

3:1 Wav. Rosalie (Hankey),

Tule Lake Fieldnotes. Jan 1945. pp 1-85

N.B., Readers must not disclose identity of individual evacuees

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January 2, 1945

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

JANUARY 2, 1945

I took the long walk out to Manzanar because I wanted to talk to Mr. Tokunaga about the attitudes which the Manzanar group have toward recent developments. Mr. Tokunaga was not at home, however, but I made a tentative appointment for next Friday with his daughter.

TALK WITH GEORGE KURATOMI

Rumors Which Ho:shi-dan is Spreading About Kuratomi and His Group

I'm not afraid. That organization is a monkey wrench. We will have to win the membership into a much broader field so they, in the shortest possible time, will realize the significance of living in harmony together here in camp.

If they keep on making more pick-ups it's going to excite the people and we'll never have harmony.

Over the past two days the feeling has been very good in camp. It's the spirit of the holiday and I'm more or less pleased to see it. Of course the families of the people picked up didn't feel too good. They happen to be the leaders for a segment of the sentiment in the colony.

Kuratomi then gave me copies of the two propaganda statements put out by the Ho:shi-dan since the pickups. The first was put out on December 27, the very day of the pick-ups, the second came out a few days ago. Kuratomi translated parts of the second paper, but we were interrupted by the arrival of an elderly Issei friend. I'll see if I can't get someone else to do it.

Kuratomi's Translation

On the 27th of December the leaders and cabinet members were picked up for reasons unknown. A meeting was held. It mentions the fact that the succeeding cabinet members had already been selected by the old officers.

Here Issei friend came in.

Today a member came over here telling me that during the morning exercises Uchida had said that he'd be picked up sooner or later. 'If they do get picked up,' he said, 'they had new cabinet already selected and they wanted the members to support the new cabinet unconditionally.'

This boy was laughing, he said, 'That's ridiculous. How can I support somebody I haven't voted for.'

Kuratomi said this boy was very American in thought and could not understand the ways of the Ho:shi-dan. He then digressed:

In the political set-up in Japan, the parliament is patterned after the United States, the French and the English parliaments. The people in Japan only know one way. When an organization is formed, you'll find almost the identical familiarity between these organizations of this country and the organizations of Japan.



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(Just what Kuratomi implied here - I don't know. Maybe he was referring to the "cabinet" of the Ho:shi-dan. (Resegregation Organization).

He talked for some time with his visitor while I talked with his wife, Singer, and admired the baby daughter. When the elderly gentleman left, Kuratomi told me he was the block representative of the Ho:shi-dan and had come to tell him that he was resigning.

Ho:shi-dan (Resegregation Group)

They are going to continue their past policy. I don't know what they are expecting to do, since the new cabinet members really know nothing. Everything was done in a small inner clique.

Tell Mr. Noyes for me (here Kuratomi translated from the latest pamphlet of the Ho:shi-dan). There's a part which says that Mr. Aoki went to see Mr. Noyes and it says Reverend Matsumura (and two other men) went to see him and they asked him for his explanation as to a conference which took place between Mr. Best and Aoki, with Noyes present.

Then they say these four men, after receiving full explanation from the WRA head, came back. It says, the conference must be transcribed, which transcription will be given to these men.

(When I took this message to Noyes he told me he had refused to give them this transcription.)

This thing must be carefully controlled. They say: 'Our former leaders who were arrested would signify to the fact that we, the members, have put a step forward towards becoming real Japanese nationals.'

\* \* \* \* \*

Kuratomi commented: I think this needs some justification here. They keep on saying, anybody sent to Santa Fe is taking a step forward to becoming a real Japanese. If this propaganda takes effect it will cause great trouble. A lot of people will look for trouble trying to be sent to Santa Fe.

Tell Mr. Burling for me - There are people who are very sensible and reasonable and that their only desire is to go back to Japan. These people would like to renounce their citizenship so that they will be looked on as Japanese nationals. If Mr. Burling should, under some misinterpretation, pick up these people, just because they renounced their citizenship, I think the repercussions would be very unfavorable on these people. These people have not belonged at all to the Ho:shi-dan.

I think the Ho:shi-dan undoubtedly has started the rumor that by renouncing citizenship, the people will be allowed to stay here at Tule.



Reactions to Another Pick-up

Widespread pickups would not be a good thing. If another bunch is picked up it will lay foundation to the rumor that my group are instrumental in initiating such a thing. You can't tell how many real fanatics there are in camp. Suppose they attack one of us. Our young boys would consider that an insult. The will never have harmony in the colony then.

Noyes and Best, if they want to avoid embarrassing moments, would be wise to announce the true and real honest reason for the pick-ups. That has to be published and would pump some logic and sense into the people who have been misled blindly. It would curtail the rumors, and it would take the prestige from the Ho:shi-dan. The more elaborate this announcement would be the better it would be.

A mass pick-up would be very injurious. The very people who are attacking me may not know the significance of the true facts.

The old Daihyo Sha men (Issei) who were sent to Santa Fe.(1) Ono, Tachibana and Yoshiyama started to write to Santa Fe, [telling them:] 'If you go to Crystal City you're nothing but a coward. The only way you can be real Japanese is to take a stand to come back to this camp.' The people in Santa Fe didn't like this high-handedness. They wrote to Ishigami and Ono. Then they received a letter of excommunication [from the Ho:shi-dan].

Five or six of these men are still in Santa Fe. When this new bunch comes in, I'd hate to be in those five men's position. They're not going to get along with that bunch there. Their names are Hara, Yamagishi, Tsuchiya, Ueda, who has an old mother here 71 years old. They ought to come here. If these men were returned here it would be a great relief.

I asked Kurihara for his opinion on Ishigami, who is supposed to have left instructions for the murder of Kai.

Ishigami did say many radical things. He is very stupid. He and Tachibana were very closely connected.

CLARIFICATION OF NOVEMBER DAIHYO SHA KAI MEETINGS AND SOME OF NISHIMOTO'S QUESTIONS

1. Mr. Yamatani, after consulting with the 9 ward representatives found out that in ward I (only I believe it really was ward IV), anyway, there was one ward in which the nine Daihyo Sha representatives got together and where that ward didn't have any people in the ward suitable to be named on any committee.

2. He's from this center.

[1. These were Issei who, on being released from the stockade, were sent to the Santa Fe Internment Camp in New Mexico.



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Each block recommended so many people - there was a stack of papers about that high (eight inches). They were very brief case histories. There was a special form, marked out in columns. In the first column was the name of the committee, in the second the names of the men recommended, in the third, their history and the fourth their block.

In these committees, each sheet had five, three or maybe ten names. We had to go through a pile of papers that high and select one person for each sheet - for each position there were 150 to 200 names to go through.

It was all understood by the Daihyo-Sha that after this recommendation was made that the names would be brought up before a mass meeting of the people and that the people would have the final say. If any men of the committee was unfitted, that position could be reelected by the people. We had left the making of by-laws and anything like that to the new permanent representatives.

We wanted to be released of the responsibility as fast as possible. I wanted myself to get the center church organized. That was my primary thought at this time. If I went into this kind of a thing I couldn't take my hands off. I wanted to be done with it, and let time take care of itself.

(We then went off on another discussion of the administration's contention that the November uprising [1943] had been plotted by leaders. I said that I knew that small groups of dopey boys had come into camp with the intent to cause trouble, but that was about as far as the contention was true. Kuratomi agreed absolutely and added,

The worst bunch of boys came from Topaz. They really had a tough group. Ask Tsuda. They broke up the chairs.

Page 85 - question by Nishimoto -

That was the Negotiating Committee. Nogawa was on it too. Volunteers were added to bring things to a favorable solution. Anyone who had an empty hand was asked to help it. These men were able volunteers who held some important position in the coming permanent body.

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They weren't delegated. We had to do it in an arbitrary manner.

TALK WITH KAYO IIDA - NISEI GIRL

There's a rumor going around that they're going to pick up 200 more men from the Sokoku.

The people are all sort of puzzled. They didn't know the real reason for the pick-ups. They are guessing it was done by picking up the leaders of a big organization that would arouse another incident in the center.



Leaving Camp

Many of the people here feel that they're safe yet, for at least another six months. They don't think anything will start till then. They feel they would have to start (forced relocation) with the other camps first.

Everything they (WRA) do is so inefficient. They don't seem to plan or think things through, which makes it very inconvenient for us.

We wouldn't mind going back to San Francisco if we had everything as when we left. We'd jump right out. But we've lost everything.

(I then said I thought that the least thing that could be done would be to give the people some compensation for their losses.) Said Kayo:

My father keeps on saying that we must fight for compensation.

When you think of it, it (compensation) wouldn't be so much because they are closing all the camps anyway. It wouldn't be so much.

A girl from Topaz wrote me - it was so funny. She said, 'The Caucasians told them two weeks before Christmas and they thought it was such a wonderful Christmas present. It was so funny because they didn't show any enthusiasm at all. Only fifty families in all are leaving.'

Some people are saying that Kai was responsible for the pick-ups.

TALK WITH NOYES

Found out from Noyes that Imachi had been sentenced to ninety days in jail. Of this sixty days was suspended and the remaining thirty had the alternative of a twenty dollar fine. Six days or four dollars was cut from the sentence because of previous detention. Imachi paid the fine. He got sixty days for assault and battery and thirty days for disturbing the peace.

Miyamoto got a severe reprimand because he was a leader of an organization and conducted himself in an ungentlemanly manner, unbecoming to an officer of a group of people. Had he been courteous and informed Mr. Imachi that he could meet with the committee, the whole incident probably would not have occurred.

Kimura got sixty days suspended and Yamamoto, Mikio, thirty days suspended.

Noyes said that all of the boys had come in their best clothes. Kimura, especially was resplendant. He was evidently prepared to go to jail in style. (There is very little chance that Imachi will have to pay his own fine. A lot of people will be glad to contribute.)

Noyes also told me that Masao Sakamoto is the new head of the Ho:shi-dan. (I'll have to check up on this.) Noyes also believed that Kai, Kuratomi and Tsuda are circulating the rumor that the members of the Ho:shi-dan had been picked up because they were hoodlums and gangsters.

The new Ho:shi-dan did not send a telegram to the Spanish Consul, although they could



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have done this Saturday.

Only thirty four of the seventy men sent were members of the cabinet of the "Association of Applicants for Repatriation" which is how the group translates "Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi-dan." Six men taken were Ho:shi-dan members but not of the cabinet. Eighteen of the seventy were Issei.

JANUARY 3, 1945

CALL ON MRS. NAKANO, Nisei Woman 30-35 Years Old

The somewhat disjointed statements Mrs. Nakano made on the matter of leaving camp are the most numerous I've yet received from any one person. She was much more willing to talk about it today than when I visited her last.

Pick-ups

The people were excited. Nobody knows why it was done. The way I understand, they were all interviewed by the FBI and they had all the inside information so they said they had a spy in the cabinet.

The people picked up say they're glad. They say we (people left in camp) are going to be kicked around while they will be safe and sound.

The membership itself was huge. But they couldn't trust anybody. They said that when they were interviewed they were shocked. The Administration knew everything.

One thing I liked about them, they left us alone. When Kai had his group - they dictated to us. We had to sign this or that. They (Ho:shi-dan) left us alone and didn't tell us that we had to join the organization.

We feel this way about it. Why should we whoop everything up and stir everybody up. The calmer we stay the better for all of us.

This place is getting too much mob psychology - the youngsters fight all the time - you've heard about the basketball games?

On Leaving Camp

I don't know what's going to happen to us! It's very confusing. I think everybody feels that. They don't know what's what yet. They don't like to listen to rumors. I personally would like to know what's what myself.

I think this is going to be a slow process. They can't say: 'Get out by a certain time. We'll give you twenty five dollars and car fare.' In the first place, why do they want to kick us out? It was their business we came here.



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Since the people have been in camp three years their funds are exhausted. Frankly, it's all right for people who can afford it.

To tell you frankly, I'm in such a confused mind. Everybody is like that. California is the last place I'd want to go back to, with all I've been reading. We all feel, if somebody is going to go back, let's watch and see what happens to them.

They say the Army will back us up (in California). But that's only against mob violence, not what an individual might do. If some person beats us up we can't do anything about it.

I just dread it to leave here. I just can't understand why they want to kick us out when they feel we're disloyal.

After kicking me around they can't kick me out with 25 dollars and train fair, and say, 'Find yourself a job.'

Can people be thrown out even if they renounce their citizenship? Could they put you in the Army then? (if you renounced citizenship)?

The people here aren't supposed to be trusted. What will the people on the outside think if they let us loose to run around?

They say they're going to find them a job and a place to live. Nobody will go out if they don't. This (Tule Lake) should be the last place to start. The other people (in relocation centers) are supposed to be loyal.

On the YWCA Group Mrs. Nakano Planned to Start

Now that things are like this, I thought I had better start with a small group.

Return to Leaving Camp

Some people feel this way, 'If we have to go out, let's go right away and take full advantage of the opportunities.' Well let them go out! They don't know what side of the fence they're sitting on anyway.

Rumor on Kai

The people say that Kai is going with the WRA. The people don't have faith in him anymore and he can't make them follow him.

INFORMATION FROM MRS. DESCHIN

I learned from Mrs. Deschin, the very capable social worker, that an explanation of the pick-ups had been made by the Administration in the block managers' meeting this morning. What was said nobody knows, but I'll try to find out. I also had corroboration for the statement Cook, head of Internal Security made to me on Saturday night that Tule Lake is being seriously considered as the center which will serve for a segregation center 'for an indefinite time.' This appears to be something more than a rumor.



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JANUARY 4, 1945

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

TALK WITH SALLY YAMASHIRO

Sally had not heard yet that the seventy men had been taken to Santa Fe. She said that the camp was full of rumors. Some people said they had been taken to Angel Island - others that they had been taken to San Quentin.

That would be pretty bad, said Sally, That would mean twenty years.

Reaction of Wives of men Picked Up

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

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

People Leaving Camp

Sally asked me if it were true that a lot of people were leaving camp. When I said I hadn't heard of this, she said,

Well, I guess they're waiting to see.

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

All the Leupp boys said they didn't think Mr. Robertson would have gone without seeing them.

(I heard later that the Leupp boys had given Robertson a big party before he left.)

George's Hearing

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

Ho:shi-dan People

(Sally's neighbors are ardent supporters of the Ho:shi-dan.)

Our neighbors have their suitcases all packed.



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I asked Sally if she thought it would be a good idea to have more pick-ups.

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

November 1, 1943

It seems to me the ordinary people (not the leaders) were disappointed. They expected more to come out of it. They were especially disappointed about the boys who knocked Pedicord around.

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



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JANUARY 5, 1945

Finally got an answer from Frank Furakawa, the old Tulean who was chief Block Manager at the time of the trouble. He should be able to give me much of the information Nishimoto has asked for regarding the "agitators" work with the block managers. It will be tough but now should be a pretty good time. I called on him this morning, but he wasn't home so I made an appointment for Monday morning.

TALK WITH MORIHIKO TOKUNAGA

The first thing Mr. Tokunaga asked me was what had happened to the seventy men picked up and who had picked them up. (I am surprised that some people, like Mrs. Nakano and Mr. Tokunaga still have not heard the basic facts about the pickup.) I told him, he was surprised and said that there were rumors that they had been taken to an immigration office on the West Coast. He added:

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 [inu] were to be killed in this camp.

Return To California

The newspaper says that less than 100 Japanese will return to California. WRA's plan to close the centers will fail. Not half of the people in the relocation centers will leave the camps.

When we entered camp at the beginning of the war I heard that the German people who were interned during the First World War were paid \$1,000 each when they were allowed to leave camp.

They have nothing now to depend on. A job can't be depended on. I feel the WRA plans for closing the camp will be a total failure.

I hear that in Manzanar, [Center], specially the Issei are asking the U.S. government through the Spanish Consul to stay in camp until the close of the war.

I don't know one person who wants to go out. Of course, those who want to go out say nothing about it.

Turn of War in Europe

Mr. Tokunaga frankly expressed his satisfaction over the German drive in Belgium - a sentiment that must be widespread in camp, although, out of politeness it hasn't yet been mentioned to me. He compared the German push to the tactics of General Yamashita who is drawing as many American troops as he can to the Phillipines so as to cut them off eventually from their supply line. Reviewing the present war situation Tokunaga said with satisfaction:

We may have to stay in camp until five years, but that's all right.



Exchange Boat

The reason the Japanese gave up the exchange boat was because American flyers bombed the Japanese exchange ship twelve or fourteen times. The Japanese government got mad and cancelled all talk of exchanging. So unless the American government apologizes for bombing, there's no chance of changing the Japanese government's mind.

Ho:shi-dan

Generally, what I've heard is that the trouble started among themselves. It started because Miyamoto and some others were too radical in their principles. The moderate people in that party were against them and in number they were much more than the radicals.

After that trouble (block 54) so many withdrew from the Ho:shi-dan. Before the trouble only nine families in block 54 were not members. Afterward there were only three families remaining as members.(1)

I think even the members of the Ho:shi-dan are glad the radicals were picked up. I don't think there will be any trouble about it.

Reverend Kai

I understand Reverend Kai was a red (Communist) in Japan. He called himself a priest but he really isn't. He was a red in Japan and was always followed by a detective. He really isn't a priest.

(This is not the first time I have heard these accusations made against Kai. I don't know whether there's any truth in them or not. I am frequently made aware of the fact of the almost universal hatred which the Japanese here bear toward the Communists. It's really worse to be called a Communist than a dog, in a way.)

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara informed me that very few people were believing the rumors spread about Kai and Kuratomi by the Ho:shi-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

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[1. This is not correct. In late 1944, 20 to 50 percent of the residents of block 54 were Ho:koku or Ho:shi-dan members.]



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

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

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

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

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

#### Bulletins on Information Put Out By WRA

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

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

#### Kai and Kuratomi

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

When they do that they better look out. If they do stick their heads out so much, they're going to get into deep water. Tsuda's 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 Opler had come to see him this morning, asking him how the people felt about leaving camp. Kurihara said he had figured out why Opler finds out so



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little, his informants do not tell him all the truth. Kurihara cannot quite understand this, since Opler's informants, especially Inazu, really know what's going on. Kurihara also said that Opler 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 plead with him to stay in the United States. But I hesitated to do this, because of his verbal statements.]

INFORMATION FROM MISS NEWBERRY

Miss Newberry held forth all dinner(1) about the worthlessness of the entire Japanese population in Tule Lake. Her general remarks are certainly not worth repeating but she did say that she has not heard of one application for leaving camp and she is in a position to know. She then added that one family has applied to leave on the 10th of January.

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[1. We sat next to each other in the "Caucasian" mess hall.]



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

JANUARY 6, 1945

UNVERIFIED RUMOR OF IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN A RELOCATION CENTER

The camp buzzed like a hornets' nest today with a rumor that one of the relocation center 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.

Nobody that I know of has paid much attention to the careful publications issued yesterday by the WRA (one of them is enclosed). (I haven't been able to get a copy of the message from Dillon Myer.) In any case, the feeling in camp seems to be,

It doesn't matter what they say; we're not going out.

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.

Due to a terrible rain and indescribable mud hazards I can't make any more calls today but will see what I can do tomorrow.

VISIT FROM MRS. DESCHIN

Mrs. Deschin dropped in and told me that she had gotten confidential but correct information that only 90 people in Tule would be placed on the stop list. Mrs. Deschin said she also had been told that the Army gave out many exclusion orders, hoping there would be many appeals. I do not know how many appeals are being made. None of my friends are considering it.

TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes says that the business of martial law anywhere cannot possibly be true or he would have heard of it. However, he gave me a great many important current documents for which I am grateful. Burling, incidentally, is due to arrive [at Tule Lake] on January 10.

Letter From Tachibana to O. Kobayashi

The following is a translation of a message scribbled hastily by Tachibana on a long scroll of toilet paper just before he was removed from camp. It was translated by Miss Newberry.

A brief translation of the general meaning of a letter handed to Internal Security Officer, Pearson, on December 27, 1944, by Mr. Tachibana addressed to O. Kobayashi, 7506 - B.



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This morning 70 of the Ho:shi-dan and Ho:koku Seinen dan member are leaving for Santa Fe. You people (left in the Colony) should not have any feeling of abandonment because of our going.

Take care of the things they (group members) should do and the business left undone as the result of our being taken out. They must continue with the program.

Until now by mutual agreement there has been nothing disgusting done - don't do anything now.

For the time being take care of the women until the families are united again and do not let them worry. Do not be troubled about us and do not worry.

Telegrams Sent by Sokuji Members Yesterday:

These are the telegrams as they were presented by Higashi. He was not allowed to send them until they had been altered according to Noyes' suggestion to say: "According to the WRA these men were sent to the Department of Justice Camp at Santa Fe."

January 5, 1945

Honorable Juan D. de Molina  
Minister counselor in charge  
of Japanese Interest

Spanish Embassy, Washington, D.C.

On early morning of December 27, 1944, 69 cabinet members of Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan were detained and sent to some other place, undisclosed. Their destination is still unknown, so their families are very much worried.

We, hereby, are respectfully and earnestly asking your honor to investigate the above matter and let us know their destination at your earliest convenience.

From: Tsutomu Higashi  
Representative of the  
said Organization  
5403-A, Tule Lake, California

Permanized  
PARCHMENT

100% COTTON FIBER  
U.S.A.



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January 5, 1945

Honorable Francis Biddle  
Attorney General  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

From: Tsutomu Higashi  
Representative of the said Organization  
5 403-A Tule Lake, California

In relative of the incident of early morning of December 27, 1944 the destination of those who were detained is still unknown and their families are very much worried.

We, hereby, are respectfully asking your Honor to let us know their destination at your earliest convenience.

Noyes informed me that the men's families were told immediately that they were being taken to Santa Fe. I recall that on December 29, Mary Hashimoto, a Nisei, knew that the men had been sent to Santa Fe. And Kuratomi knew this on January 2. All I can ask, is what gives?

(This is an English translation of the general meaning of an announcement written in Japanese and distributed by the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi Dan and the Ho:koku Seinen Dan dated December 27, 1944.)

#### Section 1

1. December 27. Early in the morning of the 27th the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi Dan lined up and more than 10 of the Ho:koku Seinen Dan leaders for the reason of those who had been taken into custody.
2. The remaining leaders of the two organization this morning at 7 o'clock held an important meeting in the ironing room of block #50.
3. This meeting was for the purpose of electing new officers.
4. We want the executive committee to find out why those people were taken away this morning.
5. The ironing room of block #50 is the temporary headquarters.
6. The negotiating committee: Okamura, Yoshida and 17 others met at gate #3 at 9:00p.m.
7. The negotiating committee went to see Mr. Best, Project Director, who said that he was very busy and would see them at 10 a.m.
8. At 11 a.m. there was another meeting of both organizations at gate #3 and they asked again for the reasons that these people had been taken away.
9. Two times of necessity attempts were made (to see someone) then Mr. Cook talked with Aoki, representing the temporary committee. Mr. Cook answered as follows:
  - A. The orders came from higher authorities (Washington) WRA knows nothing about it.
  - B. If the head of the committee will come to the office we will meet with him at any time.



10. At about 1 p.m. the people were taken out in bus and truck watched by the army not knowing where they were going. All the people sang and the bugles blew as a good-bye.
11. After they left the people returned as they wished.

## Section 2

1. On December 27 at 2:30 p.m. a special meeting was called to announce the new officers. Both organizations are fine in spirit.
2. The negotiating committee now stops functioning. All signed appointing the new officers.
3. Both organizations will continue with the same idea as they have had until now. To make this clear a statement will be printed and distributed to all.

## Section 3

December 28, 8 a.m.

1. A special meeting of the executive committee and all groups got together as heads of the people (except the Sein'in Dan committee).
2. The old negotiating committee was all given up and new chairman and vice-chairman was chosen for both organization.

## Section 4

1. On December 28 at 10 a.m. the chairman and vice-chairman had a meeting.
2. Before the meeting of the leaders can be legal there must be a meeting of more of the people.

## Section 5

December 28, 3 p.m.

1. Mr. Aoki went to see Mr. Noyes and together they went to see Mr. Best.
2. At a meeting Mr. Yatsumoto, Akaboshi and Yoshida went again to see Mr. Noyes with Mr. Aoki to find out what Mr. Best said to Mr. Noyes.
3. About 6:30 p.m. these four men heard everything from WRA and returned.
4. At that time Mr. Noyes promised to give us the shorthand record so we can make an announcement for the information of the people as soon as possible.

## Section 6

They have taken out the leaders. We of the committees of both organizations must be real Japanese - this is the first step.

Now those left of both organizations must quietly get together, keep up our moral before the people and with real Japanese feeling urge all to keep up the Japanese national ideals.

But the buildup of both organizations is all complete. Both organizations from now on are going along continuing to live with joy.



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

Both organizations - ALL - do not listen to what people say.

Keep only to our ONE purpose.

After while the names of those who have gone, the names of the leaders of both organizations will be announced.

Signed: Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan  
Hokoku Sein'in Dan

(translated by G. Newberry)

Permanized  
PARCHMENT  
100% COTTON FIBER  
U.S.A.



INTERVIEW

Hearing held on 12/28/44 [From copy given me by Mr. Noyes]

Mr. Noyes and the following evacuees:

Masayoshi Aoki. . . . .2419-A  
Shingetsu Akahashi. . . . .8412-EF  
Tessho Matsumoto. . . . .8402-FG  
Shigeki Yoshida . . . . .4917-B

Interpreter: Robert Ross

Place: Project Attorney's office

Time: 4:15 p.m.

Noyes: All of these gentlemen understand English I assume?

Aoki: Not all of them very well.

Ross: They understand better than they can speak.

Noyes: It is all right if they speak Japanese, then, and Mr. Ross will be here to interpret.

Did you mention to these men, Mr. Aoki, the fact that we had this discussion in Mr. Best's office?

Aoki: Yes, they understand very well.

Noyes: If you will ask certain questions, then I shall give you Mr. Best's answer. Or if you wish to make statement, I shall try to tell you whether or not they are correct in my opinion.

Aoki: First of all, will you please relate the story I asked Mr. Best about the leading members being called by the Department of Justice and having been interviewed? And will you give Mr. Best's answer to my question?

Noyes: I believe you asked why the leading members of the Sokoku Hoshi Dan and the Hokoku Seinin Dan were interviewed by Mr. Burling and taken by the Department of Justice to Santa Fe. Mr. Best explained that he had no control over the matter at all. That it was entirely decided by the Department of Justice and that perhaps next week or whenever they decide, they will take others of the organization, but that they are taking whomever they want to, and are not in any way involved by Mr. Best.

(Aoki translates to the others.)

Noyes: I might add to that that Mr. Best also explained that he will consider your request that he tell Mr. Burling you and your entire group of the Sokuji and the Hokoku Seinin Dan desire a preferential right to be taken to Santa Fe with the other officers, I believe you called them the cabinet members. Mr. Best stated that although his recommendation may not make any difference to the Department of Justice, still he will make that recommendation to them. He will tell them that your whole group feels the same way they do, and that you desire to go to Santa Fe with them.

(Aoki talks in Japanese to the other three)



Noyes: Also Mr. Best explained that he showed you a copy of the telegram to all of these people from the Director in Washington stating that the Department of Justice Hearing Officers will be out here very soon, and that all of the people may be so informed. That is the telegram which was received just before you came to his office.

(Aoki talks in Japanese)

Noyes: That any questions pertaining to questions of renunciation of citizenship of the taking of people into the custody of the Department of Justice to Santa Fe or anywhere else, Mr. Best said, is entirely in the hands of the Department of Justice and Mr. Best or the War Relocation Authority don't have any control over that. That is separate. That is a separate part of the government. They are doing a separate job of their own.

(Aoki talks in Japanese)

Noyes: I should like to know the official capacities of the titles of the other gentlemen here. I understand that you are the Secretary of the Hoshi Dan, Reverend, is that correct?

Rev. Akahoshi: Formerly they were the advisors of the organization. However, at present, they are the instructors and at the same time they have been giving lectures to our organization. They want to know why they were not taken to the Santa Fe internment camp. They were former leading members.

Noyes: Maybe there wasn't enough train service. We don't have the answer to that question. It isn't our responsibility. I think, however, that probably at least a part of your group will have an opportunity to take the trip. Your wishes will be communicated to Mr. Burling by Mr. Best and also by me. Not that our statements have any more weight than you have.

So Mr. Akahoshi and Mr. Matsumoto are members of the cabinet?

Aoki: Oh yes. They are very important members. They say please take them next time. As members are taken to Santa Fe, others will arise to be officers to take their place until all are together.

Noyes: Oh, I don't think they will decide on the basis of whether a man is an officer or not. It seems that they wanted the top leaders first. But I don't think they will do it on the basis of officers, necessarily.

As you agreed, Mr. Burling is a very able and intelligent man. He will make his own choice. Did any of these gentlemen have an interview with Mr. Burling? You stated that you did not. Were any of the other 3 before him? I'm curious to know.

Aoki: None of them were called. Not yet. I ask you: The people who were being called - were they the only ones being taken?

Noyes: Many were interviewed who weren't taken. Mr. Higashi was one. It doesn't mean they won't go - it may be a matter of time. I don't know what will be the decision. It is my guess that all of the gentlemen who want to go down there will be accommodated eventually. There is the problem of how many can be accommodated at the present time.

May I ask a few questions just to get the record straight. To get information which may be helpful to me, and perhaps helpful to you:

1) Are you 4 gentlemen all members of the "cabinet"?

Aoki: Yes.



2) Can you tell me roughly how many members there are in the cabinet?  
Aoki: Roughly, there is 100, including the Ward Cabint members.

3) Is Mr. Tsutomu Higashi the president now?  
Aoki: Yes.

4) Is that the highest office?  
Aoki: Yes.

5) Do you have such a thing as the chairman?  
Aoki: The president is the chairman.

6) Whose place did he take?  
Aoki: Uchida's.

Noyes: Are the Hokoku and the Sokoku together now, or is there just one big organization?

Aoki: The Sokoku Hoshi Dan consisting of parents of the rest of the members of the family, whereas Hokoku Seinin Dan consisting of members from 15 years of age to 35 years. Over 35 years will be up to own will. If they wish to join the Seinin Dan they may. There are two separate sets of officers, but they work together.

Noyes: You might give me a list of the officers of both groups. You said you would give me a list of the cabinet.

Aoki: The names will be submitted to you tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

Noyes: What position does Mr. Kozuki K. Kodani, Block 10 hold?

Aoki: He is a member of the Hokoku?

Noyes: I understand it is the Hoshi Dan.

Aoki: He may be one of the leading members but at present we don't recognize the name.

Noyes: How about Mr. Hashimoto, T. Larry?

Aoki: You see, the new members were elected to fill the capacity of the members who left here, and we don't remember the names. Tomorrow we will submit the list of names.

Noyes: That will be the official list?

Aoki: Yes.

Noyes: Now what is your question about the communication with the Spanish Consul?

Aoki: I have been informed by Mr. Morimoto that Mr. Best would give him a written statement regarding this telegram.

Noyes: I can give you that statement here. It is just as good as a written statement isn't it? I was to have prepared the written statement.

Aoki: (after talking to others in Japanese) They seem to prefer to have you write the statement.

Noyes: Which proves one more thing. We are wasting lots of time speaking to you people. The reason we had this second meeting is so that you could have witnesses. Mr. Morimoto didn't have any witnesses. You didn't have any witnesses. We are having this meeting so that you may have witnesses.



Noyes: You stated in the presence of Mr. Best that if this could be explained where there were witnesses, that was all that would be necessary. Now you have three witnesses. Why do you still insist on something in writing? Why should we waste time in discussing things? I think we are being fair with you gentlemen. I think you must be courteous to us. If you don't trust us, then it will be impossible for us to trust you.

I want to know if you wanted a written statement before you came here. If so, then your later requests were made in bad faith.

Aoki: Mr. Morimoto told me you promised a written statement.

Noyes: Tell me why you want the written statement. You should have laid your cards on the table and insisted upon it originally. Why didn't you bring Mr. Morimoto in here in this meeting in the first place? Why didn't you tell us what use you wanted to make of this written statement?

Mr. Morimoto said he wanted it in order to tell the other members. You other members are here now, yet you insist upon a written statement. I want to know why you insist.

Aoki: They don't understand very well and we would like you to explain to us the story Mr. Best said about the telegram.

Noyes: I'll do it on one condition: and that is, that there won't be further demands from the organization, each separately demanding an explanation or a written statement or both. If it is understood that this will take care of all of the members, I shall do that.

Aoki: We'll have full confidence in respect to your story.

Noyes: Mr. Morimoto will be satisfied too?

Aoki: I believe he will.

Noyes: I want to know if these gentlemen agree with you on that.

Aoki: They will be satisfied too.

Noyes: I'll state what Mr. Best said, and I repeated it in his office myself. These 70 men -- there were 70, not 64 -- were turned over to the Department of Justice at the request of the Department of Justice. Once they were taken over by the Department of Justice they were put on a train which was a special train arranged by the government.

In the first place, this is war now, and movement of any government special train is governed by military precautions. Therefore they are not subject to discussion publicly regarding its movements. In the second place, the men who were on that train were being protected in every way possible and in taking precautions to keep secret government orders, it was also necessary to do this for the protection of these people. Now, do you want to explain that to the other men?

(Aoki explains in Japanese to the other 3)

Noyes: Mr. Best must approve a telegram before it can go out of this center. Also it was further stated that you can send any telegrams you wish to about this movement after this train arrives at Santa Fe, which will be about 10:30 a.m. Saturday morning, December 30. You can explain that to them, also.



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

Aoki: After 10:30 Saturday morning we can send telegrams?

Noyes: Yes. After 10:30 you can send telegrams about this train. You can write letters if you want to. But remember that it is against postal laws to write about train movements. If you write anything about train movements in a letter you will be subject to punishment under postal laws, and to the Department of Justice. Do you understand that?

There is a meeting now I must attend. I have kept some men waiting over in Mr. Best's office for over a half an hour now. There are 18,000 people in the colony to whom we are asked to offer our services. It is not right to take so much time up when it means that other residents will not be helped. I must go now.

INTERVIEW - held on January 2, 1945.

Mr. Noyes and the following evacuees:

Tsutomu Higashi - President Hokoku Sein'in Dan  
Masayoshi Aoki - Secretary Hokoku Sein'in Dan  
Masao Sakamoto - Chairman Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi Dan

Place: Project Attorney's office.

Time: 3:00 PM

Interpreters present - Georgia Newbury and Robert Ross

Noyes: I understand that you called me while I was out of the office stating that you wanted to discuss something extremely urgent. Is that right?

Aoki: That's right.

Noyes: What is the problem and what can I do for you?

Aoki: Mr. Sakamoto and Mr. Higashi and I wish to know what happened to those arrested people who were sent up from this camp. We have not heard from them or received any messages.

Noyes: They were not scheduled to arrive at Santa Fe until Saturday morning. The Department of Justice did not permit them to communicate until after arrival there. No doubt, there is certain processing which takes place after arrival there such as housing, etc. It will probably take a little longer for mail to reach you on account of the New Year intervening. They couldn't write until Saturday and mail didn't go out until yesterday or today on account of the New Year.

Sakamoto: It was because of the concern that was felt by many members in the colony. If it were known to them, then it would settle their questions or doubts as to their whereabouts.

Noyes: You have my assurance that they went to Santa Fe. That is the information the Department of Justice gave us. I feel satisfied that they are well and have arrived safely in Santa Fe although I have had no word to that effect. I expect the members should receive letters from them within the next few days. You also know that mail in Santa Fe is subject to censorship. That is, it is my understanding that it is. The delay is no doubt the result of New Years and these various other things of which I spoke. If you want to send a telegram to them, I don't think there will be any objection; that is, at this end. I am sure there is nothing the matter or anything wrong and I am sure that within the next few days, you will hear from them, although I cannot guarantee that. Is there anything further I can



do to help you or answer any other questions that are troubling you?

Aoki: That is the main question which we wished to ask you, so far that question is clear.

Noyes: That is the very best answer I can give you now. That is as much as I know. Mr. Sakamoto and Higashi were not present at the meeting last week and I am wondering if they have any questions they would like to ask while we are together.

Higashi: We will have to know what will happen to the families that are left down there in the center. Do you think WRA has any plans for them?

Noyes: WRA has no control over the situation at all.

Aoki: It is entirely in the hands of the Department of Justice?

Noyes: It is entirely up to the Department of Justice what will become of them. We just took the men as individuals. It is the same thing that has taken place previously in cases of this kind. For example, when the department of Justice took aliens they felt should be interned, any arrangements for their families to join them were handled by the Department of Justice. WRA has no control over it.

Sakamoto: Then there must be a procedure for reunion of families.

Noyes: There undoubtedly is but I do not know what the procedure is. However, I believe it must be the desire of the person who is interned at Santa Fe and also must be the desire of the family that did not go along that they want to join the member who has been interned. I believe either application would have to be initiated by the person interned in Santa Fe or by the family. In any event, it has to be handled through the Department of Justice and they in turn will take whatever action they wish or can. There are a number of conditions that are involved such as housing facilities for living down there. I don't believe that they have any women in Santa Fe. However, I am only guessing. I don't know. The Department of Justice can give you the answers. I can't.

Aoki: You don't know the definite date Mr. Burling will be here?

Noyes: I don't know the exact date that he will arrive here. Perhaps someday next week. We have no definite information as to the date of arrival. You remember Mr. Best showed you a telegram telling us that the Department of Justice was sending men here for the purpose of continuing hearings soon. It all depends on what railroad accommodations they can secure. My belief is that they will not be here until some time next week. We have nothing definite.

Aoki: (after discussing something in Japanese with Higashi)  
We definitely want to renounce our citizenship. Even though the Department of Justice does not recognize it, we consider ourselves Japanese and as far as our faith and fidelity is concerned, it is for the Japanese Government only. Therefore, as we mentioned to you the other day about the renunciation, we stress again, if you see Mr. Burling, will you please express to him how we feel about renouncing our citizenship? The members want preferential hearing so they can go to Santa Fe.

Noyes: I will be very glad to do that. I assume the statements you just made were Mr. Higashi's statements and that it is a statement he wished you to make to me. He agrees with you in the discussion of last week. Is that right?

Aoki: Yes.



Noyes: This list you brought to me - there are three white sheets and eight yellow sheets. The eight yellow sheets are headed, "Ward 1 through Ward 8", Are these people of the Hoshi Dan or the Hokoku Group?

Sakamoto: On the members of the Hoshi Dan it just says, "Chairman and Ward Representatives", but they are all members of the cabinet or leading members. I will clear those up right now and tell you the other titles.

(He starts to take papers from his pocket but is interrupted. Mr. Aoki states that Higashi would like to ask some questions first.)

Aoki: (After discussion with Higashi in Japanese): At the previous meeting, it was, I think, understood that later on you would give us the records of what took place at the meeting.

Noyes: I don't believe so. I think it was misunderstood, because I cannot give you the records and I believe you were told that at the meeting.

Aoki: May we ask you now for the records on that meeting?

Noyes: I usually keep those for my own purposes because I have to report to my superiors on any discussions which I have on behalf of the WRA. I don't call in my superiors as witnesses. The only witnesses that are here are the two interpreters and the only reason I have a stenographer take down the notes is because that is the only way I have to remember what is said. I don't understand what the desire is in asking for a report of that nature.

Aoki: You see, it is the desire to make clear to the members so if you don't mind, we would like to have a copy.

Noyes: No, that is only my record.

Aoki: (Discusses the matter with Higashi)

There was some questions as to whether we would be understood or believed as to what was said and there has been a little confusion. If you don't mind, we will ask for the record on that first meeting. As I just told you, it is the desire to make clear to the membership what took place in here, the conversation, etc.

Noyes: We can not go over that again.

Aoki: I know but -----

Noyes: If we had not had the meeting written up last time what would Mr. Higashi want? Would he want me to repeat some of those things?

Aoki: It is his intention to make it clear to the members. You see we understand what the discussion was and how it was settled but the rest of the members don't seem to understand that point and we want to make it clear by showing them the records.

Noyes: Do Mr. Higashi and Mr. Sakamoto understand?

Aoki: We understand, that is the three of us here do, that WRA did not have anything to do with the arresting of these people but as far as the rest of the members are concerned they don't exactly understand why they were arrested.



Noyes: I think they do get the point because you just told me now that the rest of the members want preferential hearings on the renunciation of their citizenship so they can go to Santa Fe too. Will you please explain this to Mr. Higashi and Mr. Sakamoto.

Sakamoto, Higashi and Aoki hold a discussion in Japanese.

Aoki: I want to stress the point that it is the intention to be interned in an internment camp. However, there is certain misunderstanding about the policy of WRA in the colony and if this matter isn't clear to all the members then there might be certain friction between WRA and the colony. In order to make it clear if we could acquire the records that were taken at the previous meeting, then we could explain to the people that so far as the WRA is concerned, it is entirely up to the Department of Justice.

Noyes: I think we are coming back to the same thing that we discussed the last time and there was a difference of opinion as to what constitutes satisfactory statements from the WRA to your group and we always come back to the demand by your group that they want something in writing. Is that right?

Aoki: Don't take it the wrong way, we are not demanding the written statement to take advantage of the WRA.

Noyes: I am not afraid of you taking advantage of the WRA. It is just a question of what is in your peoples' mind to distrust WRA. They know that those people were taken by the Department of Justice. They know the Department of Justice selected the ones that were taken. WRA didn't tell you to renounce your citizenship or not to. You know that was done by you through the Department of Justice, and you don't have to do any guessing when it comes to the next step. If the WRA says for them to take this one or that one, it doesn't make any difference. They take who they want. WRA didn't ask you or anyone else to renounce their citizenship. Did they? I would like to have you ask Mr. Higashi that question.

Higashi: We are not demanding a written statement from the WRA. However, to make it clear to the members of the two organizations, we would like to ask you for the record.

Noyes: There are two things I have to say in answer to that and to explain why that request cannot be granted. One is, you people are the leaders and you understand and have no doubt in your mind what took place at the meeting -----

Interrupted by Mr. Aoki.

Aoki: We wish to state that if we can acquire that record, we can publish the conversation with Mr. Best and you. Our representatives will know the outcome of the conversation, etc.

Noyes: You know we sit here and discuss things back and forth and over and over. When we get through, we have pages and pages of things that don't mean anything. You couldn't publish the whole thing.

Aoki: Maybe it could be.

Noyes: First of all I wouldn't approve of publishing the whole thing. It would have to be summarized. You have all the information in your own minds and you can summarize that and give it to your members. If they don't trust their leaders then we are wasting our time. You have the same things in your minds as if you had the whole records before you. This is the fourth occasion to explain to the leaders of your organization what happened (that is what we know) and to answer the questions on the minds of the leaders. There will be a story published in the Newell Star regarding



the action of the Department of Justice and your members have had plenty of opportunity to get information on the renunciation of citizenship. Some have already been interviewed by Mr. Burling and the rest will have an opportunity very soon. Mr. Burling will, no doubt, make another statement upon his arrival here. None of us can make statements for the Department of Justice. We have told you over and over again that it was a Department of Justice matter. It should be clear to your membership by now. I cannot solve that by giving you a copy of the transcript of this interview or any other interview. It will have to be solved by your own organization. That is a problem you are throwing into our laps that you have no right to.

Higashi: I feel that we have come out in the open and explained things and have been willing to put our cards on the table. We feel that it is not asking too much for us to get the transcript of the interviews. If the WRA is trusting the people and if we are trusting WRA there should be an understanding between us in regard to that. If you can make clearly on that by explaining more clearly.

Noyes: In writing, you mean?

Aoki: Yes.

Noyes: If Mr. Higashi wants further explanations, I will be frank in saying, the interview here is a courtesy interview. You weren't ordered to nor did I insist that you give me the names of these people. The only thing was that those people wanted to be heard by Mr. Burling and I promised I would give Mr. Burling the list and tell him that you people wanted preferential hearings. Remember Mr. Burling did not speak to you as an organization or listen to you as an organization. He only took each case individually and by appointment. Now please just consider it a favor that I have agreed to pass the list on to Mr. Burling.

Higashi: Not only the leaders but the rest of the membership wish to have preferential hearings.

Noyes: Will you Mr. Higashi, Sakamoto and Aoki state to me, here and now, that every name on this list is on here with the knowledge and approval of each person listed thereon?

Aoki: (After discussion with Higashi) According to Mr. Higashi the names of the officers were all willing to be interned and they all possess the same intentions of those that have been arrested from here. Not only them, but all the members. Their intentions are to get the preferential rights in being interviewed by Mr. Burling.

Noyes: I will give the list to Mr. Burling. This is only a favor as Mr. Burling is not interested in petitions or anyone coming in out of turn. You understand that do you not?

Aoki: When our representatives, including myself, met with you on previous occasions, at that time, we expressed to you our intentions and the formation of the organization and again may I stress these two organizations are composed of members whose fidelity and loyalty is to Japan. We are leading a path - only one path is open for us - we wish to live as true Imperial Japanese subjects. There is a rumor in this camp about the fact that our members consist of more or less gangsters rather than an organization and there is another group.

Noyes: What is their purpose?

Aoki: It doesn't concern with us. They are the ones that have been acting more or less, shall I say, trying to disrupt our organization by spreading a false rumor. As I have told you before, it is our intention to go to Japan as quick as possible and of course if the Japanese Government does not send out an exchange ship our fidelity



and faith is to the Japanese Government and to be subjects of the Japanese Imperial Government.

Noyes: Has Mr. Higashi renounced his citizenship?

Aoki: He has not received notification from the Department of Justice that his renunciation has been accepted. He did not have a hearing.

Noyes: Did you have an interview, Mr. Aoki?

Aoki: No.

Noyes: Did you apply?

Aoki: Yes, I have.

Noyes: I am sure this group that is coming here now is going to speed up the hearings and if they want to take you to Santa Fe they will, and if they don't want to they won't. It is entirely up to the Department of Justice.

Aoki: We want to state again that our intentions are to be interned in one place as a group. You see there has been a lot of friction among the Japanese here. There is a certain Japanese group that seems to be loyal to both Japan and United States, others who are loyal to the United States and unfaithful to Japan. Our only wish is to live with the Japanese whose intentions are the same with faith only toward the Japanese government.

Noyes: Of course, there again, we cannot speak for the Department of Justice. We do not know who they will take and who they will not take. You may ask to go to Santa Fe but the Department of Justice may not want you. As far as the people who are spreading rumors, we are not interested in them. All rumors will sooner or later be cleared up. This colony has always been full of rumors.

Aoki: We fear that WRA takes into consideration these rumors.

Noyes: We can't pay any attention to them. There has been many rumors in this center.

Higashi: You can tell us then when the Department of Justice representative will be coming here as soon as you have the information?

Noyes: We will tell you when we are sure. I can tell you this, it is our understanding that when they come here this time, they will try to hear all the cases.

Aoki: (for Higashi) Another thing I wish to ask you. If you can explain more clearly on the matter of giving out the transcript. You object to it, is that right?

Noyes: I don't like to give that out because it is my personal record. I don't make copies of it. You might tell Mr. Higashi the young lady does not have time to type it up. It is still in her note book and I do not know when she will get time to type it. The records are there in her book if I ever have to refer to them. I don't like to burden the girls with a lot of extra work.

Aoki: We will transcribe the notes. We have someone in the colony who can do that.

(interrupted by Mr. Higashi who wished to have him make the following statements:

In regards to your answer you stated that WRA had nothing to do with arresting people and further in this matter, we have come here to ask you for that record in



order to make clear to the rest of the members and if they misinterpret that then it isn't any more our responsibility. We came here in order to have something concrete to take to the membership.

Noyes: Let me make one thing very clear in order that there will be no question in your mind. When we said the WRA had nothing to do with the selection of the people who were taken to Santa Fe by the Department of Justice, we didn't mean that we didn't assist the Department of Justice in picking these people up. That is the only part that WRA had to do with the handling of the people. The WRA didn't have anything to do with saying take this man or take that one.

At the original interview with your secretary, Mr. Murumoto, when you brought a signed telegram to the Spanish Consul, I explained at that time about telegrams; that is, you could send any telegrams you wished to after 10:30 a.m., Saturday, December 30, 1944. After we got through with the interview, Mr. Murumoto said he wanted something in writing. We explained it to you again and you still wanted something in writing and again today you want something in writing. I still insist that you want to explain something to your members that they won't believe and if you as leaders have to have a statement that WRA does not say this man goes or that man goes to prove it to your members, we are not going to give it to you in writing. Do you understand?

Aoki: Please explain again. We don't exactly want it in writing but a copy of what took place here.

Noyes: You remember what went on. Why don't you tell them? The purpose of this meeting was not to discuss the record of the last meeting. It was to find out what happened to those people. We got that clear and you don't want that in writing. Do you? There was no intention on my part or yours, so I thought, to discuss written documents. You can tell Mr. Higashi that I am not going to waste my girl's time typing up this. I don't think you want it to prove to your members. The next time you can bring one of your own members and have them make their own records. I don't think you are showing the proper appreciation by taking up my time in demanding a copy of the last week's meeting and a memo on the discussion in Mr. Best's office. I try to explain over and over again and I think that your persistence in this matter is not showing the proper appreciation.

Aoki: We are not demanding.

Noyes: You are not demanding because you can't demand anything.

Aoki: Yes, maybe-----

Noyes: Mr. Higashi let me say one more thing, your group is the only group that has been concerned about the Department of Justice and about anything in writing to clear up WRA policy.

I am the only attorney at this center for 18,000 evacuees and I have to handle problems and give them help and advice. It doesn't make any difference whether they are loyal to Japan or to the United States, I never ask that question when they come to me with legal problems. I help them with property matters, divorces, etc., and whether they are going to Santa Fe tomorrow I don't care. I am still working on some legal problems for a few of those that have gone to Santa Fe. I want it clearly understood I am interested in the rights of all the evacuees whenever they have a legal problem. If Mr. Higashi has a legal problem I will be glad to help him. Mr. Tachibana and various others came to me for legal advice many times. They always got the same courtesy. I am not going to waste a lot of time arguing about a record. You know, or you should know, that it is not a very proper request.



If your members won't believe their leaders, they won't believe a record either. We are going from day to day trying to argue about written statements when it will all be cleared up in due time. I told all the other members, when they were here before, the same things I have told you. I think it should be fairly understood that I am not here to argue but to help and I think I have been very courteous on the whole. We have been getting along fine. Let's not make it too involved. As I said, I am a very busy man and other people are entitled to my time and have their problems handled by me also. I was just called on the phone and reminded that I am supposed to attend a meeting.

Aoki: Before we leave, we wish to stress again, our intentions are to be interned with those that left this center. That we are waiting to be interned in one place.

Noyes: I will give this list to Mr. Burling myself and state what you said. That is the main reason for the interview, isn't it? The rest is about your friends in Santa Fe and I hope you will get word from them that will please you.

Aoki: We certainly appreciate that Mr. Noyes.

JANUARY 7, 1945

When I returned these documents to Noyes he told me that he is determined to encourage Burling to get Kai and Kuratomi to renounce their citizenship so that they may be sent out of camp to Santa Fe. He feels that they are such a potential menace to the peace of the camp that the end justifies the means in this case. Burling, incidentally, is due to arrive with a staff of 12 male and 3 female assistants.

Also heard from several staff members that the Administration is seeking "to run to its source" the rumor about the riot in Manzanar or Minidoka. Well, I wish them luck.



JANUARY 8, 1945TALK WITH FRANK FURUKAWA [Niiyoma]

Mr. Furukawa is one of the Old Tuleans whom I have been trying to see for many months. He was Head of Civic Organizations (Block Managers) at the time of the trouble and knows a great deal of what went on. He was also one of the important men who worked to get the camp back to "normalcy" and supported the Coordinating Committee. Naturally, he has been called an inu by the opposition, although he never came under as much odium as some of the members of the Coordinating Committee.

He is an unusually intelligent man, a realist, he reminds me very much of my relocated friend, Jim Takeuchi, except that he was in a much better position to get straight information than was Takeuchi.

Position of Block Managers Oct.-Nov. 1943

At the time when the block managers were involved in that issue, that was the Civic Organization.

They didn't get into that knowingly. When the Daihyo Sha requested the improvement of food and maintainance, naturally, the block managers felt the same way, due to the numerous complaints they were receiving in some of the blocks. All human character is the same way. They looked forward to improvements - like me - I'd rather eat something better than beans if I could get it.

They were asked to cooperate and attend the meeting. We went into it only as a purpose of relaying the messages to the people. We were only a mechanical device to let the people know the outcome of what was happening.

As far as the block managers involving themselves in any political affair is concerned, we were fully opposed to it.

I asked if a committee had called on the Civic Organization to ask them to hold the meetings at which the (members of the) Daihyo Sha were elected.

Several committees from different groups called on us.

(I could get no more detail on this.)

Unfortunately the issue (farm accident) was laid aside more than it should have been.

(I think Mr. Furukawa means that the farm accident was ignored while other issues were stressed and that the farm business was never satisfactorily concluded.)

Attitude of the People

They started out to support the Daihyo Sha and got to the point where they had to support it due to the leaders being taken into custody. They bore the responsibility of their conscience.



Split Between Transferees and Segregees

When the people from other centers came in here there couldn't help from being trouble here. Due to economic and domestic problems we (Old Tuleans) were compelled to stay here. In the other centers it was a little bit more different. The people here didn't want to make such moves. They didn't want to split up. They more or less stayed here.

Now in Gila for instance, those persons that were made to move didn't have much choice. The government felt they were loyal to Japan and that they were not safe to be released and tagged as a loyal American. He (a segregee) may have been a little bit cuckoo or had a minor charge like being in a street brawl or something like that. The Administration in other centers would feel they shouldn't let them loose. Many persons were sent in here on that account.

(This accusation that very undersirable people were sent to Tule Lake because the staff at the relocation centers wanted to get rid of them has been made to me before but never with the vividness with which Furukawa gave it. He told of one transferee in his block who will come into the messhall occasionally, take his place at the table "and begin to imitate a chicken.")

Of course a great many were sent here due to the statements made that they would not be loyal to America.

They felt they should come here and get equal rights to jobs. They knew it would be pretty hard to talk with the persons holding the key jobs or with the Caucasians about this. They drilled their followers with the idea that we shouldn't be held from getting those positions just because the Old Tuleans were there.

(Here Furukawa put himself in the position of a transferee and talked in the first person, describing how some other transferee might feel.)

Probably that was not my motive. Since I'm going to Tule Lake, sooner or later I'm going to Japan. In order to go to Japan, if I think about my future, I may want something to go back with me. By entering into political positions like that, I have a feeling that I've done something for the people. That's a feather in my hat. That would be a certain imaginary gift to the government of Japan. I have helped the evacuees during the hardships of camp life.

Furukawa and the Coordinating Committee

When the back to work movement started, we told to the colonel that we don't want anything to do with the Administration or the Army. During those dark moments of camp life many people with children, they had no shoes, no money, no clothing, some of the children were beginning to go barefooted. The camp condition was critical.

Seeing things like that, the Coordinating Committee was organized. We were doing something for the people. That wasn't a thing like the other organization.



But the representatives (of Daihyo Sha) went back to their blocks and gave them the wrong impression of the genjyo-iji [status quo]. I think Byron (Akitsuki) will agree with me.

The motive of the Coordinating Committee - realizing the unfortunate status of the people - there was only one way to bring the people back to normal condition - to put them back to work. The Coordinating Committee at the beginning was all that thing beared on. I think that the work was completed. I'll admit we could have done much more by the camp. When the people went to work we felt that the Coordinating Committee's job was completed. We felt more work could be done getting the Caucasian and the Japanese foremen closer together. But we could not work because of backfires from the Administration.

When the Coordinating Committee stepped into the picture they put their lives at stake. You see, we had very little support when we started that thing. Although the Coordinating Committee was supported by all the working people, that is a very little percentage of the people in this center. And even so, all the working people were not supporting the Coordinating Committee. I don't think there's a person in this center - although he had a few strong minded people behind him, = I think nobdy here could have gone farther than Byron.

They (Administration) used the Coordinating Committee like a crook uses a crow bar to get into a house. After robbing the house, they throw away the crowbar.

#### Loyalty and Disloyalty

I think being loyal or disloyal in this center - the bearing is very small.

#### Ho:shi-Dan

The bald-headed group claims they are loyal to Japan. I don't know about that. The biggest percentage of them are Kibei. They think they are having an opportunity to serve for Japan.

#### First Block Meetings - Oct. 16

Those block meetings were well attended. I can safely say that better than 60% of the adults attended in each block. There was a sincere feeling for electing the representatives at that time. I felt the same, because when I first came here my first job was as manager of block 16. In order for a block manager to conduct his duties he has to consult the people. But we can't consult the people on all details. Due to that, I figured if I had a block representative, I felt in minor cases I could consult with the block representatives, if the issue was not big enough to hold a meeting. Then I would not be misjudged by the people, because I'm working for them. Now - if one little thing goes wrong - it's Frank Furukawa and the Administration pulling things over their eyes. The election was not for the sole purpose of ironing out the farm accident.



Negotiating Committee's Designs on Block Manager's Power

I asked Mr. Furukawa what he thought of the Negotiating Committee's idea of getting the block managers under their control, a request which they made to Mr. Best at the Oct. 27 conference. Actually they asked that the block managers be put under the "permanent governing body" they had in mind.

I think they wanted to control the block managers at that time. We told them we didn't want anything to do with that. We were willing to cooperate in the work and help them for the benefit of the people, but we wanted to stay neutral.

The people were strongly behind the Daihyo Sha after November 1. The people got a feeling of responsibility after the representatives were taken in (put in stockade). Whether they had presented the requests or demands of the people, that was secondary. They felt they represented the people.

As time went on they found out that the Daihyo Sha were not sincere, or that they were being misjudged because the work was not being done.

Coordinating Committee

Of course the Coordinating Committee was able to show something flashy because that was a dark time. In a really dark night a candle shows a long way. If the Coordinating Committee had had the support that the Daihyo Sha had, it would have gone down in history!

Rumor of Martial Law

I heard that rumor about Martial Law being declared in Minidoka sometime on Friday.

Lifting of the Exclusion Order

My impression is that the people are very much at a loss, due to the fact that they can't make a decision. The representatives of the government - I believe this - they admit they're in the dark themselves. They don't know what to do or what it's all about.

As to asking an individual as to whether he wants to retain or renounce his citizenship, I think it's a very sensitive question. I don't feel any too good about evacuation. At the same time, I think there might be ways for the government to make us feel that they are going to do something for what they've done to us.

When they came out to ask us to make this decision, I told the Army colonel (at his hearing) 'If you set a deadline I will renounce my citizenship due to the fact that I have no place to go.'

Individually, it doesn't make a lot of difference to me who wins the war. Due to fact that there was a war, I have been inconvenienced a great deal.



(the following is verbatim)

When they interviewed me down there, the first question they shot at me was 'What do I want to do about my citizenship?' I didn't answer it. I told them why. They told me to think it over. The second time they asked me the same question. They asked me if I had made up my mind. I asked them if they did (had made up their mind). They said they hadn't. My decision will be based on their answer.

I don't care who it is -Nobody who can't see their way to their own living, nobody's going to start walking out in the dark. If they compel me -I'll stay here. At least by staying here I'll have a roof over my children and enough to eat although I don't like the food.

We want some assurance if we're going out.

I told the Army -'I don't see why you're asking us. Everything is in your power.'

In my own case I've got six children and my wife and also my father and mother. To go outside you have to have a certain kind of home. If they want me to go out the least they can do is give me some kind of a set up and say, 'Frank, will you take this?' But they say, 'America's going to help you. So, you might as well lean back and take it easy.' That's very unsteady. I can't rely on it. If they'd say, 'The government is at war and we can't stand a big expense, so will you take this for the time being -leave if you can go out and leave like a good individual', it would be different. I don't see why they worry about us supporting American or Japan. Even the Japanese in here have got things twisted up as far as Japan is concerned.

When the Isseis came to this country and got passports to the United States they were told (by the Japanese government) to obey the laws of the United States. The Japanese government will punish them for breaking the laws of the United States.

#### Pick-ups

The parents of the people taken to Santa Fe are saying, 'My child became a Japanese today.'

Being scared was the biggest part of why the boys went into that group (the Ho:koku).

#### Leaving Camp

If they were a little more sincere and honest about it, the people would go out faster. I've lost everything. It's somewhere in the U.S. That's where I lost it. The people of the United States are holding what I did lose.

(We then discussed the possibilities of what might happen if the WRA attempted to use force in getting the people out. Furukawa, like Kurihara believes it may result in really serious trouble.)

The people are liable to create a disturbance just to be able to stay here.

If there was some one way that they were really trying to help me, I'll go out. But if they just show me, 'There's the gate - Go.' - NO SIR!

They have a 50 ton job with a ten truck. They've got to buy a little better equipment. The people don't believe the personnel.

A lot of people will say they want \$5,000 a head. But I don't feel that way.

By telling us that there is a stop list, a lot of people will try to get on it.



January 8, 1945

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

CALL FROM GUNDERSON

Gunderson, acting Project Director in Best's absence, called me into his office late this afternoon to ask me about the Martial Law in Minidoka rumor. I told him what I knew about it, i.e., that it started Friday and that I believe it started in camp. He asked me why I had not notified him. I said I had spoken to Noyes. (It seems Noyes didn't tell him.) (I did not say, 'What are you paying Opler for?') Gunderson is taking the matter very seriously and told me he had telephone to San Francisco for information. They say there is no foundation to it.

TALK WITH KAYO IIDA

Kayo told me she had heard the Martial Law rumor about Topaz and Heart Mountain also.

TALK IN BEAUTY PARLOR

My operator [Helen Sasajima] had nothing on her mind today except her worry about being forced out of camp. She asked me if they really would be forced out. She complained bitterly about the fact that her family had lost everything and they did not see how they were going to make out. She said everybody is saying they won't go out.

(Feeling is rising higher every day in camp. In fact, in all my stay in any camp I have never witnessed a phenomenon like this, where almost everyone is getting more anxious and angry every day.)

LETTER FROM YOSHIYAMA

Bar. 68  
Internment Camp  
Santa Fe, N.M.  
Jan. 3, 1945

Dear Miss Hankey,

Hoping you had a very merry Christmas and a happy New year. I had a very long trip for my Christmas and am now in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

It is indeed unfortunate that I failed to see you before my departure, but let us not give up hope for I sincerely believe that our path will meet someday..

It is unfortunate that Mr. Paul Robertson had to leave Tule Lake so suddenly. He was one man who tried hard to please everybody. I plan to study while I have the opportunity to do so.

Waiting to hear from you soon,

Friendly yours,

Tom S. Yoshiyama



YOSHIYAMA WRITES TO SERGEANT YARAMIAN ABOUT ME

I went to the processing station today to get a photo taken for my fellowship application. [Following the advice of Professor A. L. Kroeber, I was applying for a fellowship to the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, for the year 1945-6.] While I was there Sergeant Sam Yaramian showed me a letter he had received from Yoshiyama which, he said, had mystified him a great deal. [In the letter I received on December 28, Yoshiyama had written, 'My regards to your boy friend Sergeant Sam Yaramian.' Yaramian had sat beside me at one of the hearings, but he was not my boyfriend (Fieldnotes, December 28, p.1).]

In the letter to Yaramian Yoshiyama had written:

'And lay your "dirty" hands off of Miss Rosalie Hankey because it will make someone very jealous. But she seemed to give a very nice impression to you. Don't do what I wouldn't do. Women are poison in anybody's language.'

Sergeant Sam and Kelly, another member of Internal Security teased me about Yoshiyama's "warnings". Sam, with a friendly leer, said he might demand blackmail as the price of secrecy. Kelly said they are going to keep photostatic copies. I told them they had sufficient intelligence to realize the type of female they were dealing with and if they had the guts, they should go ahead and do whatever they felt they must do.

[During my stay at Tule Lake I experienced a number of periods of what I have called a manic or "battle-mad" state. I knew I was doing a job that no one else could do and, by this time, I believed I was doing it very well. During December and January I was not conscious of being afraid of anything. Had I been more experienced and less reckless I might have perceived that Yoshiyama's correspondence could be used as an excuse to expel me from Tule Lake. This recklessness, however, may be an essential psychological reaction to existence in an extreme situation.]

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JANUARY 9, 1945TALK WITH T. NAKAMURA \* Well Educated Nisei - Old Tulean

Nakamura told me that resistance to the idea of going out of camp was growing increasingly strong. He said there might be trouble, but he was going to have no part in it. "What's the use?" His carefully considered apathy was somehow more depressing than the hopeless stubbornness of the less educated people in camp. Anyway, I came away feeling very depressed.

He opened the conversation by asked me what I thought the status of the excludées would be. Would they be forced out too? He then said that in his opinion the compulsory closing of the camps would be taken by the people just as they took evacuation. There would be passive resistance but it would be useless.

He then asked what the German internees received in compensation after the last war, saying, "Some people say they go \$50, some \$100 and some \$600. (This must be being discussed a good deal in camp.)

They want us to get out with \$25. But that's not going to get you to first base. They've got a lot of guts to offer us that.

They've got you going and coming. It doesn't pay to raise hell. It's easy for a person without a family to raise hell, but with a wife and children it's another matter to think about.

If they're short of manpower why don't they build a defense plant here at Tule Lake?

Under the Geneva conference, they can't kick the aliens out.

(I asked if fear of being forced out was the reason why so many people were renouncing their citizenship.)

Sure, why not? said Nakamura.

If they were sincere about restoring our rights of citizenship, why didn't they call the women for hearings? They just want to get us in the Army.

(Nakamura had also heard the Marital Law rumor about Minidoka. He heard it last week.)

I got some dope from Topaz too that they (the people) are raising a stink there.

The trouble is minority races suffer one way or another, especially (word lost).

I think the JACL is going to be blamed for bringing up the Endo and Korumatsu cases during time of war. They should have waited until after the war.



(Nakamura then went into a description of the perils of relocation. He seemed to believe that numerous Mexicans and Filipinos are lurking in California, just awaiting the opportunity to stick a knife into any Japanese they can get hold of. Especially the Filipinos are dangerous, because they always live near the Japanese and cannot get along without them.)

If they gave me a million dollars to get out of camp, I'd go though.

A lot of people found out what making trouble brings in the last deal in this center. Living conditions didn't improve a darn bit.

There's no future for the Nisei in this country. A fellow should be real practical about those things. Here, if there was a future for the Nisei in this country, they'd be willing to go out. If there were no radical demonstrations (by Caucasian organizations, etc.) the Nisei could go places.

I see a future in the Orient where the Nisei could really help the oriental people raise their standard of living.

(Nakamura also predicts either State Socialism or Communism as the future lot of the U.S., when the post-war repercussions begin.)

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JANUARY 10, 1945TALK WITH GEORGE KURATOMI

In discussing the present temper of the people, Kuratomi agreed that the people are daily becoming more stubborn about the idea of being forced out of the camp.

The possibility of legal action has already been discussed with the ACLU. (I wonder who initiated this?) The contention of one of the lawyers was that as far as material compensation was concerned, it would be harder to obtain today than at the time of the Civil War. And he said there were cases still unsettled today which were started at the Civil War.

(We concluded that waiting 80 years for a case to be settled wouldn't help the present relocation problem.)

Kuratomi's Feelings

I did state this previously too. To be frank with anybody, my determination is such that I can't picture myself sacrificing my life for this country. I feel therefore, I am of less value or no value at all as far as my place in this country is concerned. I'm of practically no use to this country's cause as a citizen. I feel I should try my stake in Japan. In my interpretation, loyal is such that it must be met with supreme sacrifice when a citizen is called upon to do so. I wouldn't want to live as a 2nd or 3rd rate citizen on any country.

November 11, 1943 - Reason for Split Between Army and Daihyo Sha

My guess is that a group of people must have met with the Army in secret session around the 10th or 11th of November, and implanted them with the idea that we, the Negotiating Committee, weren't the actual representatives. That's the impression I received from talking with them.

Colonel Austin said, 'I don't think you're the representatives of the people. I think you're nothing but a pressure group.' He also asked why out of so many people (on the Negotiating Committee) there were so few old Tuleans. He also asked why out of the people on the Negotiating Committee there were only three, four or five faces showing up at the conferences (with him). He evidently felt we weren't in contact with the Negotiating Committee.

The only reason why we didn't have so many people (go to see him) was because we only sent the people who were taking an actual part and were immediately concerned with the return to work.

(I then asked Kuratomi if he thought this group which had gone to see Austin in secret, had been Daihyo Sha members or were they opponents of the Daihyo Sha. His guess was that they were Daihyo Sha members - especially Takahashi, and Shimada. This would be my guess too.)



December 13, Meetings with the Spanish Consul

We spoke with the Spanish Consul on December 13 or 14, in the Administration building, because the people in the colony requested that he see us. Colonel Austin and Lt. Forbes were present at this meeting. I believe there were nine of us (members of the Negotiating Committee) present. The conversation was very interesting in that we asked Colonel Austin for the reason of our detention. His contention was that he thought we were trouble-makers and that was the reason he was keeping us locked up. We asked, 'Can the Army, just because the commandant thinks a portion of the people are trouble-makers, can he detain us?' He didn't make a clear reply and had to think a long time. We also asked what was the evidence. He thought a long moment and said, 'We'll get the evidence while we keep you boys in the stockade.'

(I then asked about the extreme discrepancy in the December 13 minutes of the Spanish Consuls meeting with the people which had been commented upon by Mr. Nishimoto. Here Mrs. Kuratomi took over the story with considerable verve:)

The people didn't listen to their speeches. As soon as the speech was over they'd yell, 'That's not what we want. We want the Negotiating Committee!' All through the meeting the Consul would get up and say something and the people would say, 'Oh to hell with you, we want the Negotiating Committee!'

(Kuratomi suggested that I might get additional helpful information about the Daihyo Sha Kai and the Coordinating Committee from Mr. Morio Yamagata, 2901 BDC.)

Compulsory Leaving

Mr. Kuratomi:

I think it's a silly idea on the part of the WRA or the Army to try to get us out of here. People came here with full knowledge of being segregated and they knew the inevitable consequences which would result as a direct by-product of segregation. I still think it's crazy. Even the Army can try - but the result will not be complimentary.

Mrs. Kuratomi:

I think they'll have trouble at all the camps. They're more stubborn at the other camps.

Mr. Kuratomi:

Violence is very possible. Even in this camp the people are saying, 'I'll commit sabotage or blow up a bridge if they make me go out, just so I'll be sent back to camp.' That should be avoided.

Anything that will be forced on the Japanese people - they won't take it.

Mrs. Kuratomi remarked that the food was getting much worse again, which, however, was to be expected since the WRA wanted the people to leave camp.



MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION PICKED UP FROM BURLING AND YOUNG ARMY INTERPRETER

The following information came out at an informal party held in honor of Burling's arrival. How much must be discounted because of the liquor consumed I do not know. In any case, Burling said that he'd received 5,000 applications for renunciation of citizenship. He knows very well that some of these are coming through Ho:shi-dan pressure and others through the mistaken idea that such an action will keep the individual in Tule Lake or send him to Santa Fe. He's puzzled and doesn't know what to do about it. Later, the young army interpreter was brought in. He informed the group present (Burling and his assistants) that the Army had been interviewing 400 to 500 people a day, with a staff of 20 interviewers. On the whole, only men were being interviewed, it being assumed by the Army that the women, in Japanese style, would wish to follow their husbands. The question being asked the young men is: "Will you swear to bear complete allegiance to the United States and defend the United States against attack by any enemy whatsoever and forswear any allegiance to the Emperor of Japan." To this question the interpreter said, the answer is usually "No," although some say "Yes". It seems that no matter what the answer is, an already prepared exclusion order is handed to them.

The aliens are asked to swear to obey the laws of the United States in any case whatsoever and not to commit any act which would hinder the U.S. war effort. Most say "Yes".

The soldier said there was a mysterious class called "Suspended" whose fate is not yet decided. Moreover, nobody seems to know what will happen to these people. He admitted there weren't very many of them. Up to date the Army has interviewed about half the people in camp. As far as this interpreter knew, the only cases which were not given exclusion orders here in Tule Lake were families who had sons in the U.S. Army.

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JANUARY 11, 1945TALK WITH "SLIM" TSUDA

[Mr. Tsuda was a very tall, good-looking man. He was born in 1902, in Sacramento, California, was taken to Japan in 1912, and returned to the United States in 1920. He impressed me as being very intelligent and shrewd - an able politician in the positive sense. He spoke English fluently. At Tule Lake he had been head of the evacuee police force, had served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Daihyo Sha Kai, and had been arrested and put into the stockade in November of 1943. (He did not renounce his American Citizenship.)

When I visited him in Tule Lake I found him living in a well furnished and relatively comfortable apartment. He introduced me to his elderly father who was present during the long interview. He asked me if I would care for a drink and when I answered in the affirmative, he served both of us with distilled sake, a very potent drink. But I must have had a good head for liquor, because all of my handwritten notes were legible. My handwriting, however, became somewhat larger as the interview progressed.]

I got an interview with Tsuda in spite of (or because of) his notorious reputation as gambler, brothel keeper and inu, since Kuratomi had told me that only Tsuda had really good information on certain specific questions raised by Nishimoto. Mr. Kuratomi had evidently given me an excellent recommendation, for Mr. Tsuda talked at length on the matters about which he was informed. I got writer's cramp taking it down. We hit it off very well, both of us having the same sense of humor. He was greatly impressed with my knowledge of the camp.

State of Internal Security - October 1943

Tsuda began by telling me that naturally he wasn't going to tell me anything which would put the Japanese in camp in a bad light. When they got to Japan they knew they would be held accountable and interrogated for the incident and he wasn't going to give anybody away. I said I realized this and didn't expect any such information.

I know one thing - Mr. Best was more or less disappointed about the Japanese side of the function of Internal Security, which I learned subsequently after I got put in the stockade. At that time the Japanese Internal Security was in a more or less precarious situation. Maybe the WRA wanted the Japanese to stand off the Japanese wardens' organization as they expected, but as far as we're concerned, we were Japanese just as much as any other people in this center. Thereupon, we could not comply everything with the WRA at that time.

Because we were receiving specific orders from the WRA. And pursuing that would make our situation more or less in a dangerous capacity with the people. Internal Security was not on a sound basis. I don't think the WRA itself knew what they wanted to do about Internal Security at that time.

First Daihyo Sha Meeting

At the first Daihyo Sha meeting I didn't like the atmosphere myself. They were emotionally 100% for Japan. I doubted very much - the speakers - were 100% or whether they were just acting. The atmosphere at that time was such that there wasn't any chance to speak up if you disagreed. If anybody did speak up -----!



Developments of November 4,5,6, 1943

This is one of the big gaps pointed out by Nishimoto, and it developed no one in camp knows as much about it as Tsuda, who he said, took the chief part in the negotiations with the Army:

As you know, the tanks rolled in on the night of November 4. At that time we were having a meeting at the block 15 messhall. One of the new wardens, Kobayashi, he was a little off - he came in and told me there was some trouble in the warehouse district. I told Kobayashi, since you're just a young man and new on the force, I don't think you know how to meet the consequences. I told him to go back to the warden's building and get as many supervisors as he could and proceed to the warehouse district. And if any Caucasians with trucks were planning to take foodstuffs to get the truck numbers and the names of the drivers and their mission, whether it has gone through the proper channels. He left and after he left the Daihyo Sha meeting, about his personal acts from there on I think you know more than I do.

Then we saw the tanks come in making a big noise, shooting and whatnot.

The following morning, November 5, about 8:30, my son came home suddenly and said that no colonist can go any further than the high school district. There were a lot of soldiers fencing it off. He asked me what happened. It was my duty to go to the office right off the bat. A lot of people came and asked me what happened. Most of the center people didn't know what took place and they were pretty much worried as to the future and what they should do.

I felt at the time, I thought my responsibility was to find out some way of bringing the camp sentiment into peace. So I took advantage over knowing Mr. Best and Mr. Cole, Acting head of Internal Security. I called him (Cole) up on the telephone. The operator told me that she had an order not to connect to any Caucasian. So I was lost at the time. There were big crowds in my office, trying to get information from me.

I walked down to Fire Station #1. I used emergency phone and succeeded in getting Mr. Rhodes, the chief of the Fire Department. Through him I got Mr. Cole and I asked him whether I have any chance to see Mr. Best in regard to what happened last night and what could be done about the camp. About a half hour later I got a message saying I have been permitted to see Colonel Austin. So I went to see Colonel Austin all by myself, escorted by Lt. Forbes, and Mr. Cole to the Administration Building.

And the first question I submitted to Colonel Austin was: was it necessary to have the Army move into the center in the manner of last night? Of course, I asked him what actually took place. And third, I asked on what condition will the Army pull out from this center? And Colonel Austin at the time told me if the center goes back to normal condition there is no need



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

(the following is verbatim)

of the Army remaining in the center. So naturally, I had to ask Colonel Austin what would you call a normal condition in the center? He didn't say anything. I asked, 'Did it mean so long as the center people resume the same activities as yesterday, will the Army withdraw?' Colonel Austin said 'Yes'.

So I had to tell him that I think 99% of the center people didn't know what happened last night and it seems to me if the center is in a turbulent condition, I think it is caused by the Army and not by the people. So by letting the people go back to work as yesterday, would not be a very difficult job. Of course, I'm not top man in the center or an influential party, but fortunately I know some of the so-called leaders in the center, and authorities could meet with them and iron out the kinks if there are difficulties.

And Colonel Austin told me that: 'How soon can you get these people together and come and see me?' So I made an appointment for 2:00 p.m. that afternoon. I said I would have a few gentlemen come in and talk things over with the authorities.

So that was the first step I took on November 5. I got back to the center and I got hold of the so-called Negotiating Committee -the Koshi-iin.

As you know, the Negotiating Committee, there were a few who could not speak fluent English. These persons evidently do not brave themselves to go out in front. Naturally, it goes to George Kuratomi.

That very afternoon, I think it was George and Hayashi and myself went to see Colonel Austin. At that time I wasn't a Koshi-iin (Negotiating Committee).

Explanation of Negotiating Committee and the Executive Board

Up to the night of the 4th we had the Koshi-iin. But that night the meeting was held to elect the permanent committees. Of course, the permanent committees were in different divisions according to the type of work. At the top of these committees we set up an Executive Board. On that Board, I believe five men were elected. Reverend Kai and Kuratomi- they wanted to retire from the political organization. They were not on the Executive Board. On the board were: Ichiro Hayashi, Nogawa, Yukio Tanaka, Mits Kimura, and myself.

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Therefore after I met Colonel Austin, my personal ideas was to get in touch with these five men - to have these board members to negotiate with Colonel Austin immediately, regardless of the fact that the plan was tentative. We had eleven different divisional committees. So through these Executive Committees, whatever the intentions of the authorities were, I thought that we can relay the messages to the members so these members can start in their work and bring all the workers back onto the job through their efforts. That's how Hayashi, Nogawa, Kimura, Tanaka and myself was involved in the incident as far as the Army was concerned and we got put in the stockade.

Regardless that George wasn't an Executive Board member, since this plan wasn't yet accepted by the center people. Therefore, George could not very well get away from responsibility.

So we went to see Colonel Austin, and the first thing we wanted to see was to get all the hospital workers back on the job. The nurses and doctors had not been permitted to go back to the hospital. That very afternoon I got the Army's OK to pass 90 hospital workers though the warden to the hospital. And every one of those workers had been checked by the head nurse and Dr. Pedicord.



January 11, 1945

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

(the following is verbatim)

And so, the next most important division that should go back to work was the coal crew and the garbage crew. So we got hold of the coal crew and the garbage crew in two different places. The coal crew gathered at the block 12 messhall, over 300 of them, and the garbage crew congregated at 3008. And Mr. Nogawa and Hayashi and myself, we divided. Nogawa went to the garbage crew and I went to the coal crew with Hayashi. We talked it over with all the coal workers and stressed the coal shortage was being pretty much felt by the colonists and it isn't our idea to let the colonists suffer. So, regardless of the present circumstances, you young people should realize the fact and go back to work. The same was stressed to the garbage crew because we didn't want a stinky town.

The trouble was that the authorities, I'm not sure if it was entirely the Army or half the WRA, specifically, on the coal crew, the authorities limited the number of workers who were to return to work. They wanted only 70 of the 300 members of the coal crew to go to work and they wanted to terminate the others. So we had a pretty hard time between the workers and the Army at that time. If only the Army had told us or guaranteed us that they would not clear all the 300 at once, therefore they would see 70 men at work on the first day following, half the rest on the next day and finally all the workers, then we'd have had an easier time to see the coal crew go back on the job. But we thought and the coal crew thought too, that if only 70 were allowed to go back to work and the rest terminated, therefore, the coal crew did not respond to the request. (This was on the 6th of November.)

The same story goes with the garbage crew and further negotiations with the Army and the WRA personnel. We finally won the argument and succeeded in having every person in both divisions go back to work.

Mr. Igami, the undertaker got a permit from the Army to go through the guards, and the Co-op office and the warehouse workers to go through. So far it was very nice.

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Before all of that - I forgot - on the night of the 4th, six boys were taken in by the authorities. Pertaining to their releasement, what proceedings the authorities would take we asked the Army. We were told they would be given a fair trial and the consequences would be settled, Colonel Austin said. That was fair enough.

There were other minor issues too - toilet paper, babies' milk, the food situation and the Army delivering of food stuff and other small things.

As the days were going by - I can't remember what date - somehow, on a certain day, the butcher shop workers were cleared by the Army to go back to work. Of course, the number of workers were very much decreased compared to the number working before the incident. So a dozen or fifteen men went to work in the butcher shop. They were told with more or less under Army supervision they should put in their hours stringently. At that time one of the lieutenants asked them if there's any suggestions to make or any questions. And Mr. Fukui, of block 48, he is a Nisei, he spoke up and said, 'With the small number of workers we could not complete the work as much as we used to do. You should get more men and also the foreman of that Division.' And Mr. Fukui, that afternoon, was pulled in by the Army for making a speech and agitating or being insolent.

And naturally, we had the temporary Negotiating Committee office set up in an office adjoining mine at the warden's headquarters. Mr. Fukui's family, his mother, and his wife and several of his friends came to see me about it.

So the following day I asked Colonel Austin for the reason of the arrest. And he said he'd investigate and will let us know. Two days after, Mr. Fukui got pulled in.



(the following is verbatim)

Colonel Austin read the official statement about Mr. Fukui's case and we found the statement wasn't quite agreeable or wasn't stating the true fact, so we requested a reinvestigation of his case.

At that time I had a serious argument with Colonel Austin and the other officers about the condition of the workers. Of course, due to the lack of my vocabulary, it may have sounded pretty insolent to the Army at that time. The first question was: Did the divisional workers who were called back to work by the Army, did they have to submit themselves with absolute obedience? Did they have to work like a slave by shutting up or if any suggestion was to be made will they be priveleged to speak up? If anybody should go to work in the Administrative area, and if he must work with absolute obedience are in a position to inform these facts to the people?

Colonel Austin said, 'The Army gives you work and all you have to do is to work.' So that was it. And the further argument was that since the evacuation the WRA policy was that all the working corps was on a voluntary basis. And first we was told that the 12-16-19 dollars was an advance, not the paycheck. Under these circumstances, the Army could not expect any of the Japanese to work as much as Colonel Austin expected his soldiers to work. Therefore, this certain amount of people in these certain jobs look sufficient as far as the Army is concerned, but from outside we can't fulfill the same amount of responsibility as the Army might complete.

That was the argument with Colonel Austin and the conclusion was as we're in between the Negotiating Committee, whether temporary or permanent, we'd like to see every person in the center who had been working to be permitted by the authorities to resume his job. And it seems to me that was the very point that the Negotiating Committee got into trouble with the authority.

#### Regarding Reports Yoshiyama and Kobayashi Made to Daihyo Sha on Talks With Austin

I don't think Yoshiyama and Kobayashi went to see Colonel Austin. All the contacts had to be made through me.

(This is very puzzling. I'll have to ask Kuratomi about it. I can't see why Tsuda shouldn't know all about it, yet the minutes given me by Yoshiyama contain a report made by Yoshiyama and Kobayashi about a meeting with Austin.)

#### Tsuda's Personal Opinions

The way I got into trouble and the way George and the rest got in are two different things. That goes back to the Internal Security. I can say the people dragged me into the trouble or I was blindly pulled into the trouble or I got in voluntarily. I don't know. My intent was because the warden's department wasn't a very popular organization right after segregation was completed. Now, up to segregation in Tule Lake, the warden's position or function was a very different job, simply because we had the peoples' understanding. But after segregation the largest number of people didn't understand our position. The new people thought the wardens' organization was an inu joint.

Somebody had to take a stand to make the people understand what we were doing. So, way before the incident happened, I went to see Mr. Takahashi on two occasions, and explained about our work. And when the incident took place, I figured, maybe this was very foolish of me, nevertheless, I started out the first negotiations with Colonel Austin, to bring this tentative plan to life. By doing so, I figured people might understand about our organization (Internal Security), and give us full suport. My main object was to maintain tranquility in the center. The function of the police department would eventually have been the nerve center of the center.



Statement of "Second Negotiating Committee"

That puzzles me too. I was in the stockade already when it came out. I heard about it after George and Reverend Kai and Shimonishi had surrendered themselves.

Support of the Daihyo Sha Kai

Of course, in every block, the people knew they had selected the Daihyo Sha. But in general, the people were most strongly behind the Daihyo Sha around the latter part of October and November 1.

During the course of the conversation Tsuda remarked that he believed that if Reverend Kai and Takahashi had been men of the same age (Takahashi is quite a bit older) the factionalism might never have arisen between them and worked so much harm to the Daihyo Sha. He also spoke most disparagingly of some of the Issei members of the Daihyo Sha -

They talk so fierce in the boiler room, he said, but when the going gets tough they swing right over to the easiest side.

Tsuda also said he wouldn't mind if he were sent to Santa Fe. He's always gotten along well enough with Mr. Tachibana. (I think he's teasing me.)

TALK WITH BURLING AND MRS. DESCHIN AT MESS

Burling, told us in confidence that as far as he had been able to determine, Tule Lake is not open. Civil Restrictive Order No. 26 has never been rescinded and the WRA announcement to the people that they were practically in the same status as those in the relocation centers is not so. He thinks, however, that this order may be rescinded very soon. He remarked that the longer he stays here the more he is impressed with the enormity of the confusion. Neither WRA, the Army, nor the Department of Justice seem to know what the other is doing, or even just what they themselves are doing.

Mrs. Deschin added that she has been told by some of her Japanese staff members that the Japanese Language Schools had given their students an assignment to write an essay on "Why I am renouncing my citizenship," or, "Why I am not renouncing my citizenship." This she interprets, correctly I think, as subtle pressure, because the young people are really on the spot.



JANUARY 12, 1945TALK WITH MR. ODA - Conservative Friend From GilaLeaving Camp

After all, reading the papers and considering all the other facts, the people have a feeling of failure to return to the Pacific Coast, even if the Exclusion Order is lifted. They are just watching public (outside) activities. After all, we have stayed in here three years and we need financial aid, housing, and employment.

Those who have a large family, naturally, they think they should take their time to make up their mind.

People are really getting minded to stay in camp, where they think it's safe. California is not exactly dangerous, but still, it's not favorable to the Japanese. After the war - it might be different.

Money is the main part, but they must have a place to sleep and work too. Of course, this is Army orders. If the Army says we have to go out, naturally, we have to get out.

Last week there have been so many rumors. I read that in Topaz only 600 out of the 6,000 people are going to California.

There is so much to upset the people: the men picked up, the renunciation of citizenship, they all come at the same time. If WRA tries to use force, things will come up pretty strong.

I also heard about some Japanese people being killed around Stockton - but I think that's just rumor too.

Oda asked me why some of the men were not being called to Army hearings. These persons are becoming worried. They are fearing that they may be given immediate and complete clearance. He himself has received an exclusion order.

There is also another rumor I have heard, that they have instruction to pull in some more people (take them to Santa Fe.).

WRA has also cut the mess crews. The food is also getting worse. Maybe it's one reason to try to get rid of us. If the people don't like it here, why don't they go out? (says WRA).

The feeling toward the WRA and the Army is pretty strong now. If the authorities reasonably conduct us, I think they'll change their minds. But 25 to 100 dollars is pretty cheap. Twenty Five dollars considering their lost property, is just good for nothing.

All the people are wondering about the status of this camp,



whether it's going to be relocation center or a segregation center. We read in the papers that it is to be a relocation center. In that case, we don't know why we came up here!

If every Japanese in the United States made up their minds, we wouldn't have so much trouble. But we're divided into so many small groups. WRA and the Army know our most weakest spot.

Most of the people are talking about this camp coming under the Department of Justice. They are expecting another hearing - a real hearing - to make us make up our mind. They say these first hearings were just interviews.

If this becomes a relocation center, they'll draft us. In that case, they say, we must get busy and send in our renunciation of citizenship.

If this (lifting of) Exclusion Order had come two years ago, I'd have gone (left camp). But Military Registration came so fast. Before that, I was planning to go out. (Mrs. Oda corroborated this.)

#### TALK WITH BURLING

The serious part of the evening's discussion revolved about what was to be done with Tule Lake. Burling said that he had just about made up his mind to recommend to Biddle and Ickes that Tule Lake be made into a refuge center. That those who renounced their citizenship be kept there. That those who did not, be allowed to relocate when they felt like it. He does not see how people who have thrown away their citizenship can be allowed to relocate. He remarked that [Attorney General] Biddle considers him (Burling) as "his authority on Tule Lake". At an interview in Washington immediately after his return, in December, Biddle was most interested to hear about the Ho:koku bugles.

Bugles, he said, The President will be delighted to hear about that. You must go back right away - fly back - take a dozen lawyers with you.

Burling explained that what he needed was secretaries, not lawyers.

Well, take a dozen secretaries, said Biddle.

Biddle wanted him to start back the next day - but finally allowed him to stay in Washington until the day after Christmas. (All of this discussion took place in a three minute interview, which was all the time Biddle could spare.) Incidentally, a large number of the "super-patriots" are going to be moved to Santa Fe again, if Burling holds to his present notion.

Burling was provoked that the Administration here had delayed so long in telling the people what the score was on the Santa Fe matter. He himself, he said, had oked an announcement which was to be made to the people on the same day, when he was in Washington.



JANUARY 14, 1945TALK WITH JIM TAKEUCHI'S FAMILY

Went in today to visit the two sisters of my friend Takeuchi who relocated in the summer. One of the women is the very assertive Mrs. Mizuno from Gila. I found that her Issei husband (who was interned at Gila during the Military Registration) has finally arrived from Santa Fe. He proved to be a tall fat man, very friendly. He was calmly tramping on home-made noodles when I arrived, meanwhile making blasphemous remarks about the WRA in Japanese, which his wife obligingly translated. (Noodles are made by treading on them - not in bare feet.)

In spite of their sour remarks about the WRA, the atmosphere of this homestead is really favorable to relocation, providing they could be assured of a fair and square start. Mr. Mizuno, who did not seem radical at all after some of the people I have been associating with, said several times that he'd be glad to go out if the WRA gave him 100 dollars a head, which for his family would be \$700. He has a fair start promised him with his former employer in California and feels that with this much help to buy equipment, clothes and furniture, he could make out. (Mr. Mizuno you will remember, was sent to Santa Fe for singing the Japanese national anthem in a mess hall at Gila on New Years day. From the way he impressed me, I'm inclined to think he sang it as a joke while under the influence of sake.)

Mrs. Mizuno and her sister Naoko had had an interview with Mrs. Kirkman, the leave officer on Friday last. Neither of them like Mrs. Kirkman. Mrs. Kirkman, it appeared, was very very anxious that the ladies prepare their families for immediate withdrawal from Tule.

She wanted all the names of the members of their families.  
She sure wants us to go out. She says even those who renounce  
their citizenship will still get sent outside.

(This is one of the items for which Burling scolded Mrs. Kirkman and almost reduced her to tears - at least that's what he says.) Mrs. Mizuno, who has not lost her gift of picturesque speech, remarked that she told Mrs. Kirkman:

What do you want us to do, go back to California and get  
filled full of lead?

She added to me:

I'm going to sit here and watch. How can a person make  
up their mind when they don't know anything? We can't depend  
on the WRA.

The conversation then turned to the rumors of the murderously inclined Filipinos, as it has in several of my visits of the past week. The Filipinos, who are pictured as lurking slyly in California waiting to murder the Japanese on their return, are either feared very much or they serve as a good excuse not to relocate.

The talk then turned to the Ho:shi-dan and the Ho:koku. Nobody present had a good word to say about them. Mrs. Mizuno and her sister even called them "bald-heads" which I think, is the second time any of my informants have used this term to me. Naoko told how she had been in the canteen and a male friend of hers was there with long hair. A Ho:koku friend of his had addressed him,

'I'm not going to have anything more to do with you if you  
keep looking like that (with long hair). Are you a Japanese or  
aren't you?'



That's how they keep talking all the time, added Miss Takeuchi.

I was then asked if any more would be picked up. I said it was possible.

Good, said the two women.

Naoko then gave her view on renunciation of citizenship:

I haven't taken any steps toward renouncing it. If the Japanese government or somebody recognizes it, it would be different. But heck! What guarantee do you have?

Speaking of the "Super-patriots" she added:

Quite a few are already packed up. They're all ready to go.

Mrs. Mizuno broke in here:

They're cutting down on the work, they're cutting down on everything. All the workers are being terminated. A lot of blocks are having trouble over the terminations - they're fighting over who's to be terminated (and who is to keep their job).

Naoko then wanted to know what had happened to the linoleum the Tuleans were supposed to have received. This is a matter that is brought up to me every once in a while. The conclusion usually is that some WRA employee grafted and made off with the linoleum. The subject of grievances over poor Tule Lake facilities was pursued at length:

They don't give us soap. Six months ago we got one bar per person. I understand they're supposed to furnish that. A little while ago we had no rice for two days. The people were in an uproar. They told us there had been a train wreck and they couldn't get the rice here.

The subject then turned again to leaving camp:

We think by June we ought to know something. The other centers will be relocated by then and we can see how they get along.

We want to get out. But we can't with \$25. We have to buy a bed, blankets and we've got to eat. It looks as if you eat you can't sleep.

With 100 dollars a head, I could do it, said Mr. Mizuno.

Then Mrs. Mizuno added:

The people in here have all gotten dumb, slow and lazy. We're so behind in the world outside too. We've all been in camp too long.

Mrs. Mizuno then remarked that her brain had gotten so slow she can't remember where she puts her things anymore.

We feel its much safer in here.



JANUARY 15, 1945TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

Closing of Camp

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

Also, a certain rumor is being circulated that five Japanese were killed in Fresno or Stocton. 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.

Ho:shi-dan

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

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

Letter from Santa Fe

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

TALK WITH YOSHIYAMA'S MOTHER-IN-LAW, MRS. HIYEDA

I received a letter from Yoshiyama's mother-in-law asking me to call on her. I went with some feeling of unease, fearing that she was going to put the screws on me, which turned out to be correct. She immediately started grilling me on the Administration's plans, with a persistence and one-track attitude which caused me to feel very uncomfortable. I managed to squeeze out of everything by saying that as far as I knew, the Administration had not made up its mind. She expects more pick-ups in the Ho:shi-dan. She also wished to know if the rumor that the Department of Justice is going to take over the camp on the 21st of January is true.

(There was a widespread rumor that the Department of Justice was to take over on January 9. Now it's the 21st. Tule Lake is coming to resemble [millenarian] Europe as 1000 A.D. approached. The rumors about the Department of Justice has some of the appointed personnel worried also. Mrs. Hiyeda also wanted me to get special application blanks for renunciation of citizenship for her two daughters. It seems Mrs. Yoshiyama made application on one of the typed forms produced in quantities by her husband.)

KAYO IIDA

When I called for some material, Miss Iida asked me if there were any truth in the rumor everyone was repeating that Justice was soon to take over the camp.



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

INFORMATION FROM BURLING

I asked Burling for the specific information about renunciation you requested. He says the Department of Justice has upwards of 6,000 applications for renunciation, and about 1,000 are in process of being approved. About 3,000 of these are from Tule Lake. He has no data here on how many of the others come from the various camps. As to this policy and attitude, I gathered last night that very very few applications from Tule Lake will be refused. Even the matter of draft dodging will be given little consideration here. It will be given far more in the applications from other centers. As you have no doubt gathered from my previous remarks, his own policy is by no means crystallized, though I still think he will recommend to Biddle that Tule Lake be left open and that those who have renounced citizenship will not be allowed to relocate. The crew Burling has here now is intending to handle about 700 cases this visit.



JANUARY 18, 1945TALK AT THE IIDA'S

On calling with some work, Kayo's father entered into conversation with me for the first time. He remarked that in his opinion only 1% of the population of Tule would relocate. The policy of the government in this relocation matter wasn't fooling anybody. The newspapers were showing that the war was going badly for the Allies and the U.S. attempt to increase man power by releasing the Japanese was well understood by the camp residents.

Mr. Iida also remarked that he had just heard over the radio that a certain town, Placer, I believe, had announced that they would resist the return of any Japanese. This, he said, would be no encouragement to relocation. I inquired how the people felt about the Department of Justice. Both he and his daughter concurred with the following:

Almost all of the people would like the camp under Justice. They'd feel much safer.

TALK WITH SALLY YAMASHIRO

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

Since Mr. Burling is here, they blasted their bugles louder than ever. Even the old ladies are running around yelling 'Washo' with slacks on. I don't think that's very nice for old ladies 50 years old. The young women do it too.

(This fantastic development is new to me. I must go in next Sunday and observe it.)

George's Renunciation

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

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

Renunciation

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

I asked Sally if she had heard of the resignation of some of the Co-op board members. She had not heard of it, nor were the people talking about it. (The resignation, which has some of the members of the Administration worried, looks to me like nothing but individual disgust with the terrific job of running the Co-op with almost no sympathy from the Administration. I'll talk to Matsumura soon and get it straight.)



Nor had Sally heard the rumor about the Department of Justice taking over the camp on the 21st. She added however:

Most people would like the camp to go under Justice.

### Relocation

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

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

I guess the only people having fun in camp now are the Ho:shi-dan people. They have something to do everyday and meetings every night.

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

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

(Incidentally - Burling told me that almost all the applications from Tule Lake will be accepted. The careful examinations about draft dodging will be applied to other centers.)

### Public Opinion of Kai and Kuratomi

It seems to be public opinion that Kai and Kuratomi will start some action in the future. Pretty soon they will be leaders again. From what I hear they're popular enough to get camp support again. They certainly have enough support from people who are willing to give their lives for them. But I think that they're wise enough and will wait until the right moment comes.

Sally had not heard where the Ho:shi-dan people were taken or by whom until the announcement came out in the Newell Star.

We weren't at all sure where they were sent.

(I was told by Mrs. Deschin on December 3, that an explanatory announcement had been made at a meeting of the block managers. Perhaps some of them did not pass on the news to their block residents.)



JANUARY 19, 1945TALK WITH KURATOMIHo:shi-dan Rumors About Renunciation

Kuratomi informed me of a widespread rumor that all those persons who have not renounced their citizenship by January 20 will summarily be kicked out of camp. He implied that this rumor was being spread by members of the Ho:shi-dan, and if my talk with Mr. Hiyeda is any evidence, he's right. He added:

Some people are also being told to answer in a radical way so that their citizenship will be taken away.

He then read me part of a letter which he had received from a friend in the Army. The friend is in Camp Blanding and expects to go over seas very soon:

The lifting of the exclusion order has sure changed a lot of plans for my mother. They'll be closing all the camps pretty soon and I don't know what I'll be doing about Mom. At any rate, I'll hope for the best.

Kuratomi also said the the Ho:shi-dan people are spreading the rumor that in less than 50 days the families of the interned men expect to be united.

Explanations on Daihyo Sha Kai Minutes of Nov. 12

A. The secretary had not taken it down - since it was a minor point.

When he (Takahashi) began to pound the table that there was not enough time allowed, he began to accuse the people who had negotiated that day of accepting such (unfavorable) terms from the Army.

(I asked who had done the negotiating.)

Myself, Tsuda, Sugimoto, Hayashi and Kimura.

Another thing I said was that since the negotiations had come to a rupture since the Army does not recognize us as being true representatives of the colonists, we who were negotiating didn't feel we could carry on the task. I bluntly stated I wanted to resign.

B. The words he (Colonel Austin) said, were 'Take it or leave it.'

C. No, the reason why we left was that they were going to prepare the statement and after that resolution was properly signed, the representatives were going to bring it to us. They wanted to go into further detail.

The atmosphere wasn't too good. There were hecklers - Saito, Yamanaka, Takahashi, Yamamoto, Fujimoto.



Takahashi wanted to get into the Central Executive Committee, but he was put into the committee on personnel. Immediately he began to voice his dissatisfaction and the next day he brought me a letter saying that he wished to resign, although the committee was not yet recognized by the people. I said I couldn't do anything about it. I was just the Chairman.

I then asked Kuratomi something I've been aching to know for a long time: whether he disguised himself in women's clothes at the time of the Army search. He implied he had not done so, but explained why the rumor had started:

When Mr. Hughes of the FBI asked how I got away I told him, 'Weren't all the soldiers men?' He couldn't catch on. I added, 'I just used psychology. The searchers, being males, only naturally would be tender to the opposite sex.' I told him that.

D. There was more to the meeting. After the thing was decided, they came back and told us to return to messhall 18. It was pretty late, about 4:30 in the afternoon. When we returned, they told us what had transpired. They reaffirmed full confidence and support in the Negotiating Committee and asked us to continue negotiations with the Army.

#### Japanese Present at November 1 Conference with Myer

The following men were members of the Negotiating Committee: Nakao, Hoshiko, Kai, Yamamoto, Uchida, Kobayashi, Mori and Hayashi. Yoshiyama was the English Secretary, Kodama and Hatane, representatives of the farm group; Takeda represented the Agricultural Division and Nogawa, the hospital committee. Inouye and Kimura (-here Kuratomi became very nervous and ill at ease-) They just came in they were both judo men.

(The minutes had mentioned a Kaijo Seiri iin which had been translated as Committee to Preserve Peace and Order. Other people told me that these men served as bodyguards. Why this subject should make Kuratomi so nervous, I don't know.)<sup>1</sup> I pretended not to notice his perturbed state and began to play with the seven months old Yuriko. She is a beautiful child. After a few minutes her father continued:

Mits (Kimura) went to the hospital to stop the beating (of Dr. Pedicord).

There was fear on the part of some men. We'd heard from other sources - from people present - that some young men may get out of hand - so they recommended that we have some young men to be prepared in case of a disturbance.

[1. On re-reading my notes, I note that Mr. Yoshiyama had told me on December 12 that the function of this committee was to "see that no Army, no Internal Security or any Caucasian would come to disturb" the funeral. The members of this committee may also have been responsible for ordering people not to leave the demonstration of November 1, 1943.]



TALK WITH BURLING

Burling told me that the Department of Justice has received about 6,000 (1) applications for renunciation of citizenship from Tule Lake. He said that the total population of citizens over 17 (at Tule Lake) is 7,250. This means (said he) that almost every family in Tule Lake will be involved in the renunciation. (The 7,250 figure is of Sept. 1944.) Burling said that every day he is convinced that the entire situation could not become more confused - but every succeeding day he is shown to be wrong.

He has communicated his suggestion that Tule Lake be made a "refuge center" to Myer. Myer replied that if this were done there would be nine "Tule Lakes" instead of one. Myer also stated that A, Burling and Best were hysterical over the situation; B, that Burling should take out the leaders of the Ho:shi-dan and all would be well, and C, that Ennis (Burling's boss) agrees with Myer. This griped Burling who telephoned Ennis and said, 'What the hell, are you double-crossing me?' Ennis replied, 'The Department of Justice agrees with you entirely.'

This is all I know today and if you can make something concrete out of it, you're a better woman than I am - which you probably are.

Burling also added that it was his opinion that the people of Tule Lake were lost, they could never get back into normal American life. The job was to try to save the people in the other centers.

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN - Social Worker

Mrs. Deschin attended a high administrative staff meeting today, about which she talked pretty freely to me. She was, however, very tired, and it was impossible to get more than implications about what had been discussed. To begin with, the high Administration staff is going ahead on the assumption that everything is hunky-dory here and that serious relocation activities will be begun shortly. The complications which reununciation of citizenship will bring are admitted but not considered. It was remarked several times how fine it would have been if the renunciation of citizenship had been initiated a considerable time after the opening of the coast. The general idea is that the large number of renunciations is due to a desire not to get pushed out of camp. Mrs. Deschin, while admitting the truth of this, pointed out to the big-shots that this was by no means the only important factor: Economic worries were probably even more important. According to her account, little attention was paid to this. (She told me that she does not rank high enough to attend these meetings ordinarily. She was there only because Bagley, Head of Welfare, was off the center.) The chief point, I gathered, is that the Tule Lake staff is making plans as if Tule Lake is going to have the same status as the other centers.

Mr. Best made a short appearance at the meeting, chiefly to give orders that nobody was to talk to the Army: WRA was still running the center. It seems that the Army has asked the Internal Security for some information, an act resented by Best.

[1. This was an exaggeration. According to Thomas and Nishimoto (p. 348), approximately 1,200 applications had been received prior to January. During January there was 3,400 additional applications for renunciation of citizenship. On January 26, Burling told me that there had been a miscalculation in the number of applications for renunciation at Tule Lake. The more accurate estimate was close to 5,000.]



Comments on Dr. Opler

Mrs. Deschin said she was utterly disgusted with Opler's analysis of the present camp situation. Statements objectional to her were that the evacuees were "buggy," that the phenomenon of the Ho:shi-dan could be ignored because only about 600 people attended last Sunday's exercises. Mrs. Deschin also said that it seemed to her that Opler deliberately made his analysis abstruse and confused so that nobody could understand it. The subject of whether Kai, Kuratomi and Tsuda were participating in pro-Japanese activities was brought up and Opler stated that he did not believe they were doing this. (I agree.)

Communication from Topaz

Mrs. Deschin also told me that a communication from Topaz addressed to the block Managers of Tule Lake had been intercepted by Gunderson. I tried to get specific information on this but all Mrs. Deschin remembered was that she had the impression it related to taking action about the forced expulsion from camps. I shall attempt to get more information on this but it may be very difficult. The communication was not given to the block managers.

TALK WITH NOYES

Learned from Noyes that Best is in agreement with Burling that Tule Lake should be made into a refuge camp. Myer objects to this, stating that this will create nine refuge centers - also since the appropriations are already made, it will be very inconvenient for Myer. Burling has apparently sold Best the idea that Tule Lake should be a refuge center.

Noyes also told me that the very pro-Japanese school teachers of Ward VI and the most nationalistic of the Buddhist and Shinto priests are also being seriously considered for removal to Santa Fe. At least, Noyes is preparing lists of their names. Noyes' difficulty is to determine which of the priests are devoting themselves to nationalistic propaganda - at present, it appears that he has no idea which are. It is naturally impossible to take all of the Buddhist priests out of camp, according to Noyes, since the camp is about 90% Buddhist. I shall try to remember to ask Burling if this recommendation comes from the Department of Justice or is a Tule Lake WRA idea.

The Society of Parents With Sons in the U.S. Army

The existence of this society seems now to be pretty well determined. How many members it has or where it is located is not known. It appears to be composed of a society of parents whose sons are in the U.S. Army. The parents contact the necessary high officials regarding the release of their sons who are in the U.S. Army with the idea of having them released from the services and sent to Tule Lake. All of this, according to Noyes, is based on the assumption of the parents, that these boys should not be in the Army because the Army released a great many boys from service on February 19 of 1942. The problem has been referred to Mr. Burling.

Communication From Topaz

The letter from Topaz addressed to the block managers consisted solely of a dittoed copy of an article which had appeared in one of the Christian Century Publications, an article which very strongly urged shelter for the Japanese for the duration of the war. Exactly how it had come to be intercepted, I could not find out.



JANUARY 20, 1945TALK WITH BURLING

Had a discussion with Burling tonight on extremely confidential topics. He reviewed some of the information I have relayed already. Myer had reported to Tule Lake that Ennis agreed with him that making a "refuge center" out of Tule Lake was unwise. Burling called Ennis on the telephone and found that this was not so. On Thursday, Myer called Best and said Best and Burling must be wrong on the number of applications for renunciation of citizenship from Tule Lake, for if they were correct every family in Tule Lake would be involved. Unfortunately for Myer's reasoning, Burling had the figures, i.e., 6,000 applications from Tule Lake out of a possible 7,250. Myer called Best again on Friday morning to discuss this "refuge center" suggestion. What was said Burling did not tell me. Then Myer asked to speak to Opler. (Here Burling interrupted the thread of the account and went on to describe Ennis' conversation with Myer.) Ennis told Myer,

What you're doing is saying that the people can't stay in the camp if they're citizens. You think this will make them relocate. But nothing is more certain than what it actually will do is make them renounce their citizenship.

Myer, according to Burling, can't see this. At present there is a major fight going on in Washington between Myer and the Department of Justice, and it is so serious that Myer may quit [resign].

As Burling sees it the situation is as follows: relocation has failed. There are two things which can be done: 1) throw the people out; 2) run the risk of having a permanent dependant population. As far as Tule Lake is concerned, Burling favors the latter policy. Myer, however, insists that if Tule Lake is declared a refuge center, pressure to remain in camp will increase in the nine other centers and Myer will have nine Tule Lakes on his hands. Moreover, Myer objects to keeping Tule Lake open for a longer period for budgetary reasons, he, having told the appropriations committee that he will be out of business by January of 1946.

Burling thinks he ought to admit his mistake and ask for a supplementary budget, but

"maybe he isn't a big enough man for that."

Burling believes strongly that it is Myer's policy of forced closing that is causing everybody to renounce his citizenship. Myer says,

It's not my department but your department that is converting Tule Lake into an alien internment camp.

Myer's reasoning is as follows, says Burling: (this is verbatim from Burling)

If the Department of Justice leaves Tule Lake the hysteria will quiet down. That the Department of Justice is proceeding with the hearings is raising hell. If the Department of Justice would stop, the people will relocate. Then we can proceed on a relocation basis. I (Burling) said, 'There will be no way of selecting the people who are to be permitted to leave Tule Lake.' Myer said, 'Use the Internal Security Reports.' I said, 'That's damn foolishness because everybody knows they're no damn good.' Then Myer said, 'Remove the agitators, stop the renunciation of citizenship hearings, go away for two months and everything will calm down. The people who have applied



won't go through with it.' I said, 'That's ridiculous, if I leave there may be a riot because the people have not had their hearings.' (I doubt that there will be a riot. R.H.)

Burling now reverted to Myer's conversation with Opler: Myer asked him questions, but Opler didn't answer the questions. He merely replied with other questions that were germane.

I (Burling) tried very hard to get out of Opler what he had said to Myer. But he doesn't appear to have said anything very definite. He wouldn't answer me directly either.

Burling continued:

If we can't persuade Fortas to override Myer (Fortas is Myer's superior under Ickes) on our refuge policy, Myer has us in an embarrassing position.

Myer is in a hole too. He first said the Department of Justice was wrong about the number of applications. Then we told him that about six-sevenths of the citizens in Tule Lake were already down the toboggan slide. We have already processed about 1,000 of these cases. Only two of these 1,000 did not sign their final form.

So far as Burling knows, there have been only 100 or so applications for renunciations from all of the other centers. He told me differently a few days ago, but I suppose that was before he got the figures from his department.

As the situation appears now two things may happen: 1) The Department of Justice may prevail on Myer's superior to force him to declare Tule Lake a refuge center; 2) Myer will win out and the Department of Justice will stop it's processing immediately, wait four months to see what happens, and then resume them. Burling anticipates that in these four months, Myer's attempts at emptying the centers by gentle means will, for the most part, fail and that many people in the center will apply for renunciation of citizenship. Burling does not think that a wait of four months will cause any appreciable number of people in Tule Lake to cancel their applications for renunciation. Myer does. Either of the policies look like storms ahead. If Tule Lake is declared a refuge center, Myer is probably right when he says this will result in additional pressure to remain in the other camps or rather - to create other refuge centers. If a four months "truce" is declared, things are probably going to be in no better shape.

Burling says that some women have admitted to him that they are officers of the Female Contingent of the Ho:shi-dan.



JANUARY 22, 1945LETTER FROM MAY IWOHARA4711-G  
Jan. 18

Dear Miss Hankey,

Was going thru my correspondence file and came across your letter.

I trust that you're still at your work, working harder than ever. Certainly, many things have happened since. It appears that Tule will be closing too. I think WRA is taking an awful chance freeing all the Jap. out on the coast. After all, many were segregated as disloyal and dangerous. It's a wonder that they could even think that we're no longer dangerous, at such an odd time. My frank opinion is that WRA thinks we're a piece of item, movable and "not-fragile" things, if kicked in the pants.

In the Colony: My husband accepted a teacher's position in the language school because of incessant plea from the Board. Started in Monday night, gave a pre-study talk on object of education, citing examples of how to be a true Japanese and a true Jap. Language student. Being formerly in the Co-ordinating Committee, he received bitter attacks from six students of the "Shaved Head" group that he criticized the group. Here, he didn't even mention the group's name. He merely spoke on true "Japanese-ism." Reckon he stepped on their toes (sore ones too). He blew up and resigned Wednesday morning. Sometimes I wonder if those people are true Jap. or if they just pretend to be one. True Jap. people are people with a broader concept of life and intelligence Miss Hankey. I hope you wouldn't look at that group and come to a conclusion that the Japanese are such a people.

We came to Tule for the chief purpose of returning to Japan. Just because we want to be repatriated as soon as possible. We want to do everything in our power to fulfill that desire, co-operate and be quiet is our motto. I sometimes wonder if that group have true intentions of going back. They're alright if they mind their own business instead of branding others "dogs." At least we're going to keep our mouths shut despite oppression until we get back. Then we'll explode.

I think I've written enough of nothing of much importance.

TALK WITH KURIHARAEffect of Burling's Visits on Renunciation of Citizenship

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

Pressure From the Ho:shi-dan

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



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

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

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

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

Burling's Proposed Statement

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

Leaving Camp

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

#### Co-op

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

#### On Getting Out of Camp

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

#### General Feeling in Camp Now

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

#### Talk With Best

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

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

#### CHAT IN LIBRARY

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

#### EXCHANGE SHIP NEWS

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



RUMOR ABOUT HIGHSCHOOL

Mr. Cook is rumored to have stated, "This school is going to continue indefinitely as long as the people want it." The informant, a school-teacher, regretted greatly that Mr. Harkness was not on the project to squelch this rumor. Mr. Harkness, however, has been told by WRA to plan school for the next year.

All the teacher are going around saying it, and trying to figure it out - it will probably get to the people.

JANUARY 24, 1945

TALK WITH KAYO IIDANews Of Exchange Ship

We were all very pleased as far as our family was concerned. We were particularly happy about the fact that they mentioned Tule Lake. I think that's the sentiment most of my friends are feeling.

One man was just saying today. In that case, it seems as if we are going back before the people in Santa Fe. It's a joke about the other people making so much fuss and thinking they were going to go first.

Now we feel we can't be pushed out of camp with the exchange ship coming.

I hear that even in quiet Topaz the people have been distributing papers about the announcement at night, so that the Administration couldn't know it.

Renunciation of Citizenship

Quite a few of my girl friends are renouncing. I guess it's because they're repatriates and had a purpose for coming here. Most of my friends I meet at Japanese school: we all have the same sort of feeling. You know why the boys are renouncing.

(A delicate hint about the draft.) Kayo, when asked, said she thought that the Ho:shi-dan and Ho:koku had been very influential in causing the people to renounce citizenship.

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On my way to the Yamashiros' I met Lillian Manji. We made an appointment to meet this coming Saturday. I brought up the news from Japan [about the exchange ship]. Lillian said everybody felt very relieved over it. (I don't think there's been so happy a feeling in camp since the Administration's attempt to get a representative body was so thoroughly defeated last May.) The Yamashiros' were not at home, so proceeded to see Mrs. Nakano.



TALK WITH MRS. NAKANO - Nisei Woman

Mrs. Nakano has been so busy organizing her clubs that she said she had not been worrying much about anything. She remarked:

We hear they (the Japanese) are having so much trouble on the outside. That's certainly going to slow down relocation. I've heard they can't even buy food but have to get other people to buy it for them. If they kick me out of this camp, California is the last place I'll go.

Caucasian Recreation Club and Japanese Orchestra

The Recreation club wanted us (Mrs. Nakano is business manager for the Japanese orchestra) to play for nothing for the January 30th dance.

(Miss Jackie Burton appears to be the chairman of the program and her attitude offended Mrs. Nakano very much. The orchestra is entirely Japanese, many Hawaiian, and has performed at many of the appointed personnel dances here.)

Jackie Burton said after all she didn't need us. She said she would just as soon use a phonograph.

(Evidently this statement was made after Mrs. Nakano said the orchestra was not willing to play for nothing.)

She said she didn't know anything about it and she's the chairman. 'Why can't you volunteer,' she said. 'The boys are leery about coming to play where there are soldiers,' I said. 'We're taking a chance of criticism by coming up here and playing. After all, this is a disloyal camp. We can't go out and play voluntarily, even if it is for the March of Dimes to get money to fight infantile paralysis which is a good cause. After all it is the President's ball.'

We haven't decided yet what we're going to do.

Jackie didn't even want us to get the kitty money. Sandborn (also on the committee) spoke up. He said to her, 'That's none of your business if somebody wants to give the orchestra money.'

Mrs. Nakano's Girls' Organization and the Ho:koku Women's Organization

I launched my organization the other day. They (the Ho:koku) launched their girl's organization on the same day. It just happened that way by accident. Here I had real competition. But they (Ho:koku) seemed to be afraid of me too. They just bar other people. They're only for their own group.

One family in this block is very much for the Ho:koku and I hear that they have seven daughters. I sent an invitation to everybody in my own block.

The daughters came to me and said, 'We're sorry, but we can't join your organization.' I said, 'It's not political, I'm not forcing anybody to join my club.'



The next day the old lady (mother of the daughters) came. She said to me, 'Don't you dare force my daughters to come into your organization. We're Ho:koku going to stick together till we die.'

I said, 'You are the most selfish people I've every seen. You're not Japanese at all. You don't help anybody, but just go around saying that everybody who doesn't join your organization is an inu.'

(This is very strong and courageous language, even though the Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan is tottering under general public disapprobation. Mrs. Nakano is a very spunky woman. Nevertheless, I doubt strongly if she would have dared talked like this to a Ho:koku member a month ago. This is, of course, granting that she didn't exaggerate her defiance to me.)

They are a very strong and big organization. I said, 'We're going to prepare ourselves so that no matter what part of the world we go to we can adjust ourselves.'

(Mrs. Nakano intends to teach western etiquette in her clubs, providing resistance is not too strong.)

My husband says that if you want to go back to Japan and get respect there you have to go back during wartime. We in camp haven't done anything for Yamato damashii. Do we think we can go back to Japan when they are all dead or crippled and that they're going to say, 'Welcome back.'

I hear that the Ho:koku are collecting money every month for all the members so when they get back to Japan they're going to buy an island for themselves. That certainly is crazy. In the first place, they are allowed to take back only \$300, and they certainly can't buy any island for that.

Their womens' organization goes out at five in the morning and kneels in the snow praying for victory. The young girls are really getting fanatical.

Don't you think there may be trouble when the announcement comes out?

(Here she is referring to the announcement Burling plans to make. She was told about this by Sandborn.)

There may be some kind of riot by the Ho:koku.

In some blocks we can't organize our clubs at all because they have the Ho:koku girls' clubs right in the block.

#### Renunciation

Since renunciation came along I heard their Ho:koku membership increased 100%.

(I asked if Mrs. Nakano meant since December and she said, "Yes." All other evidence indicates that Ho:shi-dan membership has been decreasing markedly. The few who stay, however, make up for this by increasingly noisy activities.)



They feel if they don't renounce their citizenship they can't go back to Japan. You might have to get out of the camp. Frankly, that's how everybody feels.

If the American people were all like you I'd go out tomorrow.

#### Arrival of Relocation Team

(Mrs. Nakano could scarcely believe that the WRA could be so optimistic as to send a Relocation Team to Tule Lake.)

If the relocation team comes, whoever comes here should receive a medal.

#### More On Girls' Club

The girls in this block are afraid to come to my club - they're afraid they'll be called inu.

#### Sokoku

My husband says the Sokoku Kenkyu is wabbly on the top but the bottom is strong. The people (in the organization) are united. If they (authorities) bring a threat to those people and do not carry it out, you'll strengthen them.

There is great resentment in camp against the Ho:koku.

#### RUMOR FROM BLOCK 74

There is a rumor from block 74, told me by a Caucasian informant, that the people have put up a notice in their messhall that the people at Tule Lake are to go back to Japan on the first exchange boat. One elderly Japanese is said to have read this notice and then remarked with a long face,

Supposing I'm the only one left here.

#### BURLING

Burling is examining the Women's Auxiliary of the Ho:koku (in which from reports, Mrs. Matsuda and Mrs. Tsuchiya (?) hold important positions) and the Japanese Language Schools, with the view of taking action against them. To get details on what he intends to do, however, I'll have to get him alone.



JANUARY 25, 1945TALK WITH GEORGE AND SALLY YAMASHIRO

1  
Today was the day after the posting in camp fo the Department of Justice's statement and I planned to spend a strenuous afternoon getting people's responses. Unfortunately, this was also the day the new officers of the Ho:shi-dan and some of the teachers of the Japanese language school were notified that they were to be removed to Santa Fe tomorrow morning. I had not been informed of this and set I out to visit the Yamashiros. On my way there I noticed people standing about in groups and talking, but did not put any special construction on it. When I knocked at the door, George's mother-in-law opened it, took my arm and quietly pulled me in the house. George and Sally were standing up and as I entered both made signs of silence. They were both pale and looked exceedingly worried. It seems that the notice of the pickups had just come out, the people in their block were furious, and had been calling them inu because I came to visit them. This, obviously, was the worst possible time for me to make another appearance.

Both George and Sally were very angry and disturbed about the pickups, saying several times that many innocent people had been picked up, both among Ho:koku members and the Japanese school teachers. George was particularly angry because his best friend, Mr. Doi, a Japanese school teacher, had been told he was going in the morning. George said several times,

They ought to take everybody!

George, doing his best to save his friend, had gone to see Mr. Best. Best promised to do what he could.

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

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

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

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

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

[1. This statement was posted in English with a Japanese translation. Since so many of my respondents later commented on the poor quality of the Japanese translations and made guesses as to who made it, I should say here that I saw the proposal being translated by young Caucasian men in U.S. Army uniform. I assumed they were members of the Japanese language military unit.]



Reaction of the Ho:koku

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

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

In consideration of how extraordinarily disturbed George and Sally were, I think it would be most unwise for me to visit anybody in the next few days. I shall write letters and ask for permission. The inu fear seems to be worse than it has been since Hitomi's murder.

[I went to see Burling immediately and told him that Mr. Doi and Mr. Yamashiro had for months been opposing the Resegregation Group and that interning Doi with the Ho:koku members was not only unjust but could put him in danger of his life. Burling would not commit himself, but on the next day, he released Doi and four other teachers in the Japaense language school. On Janaury 26, Burling gave me a complex account of how the men had been released. (In "Doing Fieldwork", p. 168, I incorrectly state that I interceded in behalf of my friend "Mr. Wakida" (Yamashiro). In point of fact I interceded for Yamashiro's friend, Mr. Doi.)]

RELOCATION OFFICER ARRIVES

Was introduced to Mr. Gibbs or Gribbs, the relocation officer who arrived today. Boy - he's going to have one swell time.



JANUARY 26, 1945

Early this morning at 5:30 the bugles of the Ho:koku blared forth full force - a frank announcement that the body had not been cowed by Burling's statement. Defiance to the end, seems the keynote of the group, and this defiance appears to be getting tougher under persecution.

Since I thought it unwise to go into camp today I dragged myself out of bed to see the send-off. About 1,000 people were gathered inside the fence, which was really a small number considering that among them were the Ho:koku young men in full force and uniform, and the relatives and friends of 180 men [who were to be interned] and the curious onlookers. The Seinen-dan drilled spectacularly before the men left and took up positions in ordered ranks, facing the fence. I was in a good position to watch the proceedings. As the men left the gate to enter Army trucks which were to take them to the train, their friends stood by and shook hands. The attitude of the crowd was mixed. The Ho:koku and Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi-dan people looked joyous -- these men were being signally honored. But the greater number of the people looked gloomy and woebegone. As each truck left it was greeted by shouts of "Dai Nippon Teikoku Banzai!" from the super-patriots and by handwavings from the others. One older man, standing next to me, said, as one truck pulled out, "Dai bushido" which could be translated as, "What splendid heroism." When a truck with Japanese language school teachers left, some persons called special good-byes to the sensei [teachers]. Before the last truck left, Colonel Austin drove along the road. He was greeted by a howl of derision from the Japanese crowd, the first time I have observed such a phenomenon. A truck followed, with about five armed soldiers in it. Whether they intended to go into camp and take away the bugles from the Ho:shi-dan I don't know. Before I reached the gate I noticed that several clusters of Japanese inside the fence were watching the proceedings from a considerable distance, standing well away from the crowd, near the high school buildings.

#### TALK WITH BURLING

##### Activities of Colonel Austin

Burling said he had had a pretty hysterical day with Colonel Austin, trying to get the Army and WRA details worked out. Austin kept repeating over and over that they would have to hammer a plan out and carry it through. Burling said he suggested that the sentry guard around the fence be increased, partly to make Austin feel good and partly because he himself enjoyed the feeling of acting like a general. Austin had squad cars equipped with machine guns get ready to man the fence. Unfortunately he made a slight oversight. He forgot to send any soldiers to gate 3 when the internees were leaving. Here around the gate were gathered some 1,000 Japanese and hundreds of the uniformed Ho:koku boys. Austin was greatly embarrassed when he arrived and found this vast group controlled by only the sergeant and two soldiers. (The soldiers may have had pistols, but they weren't in evidence.) Austin immediately tore back in his car and came back with six soldiers with rifles and sub-machine guns. (It was on this return trip that the crowd howled at him.) Burling told me that the incident was a clear case of forgetfulness on the part of Austin.

##### Five Evacuees Taken From Internee List

Burling said that when he was on his way to the stockade, where the men were kept temporarily, a man named Mr. Sakamoto called to him through the fence. He spoke excellent English and said,

You are making a big mistake, Mr. Burling. It is a mistake about the school teachers.

So Burling took the man to his office. Sakamoto explained that there were four school



teachers apprehended who should not be taken to Santa Fe. These men had been fighting the Ho:koku and had stood for principles of no pressure for resegregation and that they had been teaching a policy of living peacefully. Sakamoto said that the school would change its course of study and would teach no subjects bearing on political matters at all. Thereupon, Burling conferred with Best. Burling said that he was willing to let the men stay in camp under these conditions, providing they would take down their sign over their school. This sign is titled, "The Greater East Asia School." He felt the taking down of this sign would be a great moral victory. Best agreed. So, affixing Doi's name to the group (though he belonged to the ward VI school), Burling gave orders that they be released into the colony. When the men were taken from the stockade, those left crowded to the gate and for a moment Burling thought they were going to break through. Sakamoto was standing close by and a loud yammering went up from the inside. Burling asked Sakamoto what the men were saying. Said Sakamoto,

It is very coarse.

Best has just lately seen three men wearing the Ho:koku sweater (a grey sweat shirt with the rising sun stamped on it) in the Administrative Area. He was very indignant and said this must stop. Burling said he can't imagine where Best has been keeping his eyes, since Ho:koku men have been coming up to the Administrative Area regularly. In any case, men wearing the Ho:koku uniform are henceforth forbidden to come into the Administrative Area.

#### Myer's Statement on Tule Lake Policy Here

Myer has now prepared a statement on the future policy at Tule Lake. It is here now and being mimeographed. This statement says that WRA will help anyone in Tule Lake relocate, but that no one need relocate before January 1, 1946. This, Burling calls, the great compromise. Burling believes the statement must have been written by Ennis because it is so skillfully ambiguous. It states that plans for resegregation in Tule Lake have not yet been completed. (As you know, Burling holds that all persons in Tule who have renounced their citizenship, plus their families if they wish to stay, should be kept in camp until the close of the war and then deported. Naturally if they are exchanged before this, so much the better.)

Burling also said that there had been a miscalculation in the number of applications for renunciation at Tule Lake. The true estimate is closer to 5,000.

#### Future Actions At Tule Lake

Before Burling left he told me that so far as he knows, the Department of Justice will most certainly take over Tule Lake at some indefinite time in the future. At that time, Japanese political subjects may be taught - but not till then. As for the Ho:koku who defied his statement with long and prolonged bugling, he said,

I said it will stop and it will stop.

So there will continue to be pickups as long as new officers are elected. (It won't be long though and there won't be anybody left to make an officer.) He will also pick up the women's auxiliary and put them in a separate camp until such time as they can be reunited with their families. He has also encouraged his legal staff whom he is leaving here, to slow down the processing of the renunciation forms. He, personally, does not think that people may change their minds about renunciation, as does Myer.

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JANUARY 27, 1945TALK WITH LILLIAN MANJIReaction to Statement by Department of Justice

Confidentially speaking - I wouldn't know - some people think he's got brains in his head. Many of the people think he (Burling) did the right thing.

Renunciation

Some are renouncing because they definitely refused to go into the Army. The Nisei boys are doing this, not the Kibei. But as for the girls - I don't know as yet. If we have to renounce our citizenship to go back to Japan, I'll do it. That's how my mother feels. That's how everybody feels. We're just thinking it over.

Do you think the exchange boat will come this year?

Statement About the Exchange Boat

Everybody noticed that it didn't mention Santa Fe. We feel we might as well get rid of all the scums (Resegregationists) in this place and leave only the real people in camp.

Changes in Camp Violence

Some of the people who used to beat up people, they're apologizing. They're slowly but surely realizing their mistake.

People Forced to Renounce Citizenship

A lot of my friends who went to Santa Fe were forced to renounce their citizenship by the Ho:koku.

Department of Justice Statement

They really meant business. That's the way we all felt. The people were kind of happy. They all wanted to get more copies and pass it around. You don't know all about the underground here. The people really liked it.

Changes in Camp

The camp is picking its head up now. It's worth living now. You have an easy feeling since the pickups. I don't care if it's uncomfortable (in camp), just so the feeling is good.

Pickups of Reverends

The way I heard it there were several reverends who were innocently dragged into things. They shouldn't have gone.



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

They signed a paper but they weren't for the Ho:koku.

Anyway, the people's heads are coming up. As Mr. Burling says, most of the people in camp are quiet Japanese and only a minority are making a fuss.

Lillian added that the English version of the Department of Justice statement was much better than the Japanese.

JANUARY 28, 1945

TALK WITH NOYES - PROJECT ATTORNEY

Noyes informed me that Burling had had a fairly long talk with George Kuratomi. Burling told George that there was to be no parading or demonstrating in camp. He said,

You can have the rising sun in your heart, but you can't have it on your chest or on your forehead.

George said,

We understand. We've been for the idea all the time.

Memo to Lt. Colonel Verne Austin

No evacuee while wearing a sweatshirt or other external garment which bears a Japanese emblem or insignia will be permitted in the administrative area or anywhere else outside of the colony area.

In this connection will you please assist us by arranging to have the guards whom you assign to man the gates leading out of the colony prohibit the evacuees wearing garments with such emblems or insignias from passing out of the colony.

R. R. Best.

Noyes said he also had a long talk with Kuratomi. They discussed community government in camp which Noyes is very anxious to initiate and in which, I am sure, Kuratomi would like to play a leading part. Well, we'll see what developes.

Details on Pickups

The men to be picked up were given notice 24 hours in advance, and told to show up at certain gates at 9:00 a.m. sharp. No cars were sent for them and every one showed up on the dot. This alteration in manner of pickups over last time was on Best and Noyes' insistence. WRA would have been embarrassed if some of the men had not come, but in this case I have to give them credit. They figured the Japanese right. The loading was carried on with almost miraculous speed. At gate 1, it was completed in 20 minutes; at the gate I stood, (gate 3) it was completed in 12. If the trucks had not had to shuttle back and forth it would have been done in less time. WRA did not want the men yanked out of bed again in the middle of the night.



JANUARY 29, 1945TALK WITH NISEI GIRL - Kayo IidaStatement By Department of Justice

According to the people who belong to the Ho:koku, naturally, they are not very happy about the tone of the letter, but, on the other hand, they are happy because of how angry the Department of Justice felt.

Even the people who didn't belong to the Ho:koku-dan thought it was awfully unfair of the government to make this a relocation center and say we couldn't do this and that.

I think instead of sending the people out, the quickest thing would be to make this an internment camp and get rid of the loyal people. Wasn't the purpose of Mr. Burling's letter to make people stay here? It seems as if he felt the Ho:shi-dan were encouraging people to stay here.

Release of Teachers

The group that belonged to the Ho:shi-dan thought it was awfully spineless of the teachers for getting off the train. Other people felt they should have gotten off because they were only teachers. I think the teachers of that group are against the Ho:koku group.

I should think the wisest thing to do is to get these people who are loyal to America out. They won't be so hot-headed then if this is a camp of people of one mind. The biggest mistake that they made was to allow the volunteers to come along with the segregates. Trouble was bound to happen with that.

Ho:koku Attitude

The Ho:koku group were all glad to get sent to Santa Fe. They have this one feeling that now their status is sure about the draft. If they're here there's still a slim chance.

Department of Justice Statement

I read the Japanese (statement) and what he says in the Japanese is not wholly included in the English version. The translator said some things that the English didn't.

It seems that the government is taking it out on them (Ho:koku) when the government itself was lacking.

Is it true that there will be another pick-up in two weeks?

Now they are doing the demonstrations for spite. I have a friend who says, 'I'm going to be the next one picked up.' He



is very happy about it. They have the whole thing planned and are very tickled about it.

#### Ho:koku Letter to Burling

I thought the letter the Ho:koku sent to Mr. Burling was a mistake. They put in such petty details - like about the man whose mother was ill. That shows that they lacked leadership material.

#### TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes was very upset this evening - his big worry being what is going to be done about the new Ho:koku group. He asked me several questions. One question was what would happen if there was a pickup very soon. Another question was what would happen if force were applied to stop the marching and bugle playing. I said I didn't know about the first one, the second I said would probably greatly increase public sympathy for the persecuted Ho:koku and might make the Administration look silly.

The next bunch of officers is now having their names taken. According to Noyes this group is much more jittery and less arrogant than the last. One of the new leaders (at least Noyes is informed he's an undercover leader) is one of Wakayama's henchmen, Fujizawa. (Noyes' informant is correct for Fujizawa (I have been told) is a radical nut and a friend of Wakayama's). Another of the leaders is O. Obayashi. Noyes was extremely anxious and disturbed and if he keeps on at this rate he may have a breakdown.

Mrs. Deschin who was present, harped on the old tune that something should have been done about this long ago. Noyes gave the following excuses, which may perhaps, reflect Best's attitudes.

1. The presence of the Ho:koku was at first thought to be a wholesome steam valve.
2. It was thought that the organization could be allowed to thrive, grow ripe, and then be "plucked".
3. Nobody knew just exactly what to do with it.

(Attached you will find the statement released by WRA late this afternoon. I have a copy of Burling's statement but so many people have asked me to get them copies I think I'll have several made.)



JANUARY 30, 1945TALK WITH MORIHIKO TOKUNAGAAttitude Toward Ho:koku

All the moderate people in camp think it is very foolish to make that much noise. It's no use.

The men in ward VI were extreme Ho:koku men. I wonder why Mr. Burling hasn't taken the bugles away from them.

Only a few people misled them. All the young men are innocent. I think only 20 or 30 people started all this trouble. It's terrible to think that the young men have to suffer the result. They have the idea of the Japanese 70 or 80 years ago.

Most people are really glad about the pickups but they don't say so. Most people are glad that those radicals are picked up. But they don't say a word about it.

(I asked why they did not speak, out of sympathy or fear?)

The radicals are still stubborn so we better keep quiet. If they are willing to debate in public whether we should stay quiet or make trouble it would be all right. But if I should say that in public, they'd say, 'Oh, beat him up.' This is especially true now after this last bunch of radicals has been picked up.

Wakayama used to say right out, 'When I go to Java or the East Indies, will I fool the natives there.'

I bet 80% of the residents are willing to co-operate with the American government, but a handful of men start up trouble and a handful of people just follow them.

Department of Justice Statement

Everyone said - it's a matter of course. Most people think that way. It was a very very poor Japanese translation. I think a Nisei must have translated it. It's like my English.

The people did not resent the sternness of the statement. Only I ask the Department of Justice that they wouldn't make the mistake in deciding who is responsible for the trouble and who's innocent. I hear some very mild men were picked up. Of course, the Department of Justice can't see as we do.

Fujizawa

Fujizawa is a darn fool. He's plain dumb. He's a disgrace to our people.



At least we trust the Department of Justice. They are honest. Under WRA there is so much politics.

#### Statement From Myer Put Out Yesterday

I hadn't noticed any statement from Mr. Myer. Nobody but very few are willing to leave the camp. I believe the WRA will fail in trying to get the people out of the other camps too. Every camp I get letters from says that 90% of the camp residents will stay in camp until the end of the war. When we hear so much anti-Japanese feeling on the West Coast, how can we leave?

#### Reactions to Exchange News

The people were all pleased to hear about the exchange but they don't believe it at this time. Everybody says, 'We can't believe it until they start.' Naturally, the first day they were all very enthusiastic. But I said, 'I hope so, but we won't take it for too sure yet.'

#### Gambling Gang

Is the government going to do anything about the gambling gang in camp? It's really ruining our young people here.

(Mr. Tokunaga told me that soon he might be working for Social Welfare. It seems they want him so much they are willing to give him a special dispensation and allow him to have three people working in his family.)

Most of the people are determined to stay in camp.

#### Reasons Why Mr. Tokunaga's Sons are Returning to Japan

My children were born and educated in this country and understand American democracy. Both boys graduated from drafting school. They did very well in school, as their report cards show. After they finished school, they couldn't get jobs on account of racial discrimination. Other boys, doing poorer in school work - some even got jobs before they finished school. So they were very unhappy about it.

Then my first boy heard that in seamen's life there is less racial feeling. So he went to the Marine School. Before he finished the first year, the war started. And then he was expelled from the school at San Pedro. He was told to enter a camp. He left the boat and on his way to the camp he stopped at Los Angeles one night. He was arrested and put in jail for three days and three nights. Since then he was so indignant at the treatment he received that he said, 'For any reason, I will never fight for America.'

#### Reaction of More Moderate Ho:koku to Burling's Statement

The moderate people in the Ho:koku-dan say that the letter Higashi and the other sent to the Department of Justice was too hard and too arrogant. What Higashi asked the



Department of Justice does not represent the opinion of the group.

TALK WITH T. NAKAMURA - Old Tulean Nisei

This talk really puzzled me. Nakamura was so extremely bitter about the treatment the Department of Justice has given the Ho:koku that I was amazed. He is, as you know, a graduate of the University of California in political science, and he handles the Japanese section of Legal Aid. Some of the venomous statements he threw at me sounded as if he had become mentally unbalanced. Maybe he thinks I'm inuing for the Department of Justice, or, on the other hand, maybe I'm too sensitive.

He began the conversation by saying that he had noticed that another bunch of my compatriots had been taken in and that he had noticed that it hadn't done much good. We were then interrupted by a Ho:koku boy who had come in to consult with Nakamura on what to do with his money when he was taken to Santa Fe, which he expected would soon happen to him. Nakamura told him to transfer his money to his sister's name.

When we resumed talking he asked me where the Ho:koku people had been taken. I said I had heard Santa Fe. He said he had heard it was San Francisco.

Statement by the Department of Justice

Do you think Burling wrote that? I think he got a lot of his ideas from somebody else. Burling doesn't know anything about the Japanese. I hear he's always worked with the Italians before.

I've got a hunch that Higashi is stooling for the Department of Justice.

Anyway, it's a frameup - most of the people in that group are not of a high mentality and the Department of Justice is taking advantage of them. The Department of Justice has no business cracking down on them like that. They ought to have more sense than that.

As I see it, Burling's trying to justify evacuation by taking these people out and sticking them in Santa Fe. WRA, on the other hand has always been very agreeable about evacuation. But this, that the Department of Justice is doing is not helping the situation for the people who want to stay in this country. I'm not staying, but I have to think of the people who are staying.

Why didn't Burling get the actual instigators of the movement instead of picking up these poor dumb guys?

Boy would the Ho:koku like to get their hands on the guy who stoolled to Burling. And they'd like to get their hands on the Japanese who translated the speech too. I think some Kibei did it.

If it should have been stopped, it should have been stopped long ago. They could have done it long ago. I don't think the Department of Justice knew they were doing anything



like that, this camp being run by the WRA and the Army, I bet Burling first found out about it when he came here to take those first renunciations (in December).

#### WRA Statement Released Yesterday

The Japanese translation of that bulletin three is entirely wrong. In English, Myer stated that the people in this center are assured of having a place to live for a year, but he stated there might be another center opened. The Japanese translation seemed to state that all the other centers would be open too. That would give the other people in the other centers the idea that they could stay for a whole year too.

#### Department of Justice

The Department of Justice is not sincere. They are hounding people with a childish mentality and making them act like kids.

#### Exchange Ship

I don't think Japan will send out an exchange ship. The State Department made the statement - that's the way I feel. Probably all the Japanese government did, was show some signs of being willing to have an exchange.

#### Renunciation of Citizenship

The renunciation of citizenship - in a way it's good. But in a way you're just playing into these guys (Department of Justice) hands. They've got you behind the eight ball once you renounce.

The way these hearings were conducted it seems as if Burling had the final say of whether to accept a renunciation or not. The Law states that it is the Attorney General who had the final say.

As I see it, it's a frameup. I'd hate to live in this country if Burling was Attorney General.

(Nakamura then asked me what nationality Burling was. I said I didn't know. He then said that he thought he was a Jew and that he was part of the whole clique of Jews who are running Washington and will eventually run this country into the ground.)



LETTER FROM YOSHIYAMA

Received the following letter from Yoshiyama today from which fully twelve lines had been cut by the censors,

Dear Miss Hankey:

Million thanks for your letter. I fully realize how busy you must be in trying to assemble and complete your masterpiece. Thinking you had returned to Berkeley for Christmas, I have addressed a letter to the University of California.

I am beginning to realize more than ever that life is composed full of hardship, anxiety and rottenness tinged with "bitterness." Since the outbreak of the war I never had a decent Christmas; my 1942 Christmas being spent in a jail, my 1943 Christmas being spent in the Military Area Stockade undergoing a severe "hunger strike," my 1944 Christmas being spent in a remote place when I should be spending my first holiday with my wife.

(Section cut here.)

P.S. I read in a "Newell Star" that accordance with the recent order from Washington, between 400 and 500 evacuee mess workers were dropped from the payrolls last week at Tule. (Sentence cut here.)

LETTER FROM KURIHARA

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

Dear Miss Hankey:

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

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

You may call whenever you wish.

(This letter did me more good than anything that's happened in the past two weeks. I've been on edge and losing weight, but what with so much going on, can't I be budged from here.)



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

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

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

Pickups

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

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

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

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

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

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

Department of Justice Statement

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

News of Exchange

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

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

They are afraid of exchange because they fear they will



be taken into the Army. [in Japan]

The statement Mr. Burling made about the draft dodgers was very true.

On More Pickups

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

Department of Justice Statement

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

Dillon Myers' Statement of the 29th

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:

(I'm going to put it on a new page so I can give him a typed copy.)

[I did not keep a copy of Mr. Kurihara's statement for my fieldnotes. The copy I sent Dr. Thomas may be in the Bancroft Library collection.]