was not 20-20.  
angry then - but damn glad now-

In spring of 1943- Kroeber told me job was aavailable as field worker  
in Ja. relocation centers - I was very interested -- anything better  
than boresome life in Berkelye- 31 years old -

When relocation considered - group of social scientists seized on it as  
splendid opportunity for res a rch -  
interdisciplinary - plit. sci. social psychologists, economists  
coopertated in research prop sal and received abig wad of money -  
all the men of stature left - other more interesting work - devolved on  
Dorothy Swaine Thomas - lecturer in sociology - professor of rural sociology  
no connection wth anth. -- a big mistake -  
never are mere BA do major research for prof. in another dept.

All field workers - were Japanese except Robert Spencer - he stayed one  
year and left- I was to take his job. around 1,000 a year.  
more than twice what I made as a teaching assistant-



Told later Dr. Thomas reluctant to hire me because I was a woman -  
I was attracted to job because it sounded so difficult  
had spent ten years doing what many people said I couldn't do.

But if I had known how diff. I don't think I would have tried it.  
Dr. Thomas said not know - never been in a center - a mistake -

I listened to her instructions -- never give an information to WRA -  
community analysts  
read volumes of field notes - not much help - really confused me -  
took few months course in Jap. language - from a Korean -  
had I gotten acent would have made me very unpopular -

Farewell call on Kroeber --  
several ~~th~~ anths. complained they were not told anything -  
~~xxx~~ I don't beleive tem -  
from my experience -- didn't listen - didn't understand -

K - did I know anyone in centers - go for help if needed it.  
Blithely - people recommended by Spencer -- K. not much impresses

Warned me about the terrible heat - nothing I had exeperied  
I laughed - Vitamin B. -- You'll need more than vitamin B.

Did not realize - it was K. who felt repsonible -- know mor than DST -  
concerned --

I felt dispaocinted tlak about heat a d dysentery - when would have preferred  
sending me off with words of profoujnd intellectual counsel or  
inspiring cheer.

17

18

19

20

21

22



Describe -- women and children - waving arms -  
also men working on barrack -- watched by armed soldiers

asked taking out ~~the~~ stockade agitators to work?  
no - watching so does not communicate with men in stockade -  
I thought God save us -

General impression from Jap. friends -- six weeks  
less subdued -- more open in complaints about CC and WRA  
even surprised me -

Read from p. 17 - old MS.

Most anti-status quers - covert fence-sitters -- still waiting -  
some - wanted to go to J. but felt that  
demonstrating - agitation - making trouble  
poor idea -- made trouble - not impress Japa.  
Interestingly insisted loudly - loyal ought to be thrown out of  
center - though might be loyal themselves - on records --

Were two points on which almost everyone agreed -  
WRA could not be trusted  
members of Cord Committee were stooges - or inu - informers -

Poor Mr. Sasak i - char. of CC - accomodating group invited to my barrack  
under incredible strain - not talk coherently - voice a whisper  
admitted hired young men as body-guards --  
other residents called them hired inu.

but offered to give me translation of Daihyo Sha Kai minutes - did so  
unpaid debt -  
also Cord Com minutes -- showed that Ad. stalling --  
CC- full employment- justifiable release -- nothing done -

~~the whole thing was a joke~~  
desperate requests met only with promises --  
3 months after vote - C. asking for releases - Myer- national director  
told Com should withhold too many recommendations which are inclined  
to embarrass the administration.

Two org. groups in camp -- CC- and an underground - unknown -

Seg. from Manzanar came in - give impressions of style --

Mr. Sasaki - 23 - and underground 24 -

I GET TOO KNOW THE AGITATORS\* UNDE GROUND \*\*  
In field work nothing like luck --

Near end of 6 days - Mr. Penn came to my room and asked me if I would talk to  
Billon Myer - tell him what the state of the center was.

read - 25 - 27 -- 28 - 29

Harry Yamaguchi - young and serious -- really wanted peace and order -  
later - used as cat's paw- because Penn liked him -  
was very likeable -- forthright - did not complain -  
telling facts as he saw them --

one gets very skillful at detecting this -- love to watch TV -  
only great actors can lie successfully - best one was Wallace --



found out interesting thing from Harry --

mother started scolding -- him - caught sense -

Don't tell anything to that keto Troglodyte - Neantderthal -  
Deutego no Nisei desu

She is a German Nisei --

Agitators kept believing this -- established a role -

not always comfortable -- because they thought I was a Nazi -

got a little tired of being complimented for my German virtues-

Demonstration - nothing like luck -- I get in on ground floor with Mrs. T.

because Mr. Penn was angry at Dillon Myer --

Other significant point -

Very difficult for people at ~~lower~~ different levels of a complex situation  
to communicate with and understand each other --

Washington view -- ~~had~~ to get the 90,000 ~~separating them from their~~  
loyal Japanese off their hands --

do nothing to jeopardize this --

at all costs keep Tule Lake quiet - out of newspapers-

Had not decided on policy yet -- representative ~~body~~ advisory body  
stuck -- so local heads could do nothing but stall --  
poor fools of CC getting it in the neck --

Mr. Penn only leading ad. who cared what happened in center  
and he was sure this stalling policy would lead to disaster --

I couldn't see Myers view at all because of my own bias -  
Idea that my own govt. would be so unfair to any people under  
its jurisdiction idea I could not grasp  
I thought only cheap politicians did this-

I thought they were merely stupid -- but stupid or not - based on  
a point of view I did not understand --

Also did not until years later appreciate the absurdity of the ~~whole~~ sit.  
Gone to all the trouble to declare these people disloyal -  
un-American - proJaps - spent money on segregating them -

soon as they get in center begin to act like genuine democrats  
choose rep. body - stage demonstration -  
legal alleviation of their grievances -

90,000 loyal - did virtually nothing to defend rights as citizens.

\*\*\*\*\*

In April I went back again -- this time Ad. in a state of crisis.

even secretaries tense and anxious -

people ignored me before- called me into offices and asked me for advice  
(I hadn't been there for a month) !!

Since I didn't know what had happened my opinions weren't worth much -

Like many crises - this one had fairly long history -

In Feb. 2 months before - radicals - pro status quo underground had  
written to ATT. Gen Biddle - and Spanish Embassy -

permission to circulate a petition - for those who want to get to

*Argument came  
over for the letter.*



Japan as soon as possible -- wish to be ~~xxx~~ re-segregated in T. Lake from those not so inclined --

in practical terms not so fantastic because Army had built fence in center during dike -- to confine trouble making families--

Understanding?? --not intimately --

Really had made up minds to go - but very insecure -- about future band together - study -- prepare - better reception and re-~~xxxx~~ return --

looked at this way - eminently reasonable in aim --

Better buck passes - all the way down - Att. general - sec of interior - Billon Myer, Mr. Best at Tl Lake - Best gave it Asst. PD Mr. Black and left the center for ~~confidential~~ official business --

Mr. Black some training in sociology -- decided he would permit not a petition - but a social survey --  
questionnaire --

Read Ch. V - p. 37 --

most people - really got very upset -- because many thought it was official -- others couldn't make sure --

Ad really panicked -- even level headed men like Penn thought there might be another great demonstration at any minute -

I went around making visits -- not nearly so bad as AD thought --

Read from mid page 38

But many others -- still existed -

as soon as found out petition not officially sanctioned, felt greatly relieved --

But all O said OO fence sitters and Yes Yes should be taken out of camp - though many were fence-sitters themselves --

Tsudruda - there's been a lot of talk about an inu hunt with baseball bats

If there's trouble here in the next 5 or 6 months because of keeping Yes-Yes in camp -- (Though Tsudruda no strong intent of going to O J.)

Read about Mrs. Tsuchikawa. 40 - second visit.

Comments of Mr. Kurihara -- p. 43 --

COMMENTS ON FIELD TECHNIQUE



TULE Lake --

Given p strike

Over 100 men still instockade --

Set up CC as puppets -- but merely hated as collaborators --

Underground -- claim sincerely loyal to Japan --

petition - to survey --

great distress -- got several thousand signatures --

Corod. Committee resigned - not consulted -

but then talked into resuming until a real

rep. advisory board ~~appointed~~ elected.

Something of ferocity of Mrs. Tsuchikawa -- -threats of violence  
when announced - no ad. sanction -- tension relaxed --

Field Technuqe --

by this time - good visiting relationship with about 12 people-

go to them - really sit down and talk for  $\frac{1}{2}$  hr. or more

tell me how they felt - bothering them

what people were saying --

many collect ng ~~materials~~ attitudes or statements for me --

large proportion were - unusual men -

really inteerested in center politics -- though not active participants

some had been leaders - or agitators in past --

tired to keep up with outside events --

got real pleasur out of observing, discussing - - like chess players -

I ~~talked~~ visited so much more than they could --

I could really contribute --

Others -- keep away from politics - but ~~now~~ nevertheless threatened -

gossip -- get anxieties - funny stories - questi n me -

anything off their chests --

One contact with Underground - Mrs. Tsuchikawa --

All could play the role of expert --

Center life terribly confining and boring -- my visits kind of event -

most had no employment --

much they could tell me - ~~xxx~~ did not dare tell neighbors -

\*\*\*\*\*

One moht later - middle of May - packed by belongings - one suitcase and a portable  
type writer -ancient radio -- moved to Tule Lake

sorry to leave Browns - Kondos - others -

but knew there was going to be trouble at Tule Lake -

wanted to be there when it happened -

Gila very quiet - dull nothing ~~xxx~~ much goöing on --

Tule Lake like a gently rumbling volcano -

This time on entering as permanent residentI was fingerprinted - given a  
permant pass - marked good until revoked -- assigned ~~xxx~~ 1 room staff barrack -  
much more comfortable tha Gila - because much harder to get staff.

Had expected ~~xxxx~~ turmoil and trouble -- disappointed.

Staff members relaxed and optimistic - and ~~Japane~~ most Jap. in good spirits.

Proj. director putting self out to be agreeable - thwon first baseball on

Emperors Birthday -- half holiday -

permitted school children to visit out side fence -

most men in stockade relakesd --only 25 of Daihyo Sha - left



Best of all - fence dividing Jap. camp had been torn down --

As remarked - Jap. in much better spirits -

one egg a day per person in mess -

Inu hate - dying down - people forgetting Coordinating Com and Mr. Sasaki -

Young people - entertainment - judo - few classes - athletic events  
baseball - basketball --

Best of all removal of fence

when mentioned it - their faces lit up -

read - p. 48 -

I meet really important agitator - Mr. Yamashita -

Mts. Tsuchikawa called Mr. Penn - asked me to call on her --

Very cordial -

Trouble in block 54 -- imp. in later developments -

Two members of J. police force - 16 a month -

Had reprimanded young men for exercising in morning -

Young men had called them inu - not Japanese -

Reported them to Internal security -

Now people signing a petition demanding these inu leave block --

nobody else gossiped about this -

sounded innocent -- really doing Jap. militaristic exercises -

talked about many other things -- some amateur intelligence man had visited her -

about to leave - remarked she wanted me to meet Mr. Yamashita -

an important man just arrived from Santa Fe

Issei interned for supposed pro-Jap. activities -

Expected me to call on him the next morning -

READ P. 50 on

Abortive attempt to nominate a representative advisory board --

to replace the CC --

An extremely important non-happening --

kept it so quiet even I - snobby - did not find out it was in the wind

first I heard from Japanese -

block managers tried to hold block meetings to elect repts --

called on Opler - what gives -- had made attempt - of 74

blocks only 15 nominated men -

Was able to do very good job of finding out how people felt about this -

Oblique and ironic satisfaction --

first and only time - saw people in T Lake in really good spirits --

laughed and joked - as quite frequently in Gila --

had put the ad. down with great finesse -

gossip sessions - each participant bragging at way in which the  
attempt had failed in their block -

sometimes long drawn out failure - while block manager begged and people  
snuck out -

others all meet - NO NONNO NO NO

though very pleasing to reseg. underground -- did not do it out of

pro-Jap. feeling - or even great loyalty to Neg. Cim still in stockade -



By most - done out of spite --  
 Ad - wantsthis -- won't give it to them.

Read little section on page. 54.

\* \* \* \* \*

# OKAMOTO SHOOTING -

May 24 - working away on report on the abortive nomination --  
 felt I had done very good job -  
 knock on door - staff member told me a Japanese had been shot by a  
 sentry --  
 school teacher - shared bathroom - just fuming - sent women out  
 but men teachers could stay --

no sense running around -- anyone who knew anything busy - wait till morning  
 saw Mr. Peen - outraged one of his workmen  
 shot in the stomach returning from work - unprovoked -  
 work crews refusing to come to work -

Best thing to do talk to Mr. Kurahara - a  
 after lunch went in - soldiers looked at me funny -  
 soldiers felt threatened -

Mr. Kurahara seemed strangely serene - gentle -

We must be fair - Mr. Best is not responsible -  
 I'll say the Jap. could take it - they'll take it more than any other race

I did not realize he was in shock -  
 I asked how man was doing - K. told me he was dead -- ~~announced lunch~~  
 began to cry --

I said I was sorry and left - I think might have left center -  
 except I had to call on my secretary - pay her pick up some materials -

so glad and relieve to see me - I was shaken -  
 not realized how terrified people were - of the soldiers --  
 that I dared visit was normal -- of big trouble -

Dared to visit several other people -- not only indignant furious  
 but terribly afraid - if ~~want to know~~  
 riot and massacre -  
 many really talked to me more as a fellow human being --

That evening when I went to room - tried to write up notes I cracked up  
 might really have hollered and howled -  
 I read Isaiah - only book I had -  
 I cursed out the people who made war and used guns on each other -  
 got less upset - wrote up my notes -

\* \* \* \* \*

In weeks after Okamoto's death - people behaved much as all people do after  
 shocking event --  
 some wild -- all hell will break loose  
 some cynical -- they'll whitewash it-

~~Administration behaved in outstandingly sensible and seemly fashion -~~



WRA issued statement - WRA not responsible  
 women - if WRA not responsible for the people who is responsible -

But on the whole - WRA behaved in very sensible and seemly fashion  
 had a public funeral

Mr. Best and others visited the family  
 Best made excellent speech at funeral -- some as well as could under  
 the circumstances --

Bob Tsudruda -- You have to give the man credit. He really has done his best. In his speech he said just enough - no more. Regardless of why he did it the fact stands that he did do it. It couldn't all have been prompted by selfishness.

Of course leaders of R. seg. Group Yamashita Tsuchikawa openly  
 sarcastic, but few people paid much attention to them -

FIELD WORK -- A regular caller -- in social and occupational way --  
 Nobody else did this - not even Dr. Opler -- afraid? not Mr. Penn.  
 Several Jap. commented on this -  
 if other staff members did this they would get a much better  
 idea of what was going on --

by this time, concluded my visits were reassuring -- rather than threatening -  
 many Jap. felt the truth better than the fantastic fears --

Only chance ever got to play host to a Caucasian --

During June my frank friend Tsuruda told me he was getting out of Tule Lake -  
 read from p. 58 -



During May -- people refuse to nominate new rep. body -  
~~xxxxxx~~ about a five weeks after shooting -- able to do my  
 most comprehensive field work  
 old friends and acquaintances talked more frankly  
 able to make ~~for~~ 4 or 5 new ones --  
 slow creep of adding to people whom I could visit - reasonable  
 comfort to them --

after things changed -- as I will tell -

\* \* \* \* \*

To give some idea of variety of views -- -

In June - my friend Tsuruda told me he was getting out of Tule Lake  
 read from 58 -- 69 /

I was somewhat shocked -- had adapted, without knowing it - stubborn ideology  
 of people who intended to go -  
 Kurihara the democrat -- scholarly Kurusu - wife had relatives -  
 wild eyes M. S. Tsuchikawa a Nisei - mustachioed ~~Tsuchi~~ Yamashita

\* \* \* \* \*

#### INU HUNT -

In Feb. March - awful lot of talk about the inu  
 fink or stool pigeon - anyone who defended the Administration -  
 (closest thing to political antitits -- anyone who won't join them -  
 is a fink.)  
 Dr. Opler's Jap. assistants called inu - really had a hard time getting  
 data -

Members of Coordinating Committee - especially men who ran Co-op  
 Enterprises -- nucleus of Ad. supporters in Dec. and Jan.

Anybody could be called inu by spiteful neighbor -- like Communist  
~~Many~~ One way of playing safe was to scold about the inu  
 As a few college professors did during McCarthy mess -

Almost all of gossip died down - during May - heard none at all except  
 from Mrs. Tsuchikawa -

But about a week after shooting - everybody started telling inu stories again  
 Repeat story of inu policeman - scold boys for exercising -  
 Co-op board of directors embasslers -

Mr. Tada -  
 called on Bob Tsurada's wife - two cute little women -  
 When we came here we thought we would be through with inus. But there  
 are more of them than ever. Every place you look you can see one!

Read pp. 61 to 63 -- the murder

Now there arose a general state of panic --

All Jap. police force - and Coop officials resigned -- no police  
 Many of notorious inu - Mr. Sasaki - others taken from center and  
 given shelter in hospital --  
 told Int. Security came and urged them to go - not safe -  
 people rushed to Cop to stock up on food supplies -



Adminis.

~~At~~ slid bak into their state of ideocy -

decided ~~xxx~~ murder had been plotted in the stockade --  
big plaster board -

In the middle of this turmoil who should arrive - Mr. Bessig of the  
Ameri Civil Lib Union -- why holding American citizens without trial!  
tried o see him from seeing clients --

At this point I decided that best thing I could do was disappear -  
didn't see me - ~~xxx~~ might not remember to expel me from the project.

In Berkely got a letter from Mr. Kurihara - suggesting I stay in ~~xxx~~  
~~Berkely~~ out of center for a while - Later he told me that this  
w s because some Jap. fanatics had threatened that a ~~white~~  
Caucasian would be next.

But B erkely - wartime - so dull and dreary I couldn't stand it.

All I could think and talk about was T. Lake -

Nobody r ally want d to listen - even members of t e study thought I  
was somewhat cracked --

After a week I talked Dr. Thomas into letting me go back -- do what I  
could from the Ad. section -

Wrote letters to best friends - call only when they gave me permission -

By this time - knew so many people really could learn a fair amount  
of what was going on --

Mr. Penn - Dr. Gpler - head of Coop- Project Attorney -

\* \* \* \* \* later - new head of police force --

Number of Jap - worked in area - stopped in to see me -

Tsuruda even invited me to drop in at mess -

but not at home yet --

Learned from Letters and talks - many people sturck with deep satisfactio  
by the murder -- joy in someone being killed -

K. never in my life have I seen such a pleasant reaction to a murder  
later this changed --

- - - - -

Like to interrupt - with ~~what~~ how this hit me as field worker -

With the inu hunt and the murder - I went somewhat crazy --

~~Bxxx~~ Felt and said things - part of me later found very hard to understand.

Came to believe obs. and recording at Tule Lake was my transcendental task -  
went about it with an unflagging energy and relish today seems frightening -  
feel a little better read how some scientists worked on the atom bomb.

I didn't think abt. being killed - I knew it - made me feel exhilarated -  
ofte very afriad - but that Ad. would find out how much I knew and  
learned and kick me out - stop my work --

I don't think this battle mad state hampered b field work -

Don't think I could have stood it ~~with all the xxxxxxxx~~  
if I had stayed entirely in my right mind.

BUT \* along with this bravado developed an unpleasant sense of self-righteousness-  
became a sort of fake- super-patriot -- true Japan. ideal -

fake Indians -- fake Black Power -

Tsuruda - hell with YD - ~~max~~ somewhat repelled -

Nisei - how awful -- spineless young things -- spiritless -



When inu beating - I enjoyed it - served them right -  
 When Noma murdered - cruel and self-righteous satisfaction -  
 They've been asking for it a long time - now they got it!

Worst of all what I won't forget -  
 Saw Mr. DSakai, sec. family other accomdatons sitting in  
 hospital room - fled - like frightened animals -  
 was terrible -  
 I t ough - this is what inu deserve-

When something like this happens kleep trying to understand it -  
 Murray never agrees --

Had ~~extreme~~ case of occupational desease -- ~~fixk~~ afflicts field tokers  
 w o think they are really involved -- psuedo-~~involvement~~-  
 or ideological involvement --

constructed ideal of true Jap. behavior -  
 despised anyone who deviated --

seen young activits do this when feel helpless and threatened -  
 seen anthropologists watching Indians dance --  
 not as in ancient adays -- ~~anxxx~~ ahopeless ideal -  
 socioloigsts -- values of people- denounce them fornnot keeping to them -

In any but most placid field situation going to get this -  
 ehtnographers of past ignored it b cause close eyes to relaity --

Doubt taht can be avoided by course work - psycho-analysis, or an act of will.  
 Catching and recovering a part of professional amturation -

Comforting to know that this bias - need not distort field notes of  
 well trained and disciplined i dividual --

Though may have thought friends or enemies saying disgusting things  
 scrupulously took down their words --  
 whether I laiked, hated - approved or disapproved. or even understood  
 Then and now these notes makes exeellent sense --  
 whereas my comments - analysis at time are sometimes misleading  
 even pathetic -  
 Awful - to read - advancing an interpretation and supportint it by  
 verbatim quotes which say the opposite.

Technique -- can be an accurate observer and r corder even when in ~~grixxx~~  
 grip of severe bias -- or fanaticism -  
 Get down what's really there -- where Boas was right --

later recovery -- have notes and honest membeories -  
 hard to deceive yourself eternally about what you've seen and heard.

One point -- some ethnographers boast they never take notes -  
 never trust them -- never seen any of them produce anything  
 worth reading --

Second point -- made recomvery not through pæctive os self-analysis or  
 professional resolltion  
 nor paying heed to Dr. Thomas quite justified criticism.

What cured me was continuing field work, talking to as many people as possible  
 and listening to what they said.



process took time - not till end of August - Sept. began to suspect that  
my disposition to depise people who did not behave like true Japanese was  
silly and immature.

perhaps helped by a bizarre incident --

We have all very much admired your German courage.

Meditate on complexities of images we think we are presenting for  
other people.

\* \* \* \* \*

HERE Powdermaker -- Ideological Centricity is harder to handle in field  
than ethnocentricity --

Examples -- Robert -- Peace corps and dislike for elite or aristocrats --  
scorn those who look down on anyone --  
very common -- always still must fight it -

Observe - is refusal to see things poor or abused people do because  
you think they're awful --  
just shut them out --

I always catch myself doing this --

In Pine Ridge -- in schools -- Ind. children treating teacher  
like an old sick cow --  
because teacher mean to them -- no -

Even deeper -- earlier dropouts -- really poor poor children  
crazy families -- 5 6th grade  
or hockey all the time --  
major reason not go to school because other children  
so mean to ~~them~~ them --  
deviants in the community --

Did not ~~sex~~ accept this - till Bobby told me afterward --

\* \* \* \* \*

Immediately after murder outburst of approving statements --  
Never have I seen such pleasant reactions to murder in my life  
But after few weeks temper of most people changed

Remorse and bewilderment - over ~~the murder~~ what had happened.

read p. 70

Never again - rumors about inu --  
though had great deal more trouble and tension --

More and more people sick of tension -- fuss -- lets have some quiet  
All except super patriots --

trouble makers disgracing Japanese and acting contrary to the  
desires of the Japanese government --

Mr. Itabashi --

\* \* \* \* \*

702.



Ad never did get the murderer --

Most Jap. ~~thought~~ suspected - member of tough super-patriot gang

Ad - always favored something else --

Things simmered down -- but for several weeks no police at all  
rape rumors -- "block wardens" --

Told Ann Kuckleman -- police are bad - in poor district  
but no police at all is worse --

\*\*\* \*\*

During July and Aug. Resegregationists -- Super patriots --  
very busy ~~planning~~ forming plans -- powerful organization --

Had wanted to join with Kai - Kuratomi - November strike -- quite a big  
following -- united front

Stockade detainees went on hunger strike -- on Aug. 14 - Ad finally gave way  
and released them -- to avoid a suit -

While this going on -- Yamashita and other activists -  
giving lectures without permission of ad -- in small block meetings-

Aim was to form a ~~powerful~~ ~~organization~~ ~~an organization~~ ~~an organization~~ ~~an organization~~  
~~people~~ ~~an organization~~ - ardent resegregationists  
and also ~~involve~~ involve the suckers --

Jap winning the war -- retreats were strategic - drawing Amer. into gt. trap -  
those who desired to return must be educated and disciplined  
prepare for new role there --  
they were planning to create such an organization -

First innocent seeming study group Ad. permission - ~~study~~ lectures on Jap.  
history and culture -

purpose of meetings to form a young men's group

Sokoku Kenkyu Seiden-dan - Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother

Country - lectures and study - prepare to be useful Jap. cit.

orientation - education - history language -

really very successful -

lots of people joined -- no sym. path agitators - Kurusu - Mr. Kur. attended  
suspicious -- also Mr. Wakida suspicious.

But quite unsuccessful in dragging in Kai and Kuratomi  
members but would not participate --

\*\*\*\*\*

My field work from now on - increasingly interesting and demanding --  
so many things to do --

working like a dog for Dr. Thomas --

not gathering any material on my own -- tremendous data gatherer.

Abel to resume with most -- people

only ones I lost were simple-minded ~~uneducated~~ members of Reseg.

very well in with big shots -- and people who opposed them --

fair number of ordinary folk wanted peace --

Also met the ~~major~~ most feared gangster in camp - Mr. Kira and  
Mr. Kuratomi and other detainees



Mr. Kurahara -- Hawaiian Jap. ~~inix,ndxnmxyingchocmentaxcec~~  
 disloyal out of protest of evacuation --  
 suggested I call on Mr. Kira - told me only interesting - might  
 insult you -

heard about Black Tiger -- crazy rumor --  
 signed names in blood would die for him --

Wrote him a letter - curt note - 7:30 in evening - ~~xxnightxx~~  
 no police - height of rape rumors --

Crazy - I went in -- 2½ 3 miles from gate-

An appropriately sinister looking character --

Read - p. 74 -

Would not tip his hand - posed as block manager -  
 boastful statements - to project director -- points he made reseg.  
 propaganda -- I suspected he was in with them wouldn't admit it

slippery and sly -- off-balance -- snaky-eyed people -

\* \* \* \* \*

Attempt to get old strike leaders as informants had very interesting results --  
 Moral -- unless have very good reason - don't dally or sit around waiting to talk  
 logical persons to introduce me were the super-patriots -  
~~xxxxxx~~ impressing they were great friends of men in stocade -  
 so asked Mrs. Tsyckikawa -- made an appt. with Mr. Kuratoji  
 not there - because being questioned about murder --  
 but very strong ~~stubby young~~ stocky young man - was there  
 Yamada - had been in stockade -- he said he'd introduce  
 me to Mr. Kato the secretary --

Mrs. Tshucikawa must have given me very good recommendation

First ~~xx~~ meeting with the notorious riot leaders - a kind of bad man prestige  
 Great propriety - two ~~issie~~ leaders -  
 I explained how long I had waited -  
 Visibly please

Met a young man - ~~xxxx~~ reasonably good looking attended San Francisco State  
 started talking - talked for two hours -  
 all sorts of details - developments of riot in which I had heard  
 nothing -- eye-witness -  
 by this time he was hoarse - I suggested we stop  
 I've only told you a little bit - he protested  
 had many documents - he had been secretary --  
 also kept a diary in the stockade --  
 apologized for vulgarity --

kept seeing him once a week or so -- enormous amount of information --

I was so pleased to get documents did not think what must have been  
 like imprisoned for about nine months -- collecting ~~texxxx~~ recollecting  
 experience -- finally somebody taking them seriously --

Saw even then he and Yamada - but especially Kato wanted to be regarded as  
 bold activists -- really tough guys --  
 overshadowed by Abe and Kuratomi -- older and more sophisticated -



THE END

Expecting renunciation of citizenship and Dept of Justice takeover  
Got themselves in bind -- confined American cit. could not just ship them  
to Japan -- give opportunity to renounce --  
expected only a minority -- rest stay here --

Super patriots -- been corresponding -- wrote letters stating they were  
anxious to renounce --

In mid- November -- (after Kira's resignation)  
decided to institute a membership purge -- ~~only the elect go to Japan~~  
only the elect go to Japan --

Made announcements that true Jap. life was ~~full~~ austere full of sacrifice  
must do without luxuries - rich food, liquor cosmetics ,  
especially could not afford vices, gambling sake drinking --

Having defied true Jap. in this way they sent curt notices of expulsion to  
some members -- lots of friends and followers of Kuratomi, Kai, and Tada.

People in camp -- Gee! Waited -

Aaaaa At gathering -- relatives to internees - expelled  
Tetsuo Kodama -- great friend of Kuratomi - black belt movie hero  
friends -- shouts to Mr. Yamada -- dansho  
I hear you're calling me a inu  
No no -- boys withdrew  
Could have been a real battle -- ~~Super~~ Hokoku lost face -

Other rumors -- of confrontations - why were we expelled - explain  
shaved heads to egg like smoothness - Jap. army --  
non-sympathizers left hair grow -- semi-hippie  
Bald heads and the long hairs.

On Dec. 15 it happened  
young man went to Manzanar section -- discreetly followed by friends  
~~Kim~~ Tetsuo Kodama --

long speech -- super patriots are degrading the true spirit of  
Japan -- using gangster tactics  
(got several fine reports on this ) -- unhired assistants-

What to do -- get violent -- damage image with Dept. of Justice -  
privately OO a raid of the gamblers --  
went to proj. attorney and swore out warrants against the ~~gamblers~~  
gamblers --  
assault , assault and battery, assault with a deadly weapon, aggravated assault.

plastered latrines and laundry rooms with stories of how ~~they had been~~  
their peaceful arg had been attacked by gangsters.  
To me vicious threats --

trial was a real riot -- newly shaved heads rising sun - baleful -  
defendants - best civilian garb - noticeably long hair  
prodigies of perjury -- nobody ever saw anything  
defiant a light suspended sentence - nobody else anything  
super patriots - absolutely furious --  
blood will flow --

Kurihara -- maybe gamblers will get rid of the super patriots and then the  
people can get rid of the gamblers --



I really liked the gamblers -- far more in touch with reality --  
 sense of humor --  
 one of most awful things about authoritarianism is its lack of humor -  
 grimness --

Status of super-patriots weakened -  
 much more healthy atmosphere -- what might have happened I don't know  
 But just then rep. of Dept of Justice arrived at center--

Saw immediately super pat. Rising sun - bugles calls - wa-sho  
 Assit to Attorney General - Harvard Law School -  
 Appalling - unseemly - incredible sight --  
 Very critical of the WRA -

Talked to me - and went to Berkeley talk to Dr. Thomas  
 told them they must stop this -- unservice - not permitted  
 in response they stepped it up -  
 Frantic balsts of bugles - right next to fence -  
 drill in front of him --  
 real - blank eyed fanatics --

Rushed to renounce their citizenship --  
 as soon as did - interned them -  
 farewell s- loud Banzies patriotic songs

immediately new slate of officers --  
 evenwilder than the first --  
 Elderly people and little children - standing in bitter cold -  
 even the old ladies are running around in slacks yelling Wash-sho.

Taunted people who had not received renunciation acknowledgement -

They say they are glad to be picked up - They say we, who are left  
 behind in camp, are going to be kicked around, while they will be safe and  
 sound in internment camp --

In midst of this mess -- WRA distributed an official pamphlet- WRA re-distributed  
 a pamphlet, reaffirming intention to close all of the relocation centers by  
 returning all of the evacuees to private life in normal communities.

Had announced it before but certainly would not apply to them -  
 Now panic stricken older people -- began urging their children to renounce -  
 be expelled

newspaper reports ~~for~~ often examples of attack on relocated Jap.

Even in Nisei soldieris - shot at -- homes burned

Quoted to me -- What do they want us to do - go back to Calif.  
 and be filled full of lead. I'm going to sit here and watch.

~~Remex~~ R's g. bragging -- waving papers - renunciation became a mass movement  
 from 600 -- in Jan. 3,400 - 40 % of the camp -

Things got worse - Burnling tried to get WRA to make an announcement it would  
 not force people to leave - wouldn't do it -

By March 705 renounced -- WRA announced March 17 that all Rese. activities  
 unlawful - an punishable by imprisonment.

This was awful to watch and report on -  
~~skip~~ Japan losing -- people renouncing - they stopped reading newspapers -

I thought my respect for authoritarianism applied anthropology -



It wasn't Good for me -- but can't complain - it was much worse for them --

I did two very unprofessional things -- while D of J interning people --

Mr. Wakida --

Mr. Kira --

Only reasonably cheerful meetings - with Mr. Kuratomi and Mr. Tada

~~neither planning to renounce citizenship -- stick it out and relocate~~

neither planning to renounce citizenship -- stick it out and relocate

many cleared up many things for me --

good enough friends so came to Berkeley - after relocated and

helped Dr. Thomas with information

Sometime in May got phone call from Dr. Thomas --

consorting with agitators -- attended ceremony and participated in

worship of Japanese empire.

sex relations with number of Japanese -

made disrespectful remarks about Proj. Dir.

general trouble-maker -- trying to subvert WRA policies.

by temperament an anarchist - my mother had been abused by Los Angeles

police force - so I had no respect for the law -

Communicated with the Dept. of Justice --

The only one of accusations true was the last -

But to WRA, of course, this was the only most heinous sin --

Not sorry to leave - I was really dazed -

Man from Dept. of J. said he'd bring suit for me for libel -

but I felt obligated to do what Dr. Thomas said --

I felt very disturbed by this anarchist story - because of what it  
revealed about anth, colleagues -- an applied anthropologist -

Tell story --

\*\*\*\*\*

Annex

Annex

~~Texts of the work of the field work~~

After having said many times would be co-authorship -

Not so -- did not even mention that I did field work --

Book simply did not make much of an impact -- as social science or as  
history --

I felt dazed - no place really to step -

all my family scattered -- brother in an Army mental hospital

Kroeber gave me a wonderful recommendation to Chicago

nobody I knew -- graduate studies -- theory debates - meaningless --

learned about theory from Murray -- it's a difficult game --

Reluctant to do other field work -- 13 years - but glad I did.



who reported?

Taking note of the  
admitted deficiencies,  
the paper is showing  
excellent perceptive  
openness toward

A LIMITED STUDY OF THE KEIRO HOME FOR THE AGED

Edith G. Stasch

Japanese  
beh. patterns.

Very thoughtful!

If you need a letter from me to  
Keiro, I would write it.

In a Grad. Dept. this would  
be enlarged into a thesis,  
or aspects of the paper.  
Thanks for the note!

A

Edith



## A LIMITED STUDY OF THE KEIRO HOME FOR THE AGED

### What Keiro is

For over four weeks I have been working with a fellow student as a participant observer at the Keiro Nursing Home in Los Angeles. Keiro opened its doors in July, 1969, to serve the needs of the Japanese speaking population. The title "Keiro Nursing Home" translates, "Nursing Home for the Respected Elders," and with them in mind; i.e., the Issei, Keiro functions as an 87 bed unit for the rehabilitation and convalescence of the aged in a culturally oriented environment. ✓

Oriental food tastes are considered and the morning and evening meals are Japanese in menu and style. The mid-day meal is usually American style, but does consist of rice (gohan) and green tea. Special items such as Tsukemono (Japanese pickles), rice (both wet and dry) and Okazer (mixed vegetables) are on the menu.

The physical environment is also moulded to Japanese taste. There is a large garden planted with bamboo, pine, and plum to suggest all the subtle meanings of "shochikuai". Most rooms have smaller gardens or patios to carry out this theme and the feeling of serenity. Mobiles and various forms of Origami are in evidence throughout the building. These were made by either the patients or volunteers. Japanese newspapers and magazines are available and Japanese music can be heard through Homecast radios in the rooms. ✓

The Japanese preference for baths is also considered and each patient is bathed, not showered, at least once a week. Even the physical therapy approach is unique; no machines are used. The individual is encouraged to rehabilitate himself through his own efforts in cooperation with the physical therapist. Results show that patients respond much better to treatment when provided with this ethnic background and approach. ✓

The staff is generally Japanese speaking. The head nurse, an American, does not speak Japanese, but her rapport with the staff is such that this does not seem to present a problem. On the shift we have worked, the nurses, aides, orderlies, and others are Filipinos or Koreans. They all understand Japanese, but many speak little, if any, English.



The volunteer women, a very dedicated group, the social workers, and the administrative staff make up the remainder of the personnel. The volunteers make afghans, slippers, floral arrangements, and feed the patients. The sale of items made by them helps maintain Keiro. My understanding is that the social worker is a member of the staff of UCLA and is paid by UCLA. She is a member of the Asian-American Social Workers, and graduate students under her supervision perform many functions from admission to group therapy.

The staff has been kind, polite, and more than generous with their time. However, I did encounter two problems. The social worker seemed to resent our being there and having access to any information. I believe this had nothing to do with us personally but was and is a professional problem - (1) We were anthropologists, (2) We were doing our work independently without supervision, and (3) We were undergraduates. The second trouble we encountered was being drawn into a luncheon discussion with two Nisei women about the legalization of marijuana. Their coolness to our suggestion that it be legalized has been a deterrent to at least our total effectiveness and communication in that area is now more limited. (2-)

#### Patient Configuration

Before our study is finished, we expect to have more information about the patients than we do now. With the exception of one man, known to be a graduate of the Toykô Art Institute, we have no patient background material. We do not know where in Japan they were born, their educational or social background. This, I consider a limiting factor in any evaluation or interpretation. Last week I had time to quickly scan the records of thirty-nine patients. The results were: ✓

<u>Males</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>21</u>
Residence L.A	15		16
Residence Other	3		5
Medicare	2		2
Divorced	2		0
Separated	1		0
Widower	15		-
Married	3		-
	11		15
No Religion	1		0
Seicho No IE	0		1
Protestant	6		5
Age Range	66-95		64-94



*Summary*

Only four out of thirty-nine were on Medicare, and I have been told very few are on Medicare. I was more than a little surprised to find two divorced and one separated males. I believe this is rare in an Issei population and I hope to inquire about these situations before I leave. I also noted that male protestants belonged to the Methodist Church while female protestants were Presbyterians. Mr. Owens, my teammate reports that most of the orderlies were Presbyterians. I'm not sure there is any connection other than the fact that Presbyterian missionaries must have been and still are active among emigrating orientals.

The total patient population is statistically divided in thirds as far as diagnosis. One third are terminal cases and will die. They are at Keiro because of the need for constant care which their families cannot provide. Another third are there to be rehabilitated and then to go on to a residential or intermediate care facility. These are usually senility cases whose families find themselves incapable of coping with them. The last third are released to their families and go back to the family residence. Some patients come from long distances such as San Diego, San Jose, and even Chicago and Dallas. The average person at Keiro is in his eighties and two are over 100.

#### Male and Female Interaction

My reporting of interaction at Keiro is again limited by a language barrier and the physical and mental condition of the individuals involved. I have tried to separate culturally oriented behavior from senility or disease-caused behavior. This has not always been easy.

*terminal  
divorced &  
in wheel chair*

Overall, there is a general lack of modesty as we know it. Neither sex seems overly concerned about breast or genital exposure. Neither shows any concern when orderlies or aides of the opposite sex bathe them, or when observed by fellow patients. Once in awhile I have witnessed ribald behavior on the part of a woman in regard to a man. In one particular instance, a very dominant man was shouting because he was angry that he had just had a second bowel movement that day in his bed. An old woman in a wheel chair waiting in the hall roared with laughter and told him he was getting what he deserved. That is the story I got from my translator. I had the impression, however, that her reply was a little more obscene judging from the overall reaction from the staff and fellow patients. Another woman told me strongly but quietly to ignore a man demanding attention since "he's out of his head." I think both women reflect a cultural attitude of no longer having to cater to the men because of their age, but I believe each approach was probably an indication of her social background, especially since the latter spoke fluent English.



*Comments*  
It has been pointed out to me by the administrator that most Issei men prefer their own company. This can be observed in the hallways at mealtime when there is little if any conversation between the sexes who are seated in wheelchairs waiting to be pushed into the dining room. In the dining room the men insist upon being seated together, and I get the impression that the women enjoy being together. In the physical therapy room, where patients who have to be hand-fed sit in geriatric chairs, the sexes are mixed. Most are too sick to care. Last week, however, while I was feeding in the physical therapy room, one quiet English-speaking woman laughed and told me not to pay any attention to a man. It happened to be the bowel-movement man, this time showing off to another man by claiming to be a friend of Tojo. He also between bouts of screaming at the food and the way I was feeding him, tried to tell me he was Chinese. He admitted that he was only Chinese for the day. I think he was testing me. Many of the volunteers seemed afraid of him. With the exception of the two of us, all volunteers are Nisei or Sansei women which perhaps explains their fear or respect for this man.

I have noted men clapping at the female attendants for service. I have not witnessed this behavior toward male attendants. One gentleman who usually arrives early in the dining room seems to sense that I have a language and identity problem. As I arrive in the dining room with each patient, he quickly points out their "proper" place. I always bow slightly and thank him which he seems to appreciate. It is not very hard to sense that we are a source of amusement to both sexes. I'm sure that being tall and red headed is a cause for many of the stares - behavior which younger Japanese would never condone. They also enjoy my misuse of san. (2.)

#### Further Observations

I have a few random observations. In general, the men are more aggressive and demanding of attention. The women tend to be docile and quiet. However, I have observed two women who are completely anti-social. One woman in particular is a constant source of irritation to the staff, and both women refuse to eat with the others. They take their meals in their rooms alone. Possibly both women feel socially superior or rejected by their families or maybe both.

I also noticed an increase in the volunteer staff at lunchtime. I was told that these people were relatives who came to feed their parents or kin. Many appear each day and a few for every meal. Some of the patients become extremely irate if their families do not appear, even for one day. They feel this respect is due to them. I understand the concept of oya on and ko but wonder if maybe this is not an exaggeration due to illness or senility. o.k. ✓

*comment  
same?*



We were told by the staff that the Issei were reluctant to accept any change and actually fought rehabilitative innovations which might be culturally new. Women resented having to learn needlepoint but in a true Japanese manner once having learned, they did exceptionally beautiful work. The daughter of one man, an artist who had suffered a stroke, asked the staff to teach him rug hooking. When his wife learned of this, she became enraged at the idea that he was doing "woman's work," and the therapy had to be discontinued.

*interesting case*

Another observation, this one of polite behavior, occurred when I returned an English speaking, distinguished looking gentleman in his wheelchair to the wrong room door. (Orderlies must put all patients in and out of bed.) When I discovered my mistake, I quickly apologized only to be told repeatedly that it was his error causing me trouble, embarrassment, and extra work. Even though I assured him that it was no trouble, I have the feeling that Japanese custom would have involved a more intricate response pattern on my part. ! ✓

#### Staff and Volunteer Conversations

Because of the language barrier, a lot of our information has come from the Administrator and volunteers. I have to thank all of them for their cooperation without which we could not have operated. Talking with the Administrator enabled us to get certain statistics and information such as the social services function which was very interesting. Although disbanded now, a few months ago group encounter sessions were held under the direction of MSW. The problems that came up frequently were about the concepts of nursing; e.g., why were nurses different than aides and why couldn't everyone give medicine? Another problem was the facility itself. Why wasn't it free to all and why were they there? The major problem was Medicare and Medical. All patients were against welfare of any kind. They didn't understand medicare or medical and wanted no part of being known as a welfare recipient even though it might be necessary.

*good! observation*

We also noted that there was little conversation between the Korean staff and attendants and the non-Korean. They more or less stayed to themselves and ate alone. Since they are working in a Japanese oriented home, age old animosities does not seem like a logical explanation. I am more inclined to believe that they are more comfortable from a language standpoint with other Koreans. ? ✓

*I no longer agree with this  
premature conclusion*



In areas other than Keiro we noticed vast differences between Nisei volunteers and the Sansei administrator. The Nisei insisted they are Americans and always were. One woman didn't even know where in Japan her parents had come from. They showed little bitterness about their stay in World War II internment camps and had great praise for their parent's sacrifices. They could not understand the Chicano movement in L.A. today. They felt it to be un-American. The Sansei administrator, on the other hand, seemed to resent his parents and grandparents not protesting the injustice of the camps. Interestingly enough, even though he has a M.A. in Asian Studies and runs a culturally oriented home for the Japanese aged, he has never been to Japan - only Europe. One Nisei woman commented that after the war her father influenced some of his friends against returning to Japan in protest against the camps by saying, "You can show your love for Japan by not returning now and taking food from the mouths of hungry people." A very good example of the individual "in his proper place" for the collective good of Japan.

{ This  
is  
worth a  
M.A.  
This is -  
Topic!

### Conclusions

It is really too soon to make any definite conclusions. As I have said before, we are operating under the difficulty of a language barrier, senility, and illness. Since we feel an obligation to work rather than just observe and get in the way, we have had little time to try translated conversations or investigate case histories. We try to do something different each time and try to meet and mingle alone with different groups. I can make very few conclusions other than already made except to say that all people are human and respond to loving care. However, I see these Issei people getting more loving care and attention than would be given in an American style nursing home, and probably, as a result, responding and living longer. This I cannot prove now. I sense, not unrealistically, a <sup>MELT</sup> type attitude; i.e., strong traditionalism, "everyone in his proper place," even a certain air of the declining Samurai. I am tempted to conclude that these people are more "Japanese" than their modern counterparts in Japan since they brought with them the traditional values or value system of an era which no longer exists and hence, were cut off from change and growth in modern Japan. I think that the need for a Keiro points out how much these people are loved and respected traditionally but, also, how little acculturation has taken place within the Issei community. Something at Keiro is reminiscent of Sonno Joi - a keeping of the Barbarian out - a keeping of the old values - a politeness and gratitude toward outsiders but a quietude and serenity that comes from knowing that the old values will enable one to be loved and gently cared for until the end of his days.

✓  
The-  
in  
here  
is possible



WHAT HAPPENED AT TULE LAKE -

8/13  
100  
2020  
12  
2  
6

18,000 - adults and their children -- ~~xxxx~~

Refused to swear allegiance - renounce ~~citizenship~~ allegiance to Japan -  
to be confined in special center until arranged for expatriation --

Major part of lecture what happened in this so called disloyal center -  
remaining 100,000 plus -

some slowly relocated -- mainly hung on in centers - until forced out  
many male Nisei volunteered for Army service -

Pop. of Tule Lake -

First 3,000 - who refused to move -- even if Ye-Yes -

500 to 1000 - really made up their minds to go to Japan --

some - a better future -

some -- a few -- a dishonor to serve country that had treated them so.

great majority -- 12,000 -

~~xxxx~~ I would say - many saw T. Lake as place of refuge -  
put off decision --

could bring up - unjust treatment abuses - whenever needed moral support  
takks as display-

Bro gh int from 8 centers- Full batfallion - watch towers - exactly like Nazi  
newcomers - found T. Lake in awful shape - filthy -- boarding taken -  
bitter cold - food and hospital inf. to others centers -

moving is always hard on people --

Two weeks after first came in - truck of farm workers turned over  
~~manx~~ several injured - 1 died -

pigs are living beings

Many people horri~~ed~~ and indignant - famr workers struck -- all but pigs  
Acting with speed - authorities - always find unbelievable -

Peop~~le~~ ca~~ll~~ d block meetings-- elected block representatives ~~tex~~

~~repx~~ Baihyo Sha Kai - Representative Body -

committees - inve. hospital - latrined - ~~educatix~~ housing -

ask for improvements -

Also committess asked for public funeral for man who died

Ad r fuesd -

held it anyway -- Ad turned off the address system --

Oct. 6 - seven men selected by DHS - met with ad. list of grievances -

Project Dir. Mr. Best - ~~prtx~~ stalled - meanwhile calling in vol~~nteers~~  
from other centers - to break the stt rke.

Nov. 1 Dillon Myer visit - Natiooaal Dir. of WRA -

Ne.g C. seized opportunity - great demonstrations - thousands came -  
very frightening to ad. -

Myer put them off with promises --

~~Ingenualixgeniatixx-~~

Among all people -- this kind of sit. encourages - the vainglorious hoods -  
act on impulse - without atuthorty - bust up something -

Group of young men - ~~decidedxxxx~~ thought food from warehouses being given  
to strikers - stop it -- at night ruckus-

Panic stricken Project Director called in Army to control center --

Army put line of sliders -- later t build a fence --

Now -- ~~mostxxxxphenixxxxx~~ None of people in center knew this --

Thousands came to work next morning offices ospitals -

Soldiers - thought this was another demonstration - hostile Jpas  
threw tear gas at them -- - all ran back bewildered

Whereas maj. of angry - or aggressive people had supported Baihyo Sha Kai  
now most of conservistives -- employed were sore and humiliated  
People went on a general strike -- no one worked --



Now this was a very messy situation because center could not function unless  
Jap. worked - no coal - no garbage - no nurses - workers -  
police -

Neg. between Army and Neg. Committee --

But Army and WRA got bright idea that this ideal time to cut overstuffed work crews  
had had policy of spreading employment --  
coal crew 300 to 90 - no work to agitators -

Neg. committee resisted -- decided to hold mass meeting Army and NC to speak -  
Night session -- debate - jumped on Neg.C. - decide not go to mass meeting  
but nobody told them Army - ~~very complex~~ but did tell the block man.  
announced that morning

Colonel driven in - many soldiers - surrounded stage fixed bayonets -  
not a soul there -  
gave every word of speech to empty firebreak -  
Nov. 14

Next day / began to ~~search~~ search for and arrest - members of DHS and any others  
suspected of being leaders of strike --  
re-confined them in a separate stockade --  
no formal charges or trial --

Instead of weakening strike - this hardened many people's resolution -  
if stopped -- abandoned their elected ~~representatives~~  
out of girl

Many subtle term -- here - if ask man to be leader - he accepts -  
~~then he has an obligation~~ you have an honorable obligation to stand by him  
to give up strike - would break this obligation -

Life in center very miserable - Nov. Dec. - poor food - cold - no work -  
~~no work~~ Why it meant so much to some people that I remembered.

Very embarrassing - for Army WRA and Army - Army didn't want it -  
Push job back on WRA -  
Must stop the strike

Were able secretly to approach a few moderate Jap, older men of influence  
Old Tuleans - managers of Coos  
finally arranged a referendum vote -- for strike or against it -  
8, 713 voted - against strike by only 473 - not very propitious -

This time allowed to visit --  
not good - people beaten - inwardly agry - ~~disgusted~~ *no trust in admin* disillusioned -  
rep. still in stockade -  
Coordinating Committee -- appointed by ad. - even mild people called them

*Met. - Jimi Hara*  
CC. most good and sensible men -- begged ad. ~~not~~ to release men in stockade  
Ad. wouldn't do it -- *RIGHT MISTAKE*

BIGGEST MISTAKE AND ADMINISTRATION CAN DO \* or voters  
is to lock up and incapacitate the trusted leaders - men who  
are respected and willing to negotiate --  
courage and principles --

But Ad. consistently refused to release the Negotiating Committee and other  
men - several hundred --

What developed - group of ~~ag~~ underground agitators --  
super-patriotic toward Japan - not scruple to terrorize the people  
immediate repatriation for favored group --



Met them - talked to me for hours - their historian -- thought as German descendent that I sympatized with Nazis.

Some of these men of good intentions - but got tied up with gangsteers  
young men - ~~as many drillers~~ - hoods -

x p x a x d x m m m x a i n e n t i x m m x x a x p a n m i n e x h u o t a x x x x x x

Read what like - 120-121 -

How do relatively small group of terrorists take control of a population --?

Helped by tragic accident - truck worker shot  
people terribly frightened - - Ad. tried - but could not dispel the ribble  
anxiety and ~~anger~~-unexpressed anger  
Inu rumors -- beatings -- ~~by~~ many ~~by~~ by Resegregatio sit -  
Worse and worse hysteria -  
6 beatings - threatened might be murder -  
P or Mr. Noma - from larynx to base of brain -

Now things fell to pieces -  
all Japanese police resigned -- people in panic  
Coord. Commi Coop officers - wives and children fled to hostiatl  
At this point repo of ACLU - a rrived - consult with stockade interrees  
who had plans of brining suit for illegal retrain.

In few weeks people because to make expressions of shame and regret -  
p. 143

It is a terrible thing to live in a community with no police force  
did not dare to make any complaint to administration - they could not protect you  
or your family -- *little boys must live like big boys my life*  
Must join a gang -- join the gang of your choice - speak up - be killed  
don't speak up - enslaved.

ACLU \* twohun er strikes - Ad, released the Daihyo Sha Kai leaders -  
they refused to become/members of the increasingly powerful  
Rese. group svitve or assume office  
By now had Army of several hundreded yo ng men drilling for service in  
Japanese Army --

Reseg. enraged at this - November - idea of Renunciation of Citizenship  
they began to expel members of the old Neg. Committee - calling them  
non Jap.

But Old Daihyo Sha Kai had their supporters -- and boys -- Mitsuo Kimura  
black belt -- gamblers and sake-drinkers -- soft livers --

Phenomnal event -- the Gamblers and s ke drinkers rose aga inst the Super pa triots  
Amazing duel --  
Poor reseg. could only have them arrested -- given ~~suspended~~ sentecnes

I would have liked to have seen them fight it out - but then John Burling with crew - arrived - insitutie proceedings for Remucn. of Citizenship - WRA with seemingly ineradicable stuipidy - invited others to begin to prepare for relocation -

Super patriots - rushed ofo renounce right away -taunted those who did not  
 Spoilage 342 - terrified - fill df ullo f lead -  
 351 Mr. Inouye - in uniform refused service -  
 snowballed in panic -- 7 out of 10 renounced --



~~This unnecessary~~

This happened in January and Feb. 1945 -

~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ This was a terrible time to be in camp - and  
following months - more and more clear that Japan was losing  
In May I was kicked out -- WRA made accusations -

Dropped Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki Aug.

sent all these people to Japan -- whereon ~~xxxx~~ Jap. govt. confined them  
in a center - no place for them --

Then Supreme court found evacuation unconstitutional -

Subsequently Dept. of Justice permitted some to return -  
FBI men come to me -- people I knew --