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Kurihara, Goe

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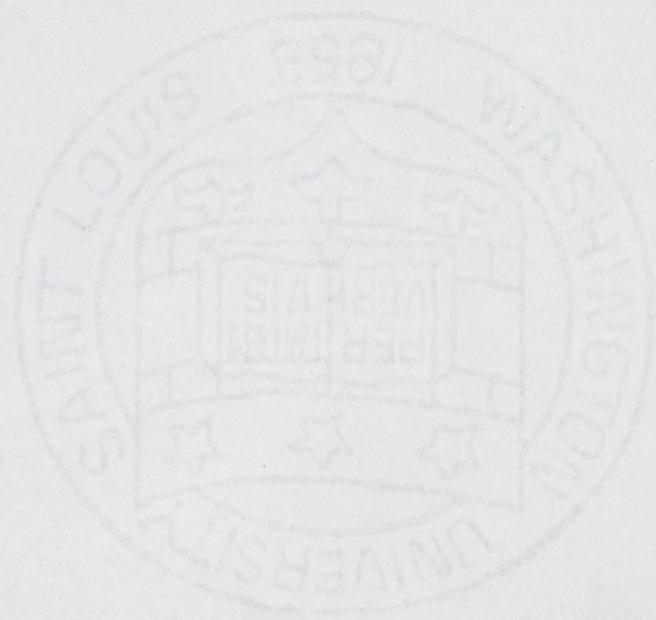
1944-1945

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LONGITUDINAL ORAL HISTORY OF JOE KURIHARA

1944 - 1945

TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER



2. Mr. Penn had been Project Director at the Leupp isolation camp and subsequently became Assistant Project Director in charge of Operations Division at Tule Lake. For additional information about Mr. Kurihara see the Japanese Relocation Papers in Bancroft Library, Thomas and Nishimoto, "The Spoilage," pp. 363-370, Michi Weglyn, "Years of Infamy," pp. 132-3.7

FEBRUARY 2, 1944

FIRST MEETING WITH JOE KURIHARA

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

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

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

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

"In spite of my experiences in Los Angeles, I was still optimistic enough to think and believe that, soon, the citizens amongst us would be given some kind of consideration, and not just herded about like prisoners of war."¹

As optimism was replaced by a deep feeling of grievance, Mr. Kurihara became an outspoken critic of the WRA administration. He also denounced the Nisei leaders of the Japanese American Citizens League, who, he felt, were meekly submitting to injustice. When one of the Nisei leaders at Manzanar was beaten and his accused assailant jailed, the residents of Manzanar staged a demonstration which culminated in the project director's calling in the army. Kurihara and several other men suspected of being agitators were arrested. He was sent first to Moab and later to Leupp isolation camps. Transferred to Tule Lake as a segregant in December of 1943, he was, at first, placed in the stockade by the army. Mr. Best, the project director intervened, and Kurihara was released from the stockade into the "Tule Lake Colony".

✓ During his confinement at Moab and Leupp, Kurihara had written several articles denouncing the evacuation, the living conditions in the centers, and the treatment of the Nisei by the U.S. government. ✓ He had sent one of these articles to The Saturday Evening Post and Collier's, but it was rejected. Mr. Penn had suggested that he send it to Dr. Thomas, head of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study.²

¹/I. Many of the Japanese American citizens interviewed by me in 1981-1982 told me that for months after the evacuation they had expected that, as American citizens, they would shortly be released.

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

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

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

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



MARCH 15, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

I On my second visit to Tule Lake (March 14-23, 1944) I found Kurihara cordial and courteous as before. I had read his article and was able to comment intelligently upon it. He said he had sent his first article (which we have) to the Saturday Evening Post and to Collier's, but they had refused to publish it. He said he could understand their feelings, since this is a time of war. He expressed himself as willing to answer any questions I asked.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among those seven are several people whose record is so black that I even flatly refuse to talk to them. My profession is a public accountant. I nearly sent him (Murakami) to jail for defrauding the company of \$40,000 dollars. They have to use force if they want to stay in their positions. There are others too. The Administration doesn't know their past. If they find out, they should be dismissed.

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

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

Right now the Co-op is in a sad spot in this camp. The Co-op is charging an exceedingly high price. It isn't necessary for them to charge such high prices. Prices in some cases are so high it seems ridiculous. They have a mop - worth 15 cents, even today it could not be worth more than 25 cents at Woolworths. They are charging 55 cents. For an aluminum teapot which used to cost 25 cents and is probably worth 50 cents now, they are charging \$1.25.

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

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

Arrival of Internees From Leupp:

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

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

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

Kurihara's Friend:

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

Public Meetings:

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

Theft of Rice:

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

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

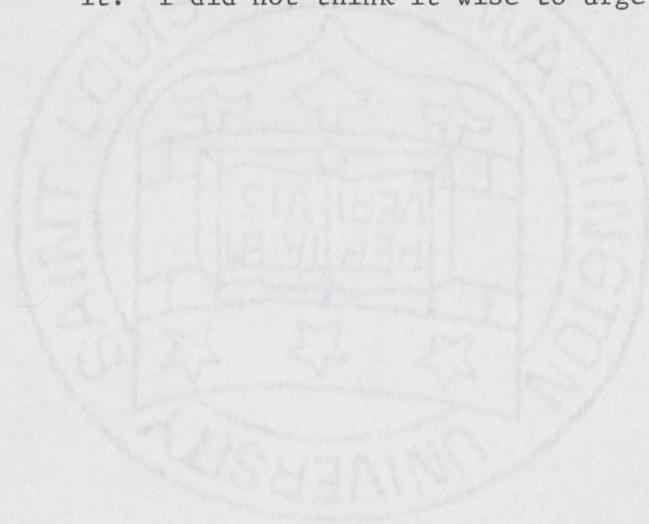
Mr. Best:

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

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

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

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



Paper by Mr. Kurihara.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are in the midst of wilderness. Miles and miles from town. Even at Leupp, somewhere in the heart of the limitless desert, barbed wire fences with towers at strategic points were erected and manned by guards day and night with tommy guns. It seemed so ridiculous I wondered if the Americans could be a bunch of fools to think that we would be foolish enough to try an escape when death from thirst and starvation lurked beyond those fences. Here or at Leupp or at any other center, the same holds true, therefore I honestly believe the fences and the towers are not necessary. Quicker they are removed, the better it will be for the good of America.

The location of the Administration buildings, fenced off to protect the administrative forces was bad enough without erecting the fence. Situated out of the way and further separated by the Base Hospital give little or no chance whatever for the residents and the officials to meet and cultivate friendship. Even a casual friendship would go a long way to maintain peace and order. This error must be corrected.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If any suspicious character is reported by the scums of the Japanese Race and trial to prove the guilt or innocence of the person apprehended is held, then I would say there exists at least a semblance of justice which will satisfy the residents. But so far I have not heard of any trial determining the guilt or innocence of the person arrested and yet the person accused is held in the Military Stockade undoubtedly as guilty. This method is being practiced to frighten others with no intention of wanting to fight for justice. It may subdue the malcontents and they may remain quiet while force is on parade, but as soon as this force is withdrawn the trouble may break again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Undue accusation of persons stealing and of grafts goes on without respect of the person under fire. Thus creating suspicion in the eyes of the people without proofs. Recently proofs were uncovered and the suspects were arrested. I personally hope they will be given the severest penalty if found guilty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So far I have not seen any type of recreation sponsored for the adults, to divert their unpleasant mind. If there is enough work in this camp to keep the adults well occupied, recreation may not be necessary but when work is so scarce as it is here, recreation will play a great part in keeping the people satisfied. But neither work nor recreation are being sponsored to relieve the dissatisfied from concocting mischief.

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

Administration may wonder why the Japanese act so unreasonably. It was the belief of the officials that the Japanese are very submissive and co-operating, yet they've revolted. Well, who wouldn't? To my judgement, it is a wonder that the Japanese have this long conducted themselves very commendably.

The worst thing the authorities can do to create trouble is depriving the residents of privileges. While at Leupp, our radios and phonographs were taken away from us by the order of the chief of Internal Security as punishment because two of us went to ascertain the rules on the use of short wave radios. If isn't that we have violated any rules of the camp that justified his order but it was that he didn't like the idea that we went to see Mr. Best directly about it. This has hurt his pride so much he immediately acted like a big bully, thereby creating a cause of trouble. I have never seen such an egotistical person in all my life. So egotistic he failed to recognize the fact that he was hated by all.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The greater majority of these so called loyal are not truly patriotic. They've declared themselves loyal because of personal reasons; the greatest of which is to avoid the conscription into the Japanese Military Forces in the event when exchange of prisoners of war is speedily carried out. But should they remain in the U.S. by swearing allegiance, they would escape that fear of being conscripted since this government then was deferring all Japanese Nationals to 4C and 4F. So they did and considered themselves wise and safe, laughing at those who hastily renounced their loyalty to the country of their birth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



MARCH 21, 1944TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

/At Tule Lake I gathered data on current events and attitudes. Simultaneously I tried to learn all I could about what had happened during the strike and the period of martial law. At this point in time I was particularly interested in whether or not the Negotiating Committee and the Daihyo Sha Kai had, for the most part, been regarded as "the peoples representatives". Though Mr. Kurihara had not come to the camp until December of 1943, I asked his opinion./

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

The Negotiating Committee:

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

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

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

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

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

Reasons Why Status Quo Broke:

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

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

Vote on Status Quo:

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

The Part of the Co-op:

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

I had a friend of mine pulled into the stockade January 10. Best said he saw no charge against him from the request of WRA. He hesitated to release him. I went to Sachs. The last remark he gave to me was "It is up to the Coordinating Committee."

The Japanese are held in the stockade by the Japanese. Sasaki is probably following the orders of other people.

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



MARCH 22, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

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

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

Of Sasaki² he said: *There are a couple of men under him. They express themselves better in English than he does, and they go over his head in doing things. If he could wriggle out of the committee, all right. But if he waits longer, some day it's going to be too late. He will be blamed regardless of the consequences that follow.*

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

Daihyo Sha Kai

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

✓ Mr. Kurihara suggested to me that it might be a good idea to talk to George Murakami³ to see what a man like him would say. He could probably tell me a great deal about the Daihyo Sha. I agreed, but shrink for seeking this unpopular gentleman out in his barrack. If I were seen, I explained, it might do me great harm. Here I may be wrong but I can stomach just so much inuing on my own part.

/1. I was still obliged to be escorted by a member of the Internal Security (project police) whenever I went into "the colony". But I took a chance and made this visit without being caught./

/2. The chairman of the Coordinating Committee.

/3. Mr. Kurihara was the only Japanese American who suggested that I talk to men who were hated or feared by most of the people in camp. I could not bring myself to talk to Mr. Murakami, but six months later, at Kurihara's suggestion, I began to visit Mr. Kira./

APRIL 19, 1944

TALK WITH JOE KURIHARA

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

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

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

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

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

Mrs. Tsuchikawa is behind this movement for further segregation.

✓ The Co-ordinating Committee resigned last Saturday (the 8th). They have now agreed that they will continue until another representative body is prepared to take their place. (Rob (Penn said that the Administration had taken no steps to initiate this action. Permission is still awaited from Washington.)

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

There were over 5,000 names on this petition.

So great was the confusion that I was permitted to go into the "colony" without a police escort. I visited five Japanese American friends and acquaintances and found none of them in a state of tension. Mr. Kurihara, however, was deeply concerned. /

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

✓ Frankly speaking, you may convey to Mr. Penn, that if there is any trouble here, the trouble will be against the Japanese only. It will not affect the Administration in any way. No demonstration will be made. I don't know how badly it will affect the Administration. The only thing that will kill it is for the Administration

1. Mr. Best had left the project on official business and Mr. Black was functioning as Project Director in his absence. /

2. For a detailed description of these events see Thomas and Nishimoto (1946:230-5, 306-7). /

to act in time to hasten the segregation of the Yes-Yes group, the American loyalists. If they don't, it will come to a head. The only other way is to have the Army continually patrol the camp.

I don't want to side with anybody, but the only thing to do is to get the Yes-Yes group out, or have the Army patrol.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APRIL 12, 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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



APRIL 14, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

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

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

Reasons Why Old Tuleans Were Not Involved:

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

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

Tule Cooperative:

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

General Uprising:

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

The Loyals:

We consider them, those who answered Yes-Yes, as loyal to the United States. Those who answered No, and then Yes, we consider them as komori (bats), neither bird nor animal. The No and Yes, and now No, are such, neither Japanese nor Americans. They are men without a country. We despise them worse than those who said Yes.

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

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

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

Mr. Ishikawa:

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

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

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

APRIL 17, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Dropped in a moment on Kurihara to see if he had been able to get the paper which an Issei friend had written. The man had not finished typing the paper.

Kurihara repeated his opinion that he did not think any major trouble would spring up between the colonists and the Administration, but that the evacuees would fight among themselves. As an example he told of a beating which had taken place in the last few days. A man, the brother of a man who showed movies in camp, had been set upon and beaten. No one knew the reason, but *"we suspect that it was the other group."* I asked whom he meant by this *"other group."* Kurihara implied that it was the "loyals" who were employing these strong arm methods, *"but we are not sure."*

He also told of trouble in the Internal Security. (The name of this organization has been changed by the Administration to "Police" but all the evacuees continue to refer to it as "Internal Security.") A group of Issei on the force are suspected by the younger members of "reporting things" to the Administration.

✓ When it became apparent that the Coordinating Committee would have to resign, the Administration found it imperative to sponsor a plan for organizing an evacuee committee with which it could deal in channeling communications to the evacuees.¹ The Administration made several attempts, all of which were ignored by the residents. Finally, camp-wide block nomination meetings for an Arrangements Committee were scheduled for the night of May 18. Mr. Kurihara was the only one of my respondents who told me that he thought such a body should be formed.

1. "The Spoilage", p. 241.7

DONE

- ✓ p. 1 - take out brackets - sorry there are so many
I'd like to change footnote two -
Begin with sentence - Mr. Robertsen - etc. Follow this with
For additional information about Mr. Kurihara
see the Japanese Relocation Papers in Bancroft Library, Thomas and
Nishimoto, "The Spoilage," pp. 363-370, Michi Weglyn, "Years of
Infamy," pp. 132-3.
- ✓ p. 4 - Colonel Meek
✓ remove ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ \$\$\$ (), that is, parentheses -
- ✓ p. 7 - to prevail
- ✓ p. 8 - I did not ~~prxx~~ read K's manuscript - and so did not notice the pencilled
"omit" - This paragraph should not be omitted -
- ✓ p. 9 - Similarly - I did not mean for you to omit these 5 paragraphs.
- ✓ p. 13 - ✓ a soldier
just stay away from
- ✓ p. 14 - ✓ George Murakami
✓ talk to Mr. Murakami
- ✓ p. 15. ✓ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Mr. Penn
✓ Penn was greatly concerned
✓ Penn thought ~~feub~~
✓ They have now agreed
✓ Penn said
✓ to Mr. Penn
- ✓ p. 17 - the camps
- ✓ p. 20. to senser a plan

MAY 14, 1944

Beatings in the Manzanar Center:

I heard there were four boys in Manzanar badly thrashed. They were _____, _____, _____, and one other. They were all badly beaten up, and are in the hospital. They are Issei. Those who beat them were those whom they had persuaded to change their answers from No to Yes. Then the boys got caught in the draft and beat them up.

Of course, I don't know whether this is authentic, but I heard they are having martial law in Manzanar now. How much of it's true I don't know, but that's what I heard.

Mr. Best and Good Will:

I heard Best has been trying to regain the good will of the people. One good thing that has been done, they've taken the fence down (the fence dividing ward 7 from the rest of the colony). That has made the people feel better. If they would continue to tear the fences down, Mr. Best could regain part of the confidence which he wants on the part of the people.

Resegregation:

I can't state definitely what progress they are making. Right now, I don't think the opposition group (resegregationists) is getting support, because in my opinion their original intentions and attitude was wrong.

Change in Attitude:

Things have changed a great deal. Mr. Robertson himself is feeling very much relieved. I heard Mr. Provinse had a great deal to do in influencing Mr. Best to change his mind and take advice from the right party (Mr. Robertson). I hope Best will continue. Right now things are simmering down pretty fast.

Bringing Small Groups of Segregants to Tule Lake:

People coming in a little at a time like that will continue to cause small trouble and unrest during the period of transition. They're easily agitated and will fall in line with the agitators. What I'm looking forward to right now is that those who took the leadership in camp in the last incident were from Rower and Jerome. They are going to get a fair number of sympathizers (from the groups who have just entered). I'm thinking of watching that end of it.

When segregation first started, if they had had all the camps brought in together, they could have gotten all the trouble over at once. Everytime a new group of people comes in they are going to find out and see for themselves that conditions aren't what they should be.

Proposed Nomination of Candidates for a Representative Committee

I know only a little about it. I'm not sure, but I'm afraid this thing is going to cause a little trouble. There is a party opposing it. The one who is opposing it, not because he knows anything about it, but because he merely took a dislike to it. He has some sort of a false impression. He may try to cause a little trouble. (I did not think it wise to press Kurihara for more information on this opposition leader. When he feels like telling me, he'll tell me.)

People are not very enthusiastic about it. But I think that a body ought to be formed to try to cooperate with the Administration and set things rolling harmoniously. You'll find the Issei will try to cooperate with the Administration whether they like it or not. The Nisei will fall in with them too. So eventually they are all going to be called inu.

It would be best if the body stood up and spoke for the rights of the Japanese, even if they are thrown into the stockade. Then they'll be idolized. But if he falls into line, he's going to be called a stooge no matter what he does.

Mr. Best must recognize the opposition. If the people (elected) have the guts to stand up, O.K. But if mostly Issei are elected they will swallow and swallow and just get to be despised.

You're not going to find any respectable, well-educated Japanese willing to attempt that position. You'll get a body of people who before evacuation were just nobody.

Boys Unjustly Put in Stockade:

As far as isolating those boys who didn't have no connection with the incident, that holds true, not only in Tule Lake but in Manzanar. Many were sent from Manzanar who had nothing to do with it. One was a boy who if he were dressed in girl's clothes could not be told from a girl. Many of the boys have been kept in the stockade for four months or six months.

(Kurihara added that he thought some men were imprisoned, though innocent, just to terrify the people.)

Three Issei from block nine were thrown into the stockade only last month. They didn't raise no trouble but had been complaining against people in that block regarding the distribution of gifts sent from Japan. But they were thrown into the stockade and are still there.

False Statement on Terrorism:

In the paper I've read that some Nisei high school teachers have been threatened because they are pro-American. But there has not been any threatening. That's a falsehood.¹

/The nomination meetings for an Arrangements Committee were a ludicrous failure. Out of the 74 blocks in the center, only 15 nominated representatives. When I discussed this phenomenon with my respondents, most of them smiled with oblique or ironic satisfaction. Mr. Kurihara, however, was concerned, and gave me an excellent explanation of why the meetings had failed./

/1. I had not raised the questions of threats. In view of the fact that the center was shortly to be engulfed in a wave of terrorism, Mr. Kurihara's emphatic denial of this report of threats is curious./

MAY 21, 1944TALK WITH KURIHARANomination Meeting of Friday Night /May 18/:

I didn't attend the meeting. I was home and they came for me. But I refused to attend. I heard they had only twenty people attending. They seem to have appointed me and another gentleman next door. But I flatly refused to accept the nomination. Regardless of what Mr. Best may say, I will absolutely refuse to serve.

(I asked Mr. Kurihara why he was so set against serving.)

To be frank, I made a promise to Mr. Best, Mr. Robertson and Colonel Austin and Meek that I will never appear in any political affair unless they officially free me to accept the nomination. (Kurihara added that Best and Robertson might release him from his promise on this issue but he couldn't see /Colonel/ Austin and Meek doing it.)

People are taking the attitude, why should they make a committee when they /WRA Administration/ refused to recognize them in the first place. If the Administration had recognized the boys at that time (November) they would have had success this time.

The agitators will certainly claim the credit for this.

As you know, the Japanese people are, I would say, stubborn. Once they bear a grudge they very seldom forget. Mr. Best lost the confidence of the people at that time.

Relation of this Election Flop to Status Quo Vote of January:

The first status quo proved the situation at that time. The difference was so small, that proved that the residents were against the Administration. If they had been in favor of the Administration, the vote at that time would have been overwhelming.

Rumored Release of Reverend Abe:¹

I hear that Abe is going to be released. But if they let Abe go they must let the rest go. If they did that it would create a much more happy atmosphere.

/On May 24 the relatively relaxed atmosphere at Tule Lake was shattered by a tragic event. Mr. Okamoto, a Japanese American construction worker, returning from an assignment outside the area was shot at close range by an Army sentry. Mr. Okamoto died on May 25, but when I visited Mr. Kurihara I had not yet heard of his death./

/1. Reverend Abe had been one of the most influential leaders of the uprising of October and November 1943./

MR. KURIHARA

I heard quite a lot of criticism about it, but one thing surprises me, the people are very calm. There is quite a lot of resentment but they are not excited. The people are saying, let's be cool and know more about it before we take any action. We must not make any rash judgement until we know the facts completely. The colony itself is taking it calmly.

You might find hot heads may start to agitate. But we must be fair. Mr. Best is not responsible.

We had an announcement here at noon, in English and Japanese. As I say, they were very calm. The Japanese could take it. They'll take it more than any other race.

From the information that has been gathered, of course I don't know, it looks as if the soldier used too rash judgement in using his gun.

(I then inquired how the man was. Kurihara told me he was dead. I expressed my regret. His eyes filled with tears and he began to cry, repeating over and over again: "I wonder if there is a God." I was much moved and did not know what to say.)

I was so shaken by the news of Mr. Okamoto's death and by seeing Mr. Kurihara cry, that I almost abandoned my plan to visit people "and collect their attitudes about the shooting." To take notes of peoples' expressions of fear and grief would, I felt, be in the worst of taste. But I had an appointment with my secretary, who lived in the same block as Mr. Kurihara, and an appointment at the Co-op to get my hair washed and set. I decided to keep these appointments and then leave the "colony".

My secretary, a young woman, was so relieved to see me and so eager to tell me what everyone was saying that I concluded that she found my visit reassuring.

Joe Kurihara - May 25, 1944

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Ay

MAY 25, 1944

[After lunch I called on Mr. Kurihara. I did not feel comfortable doing this, but I hoped that Kurihara would advise me whether or not it was proper or decent for me to visit people at this time. Kurihara was unusually gentle and serene. I did not realize that he was in a state of shock.]

called on several other friends and was also well received ("Doing Fieldwork", pp. 131-2.)/

MAY 28, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara did not want to talk about the incident. It hit him pretty hard. Consequently we discussed marriage, General De Witt, the fact that De Witt is rumored to be bossed around by his wife, the fact that De Witt's removal from the Pacific Coast may be looked upon as a demotion and kindred topics. Kurihara's only comment on the shooting was that it is a great shame to the Army of the United States.

JUNE 8, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

I found Kurihara studying Japanese and was going to excuse myself, but he invited me to stay because (he said) conversation was good for him and rested his eyes.

He reported two current rumors, now widely spread over camp, that the fence between the colony and the Administrative Area was going to be taken down in July and that people would be allowed to make excursions to the nearby hills. These two rumors, whether true or not, were making people feel very much better. He had heard that the janitors were to be allowed to go out first - their names are even being put down. If the janitors went, everybody would feel better, because then they would feel that someday maybe they could go out too.

General public sentiment over the shooting, said Kurihara, is quieting down, but seeing soldiers come into camp, where they have no business, still makes the people feel badly. Kurihara said that he had been questioned by Japanese because Mr. Robertson and I visited him. He told these questioners that his conscience was clear. (Note - musn't go so often as I have been, lest people begin to call Mr. Kurihara an inu.)

The ubiquitous inu intruded into the conversation again. Having inu around, said Kurihara, kept everybody on edge. Everybody suspected everybody else and it led to a great deal of hard feeling. It kept the people in a constant state of tension.

Mr. Kurihara gave me several papers which, he said, had been written by an Issei friend of his, Kazuhiko Itabashi, who lived in the Manzanar section. I was impressed by these papers and at our next meeting I asked Mr. Kurihara if it would be all right if I visited Mr. Itabashi. Mr. Kurihara encouraged me to make the visit.

Soon after the shooting and death of Mr. Okamoto, most of my respondents began to talk about the inu (informers or stool pigeons). Some people told me about an Issei warden who had tried to stop the young men in his block from doing morning exercises similar to those of the Japanese military. These men, they said, were inu. The Co-op board of directors were called inu because, according to rumor, they were enriching themselves at the expense of the residents. Even Mr. Tada, the ex-chief of police was called an inu because, it was said, he "went to the administration section too often."

On the night of June 12, the brother of Mr. Noma, the general manager of the Co-op, was assaulted and beaten so severely that he had concussion of the brain. It was reported that he might lose his eyesight. On the night of June 13, the Issei warden who had protested against the military exercises was assaulted and (I was told) suffered a fractured skull. A few days later a man who had been the chief eyewitness of the Okamoto shooting was threatened but escaped a beating.

On June 15, at the project high school commencement exercises, Mr. Black, Assistant Project Director in charge of Community Management Division, gave an address. Teachers told me that he began by saying: "I am an American and as an American I can see the outcome of the war only as a complete victory for the Allied cause." From this point on, there was continuous heckling from young men in the back of the room. (Fieldnotes, June 16, 1944.) On June 17 I visited Mr. Kurihara./

JUNE 17, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

(Kurihara is certainly correct here; I have found no one yet (except perhaps out and out anti-Daihyo Sha people) who doesn't seem to enjoy talking about the beatings.)

Noma (the man beaten Sunday or Monday) had a brain concussion. He may be left totally blind. His left eye will be blind, I heard. Noma is not to be blamed. He came back from a concentration camp just a little while ago. But his brother is manager of the Co-op. And people had a grievance against the manager of the Co-op. Then this fellow who is innocent gets it.

Reaction to Black's Speech:

That wasn't the place for a person to make that kind of a statement or speech. A man of his position should know. A thing like that could cause trouble. It would cause bitterness among the youngsters. They're going to take it as an insult, not to them, but to the Japanese government.

When Colonel Meek came to Moab¹ he tried to persuade me to become an American again. I told him I wouldn't change my mind. He said, 'What percentage of people is loyal to Japan?' I told him 97%. This was just before the talk about the draft. I told him I doubt if you will have more than 2% enlist. It turned out to be 1½ percent.

When I was in Manzanar I told the Citizens Federation 97% of the people were loyal to Japan. Perhaps 80% true to Japan and 15% doubtful right now. The Japanese American Citizens Federation had to disband. I was right.

You'll find in this camp that if you talk against Japan even the kids will get sore. When Japan was making those big advances even the seven and eight year old kids bought papers to read the headlines. Some of them are for America, but when the Japanese Army suffers a reverse, they say, 'I don't believe it.'² The thing that changed their minds was evacuation.

/1. An isolation center in Utah./

/2. As the Japanese reverses continued many adults told me they did not believe the reports./

JUNE 21, 1944

On 21 June a mentally deranged elderly man attacked his roommates with a hammer, almost killing one of them. A Nisei girl told me: "People are saying that even this beating was an inu beating. The old man found out that his friends were acting like inu." (Fieldnotes, July 2, 1944)

/During the latter half of June gossip about the misdeeds of the Cooperative Enterprises was intensified. Stories of the extent of their alleged graft became fantastic. Whatever their source, the stories were accepted as fact and spread from one family to another. Some people said that Mr. Noma, the General Manager, was attempting to buy off opponents with Co-op money. Others accused Co-op officials of outright theft./

On the evening of the 25th of June I was present at a discussion between two teachers and two statistic workers, I was told of how the teacher in charge of young evacuee teachers had started a discussion on the Co-op. The young people had immediately begun to criticize. The teacher, Miss Hobby, had then suggested that the young people get their complaints in order and invite Mr. Runcorn, the new Co-op head, to speak to them and answer these complaints. After some consultation the evacuee teachers refused absolutely to do this. Miss Hobby said that she pointed out that it was their duty as "*leaders of the community*" to take this action, but the young people remained unmoved. "*We start that,*" said one of them, "*and it'll be two-by-fours for us.*" (See "The Spoilage", pp. 269-70 for additional details.)

/By the middle of June the project administration had become aware of the tensions and the disorganized condition in the camp. It was also cognizant of the unpopularity and inherent weakness of the evacuee police. In an attempt to improve the deteriorated relations of the police with the residents, the administration had planned to organize a Police Commission composed of eight ward representatives. An announcement in the Newell Star of June 1 attracted little interest from the residents. But as the beatings continued, social disorganization in the community became more pronounced. Petty thefts and other crimes took place with increasing frequency; the WRA officials became alarmed and renewed their efforts to organize the commission by announcing on June 22 that 'an election will be held Wednesday (June 28) in each block to select by ballot or by acclamation one man whom they consider qualified to act as a Police Commissioner./¹

/1. "The Spoilage", pp. 266-7./

JUNE 26, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Police Commissioners:

Dropped in on Kurihara to ask him about reactions to the news of Allied Victories in the Pacific, but I began the conversation by asking about the proposed election of Ward Police Commissioners tomorrow. He said he had not even heard of it. But he was of the opinion that it would be a resounding failure. Nobody with any self respect would take the position because they would invariably be labelled as inu.

Results of Allied Victories in the Pacific:

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

But if America had not evacuated the second generation, then probably most of them would have sworn to support the United States, and would have fought in this war. Now they're willing to go out (relocate) whether they're despised or not.

I've talked to many of them. They say, 'I'm going back to Japan.' Then I ask, 'Then why aren't you studying?' They're not studying. They're just fooling around and gambling and having a good time.

Kurihara Criticises Japan

Kurihara said he had just had an argument with Mr. Itabashi on Japan. He (Kurihara) had criticised some of Japan's policies and said there were things in Japan that he would like to see changed. Mr. Kurihara seemed nervous and ill at ease and shifted the topic to Anzai, the man in block 54 who had been beaten. He said that Anzai's children had not been able to get along with the other children in the block.

Then Anzai wanted to send his children to school in the next ward. But the teacher there had found out about the children and refused. So in order to get back against the block Anzai commenced to point out people who should be sent to the stockade.

✓ (I asked if the eleven persons from block 54 who had been interned,¹ were denounced by Anzai. Kurihara said they were.)

So he was more disliked than ever. Finally it culminated in a beating. He tried to scare the people by telling them that he was going to send whoever wasn't behaving right to the stockade. He asked for it and he got it.

Sentiment on Camp Unity:

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

1. The eleven men had been arrested and put in the stockade.]

Joe Kurihara - June 26, 1944
July 2, 1944

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As Mr. Kurihara had predicted, the proposed election of Police Commissioners on June 28 was a "resounding failure". Only three blocks elected candidates. On the same night the situation was further complicated by the transfer of nineteen Issei from Tule Lake to the Santa Fe Internment Camp. No reasons for this transferral were given.

On June 29, another man was waylaid and beaten. Some people told me that he was a close friend of Mr. Kurokawa, a Public Inu Number One; others told me that the people in his block did not like him. But more people told me that he had been beaten "because he was an inu." A few nights later Mr. Murakami, who was widely known as a Public Inu Number One, was assaulted but not severely injured. On July 2 I visited Mr. Kurihara.

JULY 2, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara remarked that the man beaten in 74 was supposed to be very unpopular in his block. I asked why only third-rate inus were being beaten up. "You should know," said he, "the big ones are too well guarded. But the guard will slip up some time." I said this was what I had suspected.

As to the warden nominating meeting, he said the people in his block had been urged to come to the meeting to elect the warden, but only about four people had gone. A friend from Manzanar came in at this moment and Kurihara said, "How was it in Manzanar, were there enough inus there (to hold an election)?" The friend from the Manzanar section said he didn't think anybody had been nominated in his block. "Who wants to be a legal dog?" he added.

That afternoon I called on Mr. Penn, the Assistant Project Director whom I had come to trust.

I restressed the seriousness of public sentiment against the Co-op. Penn said that he had talked to Carson /director of the Co-op/ and that Carson had recommended the immediate issuing of a dividend. Carson insisted that the books were all right and that they are gone over every month by an outside accountant. Penn said he had then recommended that the account be written up and published in an understandable form. Carson said he had not thought of that.

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

The following night (July 3) Mr. Noma, the general manager of the Co-op was found lying on his brother's doorstep with a knife pushed through his larynx to the base of his brain. The news of the murder produced a state of panic. All of the members of the Japanese police force and the key officials of the Co-op resigned. Some, who feared they might be "next on the list," were taken from the camp and housed in the administrative area. People rushed to the Co-op to stock up on food supplies, for they feared it would be closed. The administrators decided that the murder was the result of a conspiracy between the stockade detainees and the Resegregation group. So they attached large pieces of plaster board to that section of the stockade fence which faced "the colony" and stopped mail to and from the stockade. In the middle of the turmoil, a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union arrived at Tule Lake and insisted

Joe Kurihara - July 2, 1944
July 13, 1944

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that he be allowed to consult with his clients - the Japanese American citizens detained in the stockade.

At this point I decided that the best thing I could do was disappear, lest some frantic member of the administration set eyes on me and decide that I ought to be put off the project. So I returned to Berkeley. In Berkeley I received a letter from Mr. Kurihara advising me to stay out of Tule Lake for a while, because "the rights of my roommates must be respected".

But I was not able to endure the dreariness of wartime Berkeley. After a week I talked Dr. Thomas into letting me go back, arguing that I could get a good deal of data even if I were not permitted to go into the Japanese quarters. . . ("Doing Fieldwork", pp. 137-8.)

JULY 13, 1944

TALK WITH MR. PENN

Hear from Penn that Best had gone to see Kurihara and had asked him about the murders. Kurihara said that Best ought to know who is doing it and added that he was unable to understand how all this could go on and the Administration not be aware of it. Kurihara also said that Best should find out from the same sources that told him (Kurihara).

/On July 19 I received a formal note from Mr. Kurihara in which he said that I might call on him at my convenience./

JULY 20, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Called on Kurihara today for the first time since the murder. I had written him a letter on my arrival listing a great number of topics on which I would appreciate information. I found he had prepared a seven page report (attached) which expressed many significant and interesting current attitudes. He is quite willing to continue to gather information for me in this manner. This delights me.

He explained to begin with that when he had said "*the rights of my roommates must be respected,*" he had actually meant the "*lives of my roommates*". However, he had put rights because he did not want to frighten me. He also told me, rather diffidently, that immediately after the murder "*some fanatics*" had spread the rumor that "*a Caucasian would be next*". He was cordial and obliging as could be, entirely different from the tone of his letter of July 14, which may have been written with possible censorship in mind.

He gave me the names of two Japanese with college education, whom he said he thought would be glad to help me understand the situation before the farm accident. One name was that of Mr. Yamashita, with whom I am already well acquainted and for whom I had procured a book on International Law. Another was the name of Mr. Kira, of whom Kurihara said, rather diffidently, that he might insult me. I did not tell Mr. Kurihara that I had heard rumors (one was from Dr. Osler) that Kira was the leader of the "Manzanar Gang," a group that called themselves the Black Tigers, had signed their names in blood, and would do anything Kira told them to do. In any case I sent Mr. Kira a respectful letter, explaining my work, and asking if I might call on him. I

As I re-read these notes thirty-eight years later I am struck by the fact that at our first talk after the murder of Mr. Noma, Mr. Kurihara suggested that I visit the two most powerful underground Resegregationist leaders. In the light of subsequent developments, I begin to wonder whether Mr. Kurihara might not be using me as a "fieldworker". I could talk openly to these men and he could not. RHW. I

Noma's Murder:

The chief attitude is that everybody shut up like a clam. The murderer did a nice piece of work, as far as that goes (referring to complete lack of evidence.)

Visit of Mr. Besig of the American Civil Liberties Union

Everybody experienced disappointment on that. They were disappointed because the attorney was not allowed to see the men individually. That created some handicap toward expressing their opinions. I wish he would put up a fight so that the American public will be informed of the facts.

(Kurihara added that probably most of the American public would not be influenced by these facts, but perhaps a few might be.)

Arrests of Draft Evaders:

There was no reaction. None whatever. We discussed the things but the general feeling is that if they did not wish to be loyal they should not have said, "Yes-Yes". It was no more than right for the government to impound them. We expect those who did sign for repatriation or expatriation to be released if they applied prior to the date the government designated.

Joe Kurihara - July 20, 1944

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New Co-op Board:

I was appointed in this block but I refused to serve. It looks as if people are accepting them, as just representatives of the people.

Future:

The Administration must watch out. If it doesn't watch out it will have more trouble.

Grilling of Four Leupp Boys:

Several boys from Leupp were investigated. But the good thing was that they were released immediately. If they had been put into the stockade the Administration would have been doing a great injustice. They were very studious boys. One of the boys was taken just because the Administration thought he was a fanatic. That was no reason.

Refugees in Hospital:

A → I heard that the doctor in charge at the hospital objected to having them brought to the hospital. They are now being housed in the teachers' section.

Sasaki is not wise in coming back. If he wants to continue to breath, it's better that he stays out. Many of those boys (Coordinating Committee group) were too arrogant. If they had listened to the voice of the people they wouldn't be in trouble now.

They didn't stop to think. They were just getting in well with the Administration. Especially those in the Co-op. That bunch of gamblers and embezzlers. They were sitting in high offices. They shouldn't have held those positions. They did not stop to think that there were many well educated persons who were not working in the Co-op but were far more capable.

I should not tell you this but Murakami was on the list above Noma. Then that man Niyama. He is an embezzler and an ex-convict. (Niyama is ex-business manager of Co-op, also a "refugee".) He held one of the high offices in this camp.

They didn't have the character strong enough to refuse. They went ahead and cooperated with the Administration. Little by little they were dragged into the mire until they couldn't get out any more.

I don't think the Administration can run this new Co-op Board so easily.¹

Kurihara went on to say that it would be very bad policy for me to meet any of my friends in the Administrative area. It would not be safe. There were "eyes in the walls." "If any one is seen with you they will be branded as an inu."

I can say that 99% of the people are happy over the killing.

/1. It is significant that I did not learn until October 16 that Mr. Kurihara was playing a "behind the scenes" role in the reorganization of the Co-op. On October 16 he indicated that he was serving as an advisor to the Board of Directors. Shortly before he had told me that he was working for the Co-op as an unpaid accountant. He had a degree in accounting from Southwestern University./

/By "refugees" I meant the officers of the Co-op and the members of the
Coordinating Committee. Subsequently I was told that some of them had left "the
colony" under protest./



New Feeling in Camp:

The feeling in camp is more on the happy side than anything else. People do expect that there will be a great change.

There will be one more incident. The Administration is at fault if that incident develops as I anticipate. I feel that the camp is in a state where unless the Administration makes an absolute change, the beatings and the killings will continue.

Now it's beyond the Administration's power to control it. Things have gone too far.

Gripsholm Rumors:¹

Most of the Japanese have now recognized the idea that they'll be here for the duration of the war. They do not seem to be much affected by the prospect of exchange.

Kurihara now read me a poem which he had composed on his sentiments toward the reports of the difficulties of the Japanese armed forces. The sentiment was that no matter how thickly and darkly the clouds gather, his faith in the ultimate victory of Japan and of its just rule over the world remains unaffected.

✓ /Mr. Kurihara also gave me the following essay he had written on the beatings and the murder of Mr. Noma./

1. The Gripsholm was the Swedish ship that had made the first exchange in June of 1942.

It may seem rather unjust to those who are not posted with the affairs of the camp to blame the Administration for the present fear and unrest caused by terrorism, but however unjust it may seem, it is true. It is the product of the American Justice as practiced by the W.R.A. Administration at Tule Lake.

The beating of Noma, Anzai, Yokota, and the murder of Y. Noma can be placed at the very door steps of the Administration. Ever since my arrival here at Tule Lake, I have heard constant resentments being voiced by the residents against the Cooperative Enterprise.

The basic reasons of constant grumbling that which finally had culminated in a murder are:

1. The Co-operative Enterprise was arrogantly selling articles such as buckets, brooms, and even coal hand shovels, which the W.R. A. was under obligation to supply to the residents. The residents have again and again voiced their objection but the management, instead of heeding the voice of the people, kept right on selling with a take-it-or-leave-it attitude and at a handsome price.

2. The Administration, well aware of the facts deliberately withheld the distribution of the buckets and brooms when these articles of household necessities were piled high in the warehouses.

3. The Co-operative was selling many items of luxury. Opposition to such practice was heard everywhere. Block representatives attending and discussing such matters have vigorously voiced the opinion of the people but the management instead of heeding it, have boldly spited them.

4. Any person who unflinchingly attacked the Co-operative was immediately reported to the Administration through the Civic Center. Without question, that person was then apprehended and thrown into the stockade and confined there indefinitely without even a semblance of a trial.¹

5. It is the belief of the residents that the Co-operative was solely responsible for the defeat of the Status quo. They've urged the people to return to work. The Co-ordinating Committees in function at the time of strike were men who were directly connected with the Co-operative. They, instead of helping the residents, became the tool of the Administration. Those who openly defies them or voice any opinion condemning the Administration was reported and thrown into the stockade. The committee thereafter were branded as Administration Spies. Drunk with the power vested in them, they became unbearably haughty. Daily arrests were a common thing. Scores were isolated and kept within a narrow confinement without a trial for months. Such is American Justice here at Tule Lake.

6. The Committees believing themselves immune have openly challenged the residents after receiving threats through mail. At the same time they weren't so brave. Fearing attack, they employed body-guards at the expense of the people, paying out of the Co-operative fund. Some were even paid by the Administration, I heard. It may only be a rumor, but the employment of body-guards are true. Even under such circumstances, they refused to listen to the voice of the people, because they firmly believed that they were immune under the protection and power vested in them by the Administration.

Wipe out

1. This remark was heard on every hand one to two weeks before Noma's death. RH.W.]

7. All these facts were undoubtedly known to the Administration, but not a thing was done to alter or better the situation. The cooperative was the sorest spot in the camp. The head of Cooperative were under constant threats which they were laughing away. Hence the murder took place which brought them to realization.

Today those people, scoundrels in the eyes of the Japanese people are under protective custody, sleeping in one of the nurses' quarters in the Base Hospital. They are not wanted there. They are fed in the Caucasian Mess Hall, where they are likewise despised. Director Best has a problem on his hand, trying to take care of unassimilable oriental dogs.

This problem can be easily solved. My suggestion is - release all those in the stockade and place those dogs within its confinement. It is the best place for them. They will be well protected with high fences around them. Lately the north side was plaster-boarded so none can look in or out. It is just the place for them. They can meditate undisturbed and at leisure.

The killing of Y. Noma was a blessing to the residents. I have yet to see who really feels sorry for him, other than those of his immediate family. Never have I seen such pleasant reaction to a murder in all my life.

Several others are said to be in line for the grave. Had they not been given protective custody, they too may be dead by now; and their death, violent as it may be will be openly rejoiced by the residents.

The unfavorable verdict on Okamoto's case will be a ground for further killing. The resentment will be great. It will know no bound, therefore it will be my advice that all should be careful. Slightest suspicion will be magnified manifold and the poor suspect will in course of time be beaten or killed. Therefore too intimate a friendship with any Caucasian will be dangerous. Explanation will not help. It will only tend to add greater resentment.

We must remember the Japanese in this camp, especially those who swore allegiance to Japan are fanatically sincere in their love of Japan. Many of them will give their lives readily and would undertake to execute with pleasure. Though killing is not a good thing, I admire their spirit.

Why do I approve it? Because there is no law here in this camp. If there is law, which the Administration would say that there is, then I would say, there is no Justice. Law without Justice is no law.

The Administration have so far listened to the Rats and upon the strength of their flimsy charges, it arrested and threw many into the stockade, isolating them for many months without a trial. It kept this up too long and too often. If this is not a Gestapo Method what else is it? Furthermore is this the practice of American Democracy? Why preach Democracy and practice brutalism? This is why I have lost my faith in America, the land of my birth. For half a century I have seen American Justice practiced contrary to their teachings.

The American laws are born out of Congressional incubator turned out by the thousands to suit the occasion which benefit themselves. I would rather live among

the barbarians than among the hypocritical, selfish, everything-for-myself Americans. Their laws are mockery to civilization. They can shoot and kill an innocent man for no reason whatever and be acquitted, as pronounced by the court-martial, freeing Pvt. Bernard Goe who shot Shoichi Okamoto on May 24.

Americans have no conscience whatever and yet they profess to believe in Christianity. I am afraid Jesus must be shedding and sweating the tears of blood in shame at the behavior of His believers.

The resentment over this very unfavorable verdict is great. Why it shouldn't be? To kill a man just because he was afraid of him is no excuse, yet the officers have acquitted the sentry. A cowardly shooting and a shameless verdict. That is America, a hypocritical America.

In the case with the Administration dealing with the spies had gone too far. It cannot wash its hands off so easily the dogs it sponsored must be fed and cared. They are now being housed in the Warehouse section, furnished with ice-box and stove of their own so they can prepare a meal for themselves. The refusal of the crews employed in the Caucasian Mess Hall to care for them have necessitated it. What a sight to have them around the Administration Area.

A second group of pups are now being raised by the Administration. These were those born in the stockade. They are now working hand in hand with the Administration.

From the information which I have secured, the master minds are forming a gang of their own for protection. They are being carefully watched. They are trying very hard to convince the residence by putting up a brave front, broadcasting aloud that what they are doing is for the good of the people, but their deception is so clear, they are being shunned. With every move they make, they are edging deeper and deeper into the Administrative quagmire from which they will not be able to extricate themselves.

It is my prediction the next person whose throat would be slashed will be out of this group of dogs, especially the one which wagged its tail the most. I feel that I could positively name the victim. When his throat is slashed, Mr. Best will have more hounds to care, the very reflection of his administrative ability. Must America continue to suffer by tolerating such a man to manage the affairs of this camp?

As long as the Administration continues to employ the services of the lowly dogs, this camp will never return to normal. And as long as the Administration uses them, there will be an execution or executions.

Those who escape execution under protective custody may someday be forced to return to Japan. Though he may sail across the great ocean, all the water in the seas will not be enough to wash the stigma he had earned. They are good as dead or probably worse by suffering a living hell.

The present trend of war is not very encouraging to the Japanese. Those who cannot take it are grumbling. Those who are unable to think for themselves are worrying. But those who know are rejoicing over the fact that the climax is approach-
fast in favor of their beloved country, Japan.

If their plan is discovered, then the war will either enter a stalemate or be fought for many years. How long will America be able to fight? My personal opinion is; America has reached the climax. Another year of war, two at the most is all she can fight. The country in the meantime will be torn with strikes and revolt.

Japan on the other hand will fight on indefinitely. Her greatest strength second only to the Will of the Soldiers to fight unto death.

Hence my faith in her remains unchanged whatever the reverses at present may be.

by Kurihara
706-C T.L.C.

JULY 24, 1944

RUMORS OF ATTEMPTED RAPE IN COLONY

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

I asked a number of my respondents about the rumors of rape.

GEORGE WAKIDA ON RAPE

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

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

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

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

On July 26, I talked to Sally Wakida.

Sally Wakida said that there was still a lot of talk. Some boy had chased a girl in block 69. The boy had a blanket over his head. Also her girl friend who lives only with her mother and a sister had been annoyed by having boys knock on her door at night and shine flashlights in the window.

On July 19 the men in the stockade, most of whom had been detained for eight months, embarked on a second hunger strike. The appointed personnel was more deeply affected by this strike than were most of my Japanese American respondents. On July 19, the day the strike began, Mr. Carson, head of the Co-op, told me about it. Other staff members spoke of it. On the evening of July 25 I passed the stockade and observed the following.

As I was leaving Osler's house about 7:30 p.m. I passed the stockade. One of the Caucasian police left the small station next to the stockade and walking to the gate shouted, "Mr. Abe, Mr. Abe, your wife is here to see you." After a while the door of one of the barracks opened and Mr. Abe staggered out, the door being held open by another detainee. Abe walked slowly to the station where I saw his wife, his little son and baby. Sachs was talking to them.

On July 27 I visited Mr. Yamashita, the underground leader of the Resegregation Group. He and his wife were very distressed about the strike. Evidently, the relatives of the stockade detainees were coming to see him for advice and consolation. He said that some of the women were hysterical. "I don't understand why Mr. Best is so stubborn," said he.

/Responding to the appeals of these desperate relatives, the Resegregationist leaders prepared a petition and circulated it on July 28. The petition concluded with the following words:/

Therefore, we, the residents of the Tule Lake Center, request you, Mr. Raymond Best, to be merciful to our racial brothers and release the fourteen persons on a Hunger Strike from the stockade. Your mercy will never be forgotten.

/On June 28 the Spanish Vice-Consul arrived at Tule Lake on a routine inspection tour. Most of the people with whom I talked viewed his visit with indifference./

/On the evening of July 29, news spread through the Caucasian section of the camp that the hunger strike had stopped./ For the first time since November the stockade searchlights were out, and the watchtowers empty.¹

JULY 31, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

/This talk with Mr. Kurihara is particularly interesting because he states that he talked to Mr. Best and to Mr. Penn, which would put him in danger of being called an inu. It also provides the first indication that he was beginning to oppose the Resegregationists./

Hunger Strike:

There's a certain amount of agitation going on. The people are taking an interest. They have circulated a petition. It seems they're willing to sign. But I'm trying to kill it. Because Mr. Best told me that the boys will be released within a month. That's why I wanted to kill the agitation which may cause trouble and hardship to the Japanese as well as to the Administration.

Mr. Best told me they will be released within a month. I told people if he doesn't release the boys within a month they can have the petition already signed for presentation. In the meantime, if they present the petition to Mr. Best he will feel he's being forced.

If Mr. Best will only live up to his word and release the boys within a month we'll have a different atmosphere.

The petition was explained to us in the mess hall. In general, it was in Japanese, and is very difficult to translate properly - it states that the poor boys have been kept in the stockade a long time and we would like them released. If they should die it will be on our conscience. If the colony would get together and petition Mr. Best to have them released, people would be grateful.

I couldn't find out who wrote it. So when I got this statement from Mr. Best, I asked a man to deliver this message to the writer. They may stop it or they may carry it through.

Some people have told me that Mr. Best cannot be relied upon. But I told them it all depends on how we look at that person. I don't believe in high pressuring a man if you can avoid it.

/1. For a detailed account of the hunger strike see "The Spoilage", pp. 293-300./

I asked Mr. Kurihara what he had meant in our last talk by the term "dogs in the stockade."

The men I referred to were Tada and Noguchi (and one other). We don't yet know whether they are working for the people or for the Administration. If it is found that they are working for the Administration it will go with them just as it has gone with the dogs.

Attitude to the New Internal Security:

The reaction to that is not very favorable. There is quite a lot of argument about that. I've heard this thing two months ago. I'm not sure whether it's true or whether it's rumor. Anyway, it is said that all the Japanese who ever acted as policemen and spies for the Administration, their records will be sent back to Japan when they are exchanged.

If that is true, then when they get back to Japan they'll be on the black list. That is the point many of them are worrying about. The previous police didn't know or didn't care. Some were loyal. They were made to swear some kind of statement that they will be loyal and serve as policemen and even give up their life if necessary.

Who really is truly a Japanese will not sign that statement. The present group had been organized for the protection of the people in camp, but they do not want any connection with the police. They want to be absolutely free from the police department. They fear their records will go to Japan.

This bunch now say they will act as watchmen of the block. I believe they will refuse to serve unless they are told that they will have no connection with the Internal Security department and that they are only serving because of the demand made by the residents. They will watch their block only.

This idea of watchmen in every block will succeed if Mr. Best will sign the agreement which they have drawn up. If he refuses it may turn out to be a failure.

If they appointed me as a watchman, no matter if it was unanimous, I would not serve. I was told only 24 men really did sign.

When the police were functioning it didn't make much difference (as far as effect on camp was concerned). Many were on the payroll just for the money.

Rape Rumors:

Rumors are dying down. Besides, any girl who stays out late at night deserves it.

Spanish Consul:

My personal impression of him was not very thankful. When I was in the office I saw that Mr. Best was helping him write the telegram to send to Washington. That didn't impress me as the action of an independent man.

(Kurihara told me that the issue of the police and their possible black listing in Japan was being taken up with the Consul.)

Co-op:

The quickest way to straighten out the Co-op from my point of view is they must cut out luxuries. If they cut out all the luxuries, then they will be respected,

All the Japanese in this camp are not rich. Some are very poor. The sixteen dollars they get barely buys their tobacco. But if my neighbor buys watermelon for his children at 20¢ a pound I can't afford to buy it for my children, as a parent I will feel very hurt. Those things hurt. I think the majority of the people agree; they don't want luxuries.

Ohira (ex-president of Co-op) bankrupted the Nippon bank in Sacramento. Do you think he came out penniless?

Mr. Murakami has said numerous times, 'If I'm afraid of two-by-fours, I can't make money.'

Return of Refugees (called inu) into Camp:

Mr. Penn asked me about sending the people back. I said, some are all right but some shouldn't be back even for a day. I told him Murakami won't live very long.

Murakami embezzled 20,000 dollars, and was to be sent to jail. A third party came in and he returned nine thousand dollars in bonds and stocks. So he didn't go to jail.

(Kurihara volunteered his private opinion of Mr. Kira; that he was a windbag and very conceited but that he was radical and potentially dangerous because he was capable of starting things which he might not be able to control. He has great influence in his block.)

On the evening of July 31 Mr. Penn told me that the men in the stockade were continuing the hunger strike.

The Japanese doctors were in the position of having started to break the hunger strike by feeding Ichida. My understanding of it is (gained from Japanese informants) that they all went over Saturday night to make it even. Then, I'm told they're all going out and start the strike over again.

MY FIELDNOTES FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST HAVE BEEN LOST

On August 7, Mr. Kurihara told me:

Those inu who fled the evacuee community and who returned -- I don't think they could contrive to sleep without worries. The longer Sasaki maintains bodyguards, the longer he'll be hated. If he lived alone, the people might forget. Getting bodyguards was a very short-sighted policy.

On August 12, the leaders of the Resegregationists, with permission of the Administration, held the first meeting of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan (Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country) in the high school auditorium. The expressed aim of this organization was to prepare the members to become useful citizens of Japan after expatriation. Members were to devote themselves to the study of the Japanese language, Japanese history and Japanese ideology. Many naive residents, including some of my respondents, believed the organization's contention that it had no political aims. But when, on August 14, which I asked Mr. Kurihara about the organization he said:

I don't know the true motive behind it. I don't care to have any part in it.

On August 17 I visited Mr. Yamashita, who, I knew, was an important but covert leader of the Resegregationists. He explained the aims of the organization and told me in confidence:

Since April we have been working in secret and awaiting the moment. ("Doing Fieldwork," p. 144.)

By August 21, four of the seventeen men confined in the stockade had been released and three of the men branded as "No. 1 inu" had relocated.

MR. KURIHARAOn Release of the Stockade Detainees

It makes the people feel much better. It releases a great deal of tension. Mr. Best should have released the men when the Army turned over the stockade to the WRA.

On Transferral of Accomodators who had Fled to Hospital After Murder of Noma

Kami, Kurokawa, and Suzukawa (pseudonyms)-it was wonderful that they were transferred. That helped to relieve a good deal of tension. But I feel sorry for them; they're branded as inu for good. People from Tule Lake are writing to other projects telling their friends all about them.

By August 24 the ten men remaining in the stockade had been released.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Resegregation:

They (the group which so strongly desired resegregation) may agitate and cause a little trouble.

(I commented that several people had told me that the Administration was deliberately making life miserable in camp, to encourage relocation. Kurihara remarked that people were inclined to exaggerate this, but admitted that there was some ground for their suspicions.)

Of course, the Japanese may still entertain the idea that the WRA will maltreat them, believing they will relocate. When we were in the Relocation Centers we were told many times by members of the Administration, 'If you don't like camp life, why don't you relocate?'

Progress of Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan:

As far as I'm concerned, I haven't heard anything. I did hear that something wasn't functioning pleasantly and that they were not making much progress - that they were trying to put too many restrictions and demands on the applicants who felt that if such is the case they didn't care to participate.

(Having heard so much about the Hawaiian Japanese from Jerome and the part they played in the incident, I thought I would ask Kurihara to give his opinions on it.)

Hawaiian Japanese:

The Hawaiians probably did play an important part in the incident here.

The manner in which the Hawaiians were brought up and the Japanese in this country was entirely different. In Hawaii the Japanese predominate. By implied right we enjoyed a great deal of privilege. Whether you are American, Japanese, or Hawaiian, it doesn't make any difference. The Japanese seem to have the upper hand. They control the voting power.

Here in the states, since we are the smallest of the minority parties we go about with the feeling that we are nobody. We have an inferiority complex here. In Hawaii we have a superiority complex.

That makes a great difference. When the boys from the Hawaiian islands were shipped here I noticed that in Manzanar many of the older Nisei were from Hawaii. They were always in the thick of things.

Though I've been here many years, that superiority complex still exists. Since I've got that, I'm not going to let them slap me a second time. I'll defend myself and fight like a man. The boys in the U.S. can't do that. They get a kick in the pants and they take it.

So whenever a thing like that turns up in camp, you'll find that if anybody will take the lead, it will be the boys from Hawaii. I think that holds true at Jerome too. About 150 Hawaiians were sent to Topaz too.

When I was a kid in school in Hawaii, I was told I was an American and I must

stand up and fight like an American.

Although we were brought up in a Japanese family and lived like Japanese, knowing we were American citizens, we went about as an American.

Mr. Tada's Present Reputation:

Mr. Tada's unpopularity has died down because they are not very active. The atmosphere was not so pleasant, so they quieted down.

Resegregation Rumors:

Resegregation rumors are quieting down, it seems. But I heard about it again today. A man came to see me and he was quite worried.

Renunciation of Citizenship:

Everything is quiet except for the fact that people are waiting for action on the renunciation of citizenship.

If there are people who will renounce their citizenship merely to escape the draft, it would be a good thing if the government sent them first to Japan - then they'll get drafted there.

When it comes to a final showdown, I think most of them will turn it down. And those who really renounce their citizenship are truly at heart Japanese.

Roughly 60% of the people in camp here are citizens. I think if 50% renounce their citizenship, they'll be doing good. It may be less.



SEPTEMBER 8, 1944

✓ On September 8 I learned that Abe, Kunitani and Tada and also the Resegregationist leaders, Kira and Mrs. Tsuchikawa had been picked up by the district attorney. No one knew where they had been taken. (Later I learned that they had been interrogated by an investigator from the office of the District Attorney in Modoc Country about the murder of Mr. Noma.)

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Visited Kurihara to talk over these developments. Kurihara said he had not heard of Kunitani's pick-up nor of Kira's. He had heard that three boys had been taken out of camp because they had committed some crime, but this was not connected with the Noma case. He added that he had heard that one had been sentenced to San Quentin and the two others to sentences in the Alturas jail.

Originally, I thought they were connected with the Noma case, but that did not seem to be the case. Now I think they (the authorities) are just trying to get something on somebody.

I feel surprised that they haven't even visited me here.

I remarked that if this questioning continued it would not be long before the inu beatings began again. Kurihara wholeheartedly agreed. I said that I was sorry to see this happen just when it appeared that the worst of the trouble was over. Kurihara said good-naturedly:

You must keep this in the back of your head. The Japanese do not forget.

I don't want to predict, but as long as things go on in this way and people are not being satisfied and the Sokoku Kenkyu people do not get their wish, trouble will continue to brew.

They may use third degree methods if they cannot get information any other way just so they can find somebody and say they did it.

Kurihara told me that he had received an invitation to the second meeting of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan which is being held tonight. From his attitude, I do not think he intends to attend.

I was going to leave my manuscript on pre-incident attitudes with him, but he advised against this, since it is just possible that he too will be picked up and the manuscript might be taken.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1944

When I visited Mr. Kurihara on September 19, the rumor that Kai, Kuratomi, and several other persons were to be indicted for the murder of Mr. Noma was widespread. Mr. Kurihara, however, was more interested in the activities of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan.

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Indictment Rumors:

The people are paying no attention to it. They are letting it go from one ear to the other. I think they'll make fools of themselves if they arrest those men.

A- Sokoku Kenkyu Meeting:

I didn't go, because we all had to wear a suit. But hearing from those who attended, it looks to me as if they are changing their policy a little and swinging more to the viewpoint of the public. They are not going to adhere so strongly to the idea of wanting to be resegregated. They're going to consider everybody to be considered as Japanese and are going to train them to live up to the traditions of the Japanese people.

If that is true, I think that is a wise change. If they try to force the people to think as they think, they will invite criticism.

After I heard this, I was sorry I didn't attend.

This proposition (forming a group similar to the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan) was brought to me by a friend as coming from Mr. Kira. This matter was brought to me directly, soon after the Manzanar group came in. I thought he was at the very bottom of it.

He proposed the matter under a different form and when the organization he proposed didn't succeed, a new idea was born, and perhaps Mr. Tsuchikawa took the leadership. It was in March that the idea was brought to me.

(Kurihara did not know who is really behind the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan. I know that much of the open organizational work is being done by Mr. Tsuchikawa.)

When he (Kira) came here, he advertised himself a great deal and the people swallowed it hook, line and sinker. When he advertised himself too much, the people ditched him.

Co-op:

The criticism of a few individuals toward the Co-op Board is unfounded. They're too sensitive to the murder. If the new Board continues to function as they have promised they will virtually gain all of the confidence of the people.

Mr. Maruyama, young as he is, is gaining the confidence of the people here. He's doing his best and keeps the people well informed. If he does carry out even a good portion of it, he'll gain the confidence of the people to such an extent there will be nothing wrong about it.

Renunciation of Citizenship:

We are anxiously awaiting that questionnaire to decide our citizenship. However, everything is very quiet in camp now.

I'll tell you something funny though. Recently we got chicken in this camp. Shortly after that we had what the Japanese really like, osashimi (raw fish). People are now wondering what's going to happen.

Just before the Spanish Consul came here our food improved tremendously. We had three eggs a week. After he left, the food got bad again.

War Situation:

I won't say much about the young people because their minds are too flexible. But among those with whom I associate, they are looking forward to very pleasant news. Of course, it might be the feeling of any person, when reverses continue. But my opinion is, these persons (who think like me) rejoice that the climax of the war is not far away and are sure it will be a pleasant one.

To some extent, those who know Japanese history could almost say why they are retreating and they are just teasing the enemy and teasing him right along and dragging him right into the trap. Of course, there are possibilities that the enemy himself will discover the trap. If they discover the trap it will be a long drawn out thing.

(When I was silent before this revelation, Kurihara said, "There's one thing I like about you, Miss Hankey, you can take it." We ended the interview with an enthusiastic agreement of the virtues of being able to take it and never entering into a gamble in which you were not willing to bear the worse result gracefully.)

SEPTEMBER 24, 1944

out
A
On September 24 the Resegregationists brought forward a new petition accompanied by an explanatory pamphlet, written in both English and Japanese, and requested those who truly desired to return to Japan at the first opportunity to sign the petition. All who had not signed the April petition were urged to sign again; anyone who had not signed was impressed with the fact that this might be his last chance to join the group. In fact, the pamphlet stated that the group was preparing its final list of proposed repatriates and expatriates, and that this list was to be presented to "both the American and the Japanese governments." (Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 315)

On September 25 I talked briefly with Mrs. Wakida, who, I knew, intended to return to Japan with her husband. She was not at all enthusiastic about the petition.

We were handed this document last night. . . We haven't heard what it's about. . . On the whole, most of the people are very doubtful about it. . . I really don't see why we should resegregate. . . We've already signed for repatriation.

On September 26 I talked with Mrs. Tsuruda, whose husband had relocated. She thought even less of the petition: "It was written in such awful English! When I saw it, I said, 'What kind of English is this?' I couldn't make head or tail out of it." On September 26, I also asked my friend, Mr. Itabashi about the petition. He told me that the people who signed it did not have any judgement.

On the night of September 26 I injured my leg severely. I was not about to walk until September 29 when I visited Mr. Kurihara.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

The Resegregation Statement:

A pamphlet was left at each house. This block had more than enough.

With regard to signing the petition - it hasn't come around. In this block we haven't seen a thing. But we know just where to go to sign.

There's no name on it. 'Who's trying to put this thing over?' That's the objection I've heard in many blocks.

we want to know who is responsible for it. We cannot be led like a bunch of sheep without knowing the leader.

I could say definitely that he (Kira) is the one who originated it. But who's carrying it through, I just know some of their names.

(I remarked on the poor English used,)

That English! I said, 'For heaven's sake, why don't they try something better?'

Probably they don't realize, but by providing such a poorly written statement they lose the respect of the people.

The Threatened Expose:

(I told Mr. Kurihara about Mr. Itabashi's remark about the man who intends to expose the machinations of the pressure group.)

I believe that's true. If it does come out and accuses the right person, I think he'd be doing a great thing for the people.

Between ourselves, I have always told them (the Kira bunch) that if they go too far with it I'll expose them myself. Whether they call me an inu or not, it doesn't matter. If I came out with the facts, I think I'll get most of the people to side with me.

In many blocks I've heard this - the people are against it. They are saying they're a bunch of troublemakers. I think they are right.

One point I really oppose -- they threaten to use force - and if they use that force, I'm not going to stay quiet.

Many people today are wondering whether they should sign or not. They're afraid. They're being led into it.

So far I didn't want to be an informer. I didn't want to be called a dog. But if anybody is seriously hurt or killed - why should I hesitate? My conscience tells me as long as I shield him (Kira) I'm responsible to the public. As long as he's at large he'll continue. But as long as he doesn't do it, I won't say a thing.

I've visited many people. The majority are considering. They're afraid something will happen. Those who have a mind of their own, they won't sign. Only one man (with a mind of his own) has told me he had signed it.

Another thing I've heard from a most prominent person (in the pressure group), he stated that they had a number of killers among themselves.¹ Why does he say that?

Today Kira is not respected in his block. The people are waking up to the facts. They are not dumb. They see things. Of course, there are a few who are still behind him. Even his wife has said that she wants to move away from that block.

(Kurihara has repeatedly implied that Kira is a criminal. But he never says anything specific. Did Kira do something during the Manzanar riot of 1942 that Kurihara has revealed to no one? Or was he involved in illegal activities when he was secretary to the union local of Japanese fishermen at Terminal Island? Well, Kurihara tells only what he feels like telling, so I shall pick up the pieces as they fall.)

/1. Later I heard from another person that the man who made this statement was Mr. Aramaki, a young Buddhist priest, who had played a prominent role in the organization of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan.

OCTOBER 2, 1944

✓ /On October 2, I was able to talk with my friend George Wakida. He appeared to be nervous and talked a great deal. About the resegregation announcement, he said: "I'll say 'Leave me alone and I'll leave you alone.' If I feel like it, I'll sign. I haven't signed yet. I'm Japanese - no matter what they say. If we swear to be Japanese, we are Japanese."

/After our conversation I made the following note./

✓ (During the conversation, Mrs. Wakida remarked that Mr. Kurihara had come over to see George, but, unfortunately, George was not at home. (This may have been a friendly call - but there is the possibility that Kurihara may be trying to get information or support.)

OCTOBER 4, 1944

✓ /On October 4 I met Dr. Osler on my way out of "the colony". He told me that it looked as if real trouble were brewing. Pressure was being applied to the key workers. All he would add was that some Japanese person's life had been threatened and that if word got to the colony that this was known to the Administration, it would mean the man's life. I decided to call on Mr. Penn. While Mr. Penn was reluctant to talk about the matter, he did tell me that at nine o'clock last night a Japanese had come to the Administration and revealed that the "agitators" of whom he was a member, were planning to disorganize the operation of the project. This morning, one of Mr. Penn's key workers had resigned. Another had threatened to do so. He also told me, "There seems to be a very definite tension - worse than it has been since the Noma killing. I had one resignation of a top man today and the threat of another. The excuses they give are illness, but it appears to be pressure. They will not give details. . . It looks as if the young Kibei are doing the work now. They are hitting from several different angles."

/I added a footnote to this statement: Kato told me last week that he'd raise up the camp if Mr. Best did not see him./

STATUS OF INTERNAL SECURITY (POLICE)

Mr. Currie told me Saturday that he had written a letter, thanking the Internal Security for their assistance in putting a stop to the vandalism and thieving which had been perpetrated against the canteens. Robert Maruyama (manager of Co-op) had seen the letter and had nearly had a stroke. *"We can't thank Internal Security for anything,"* said he. *"Do you want us all to get our throats cut."* Currie did not send the letter.

On October 5 I made the following entry in my notes.

TWO ENCOUNTERS WITH MR. KATO

I encountered Kato in the hospital while getting my bandage changed. He told me he was going to see Mr. Best about the Santa Fe matter. Then, returning from my calls in the colony, I met him again. I asked how matters had gone. He did not seem discouraged, but rather puzzled. He said he had not been able to get anywhere with Best. Moreover, Best had told him what he had told the committee yesterday - that it was almost a certainty that the camp was going under the Department of Justice within 60 days.

I confess that I feel very much out of my depth. Kato talked to me so naturally and normally that I cannot picture him as making murderous threats. (See Osler's remark, October 4, page 1.) Kurihara tells me that Mr. Kira is a very dangerous man -- and other respondents have hinted about the terrible Manzanar gang. But the Tsuchikawas are the only people who have told me that they control a group of strong-arm boys. Well, we shall see.

OCTOBER 6, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

I called at Kurihara's place before I went to see Kurusu but found him out. I then returned and found that he had come home from what he called another

/At this point I find that I removed the carbon paper from my typewriter, because I felt that it would be dangerous to keep a copy of what Mr. Kurihara had told me in my room at Tule Lake. I sent my only copy to Dr. Thomas at Berkeley. Kurihara had been doing some investigating on his own and had come to the conclusion that Mr. Kira was responsible for the threats that had resulted in the resignation of key Japanese personnel and had so disturbed Mr. Penn. I had been warned several times that my notes might be stolen and I did not wish to put either Mr. Kurihara or myself in jeopardy./

OCTOBER 7, 1944

In his "Report on Center Trends" Dr. Osler stated that on October 7:

"Feeling ran so high in ward VII, that vocal anti-resegregationists or residents of 'tough' blocks who had refused to sign were definitely on the spot. In block 73, the block manager. . .was forced by public opinion to move quietly out of his block and later resign; his secretary did likewise. In block 74, adjoining, in ward VII we learned that one aged anti-resegregationist was hit over the back of the head and knocked unconscious."¹

/1. WRA, Community Analysis "Report on Center Trends" (Oct. 8-16)" manuscript, Oct. 16, 1944./

Joe Kurihara - October 5, 1944
October 6, 7, 1944

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OCTOBER 5, 1944



OCTOBER 10, 1944

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

Called on Mr. Itabashi today, the man who prepared a paper for the study. After paying him some compliments on the paper, I remarked that I had heard that the Manzanar section had had 1,200 new signatures on the repatriation petition.

They may have gotten them in the Manzanar section. The people here don't know what it was all about. The majority signed under intimidation or ignorance. I was going to tell Mr. Kurihara, 'Don't worry about it. It's not so serious as you think.'

(I hinted that Mr. Kurihara might be in some danger because he was trying to get information about the intentions of the leaders of the Resegregation Group. But Mr. Itabashi said, in a reassuring tone:)

If Kurihara tried to crawl around in the dark he might be caught.

I said, "But there are dangerous men in this center. . ."

Mr. Itabashi interrupted me, saying, Even among themselves, they are not agreed.

I then asked him if he had heard of Mr. Kira's resignation as block manager. He said:

Kira resigned the block managership to take charge of the Resegregation movement. That may be the cause of big trouble. He wishes for himself to be a big shot. I hate that type of man.

He then spoke even more critically of the Resegregationists:

The Sokoku Kenkyu people don't know Japan. . . I say to them, 'The Japanese government is not so narrow minded as you.' . . . A lot of people are disgusted at the way they act. . . Even those who signed in this block, they are ignorant and uneducated. If they are educated, they are stubborn and narrow-minded.

OCTOBER 12, 1944

TALK WITH MR. WAKIDA

[Mr. Wakida introduced the Resegregationists into our conversation.]

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

When they had this petition, they said, 'If you sign this paper you won't be drafted and you'll be the first to get off the boat. So everybody signed - boy!' Maybe I'll be last to get off the boat. My name begins with "W" anyway.

Joe Kurihara - October 12, 1944
October 13, 15, 1944

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OBSERVATION

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

OCTOBER 13, 1944

TALK WITH MR. PENN

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

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

I had a long confidential talk with Myer¹ and he told me that he really doesn't know about the Department of Justice taking over. I think Mr. Best jumped the gun on this. I don't think Myer intended him to do that. The rumor around here was so strong among the Administrative staff that I thought I'd ask Myer where I stood. I reckon it's about a 50-50 chance.

OCTOBER 15, 1944

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

1. National Director of WRA.

OCTOBER 16, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KATO

I told Mr. Kato that I had heard that the matter of the Justice Department taking over was not nearly so certain as he had been led to believe. He said;

If the Justice Department did not take over it would put me in a tough spot, because I made a report to the segregation committee that they would take over in 60 days. Mr. Best definitely told me that this would take place within a week after the election.

Most people who are really loyal to Japan would rather have this camp under the Justice Department. When I made this report to the resegregation committee they were very happy over it. They feel that under the Justice Department only the loyal Japanese will be here.

Of course, the people who want 16 dollars a month shouldn't be in here. If you're loyal to Japan you shouldn't be thinking of refrigeration and ice boxes. I'm willing to go through any kind of suffering or hardship. We always think of the soldiers at the front. What we're going through now is nothing to that. That's why those who wish to resegregate do not get along well with the inu.

I said that I did not think much of the inu and then Mr. Kato, who had become very flushed and excited looking, told me that he had a group of Topaz boys here who would do anything for him. He could get an inu beaten up anytime he wished. It had been the same in Topaz. Though he had worked for the Administration, his real desire had always been to help the Japanese. In Topaz (he said) he had an intricate espionage organization--girls in the offices who would tell him if anyone informed and a large group of boys--and he had been responsible for beating up twelve inu there. The boys would go to their rooms at night and beat them up. (I wrote down nothing of this, and simply listened.) Kato then told me that he had caused the November 4th riot! Here I tried to stop him, since I don't want any Japanese to know that I know anything about the inside workings of that. "I don't know why I tell you all these things" said he, "but if I've gone this far I may as well finish. We had the same kind of an organization here. We were determined to get the Co-op heads. We had plans laid to burn down the canteens."

Mr. Kato then gave me a long and somewhat incoherent account of his activities on the night of November 4, 1943.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Thought I'd give myself a good stiff dose of the opposition and called on my friend, Mr. Kurihara, this afternoon. He remarked that he was disappointed that I hadn't come sooner. I explained that I had been extremely busy.

Kira:

I heard he took it back (the block managership). I have been hanging around in block 83, because if any threat comes it will come from 82 (Kira's block). In 83, though, they didn't know anything.

Kurihara agreed that there had been no threats made which would upset any considerable part of the camp's population. He would certainly hear of it, whenever it occurred.

Department of Justice:

That is known throughout the camp, but it is not being talked about. The re-segregation group are bragging throughout the camp that it is because of them that the camp is going under Justice. I said to one, 'If your influence is so great as that, you could do much more for the Japanese in other ways.'

I've told a man who I know talks a lot so that he'll tell Kira, 'If serious trouble breaks out in camp, he will not escape.' I also told him that I had prepared papers to be sent to the FBI and to Mr. Best, so that if he kills me, I'll speak from the grave.

I've been told that there's a group in there who cut their fingers and signed with their own blood. They are real fanatics.

There are a lot of people in camp who know what's going on.

The Dai-Nippon Seinen-dan:

Abe, Kunitani, Noguchi, and Tada are behind the Dai-Nippon Seinen-dan. I've been hearing that they've been organizing it. Ten days ago they claimed they had about 100 members.

(Kurihara predicted that if things went on at this rate, it was possible that a kind of gang warfare might break out in camp.)

As far as I'm concerned, I'm not interested in either party. I was asked why I will not join either party. They arranged a dinner party for me, but I refused to attend the dinner party.

The Co-op Situation:

The former Board of Directors are jealous of the present board. At the time the Co-op was turned over to them, they handled it like a hot potatoe. They (the old Board) were afraid of their necks. During the period of transition, they would not cooperate with the present Board. They were wishing that they would not be successful.

The truth is, they were very successful. Now they (old Board) are jealous of it and want to cause disruption and great disharmony among the present directors. They bring up matters which they shouldn't.

(Mr. Kurihara believes that John Maruyama has done a splendid job.)

✓ The President, the Vice-President and the Secretary really are depending on him. He's made a name for himself in the colony - in the good sense.

If the old Board of Directors get too nosy and keep on trying to cause trouble, if they go too far with their dirty work, we (new board) might investigate their past record. Certain things have already been uncovered which are not very good to tell.

For instance, I have stopped the Co-op from investigating shipments of melons and chicken to this camp from Manzanar. Instead of giving it to the people they gave it to the canteens. There is no sense digging out any dirt, because a man got killed. Let it go at that.

Beatings:

I then told Kurihara that I had been doing some thinking on how beatings were arranged. Asking him to criticize my guesses, I told him that probably sometimes people in a block or district would get so mad at some inu that they'd just sock him one if a good chance arose and that at other times a noted inu would arouse so much anger that a group of young men would get together and definitely plot to get him. Kurihara said that both types of beatings occurred. However, some beatings were undoubtedly engineered. A certain organized group would engage on a series of beatings. That had happened at Manzanar. Sometimes older plotters behind the scenes would state who was to be beaten. Of the men beaten, Kurihara said:

Some of them deserve it and some don't. Like Murakami, he should have been buried long ago. But some don't deserve it.

Fate of _____ who fled to Minidoka with Murakami

_____ couldn't stay in Minidoka I hear. He had to leave there and go to work on a section gang.

Reverend Aramaki's Resignation from Sokoku Kenkyu:

When a bunch get together who like to get on the front page all the time, they will not allow any person who's smarter than himself to be too popular. He (Aramaki) was the real organizer of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan. He was getting well known throughout the camp, so the other parties were afraid he's getting all the bouquets. So they kicked him out. They want all the credit for themselves. If Yamashita and Kira remain as counsellors, at the end they too will fight. They will try to claim all the credit.

This was interesting - No people seemed to care to praise Kira's speech at the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan meeting. When Yamashita spoke I heard a lot of commendation.

When Kira was introduced he said he had served as a senator of the United States. He told me that in San Pedro too. He said he went in and out of the Congressional Building so many times that no Nisei has stepped in and out of that building so many times as he did.

Now I know there is no senator from the Hawaiian Islands. I've read the Constitution carefully to see. I'd like to know what term he says he's served so that I could check it.

Amusing Incident:

Something funny happened the other day. You know they have stopped serving liver sausage here because the Japanese don't like it. Well, one of the pressure group told me that they (pressure group) had stopped it. I said, 'If you have that much influence, why don't you ask for more eggs?' Last week we got only two eggs.

Those fellows are also bragging that it's because of them that Mr. Black and Mr. Best are going to be discharged.

The other day I had an argument regarding the pamphlet. I was talking to one of their officers. I asked if it _____ was bona fide, why didn't they sign their names? He said, 'We can't sign our names.' I asked why. He said, 'There's spies among us who might report us.' I said, 'If there are dogs among your group, it's going to be terrible if you are re-segregated.' I said, 'According to my understanding, you

were permitted to organize the Resegregation Group. You have authority to go ahead with it and why are you afraid to sign your name? All in all, this is too fishy for me.'

Exposé of Noma Murder:

Mr. Kurihara told me that the exposé of the Noma murder is being eagerly awaited by those who know what's up. It seems that a former resident of Tule Lake has relocated to Granada and that he's going to publish this exposé in one of the outside Japanese newspapers, not the Tule Lake paper, as I understood incorrectly from Itabashi. Kurihara is looking forward to this.

* * * * *

THREAT AGAINST KEY WORKERS

A man on the Appointed Personnel¹ asked my advice on this threat and gave me the facts. It seems that _____ of the Motor Pool was told by an "anonymous group" that he should hold himself in readiness to give them all the cars in the Motor Pool, "when he was told to do so." He refused and his life was threatened. The man who told me this considers the threat genuine. I told him I could tell him nothing.

OCTOBER 18, 1944

I dropped in at the library to gossip with my friend, Lillian Noma. She told me that she had heard about the Sunday night beating, but it seemed as if the people were trying to keep it quiet.

TALK WITH THE PROJECT ATTORNEY

The Project Attorney told me in confidence that three old men were attacked on Sunday. They claim to be Christian Scientists or of some sect which thinks in a Christian Science manner, and they refuse to give any information against their assailants. They say only that they were attacked by "three young men." The situation is peculiar because they were attacked far from where they live. The Project Attorney doesn't even know where the attack took place. I've written a letter to Mr. Kurihara asking him to see if he can find out what happened.² The old men will not give the reason for the attack.

1. This may have been the Project Attorney.

2. Since I had visited Mr. Kurihara on Monday, I hesitated to call on him. If I visited him too frequently, people might call him an inu.

OCTOBER 21, 1944

[It was not until November 6, after a man had been knifed by one of Mr. Kira's henchman, that Mr. Kurihara told me that on the night of October 21 Mr. Kira had spoken at a Sokoku ceremony and had encouraged the young men to violence. "He definitely told the people that he'd assume any responsibility. 'The little bugs must die so that the big bugs may live.' That's a very agitating statement to make in Japanese. He just told the people to go ahead and do anything they want." This proverb may also be translated as: To help the great cause, we must exterminate those who stand in its way.]

OCTOBER 23, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KIRA

[On October 23 I decided to talk to Mr. Kira.] I found him in a spacious new office, the walls of which were covered with Japanese flags and scrolls in Japanese script. Two brawny and solemn-faced young men stood on either side of him and another young man stood at the door. Impressive bodyguards, I thought. Mr. Kira himself sat behind a handsome desk. I asked him about the report that he had resigned as block manager and he responded with a very long and complex account emphasizing the support he had received from the residents of his block and from "the boys". The boys were sore and demonstrated their offensive spirit to headquarters. . . . All my residents gathered in front of my office and demonstrated their real sentiments of the outcome of the case. . . . Seventy or eighty young boys surrounded headquarters. Mr. Thomas was observing the gathering. He rang up Mr. Best. . . . I got the report from the block managers' chairman that at first Mr. Best threatened the people. 'Do you want me to call the Army like last year and teach you folks a lesson?' Of course, the people were prepared for this. They said, 'Do you think you can teach the people a lesson or are you going to be in an embarrassing position.' . . . They said, 'Go ahead and do it. We'd rather have the Army control the center than the WRA.' As soon as the representatives said that, Mr. Best changed his tone."

Mr. Kira also mentioned the renunciation of citizenship, saying, "The people are anxiously waiting for the denouncement of it. When Mr. Best made the statement that within 60 days the camp would be under Justice, the people were delighted. We more or less expect it."

He also told me: "One thing might develop and that is that the Resegregation Group may be split in two. I have a hunch. The second group would be the one that wouldn't want to go back to Japan immediately."

[After my talk with Mr. Kira I called on Mr. Kurihara.]

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Kurihara was not himself. He appeared distraught and at the beginning of our talk he responded to my remarks curtly or not at all. I gave him an account of my visit with Mr. Kira and Kurihara said he was glad to hear that Kira admitted there might be a split in the Resegregation Group. He said: "We have heard rumors of it, but I am glad to hear that Kira confirms it." He did not know, however, who was splitting off. On Kira's statement about repatriating Japanese sticking together and working communally when they returned to Japan, Kurihara said:

In some respects what Kira is preaching looks reasonable. But if we go back before or for several years after the war, we are going to be regimented and not allowed to

do as we please. The Japanese government will put you in the place where you are best fitted.

In many ways what he tells to the people seems reasonable. But knowing him, I have my doubts.

He made a serious statement that night which you should watch out for.

(Mr. Kurihara looked at me so sternly that I did not dare to ask what the statement was. Somewhat at a loss, I asked if Tada and Noguchi were still being called inu.)

The rumors concerning them no longer exist. When they first undertook to get those boys in the stockade out, to some extent people said that Tada and Noguchi are dogs. We were to some extent inclined to believe that.

I remarked that this might have been rumor deliberately spread by the Resegregation Group. Kurihara said that was possible. I said that some members of the Resegregation Group had told me that the people were ready to demonstrate, so as to force the Administration to return the interned Issei members of the Negotiating Committee to Tule Lake.

We all sympathize with the families of those people. But I don't think the people will support it (effort to get them back) by demonstrating.

Then Mr. Kurihara said angrily:

To some extent these things are going on because the Administration lacks a strong hand. If the Administration acts at the right moment and holds the whip, I think they could bring those people into line. They try to appease them too much.

I was taken aback, because by the standards of many of my respondents Mr. Kurihara was talking like an inu. I asked whether he had heard about the beatings on the night of October 15. At this point something seemed to snap and Mr. Kurihara poured out the following statement:

Beatings of October 15:

Very few people seem to have heard about that beating. The men themselves are keeping it under cover. The Police Department isn't doing anything about it.

They were beaten because they refused to sign the petition. One of them you know, Mr. Itabashi.¹

(This is the gentleman who wrote the paper for us. He is a kindly old soul, weighs about 90 pounds and is around 60 years old.)

They were supposed to be the leaders of a certain religious sect Seichi-No-Ie. That group in particular did not sign the segregation petition. They were blamed for it, for influencing the people against it.

It was the act of a bunch of cowards. It must have been a bunch of gangsters with clubs and a hammer. (These weapons were used by the assailants according to the story of the Project Attorney.)

1. Hearing this, my face grew cold with rage. I had a vision of myself running to the Manzanar section to beat up Mr. Kira. At the same time, I am ashamed to say, I took down Mr. Kurihara's words verbatim.

I went to see Mr. Itabashi on Tuesday. He requested me to let the thing die out. They fear that neither they nor their families will be safe if I carry out my intentions. One of our friends was going right over to beat Kira up, all alone, but we restrained him.

(I said that I too felt like running over to the Manzanar section to beat up Kira. Mr. Kurihara grinned and said: "With your great strength you could probably throw him clear into block 54.")

They were blamed because that particular sect didn't sign. We know threats were made and we know where the threats came from.

Even on the night of the eighth of the month an open threat was made when he, Kira, spoke from the platform. When such an open threat is voiced, how is it possible that the colonial police do not know?

Mr. Itabashi was hit across the forehead and had four or five stitches taken. One of the other men was struck with a hammer on the back of his head. The third on the back of his hand when he tried to protect his head.

(I ventured to suggest that the group rising in competition to the Sokoku Kenkyu (Abe and Kuratomi's new group) might denounce Kira. Kurihara said he did not think so. If a denunciation comes, said he, "it will come from the inside of the people.")

The people of this camp must choose if they want such terrorism to exist or else cast that leader out. They are just trying to beat the people into line. If those persons had not asked me not to carry out my intentions, I would have done it.

I'm afraid there's going to be serious trouble here, if the people don't wake up in time and cast them out.

(I reacted pessimistically to this and said so. However, Kurihara thinks otherwise.)

You must remember that the Japanese people are not troublesome. They are a peace-loving people.

(I get so damn mad when I think of little Mr. Itabashi being set upon by a half dozen young toughs that I'm about ready to go and beat up Kira myself. I can't even visit him to express sympathy. Well, he had guts. I warned him the last time I spoke to him, but he said Kurihara and I were taking things far too seriously, cf. Notes, October 10, p. 1.)

OCTOBER 24, 1944

TALK WITH MRS. YAMASHITA - WIFE OF RESEGREGATIONIST LEADER

Called on the Yamashitas¹ to see what I could find out. He was not at home, which was fortunate, since his wife gossiped and dropped hints which Mr. Yamashita would be far too cautious to do.

We chatted about knitting for awhile and then Mrs. Yamashita remarked of her own accord that another inu had gotten hit on the head. "Is that so?" said I, "I heard a rumor, but that's all." "Yes," said Mrs. Yamashita, "They got him over in block 54. He was a Christian scientist. They beat up three of them, but they wouldn't have beaten the other two if they hadn't been along." I found out that the man slated to be beaten was Mr. Amaya¹, not Mr. Itabashi. Mrs. Yamashita was quite happy over the beating. She thinks the men deserved it.

Another inu was warned a few days ago, she continued:

Mr. Kobata of block 31 was selling some of the things he had stored in a warehouse. They were his own things and he was selling them at three or four times the price.

Somebody blackmailed him. They wrote him, 'Would you like to see another Noma?' He closed his door. But he's probably selling things in his backyard now.

We discussed the possibility of the Department of Justice taking over. Mrs. Yamashita remarked optimistically that it looked as if something might be going to happen because "Mr. Best hadn't sent out any new orders since he came back, so it looks as if he's getting out."

TALK WITH DR. OSLER

I learned from Osler that the Administration does suspect Kira as a possible instigator of the beating, but that it does not have a shred of evidence on him. One of "his boys" in particular is suspected, but nothing can be done. Best's attitude is that he can handle Yamashita easily by packing him back to Santa Fe, but since Kira is a Nisei, the problem is made much more difficult.

1. Mr. Amaya was the leader of the Seichi No Ie group at Tule Lake.]

OCTOBER 25, 1944

TALK WITH SALLY WAKIDAThreats:

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

Threat Against Mr. Kobata:

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

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

Threat made to Bob Tsuruda:

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

(Bob Tsuruda, was, as you remember, one of my best informants. He never mentioned this threat and except for a period immediately after the Noma killing, he always urged me to call on him.¹)

I have an uncomfortable hunch that the Manzanar gang may try to silence Mr. Kurihara. This may be "Tule Terror" on my part, but they got away with beating the three old men and they are likely to beat up anyone who speaks against them. I hope to God that Kurihara does not remain silent (if he's still alive when they get through with him). He told me that he had prepared papers so that he will "speak from the grave", but I don't know how that will do much good. Hell, I need a vacation. But that would be un-Japanese weakness.

MR. CURRIE TELLS ME OF THREATS

✓ Mr. Currie told me tonight that he had been told by Internal Security that Kimura, the Co-op Business Manager, had received several threats on his life. Kimura said nothing about this to Currie although he's been looking sicker and sicker lately.

DR. OSLER ON THREAT MADE BY KIRA

Osler told me that he had been told that Kira in his speech of last Saturday night had said that "The little bugs must die so that the big bugs can live."

1. When I talked with her in 1982, Bob's sister Noriko told me that she was sure he had been threatened by people who considered him an inu or a "brown-noser".

OCTOBER 27, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KATO

Called on Kato today to return documents. I found him talking to an elderly man, the father of a man who is now interned at Santa Fe. The old gentleman left.

Then, saying that he ought 'nt tell me, Kato told me that there is not going to be any trouble here before November 3, because if there were trouble, the Resegregation Group would not be allowed to use the outdoor stage for the Meiji Setsu exercises and they might have a hard time explaining that when they got to Japan. But after November 3 - any time - he intends "to make a big trouble in camp." Naturally, he added, he can't tell me just what he's going to do, but he's 99% sure he's going to do it. "They" were resolved that this camp could no longer endure the rule of Mr. Best. Kato said proudly that he had a tremendous lot of backing now - and that he was on excellent terms with Yamashita and Kira. He also said he'd like to tell me his plans, but I interrupted him hastily and said that I didn't want to know. (If I don't know I can't be accused of inuing.)

Kato then told me with great indignation that he had phoned Mr. Best three times asking for an interview on the Santa Fe matter.

His reply was very simple. He said there is nothing to talk about. Then he slammed the receiver down.

He had also written two letters to Best. To the second he had gotten the following reply:

October 25, 1944

Dear Mr. Kato,

With reference to your letter of October 23 regarding the transfer to Santa Fe, I refer you to George Kunitani. He understands the situation thoroughly.

Sincerely,

R. R. Best.

Mr. Kunitani and Mr. Kato did not particularly like each other.

George Kunitani wanted to bring all the people of Tule Lake into one. You can't do that. There are so many who came voluntarily or liked the climate or just refused to move. These people - we can't get along with these people! In a time of crisis, you have to make it black or white. It is impossible to bring the camp all into one. We will never get along with the other group. As far as I'm concerned, I'll never forget them. If I were a big-shot in Japan, I'd know what to do with them. Unfortunately, I'm not.

I've been only three years in Japan. The first thing I plan to do when I return to Japan is volunteer for the Army, even after the war. I want to be educated the hard way - the real Japanese way. At all times, I will have the government of Japan in my mind.

Kato told me several times during this interview that he was not afraid to go to jail. He's going to continue on his path no matter what happens.

OCTOBER 30, 1944

TALK WITH MR. YAMASHITA

At my request Mr. Yamashita explained the new goals of the Resegregationists' organization. At the end of our talk Mr. Yamashita asked me if I listened to the short-wave broadcasts. I said I did not. (A Caucasian informant had told me this morning that he had heard a short-wave broadcast by a Japanese Admiral. The Admiral had given a picture which is the exact opposite of that given by the American newspapers.)

Mr. Yamashita continued:

This is election time so the American Office of War Information is under very strict censorship by the Democratic Party under the Roosevelt regime. In a lot of things, the American people have been purposely misinformed. I personally cannot understand how the American government, even for a short while, can camouflage the news misinforming the American people.

In the Formosa battle and the Phillipine battle, you probably heard the American radio make the statement that two-thirds of the Japanese Imperial fleet has been defeated and is gone for good and that the American fleet was damaged very little.

Of course, we cannot rely fully upon the short-wave, one vessel can be sunk with one airplane and with one pilot who jumps right onto the vessel and explodes life and everything. What has been done in the Phillipines and Formosa we cannot believe.

I'm watching with interest how the American government is going to release the news of the Phillipines.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara started out the conversation by making the same points about the Phillipine situation that Yamashita had made earlier in the day. He quoted Carter, a newspaper columnist, as saying the American public was grievously misinformed by the Office of War Administration.

We hear just the reverse of the American newspapers over the short wave from Japan. America says it sinks 30 Japanese ships; the Japanese radio says that they sank 30 American ships. America says it shot down 125 planes; the Japanese radio says it shot down 125 American planes. I think the Democratic Party ought to be afraid that the Republican Party will blast Roosevelt's lies.

I can't understand Roosevelt wanting to be President again, unless he knows that the country is in bad shape and that the next president may disclose all the things he has done.

Recent Action of Mr. Itabashi

He met the representatives of the Resegregation Group. After giving them his point of view, they seem to have left with a very good impression that he was not really opposed to their organization. He wanted to see Kira or Yamashita, but they sent representatives. One was _____ - there were two others.

(Mr. Kurihara said that he thought that my visiting Mr. Itabashi would do no harm at all now. At present, I am waiting for a reply to my letters.)

When Kira made his speech in mess hall 84, there were over 300 young men there. He said that "To save the big shots we have to kill the small guys." Dai no mushi wo tasukeru niwa; sho no mushi wo korosanekeereba naranu.¹ That's a very serious statement.

He arouses and agitates the people. He tries to take the credit when things go good and pretends he had nothing to do with it when things go bad.

Kurihara told me that he had gone to hear Yamashita speak, when he spoke in Kurihara's mess hall Saturday or Sunday night. He does not think that Yamashita is so dangerous a man as is Kira.

I had a vague idea from what Yamashita said that he suspects Kira for the kind of person he is. It may be he will be kicked out. If he is, thank God. If he's not, then there may be trouble. Kira has lost the respect of a considerable number of people due to the very vicious statements he makes.

Their organization is so well formed now, it may not be so easy to break. But if internal dissension takes place and the organization is severely criticized (by the people) I think they will disband. The residents will lose interest. I expect this to take place within a month - perhaps before the 19th (of November).

I remarked that I had been so impressed with the fanaticism of some of the leaders that I did not think they would ever stop their efforts. Kurihara argued that if the group split up the leaders would struggle on, but the split would make them lose the respect of the people.

Reverend Aramaki hasn't left the organization. But he no longer is it's mainstay. He's still connected and lectures now and then.

Kurihara then told me what Aramaki had said, warning me that if it got out to the Japanese that he had told me this he might be killed.

What I'm referring to: Aramaki said, 'There are quite a number of killers in this organization.' I never expected that out of a priest.

(Now I know why Mrs. Tsuchikawa told me about a week ago that people were taking Aramaki's "joking remarks" too seriously. She told me he had made this statement and said he was speaking in fun. I did not remember to put it in my notes.)

The trouble is that the leaders, Yamashita, Kira, and Aramaki are jealous and their egotism is so great they don't care about the others. They look out for themselves.

Public Opinion of Manzanar Section in General:

It's true to some extent that they have gained liking. They (former residents of Tule Lake) thought the Manzanar people were all radicals but they changed their minds since and see that they are not.

Kobata - the Threatened Profiteer:

I mentioned this incident. Kurihara laughed and said:

If Kobata had been killed I think everybody in camp would have rejoiced just as they did when Noma was killed.

¹I. The literal meaning of this statement is: "In order to help the large bugs, we must kill the small bugs." By implication it may be interpreted as: "To save the great cause, we must exterminate those who oppose it."⁷

Kurihara then asked me to read some of the poems he had recently composed. It is strong stuff for a hakujin [Caucasian], expressing absolute faith in ultimate victory for Japan. I praised the spirit, helped him with the grammar, and suggested that his feelings might be better expressed in blank verse. He explained that in school he had been told that poetry had to rhyme. We experimented in putting some of it into blank verse and he was very pleased with the result. I left him working happily on a new poem, denouncing the lies of the American press over the Phillipine situation - titled, "Smile, Japanese, smile!"

NOVEMBER 1, 1944

LETTER FROM MR. ITABASHI

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

Dated October 28, 1944

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

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

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

Thank you again for the letter.

Sincerely yours,

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

CURIOUS TALK WITH OSLER

Osler asked me a number of questions which I did not think it safe or proper to answer. Osler also told me that he had been reading the FBI report on the Noma case. It was, he said, full of lurid details about the blood brother gangs in the Manzanar district. It also tells how Tani, "Mr. Best's pet inu", ran flourishing gambling joints in the colony. Moreover, the statement is made that Murakami was to have been killed on the same night Noma was murdered. I asked Osler whether, in his opinion, evidence indicated that the murder had been a political or personal. He said there was too much evidence on both sides, but that the FBI had certainly gotten a lot of information. "What Internal Security has here doesn't amount to a thing."

TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN, NEW PROJECT ATTORNEY

Mr. Goodman told me that the report referred to by Osler was not prepared by the FBI but by the Department of State. He also told me that he had given Osler the report to read -- and he might also have given it to me except that it has now been returned to

Alturas (perhaps there is a copy in Sacramento).

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

NOVEMBER 6, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

(Kurihara meant this appreciatively and not threateningly.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion of Inu Beatings:

Since I knew that Mr. Kurihara had arrived at Tule Lake in December of 1943 and that he had witnessed the depressing and desperate strike situation at that time I asked him to compare how people had felt about inu in December with how they had felt in June. I did not, of course, remind him that in June he himself had said: "The people are enjoying the beatings."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Knifing in Block 78:

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

That's a very agitating statement to make in Japanese.

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

When he was arrested by the colonial police, I was told that Kira and Yamashita

and another person went and asked for his release stating that he was a very nice person. But instead the police imprisoned him.

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

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

I certainly am, said Kurihara.

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

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

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

NOVEMBER 7, 1944

TALK WITH PROJECT ATTORNEY ON KNIFING TRIAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Yamashita, with two other friends of the defendant, went along to the trial at Alturas. He was very gracious and polite. He addressed the District Attorney as 'your honor'. In the discussion which was held in the District Attorney's office in the presence of the prisoner, he asked the District Attorney what he would advise they

should do. The District Attorney said, 'If the man, after consulting his own conscience honestly believes he did not commit the assault with the knife, he should plead not guilty. If, after consulting his own conscience, he felt he did commit the crime, he may as well plead guilty and take some medicine.' He, the District Attorney, said he would then make a recommendation to the court and would personally plead for mercy - for a county jail sentence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOVEMBER 9, 1944

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

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

Story of Beating:

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

I was coming home from a religious meeting at block 54 - I heard noisy footsteps. One of my friends was at my side and the other was 15 feet ahead. The first man who was attacked yelled. I turned around and saw that big stick. I can still see the club like a frozen picture but I don't know anything after that.

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

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

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

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

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

One week after I was attacked the resegregants of Ward VIII had a meeting and Yamashita and Kira made speeches. And Kira spoke first and very aggressively. He said, 'For the greater cause it can't be helped to sacrifice the small cause.¹ Young men, go ahead and do it. I'll take care of you.'

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

Mr. Itabashi then told me:

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

1. See fieldnotes, October 30.

Knifing in Block 78:

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

Sentiment Toward War:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Return to Trouble:

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

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

Speaking of Mr. Yamashita, Mr. Itabashi said: "He's like Kira too, but he's not so extreme."

NOVEMBER 10, 1944

TALK WITH KATO

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

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

TALK WITH MR. PENN

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

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

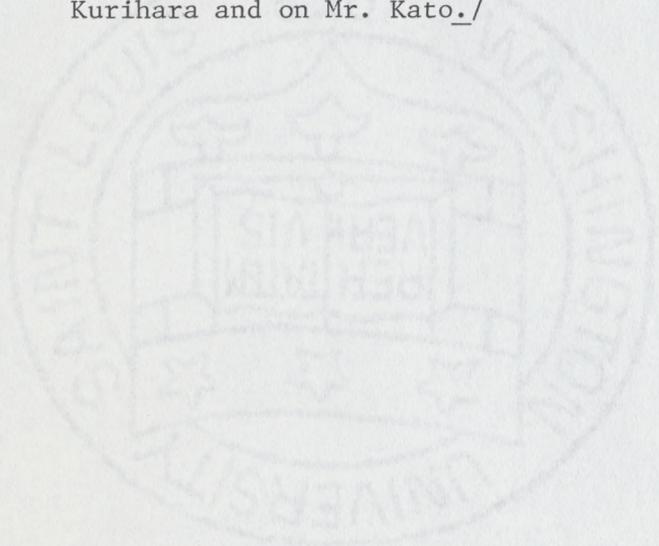
NOVEMBER 13, 1944

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

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

/I left, still feeling very apprehensive./

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



NOVEMBER 20, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

_____ is the name of the man who wrote the article exposing the Resegregationists and the Noma murder. He is at the Granada Center, family no. ____.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TALK WITH KATO

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

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

/In mid-November of 1944, with the imminence of the renunciation of citizenship and the "take-over" by the Department of Justice, the Resegregation group leaders decided to institute a membership purge. They posted statements in the latrines and laundry rooms which, in effect, said the following: True Japanese life was austere and full of sacrifice; people who could not do without American luxuries such as rich food, liquor or cosmetics, and people who were addicted to degerate vices such as gambling and sake drinking had no place in postwar Japan or in the membership rolls of the Resegregation Group. Having defined the "true Japanese" and the "not Japanese" in this manner, the leaders sent curt notices of expulsion to some of their more moderate charter members and to a number of the friends of Abe, Kunitani, and Tada.¹⁷

/1. "Doing Fieldwork," p. 163.⁷

There now emerged the potential of a confrontation between the Resegregationists and the men who had been the leaders of the Daihyo Sha Kai. Some of my respondents referred to the latter group as "the gamblers". On the night of November 20, when 56 relatives of Issei members of the Daihyo Sha Kai, who had been interned, left Tule Lake for Crystal City. The Resegregation Group, the Abe-Kunitani group, and the Ward VI language school all participated in an elaborate farewell ceremony. When the farewells were over, Tetsuo Kodama, a noted judo champion and a close friend of Abe and Kunitani, approached Mr. Yamada (also a judo champion and leader of the Hokoku) and accused Yamada of having called him an inu. This was a challenge to fight, which Yamada ignored, but the news spread rapidly through the camp and many residents were intrigued by the prospect of a feud between "the gambling group" and the "super-patriots."¹

DECEMBER 9, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹I. "Doing Fieldwork," pp. 163-4. "The Spoilage," pp. 330-331.]

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

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

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

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

A man like Okimura who is sincere and unselfish and a few others, who would devote their time solely to the development of the young men, if they got men like that they would succeed and flourish. With Kira and Yamashita, and Ishikawa, they are just going to drown the whole thing.

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

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

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

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

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

Renunciation of Citizenship

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

On Rumors About Mr. Matsuda

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

On Togo Tanaka

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

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

On the Coordinating Committee

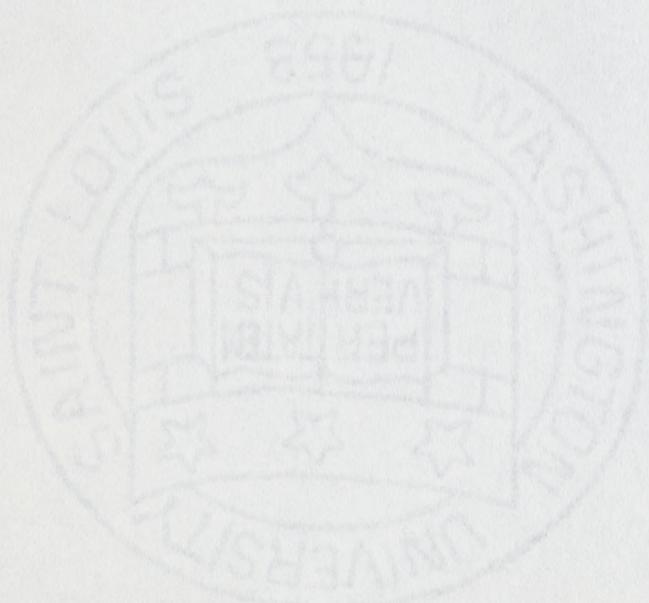
I believe they were distrusted from the start. Before they even were organized, people said it wasn't necessary. The people didn't have any confidence in them.

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

TALK WITH MR. WAKIDA

George told me that Mr. Kurihara had come to see him on November 13. Mr. Kurihara, said George, was very fidgety and upset and had asked them if they knew who I had been talking to. Sally, however, told him that I never told them the names of people I talked to. Then Mr. Kurihara said: "Now I'm going to fight. You stay out of it George, because you're married. I'm a bachelor and have no one to depend on me if I get killed."

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



DECEMBER 14, 1944

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

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

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

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

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

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

I understand that Kira and Yamashita have both resigned.

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

Well, said Itabashi, maybe I shouldn't tell you if Kurihara didn't.

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

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

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

He knew everything that he did in Manzanar. He knew Kira was a coward. And still he bragged himself. But Kurihara kept quiet as long as Kira didn't do any big wrong. But since Kira's followers had attacked me at night Kurihara was as mad as a bulldog. He came to me immediately the next day and said he's going to either kill him or have him arrested because he knew everything what he did in the past. I told him to be quiet and to see what will happen in a month or two.

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

[1. Mr. Norden, representing the Department of Justice, had arrived at Tule Lake on December 6 to open hearing for renunciants. When he heard of the Resegregation Groups, he proceeded to investigate them and interview the leaders.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

DECEMBER 14, 1944

RESEGREGATIONIST ATTACKED

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

DECEMBER 16, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Possibility of Sokoku Seinen-dan Going Wild

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

So there is an internal trouble among themselves.

There are quite a lot of rumors. That the attacking group was Tada's group and Mr. Kodama is considered one of those that did the beating. From the rumors circulating through camp now, Kodama would be picked up. In reality he's innocent, from inside information.

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

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

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

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

Attitude of the People on the Beating

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

Sokoku and Gamblers

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

Kurihara's Renunciation of Citizenship

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

Kurihara Questions Me

Mr. Kurihara suddenly asked me how, in November, I had found out that a series of beatings was being planned. I hesitated to tell him, for while I had squared my betrayal of Mr. Kato with myself, I did not want to mention names and I was afraid that stern-principled Mr. Kurihara would think I had behaved like a sneak, or possibly, like an immoral woman. But I felt a strong obligation to him and so, hesitantly, I told him what had happened, adding, "I was afraid that you would scold me." He replied:

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

DECEMBER 21, 1944TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

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

Why didn't he (Best) chuck him into jail? Giving way to him really makes me disgusted. I've heard that they rounded up the boys with the bugle and summoned the members of the organization. It looks to me as if block 82 (Kira's headquarters) was informed immediately. So he immediately summoned the boys who are his ardent supporters. I heard that Suzuki led the group on a forced march to block 54 and directed them to take positions at various points. Therefore, Suzuki is acting as Kira's lieutenant in that block no doubt. After he got there he listened to what Mr. Hamaguchi said. After listening he felt there was good sound reasoning back of it. Indirectly he admitted he couldn't order the boys to proceed with the fracas and Kira at that time was standing far away and taking in the sights. The ridiculous part is that he didn't take part in it. He said he didn't take part in it.

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

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

Families Leaving Sokuji Kikoku

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

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

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

Leaders of Sokuji Kikoku

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

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

Part of Matsubara's Speech

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

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

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

In general, the people are rejoicing over the fact.

They tried to make a new start by changing the name of the organization. I said, 'If you put in a very good leader you won't have to change the name of your organization.'

The more they trust Kira now the better it will be, because when they finally find out that he isn't what he says he is, the greater will be the repercussions.

Opening of the Coast¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DECEMBER 28, 1944

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara was not feeling regretful or sympathetic.

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

I asked if he thought any one in camp would be capable of committing murder over this. He said nobody he knew would except perhaps Masato Ishino, who is an unbalanced fanatic. Ishino, incidentally was the man who stormed into Burling's office and demanded to be seen.¹ He is now the new head of the Hōkoku Seinen-dan (young men's organization).

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

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

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

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

If the gamblers were raided and cleaned out, then the Hōshi-dan (Resegregation Organization) would come to see that they (Abe and Kunitani) are not dogs. It depends on who they would bag.

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

Prospects in Santa Fe

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

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

I suspect something about Mr. Best permitting those boys to organize. In Gila, they had a young men's association. They were engaged in political matters and harming the peace of the camp. Their leaders were sent to Leupp. Afterward Best found out there were many more of the (Gila) Seinen-dan who were loyal to the U.S. than those who were not. Probably he figured it would be a good thing to have it here too. He consented to Wakida and _____ to organize their Seinen-dan here. Then when these guys (Hokoku Seinen-dan) approached, he couldn't refuse them. Probably he thought it would be a good thing too. But the doggone thing has grown to such an extent it was a night mare for a while.

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

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



JANUARY 5, 1945TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

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

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

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

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Kurihara informed me that very few people were believing the rumors spread about Abe and Kunitani by the Hōshi-dan.

Attitude of People Toward Leaving Camp

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

If they use force, undoubtedly they will succeed in kicking them out, but undoubtedly, there will be trouble too. It might be possible to get out at least 50% of the people if they would pay them a part of the damages they have suffered. But the majority of people I have talked to recently, say they're not going out.

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

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

Notices Put Out by Hōshi-dan

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

Bulletins on Information Put Out By WRA

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

Abe and Kunitani

I told Kurihara that I was sure that Abe and Kunitani were going to make another bid for political power. He said he knew this, but added:

When they do that they better look out. If they do stick their heads out so much, they're going to get into deep water. Tada's reputation is particularly bad.

Pick-ups

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

Kurihara's Hearing

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

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

(Kurihara also informed me that Osler had come to see him this morning, asking him how the people felt about leaving camp. Kurihara said he had figured out why Osler finds out so little, his informants do not tell him all the truth. Kurihara cannot quite understand this, since Osler's informants, especially _____, really know what's going on. Kurihara also said that Osler told him that Best would like to have Kurihara visit him as soon as Best returns from San Francisco. Kurihara has heard that Best has said that Best will do everything to have Kurihara's restriction from the West Coast removed if Kurihara so desires. But Kurihara does not so desire. His last words to me as I left were that he had noticed a definite change in the attitude of the people toward leaving camp in the past week - they had stiffened in their resolve not to leave. Bold as his words were he looked at me in an insecure and pleading fashion, as if he wished that I would agree with him, or perhaps, that I would argue with him. I could bring myself to do neither.)

UNVERIFIED RUMOR OF IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN A RELOCATION CENTER

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

I called on Kurihara to see if he had heard. He said the people are talking of it all over camp. He was rather satisfied with himself for having predicted trouble yesterday. "And Minidoka is one of the most 'loyal' centers," he said, with grim satisfaction. He feels sure that this news will help people make up their minds about how to act here.

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

[There was no foundation to this rumor.]

JANUARY 15, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

I asked Kurihara whether in his opinion Kunitani and Abe were of real sociological danger to the camp. He said "No."

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

Closing of Camp

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

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

Renunciation of Citizenship

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

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

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

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

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

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

War Situation

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

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

Hōshi-dan

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

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

Letter From Santa Fe

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

JANUARY 22, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Effect of Burling's Visits on Renunciation of Citizenship

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

Pressure From the Hōshi-dan

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

Change in Attitude in Leaders of the Hōshi-dan

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

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

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

Burling's Proposed Statement

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

Leaving Camp

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Co-op

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

On Getting Out of Camp

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

General Feeling in Camp Now

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

Talk With Best

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

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

JANUARY 28, 1945

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

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

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

JANUARY 30, 1945

LETTER FROM KURIHARA

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

Dear Miss Hankey:

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

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

You may call whenever you wish.

JANUARY 31, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Sentiments Toward Innocent Men Taken to Santa Fe

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

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

Pickups

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

The people (not Hōkoku) aren't crying about it.

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

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

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

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

Department of Justice Statement

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

News of Exchange

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

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

They are afraid of exchange because they fear they will be taken into the Army. [in Japan]

The statement Mr. Norden made about the draft dodgers was very true.

On More Pickups

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

Department of Justice Statement

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

Dillon Myers' Statement of the 29th¹

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

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

DISSERTATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FEBRUARY 7, 1945TALK WITH KURIHARAOn Attitude of Hōkoku Young Men

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

✓ Kurihara told me that Shitanishi, whom, I believe, was one of the Hōkoku officers was a decent boy and really shouldn't have been taken.

On Hara - New President of Hōkoku Seinen-dan

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

Those boys have plenty to learn. Six months or a year in a concentration camp will do them lots of good. That is - if they learn how to behave. Of course, some will go bad and be worthless. With some it will make a man out of them.

Different Reaction With This Later Pick-up

The reaction this time is different. The people don't seem to give any thought to it. They are sort of nonchalant. They don't seem to be worried or don't seem to care. Many of them are rejoicing. Many of them are saying, 'It's good for them; they asked for it.' In fact, though I shouldn't say this, some say, 'Bakatari'.

I asked for the translation of this, and after some hesitation, Kurihara said it meant, "Damn Fools".

Everything is very quiet.

Highschool Students Leaving

Maybe they're leaving school to have a good time. They like to run around. Under such conditions as in the camp today, probably their surroundings and monotonous life must have caused them to say, 'I don't give a damn.' They have no definite purpose or ambitions.

Reaction to Exchange News

The fact that the Japanese government said that the exchange was to be with people from Tule Lake had great effect on the people in the other camps. They are going to take people from Tule Lake! They used to say the people who came to Tule Lake were fools. Now I think we're not fools, we're wise.

FEBRUARY 11, 1945

Many of my respondents were disturbed by the "mass pick-up" of January 24. Some warned me that the camp was full of rumors. They were most concerned about the rumor that young men who did not join the Hōkoku would be drafted and the rumor that any person who renounced U.S. citizenship would be sent to Santa Fe.

On February 11, the Department of Justice ordered the arrest of 650 members of the Resegregation Groups. On this occasion the president of the Hōkoku was authorized to call an emergency meeting of the members. Answering bugle calls, the young men of the organization assembled immediately and each of those listed for removal accepted personal notice of internment.¹

On February 12 the WRA Internal Security raided the headquarters of the Resegregation Groups, confiscating a Japanese flag, Japanese posters, unsafe, and other materials.⁷

FEBRUARY 13, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

Several people have come around to see me and ask for advice. Instead of giving them advice I gave them hell for not being able to judge the situation for themselves. Because it's nothing but outright lies which ordinary common sense would tell.

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

Reaction To Latest Big Pick-up /February 11/

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Picking Up The Women

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

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

Remarkable Statement on Ambivalence

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

News From Santa Fe Internee

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

Kurihara also told me that Abo (See January 28) had been to see him and told him that he was really afraid to go back to block 59 and live there. Kurihara invited him to come and live with him, but Abo is still sticking it out in block 59.

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

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

Kurihara then told me that Nakano, who was arrested in the knifing case several months ago, was Kira's right hand man and had lead the beatings of Noma's brother, Anzai and of Amaya and Itabashi. I told Kurihara that Nakano was scheduled to go out of camp on the next trip. Kurihara said,

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

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

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

TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN, PROJECT ATTORNEY

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

The Hōshi-dan men wished to know why their office had been raided, "Because your activities are unlawful," said Goodman.

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

"Yes", said Goodman, "By members of your organization."

Goodman told me several times that they appeared stunned and dumbfounded. They had immediately sent telegrams to the Spanish Consul about the raid, which was how Goodman got the names of their newest officers. Goodman told the group of officers that if they would go back to the colony, dissolve their organization, and live as peaceful citizens, everything would be all right.

Joe Kurihara - February 13, 1945
February 19, 1945

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

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

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

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

There is not going to be any Hōshi-dan or any Hōkoku-dan. It's all over.

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

FEBRUARY 19, 1945

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

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

FEBRUARY 20, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

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

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

Kurihara had been present at the raid. He said,

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

Effect of Statement

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

Effect of First Raid on Hōkoku Headquarters - February 12

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

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

Fate of Persons in Santa Fe

I heard quite a number are applying for parole. I was going to suggest this: if any of them are going to be paroled, half a dozen or a dozen or so can come back to camp - those who are nice boys. They'll spread the news of what took place in Santa Fe after they got there. That will help the parents here to make up their minds, regarding their sons. The people here really don't know what Santa Fe is like. They think it is a fine, safe place for their sons. When they hear the true story, they'll think twice.

Kurihara too, Blames Recent Panic on Issei

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

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

Kira's and Yamashita's Activities of August to October 1944

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

Activities in Santa Fe

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

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

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

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

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

THE FUTURE OF THE NISEI

Feb. 14, 1945

The almost incredible records the Nisei have made through unstinting sacrifice for this country on every battle-front of the war must have commanded the pride and thankfulness for their bravery of every thinking man and woman, as Mr. Ickes has said. But of how many? I seriously question, what portion of the Americans really do think? If they do, the percentage is very very small. They are like a bunch of sheep led by selfish politicians. It is so obvious, the Americans themselves would acquiesce if they do not admit.

These Nisei who are trustingly sacrificing themselves for the promised future are going to be terribly disappointed. I too believed in American Democracy during the First World War, gladly went to the front to fight for the good of the coming generations. Somehow, after going through hell for many months, I was spared by God to return to share in the freedom, happiness, and the justice of American Democracy. Very dishearteningly before I was even mustered out, I found out that American Democracy was only for the whites and not for me or for my kind.

Those Nisei who met their fate on the battlefields are very fortunate, having been spared of the bitter experiences in store for them if they should survive. I hope the shock won't be too great. Those boys were and are young. It was their first experience; therefore to judge them too severely would be unfair. They have to learn it the hard way too as I did.

Through my own experience I would fore-state that those who return with happy thoughts will soon be disappointed, discouraged, and dejected. They will be torn with hatred born of discrimination without a haven to seek for consolation as I did in the realm of my fatherland Nippon. Their future is going to be darker than the future of the colored people. They no longer have a sovereign to appeal to. They must endure it in silence, however bitter it may be. They then will find out that American democracy is for the whites only and not for them as the hero Sgt. Kuroki already did. What a pity that they did not die.

If the Japanese who remain here in the United States after the war believe that they will be accorded every right as Americans, they are in for a terrible disappointment. Wherever they go and whatever they do, they are Japs and as Japs they will be treated. They may yell themselves to death as protest if they wish, it will not be heard. Being a segment of minority whose feature is distinctively oriental, rebuffs will be as great as it was with the Negroes after the last war. The poor coloreds did not only enjoy in their promised rights, but also their hereditary rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States. As it was with the coloreds, the fruits of the Nisei loyalty will be very very bitter.

Just as we Japanese Veterans of the First World War have learned, the Japanese Veterans of this Second World War will learn likewise. Since their faces will be the deciding factor in every occasion, whatever credentials they may possess will have no bearing. American Legion button or any other visible emblem amounts to a mere personal ornamentation. If any of the Nisei try to secure a position on the strength of the credentials, he will find them of no value.

Should the Japanese veterans walk the streets in his uniform upon his return, he must be prepared for insults, or even bodily harm, possibly death as it happened to the poor coloreds in the South. The soldier's uniform he wears and the decorations if

he has any, higher and more covetous the medals may be, he will be regarded with contempt. First through jealousy, and secondly because it is being worn by a race other than the white. Here again, the face of the individual and not the uniform or his decoration predominantly stands in the way of justice and fairness.

The Nisei's unalterable face will be their curse as long as they live, transmitting it to his sons and daughters for generations to come. However they may try, there is no avenue of escape. Such will be the lot of those who abandoned their race.

The sources of their income will be limited to menial labor at starvation wages. However resourceful they may be, they will be kept to the ground. To ease their pride, they may pursue the only industry free of competition, "the back-breaking truck farming." The scale of their operation will be limited by constant supervision, thereby suppressed economically. Their rights as American citizens who fought for American Democracy will be curtailed to the minimum. Here again, I would say, to be a citizen in name only is better to be without.

Within the next fifty years, I am positive the world again will be in the throes of a barbarous war, definitely racial. The Japanese who preferred America will see the greatest barbarism the world has ever seen. The persecution of the Jews in Europe in comparison to what will happen to the Orientals in the United States, the difference will be so great, words will fail to describe. There will be a complete extermination of the Yellow Race throughout the Western Hemisphere, especially in the United States. Under the frenzied annihilation of the Yellow Race, even half-breeds will be subjected to the cruel fate. Such will be the reward in store for the Nisei who abandoned their own race to fight for American Democracy. They will have years to grieve over their choice in leisure, crowned with wanton murder approved and executed by the public in general.

DISSERTATION

Feb. 18, 1945

It deplored me to see so many young boys are being misled by those vociferous, glory seeking, selfish leaders. Nippon Danshi has been blatantly used to glorify their purpose and the organization into which the youngsters were coaxed to join. To me as I see it, the future of these boys are being ruined. Unfortunately the time is in the favor of those petty politicians at present.

The majority of the youngsters who have joined, are dancing to the radical tune of the agitators without the slightest knowledge of what the consequences would be. Most of them are acting according to the impulse of the moment. The time will come when they will regret in leisure, heaped with disgrace. The decision which they will make after reaching their destination (Internment Camp) will reflect on their parents, brothers and sisters. Whatever the result may be, the parents must not complain, since it is partly their fault for not having guided their sons on the right path, and in nearly every case, they too have taken an active part in the ruination of their beloved sons.

It is a foregone conclusion that many as fifty percent or more will break within six months and will seek freedom regardless of the vow to which they have sworn. The loathsome, uneventful life of an Internment Camp is more than what an ordinary youngster can withstand. It takes tremendous will power to bear the loathsomeness, day after day, week after week, and month after month. I have seen many who sold their soul to get out, amongst them the loud mouths who used to wave the flag most vigorously. They have forgotten the heroic words they uttered. It has faded in thin air.

Many of the boys who are now being interned are too young. They, in fact, had no definite mind of their own and their will is flexible. Since they either were coaxed by their parents and friends, or having seen their pals join the organization, they too have joined without thought, to relish the thrill which they felt at the time when others were sent away by the residents with thrilling "Banzais!" Their decision having been made either through persuasion or through the chivalrous impulse of the moment, their sense of responsibility to uphold the honor of the Nippon Danshi and their self respect would be a matter of trivialities. The Hokoku Dan have cheapened "Nippon Danshi", the nationally sanctified title applied to the flowers of the Yamato Race. My heart wreaths with wrath to see so many barking patriots defiling the honor and glory of those red-blooded Nippon Danshi who unselfishly gave their lives to our fatherland Nippon. It is a sacrilege! A sacrilege of the most grievous nature. Oh! what a shame! What a shame! I blame not the heroes if they should turn in their graves.

We who have obeyed and are obeying implicitly the wishes of the Emperor requested through the premiers were branded as Non-Japanese because we refused to join the Hokoku Dan and parade the compound with our hairs cut short. If to cut our hairs short and do a bit of exercises in the morning and while the rest of the day in various games of relaxation is Nippon Danshi, then let me barb my hair so I see fit and disturb me not in my studies.

The myopic leaders who are responsible for the corruption of the youngsters, one of these days will have to account for the crimes they have committed. To what extent will they be able to convince the officials of the Japanese Government that their undertakings to Japanize the Nisei were legitimate and honorary? They will have to have unlimited proofs to justify their claim before they can convince the officials after a good 50 per cent, if not more, of the Nisei fail to weather the boresome life of the Internment Camps.

When the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan was brought into life in this camp I sincerely rejoiced over it, but my joy was shortlived. It was nurtured into an organization of gangsters by the leaders. The leaders, instead of keeping the youngsters at heart, they were really organizing the youngsters into a formidable organization mainly for the purpose of using it as a club to further their selfish motives. This they succeeded. Thereafter they became unbearable both to the officials and to the majority of the obedient segregees. They have kept the residents under constant fear and unrest.

I unequivocally condemn the leaders as the most selfish and shameless traitors who ever lived. They were blatantly using Nippon Danshi and Nippon as weapons with which to accomplish their ambition. Nearly all of them are in the neighborhood of 50, who should have known better. They have peddled Nippon Danshi so freely, it now seems meaningless to us. What will they have to say when the majority of those who were interned with them under their leadership turned out to be scums? Heavens! I tremble with fear to be in their shoes today.

Those damnable traitors must not be forgiven. They must be made to pay for every soul they have led astray and for the shame they have inflicted on the Yamato Race.

FEBRUARY 28, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion on Ambivalence

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

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

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

You're right. Then he said:

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

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

Internments and Relocation

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

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

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

Kira and the Co-op

I asked about Kira and the Co-op.

What really happened was that they asked me to take the job as Co-op treasurer. Nishini, Matsubara and S _____ asked me to take it. I was about to take it when Mr. Matsubara came out with the statement, 'I've spoken to Mr. Kira with regard to your appointment and he OKed it.' So I made up my mind I'm not accepting it. I said to myself, 'Why must I be approved by Mr. Kira to get the job?' If such is the case and people believe it must be so, I turned it down flat.

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

Mr. Shitanishi at that time made the statement that if Kira gave the order to come and beat me up he will defend me with his life. He was assistant block manager in 82, a young fellow, and dragged into the Hokoku.

Kira was trying to be a Toyama Mitsuru here.

In messhall 8, Mr. Okimura stated (in late October) that the organization (Hokoku) wasn't for Mr. Kira and that he didn't have anything to do with it. And also at the meeting in block 4 (October 21) Mr. Yamashita stated that the organization didn't belong to Kira.

MARCH 3, 1945

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

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

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

MARCH 12, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

The prevailing rumor is that Kira has made an application to be returned to Tule Lake. There is also a rumor that Reverend Aramaki has already left Santa Fe - has relocated.

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

Letters From Santa Fe

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

Reaction To Salt Lake City Conference

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

Rumor of Next Pickup

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

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

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

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

Yamato Seinen-dan

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

Kubo was Tada's bodyguard.

Hōkoku and Relocation

If any of the Hōkoku-dan or Hōshi-dan people relocate, the truth ought to be told to the people immediately. Many of them will get disgusted then.

Relocation

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

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

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

How To Really Stop the Hōkoku

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

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

MARCH 16, 1945

/On March 16 the Department of Justice announced that it had no plans for uniting the men who had been interned with their families./

/On March 16 the WRA announced that all Resegregationist activities were unlawful and punishable by imprisonment:

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

MARCH 17, 1945

TALK WITH MR. ITABASHI

Announcement of "Regulations"

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

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

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

He belongs there.

/He then told me that he had visited Mr. Yamashita after he (Itabashi) had been beaten./

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

/1. Tule Lake Segregation Center, Special Project Regulations, March 16, 1945./

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

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

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

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



MARCH 18, 1945

DEVELOPMENTS OF WRA VS. HŌKOKU

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

MARCH 19, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Relocation

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

WRA's New Regulations

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

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

Sunday's Demonstration

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

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

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

The Hōkoku believe they will be reunited anyway.

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

Last night I heard the rumor about Reverend Aramaki again.¹

1. In mid-October, Reverend Aramaki, the head of the Sokoku Seinen dan resigned. It was said that he resigned because of widespread rumors imputing immorality.]

Army Coming Into Manzanar (In December 1942)

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

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

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

Reluctance To Leave Camp

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

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

Rumor On Why No More Pickups

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

TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN, PROJECT ATTORNEYSunday Events

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

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

That might have resulted in a fight.

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

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

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

There was a considerable drop off in the Joshi-dan Sunday. Final renunciation figures:

7250 Citizens in Tule Lake
5557 Renunciations

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

APRIL 9, 1945

TALK WITH MRS. KRAUSS

Mrs. Krauss informed me that Goodman has been meeting in the colony with the Hōkoku and has been attempting to work out some kind of compromise with them. As Mrs. Krauss understands it, the suggestion being made is that if all those belonging to the Hōkoku who wish to be interned are interned, the bugling will stop.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

Kurihara also told me that Dr. Osler had come to see him the other day. Osler brought up the Kira rumor and wanted to know what Kurihara knew about it. Kurihara had said that he didn't know anything. Another thing that Kurihara can't understand is that Captain Torres [the representative of the Spanish Consul], on his visit here on March 24th, had told the evacuee committee that he had spoken to Yamashita. Kurihara wondered how he could have seen Yamashita on his way here.

The Hōkoku has stopped bugling since Sunday.

Meetings of Hōkoku and Goodman

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

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

Immigration and Naturalization Service Here at Tule Lake

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

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

Spanish Consul and Japanese

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

Mrs. Kira

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

Hōkoku's Beliefs in Reuniting of Families

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

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

Cut In Rice in Tule

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

TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN

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

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

APRIL 13, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

On Proposed Pickup

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

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

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

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

To give you the true facts as I see it, the Hōkoku-dan and Hōshi-dan members are not so arrogant as they were.

(Sally Wakida said the same thing yesterday. The people don't glare at her in her block anymore.)

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

Relocation

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

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

President Roosevelt's Death

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

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

The Hōkoku

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

Loyals Who Came In With Segregants

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

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Result of More Pick-ups

I think the Hōkoku-dan will be busted up. But the Hōshi-dan will coerce the youngsters to bugle. They're just doing it to spite the Administration.

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

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

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

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

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

He stressed his intention is to relocate the people. He gave out five reasons of the WRA policy of closing the eight centers including Tule Lake. He didn't definitely set the time, but he said by 1946 this camp will be transferred to the Justice Department.

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Tada then remarked:

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

APRIL 17, 1945

TALK WITH MR. GOODMAN

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

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

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

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

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

Relocation

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

Kira's desertion from Santa Fe may make some of the Hōshi-dan and Hōkoku-dan people quit.

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

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

APRIL 23, 1945

TALK WITH MR. KUNITANI

Mr. Kunitani, who had been chairman of the Daihyo Sha Kai and had then been imprisoned in the stockade, was one of my able respondents.

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

On Myer's Speech to the Block Managers

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

On Mr. Kira

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

New Political Movements Starting in Camp

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

APRIL 30, 1945

TALK WITH KURIHARA

I asked Kurihara if he had heard of the rumor of the reactionary organization Kunitani had told me about last week. He said he had not, but added that if that group started anything, they wouldn't get anywhere with the people. He'll keep his eyes open for them, though.

Relocation

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

Shortwave Statement on "long war"

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

Talk on Department of Justice

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

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

Osler's Office Broken Into

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

(Kurihara and I agree that the act was not motivated by hostility toward Osler.)

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

Kira was in the U.S. Army all right - but in the National Guard of Hawaii - he never saw any action.

[In mid-May I was obliged to leave Tule Lake and return to Berkeley. When the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I received several terrible denunciatory letters from Mr. Kurihara, to which I could not bring myself to reply. When, in November of 1945, Mr. Kurihara was shipped to Japan he sent me a postcard on which he had written, in blank verse, a poem bidding farwell to a friend.]