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Field Notes

Draft 1

Nov. 1944

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FOOTNOTE p. 1 November

[1. In our long conversation of October 30, Mr. ~~Tachibana~~ Tachibana told me that the ~~xx~~ adult Resegregation ~~xx~~ Group (Saikakuri Seigan) was formally going to change its name to Sokuji Kikoku Hoeshi dan (Organization for Immediate Return to the Homeland to Serve). He did not tell me that the name of the ~~abxbabbbbbb~~/young ~~xxxx~~ men's organization, ~~extxbixhxdxixnxdgskxxx~~ the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan, which has been organized in August, was also to be changed. ~~On November 1, Dr. Opler asked me if I had~~ ~~asked me if I had~~ I am not sure why I did not follow Dr. Opler's lead and ask my Resegregationist respondents about this matter, for I spoke with Mr. Matsuda on November 7 and with Mr. Yeshiyama ^{However, on} on November 10 and 20. ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{On} December 9, the day after I ~~had~~ returned from the conference in Salt Lake City, I asked Mr. Matsuda ~~about the change,~~ ^{about the change,} ~~and he~~ told me that the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan, had recently changed its name to Hokeku Seinen dan. Hokeku, he explained, means: serve the mother country. He ~~xxxx~~ ^{also told me} ~~added~~ that he had first used the term Hokeku in his newspaper and that an organization in Japan was called Hokeku. ~~xxxx~~ Mrs. Matsuda added: ~~xxxx~~ "the boys now figured that they had passed through the stage of Kenkyu (learning) and were ready to take up Hokeku (service)." (Thomas and Nishimoto state that both organizations/changed their names on or about November 10 (pp. 322-3), but I do not know the source of their information.)

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

If Mr. ~~Yoshiyama~~ starts

some violent trouble after Meiji Setsu, as he has ~~threatened~~
threatened, I may have to curtail my visits.)

NOV. 1, 1951

CURIOUS TALK WITH OPLER

Opler asked me a number of questions which I did not think it
safe or proper to answer. Then he asked me if I had checked on
Sokoku Kenkyu
the ~~Sokuji Kikoku Hooshi dan~~ name change and I said that I had
not heard that it had been changed.¹ "I can't understand it," said he,
"I've sent boys right up to the throne to ask." Opler also told me
that he had been reading the FBI report on the ~~MAX~~ Hitomi case.
It was, he said, full of lurid details about the blood brother gangs

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the adult Resegregation Group ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ (Saikakuri Seigan) was formally
going to change its name to Sokuji Kikoku Hooshi dan (Organization ~~for Immediate~~
for Immediate Return to the Homeland to Serve). He did not tell me that the
already established youth ~~men's~~ organization (Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan) also

explain - ignore

LETTER FROM MR. TOKUNAGA

Mr. Tokunaga:

dated Oct. 28, 1944

"The very first word I uttered right after the attack was "Baka." (~~I wonder if Mr. X was referring to himself or to the attackers.~~ Baka is a very strong term meaning fool.) I rather feel sorry for those who attacked me because they do not know what they were doing.

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

"Thanking you again for the letter.

Sincerely yours,

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

Opler asked me a number of questions which I did not think it

safe or proper to answer. Then he asked me if I had checked on Sokoku Kenkyu the ~~Sokoku Kenkyu name changing~~ name change and I said that I had not heard that it had been changed.¹ "I can't understand it," said he, "I've sent boys right up to the throne to ask." Opler also told me that he had been reading the FBI report on the ~~XXX~~ Hitomi case. It was, he said, full of lurid details about the blood brother gangs

1. In our long conversation of October 30 Mr. Tachibana told me that the adult Resegregation Group ~~SAIKAKURI~~ (Saikakuri Seigan) was formally going to change its name to Sokuji Kikoku Hooshi dan (Organization ~~for Immediate~~ for Immediate Return to the Homeland to Serve). He did not tell me that the already established young men's organization (Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan) also intended to ~~change~~ change its name. In point of fact, both organizations formally changed their names ~~on~~ on or about November 10. (See Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 322-3.) 7

NOVEMBER 1. p. 2.

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

TALK WITH MR. NOYES, NEW NEW PROJECT ATTORNEY

Mr. Noyes told me that the report referred to by Opler was not prepared by the F.B. I. but by the ~~state~~ ^{of State} Department. ~~The Project~~ He also told me that he had given Opler the report to read -- and he might also have given it to me ^{now} except that it has/been returned to Alturas (perhaps there is a copy in Sacramento).

Mr. Noyes also told me about a knifing which took place Monday night (Oct. 30) in the Manzanar section. It seems that three young men were on the way to Japanese school at about ^{6:45} ~~6:00~~ in the evening. They passed two Issei ^(one was Shimada) and noticed that the men were ^{I Issei yelled} ~~un~~inating. According to the boys, one of the ~~other~~ ^{Issei} ~~men~~ ^{yelled} an insult ^{at} to them. One of the boys turned and made for them. His friends tried to hold him back, ~~and~~ ^{the Issei friend} ~~the Issei friend~~ ^{the man who had yelled the insult} tried to restrain ~~him~~. Words were exchanged. Suddenly the Issei drew a knife, slashed the young man across the face, severing the temporal artery. ^{He} ~~he~~ returned the knife to his pocket so fast that

^{Manager}
 (Nemura, the ~~manager~~, resigned several weeks ago because of pressure.)

"People seem to think Nishikawa is O. K."

^{I asked about}
~~this led naturally to a discussion of~~ the latest Manzanar knifing.

"They say that the knifing still has some connection to the baseball fight." ~~(The notorious Manzanar-Foston battle.)~~

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

^{jealous}

NOVEMBER 1, 1944, p. 3.

~~nothing~~^{none} of the boys saw the knife. Even the boy wounded said that at first he thought he had been scratched. The Japanese Internal Security does not seem eager to press the case. ~~and~~ It is rumored that the Issei who knifed the young man is a friend of Mr. Tachibana. The attack took place in block 78.

~~defendant is a friend of "X"~~. The attack took place in block 78. There is no evidence whatever that it is tied up in any political matter. The defendant was turned over for trial to the County Authorities and is being held ~~for~~ on \$1,000. bail. ~~The~~^{The Project Attorney} anticipates pressure from the block in the form of some petition extolling the man's character which will be forwarded to WRA. ~~which~~^{But the WRA} no longer has ~~any~~ authority in the matter. ~~Incidentally, I was also informed~~^{Mr. Noyes said} that the WRA does not like to have the matter tried by the state.

TALK WITH ~~"this man"~~ ^{JIM TAKEUCHI'S WIFE} ~~sister, and sister-in-law.~~

~~"his wife was not overly concerned."~~ Mrs. Takeuchi was depressed. She is leaving camp on the 8th of November to go to Rowley, where she will ^{remain until she is} ~~arrive out her time before~~ being allowed to relocate. ^{Takeuchi} himself is in Topaz. He applied to the Sioux Ordnance Depot of Sidney, Nebraska, for a job but was refused because all of his family ^{are} in Tule Lake. He plans to appeal, however. I started out the conversation by inquiring how their block (36) was feeling about the people from Manzanar. I was told that they still didn't like them.

People around here seem to dislike the Manzanar people. They even say that the Co-op Board was being run by Manzanar, by a man named Nomura.

[1. A Relocation Center in Arkansas.

NOVEMBER 1, 1944, p. 4

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

Renunciation of Citizenship.

"The renunciation of citizenship may bring big trouble."
(the alleged profiteer),
We then discussed the intimidation of Tambara. I was told that

everybody thought that he had it coming to him. I then remarked casually that I was noticing that there wasn't nearly so much talk about inu as there had been before Hitomi's killing.

Now/ko ~~EEEEEEEE~~ Jim's ~~sister~~ wife's sister agreed. "That's right, come to think of it," ~~xxxx~~ she said she.

Resegregation Group

Now/ko ~~Nakao~~ did most of the talking although Him's wife and his brother's wife were present. She said:

"I think there are two groups. One of them is really for it and the other group doesn't care. I don't think that there is any group really against it, because if they talked against it they'd go out."

~~(She means they'd get it in the neck - not go out of camp.)~~

"The way it seems to me one or two people in a block start it (Support of the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi dan - the Re-segregation group) and they pull the others in. In this block we don't even hear about it, but in some other blocks they're very strong.

Rev. Kai

"I heard a story about how Rev. Kai acted kind of yellow in the stookade."

Rumor

"Do you know if this is true? I heard that Best has announced that if the people do not go to extremes in celebrating Meiji Setsu he would not put out the American flag on that day.

"Each school is going to have it's own individual celebration.

"If he (Best) did announce that I think it's about the smartest thing he ever said." At least ~~he~~ gave in and gave something in return."

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

All present agreed with me that the support which the Re-segregation group was getting now was far less than was given the Daihyo Sha during the incident.

NOVEMBER 1, 1944, p. 42

Before we finished ~~gossiping~~ ^{Jim's} ~~the~~ five year old son came in. He sat himself down, surveyed us solemnly and remarked calmly in Japanese, "I want to go to Japan." The women laughed in embarrassment, and told me that he talks like that because he picks it up from the other children. With his father asking for work in a defense plant, little Ichi will have to change his mind again.

FOOTNOTE, p. 6

[1. Literally, "peoples' school" or "school to which all are welcome".]

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1944, p. 1.

Called on the Yamashiro's today. I wished to find out how the matter of Tsuha insulting the ward VII teachers had come out and also, if possible, whether ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~insult~~ ^{insult} that there had been ~~some~~ ^{any} friction over ^{various} groups desiring to use the ^{outdoor} stage for their own Meiji Setsu celebration, ~~had any basis~~.

Sally was home alone for the first half hour and ~~I found out~~ ^{told me} that Tsuha had apologized for making the statement so the matter had been dropped. But she told me that many people still held it against him and that he was quite unpopular in ward VIII.

When George came in he came fresh from making arrangements to assist in the celebration being planned by the Kokumin Gakko ^{of} (the chief Japanese Language School). He remarked that the ^S School was going to hold its celebration at the open stage at 9:30. "That's strange," said I, "I've been asked to come in and see the Sokoku Sokaji Kikoku (Re-segregation group) hold their ceremony there at 10:00." "That can't be," said George. "We won't be through for two hours!" "What's going to happen?" asked Sally, "with everybody wanting to celebrate there." I said nothing more, ~~having found out what I wanted to know. I believe~~ ^{but I suspect that the} ~~that the Kokumin Gakko give way.~~ ^{Kokumin Gakko will}

We then went on to discuss the pressure groups. Said George, "Heck, I could get a big following too if I went around saying, 'I'm Japanese, I'm Japanese.'" I told George that I had ^{been told} ~~heard~~ that Rev. Kai ~~was~~ ^{had} not formed a counter-group, the Dai Nippon Seinin den. George said that he had heard that such a group was forming but that he didn't think Kai and Kuratomi had anything to do with it. Moreover, he thought that such a group would form inevitably:

"I know psychologically that when a group of Japanese people start to push one way, some other group is going to form to push the other way. I think the Dai-Nippon group (or a counter-Sokoku Kenkyu group) might form some day. I just heard about it anyway. When they do form they'll fight. ...This camp is in a mess."

7.
NOVEMBER 2, 1944, p. 2.

"Those who come from Hawaii are naturally very upset. Because they were just put in a camp without a suitcase or anything."

(Just what significance this remark has, I'm not sure. It may be that George has been impressed by the number of bitter Hawaiians in camp. Possibly, he may be hinting that the ~~numerous~~ Hawaiian born people are numerically strong in the pressure groups.)

I introduced the subject of the Co-op. George asked ^{me} ~~without my~~ ~~mentioning the fact~~, whether they were going to close the Caucasian canteen. If they are, he wants to hurry and spend the points he has accumulated, probably from Caucasian friends. He did not commit himself on the issue.

"I heard from a block manager that some of the people are getting mad. They announced that the gross sales in July were something like 130,000 dollars and in August they were 120,000. In July they had a 20,000 profit and in August 10,000. The point is that there was only a 10,000 dollar difference in the month in gross sales. The people can't figure out why there is only \$10,000 net profit. Something is goofy."

8.

R. Hankey - Notes - Tule Lake.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1944, p. 1.

MEIJI SETSU CEREMONY

Went ^{to camp} in alone today to see the ceremony at the fire-break stage on which so much preparation has been lavished by the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi dan (Re-segregation group) and the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinin dan (Young Men's Association to Study ^{the Homeland} ~~Japanese culture~~).

My friend, Mr. Currie, head of the Co-op, drove me to the sentry guarded gate. He seemed somewhat concerned about my going in on this day, but as I walked toward the gate he ~~smiled~~ ~~smiled~~ and called. "Well, Goodbye Hankey, Queen's die bravely!!"

I did not know what to expect, because I had heard that the Kokumin Gakko,

the chief Japanese School and ~~the~~ perhaps the Ward VI independent Japanese School and the Civic Organizations also desired to ^{use} ~~use~~ this stage for their ceremonial observances. Up to yesterday afternoon, Yamashiro still thought the ^{Kokumin} Kokumin Gakko, in whose program he, as a teacher, is taking a prominent part, was going to use the stage. However,

as I passed the high school auditorium I saw a large crowd of people and I assumed that the Kokumin Gakko had "~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~" had decided not to push the issue and was using the auditorium.

This struck me as wise, for the day was extremely cold, windy, and laced with occasional stinging ~~the~~ rain.

Gakko,

9.
NOVEMBER 3, 1944, p. 2.

On approaching the outdoor stage I ^{saw} ~~found~~ that the assemblage was smaller than I had expected it to be. The Sokoku boys were marching to the scene (and they marched quite well), where they took up their places in ordered ranks in the firebreak a full block removed from the stage. Meanwhile, older men and women, some with children, were marching (not nearly so well) to take ~~up~~ their places in ranks in that section of the firebreak directly before ~~the stage~~ but to the left of the stage, ^{this left} leaving a large vacant area. Then, when this group was settled except for stragglers who ^{joined those at the rear} ~~continued to trickle to the rear~~, the Sokoku boys, following the orders of their leaders (^{were} ~~who were distinguishable~~ group by group, by white bands on their left arms) marched forward ~~to occupy this~~ to stand in the space directly in front of the stage. ~~position by groups.~~ This gave me an excellent opportunity to count them.

There were not more than 600 on the outside. The spectators to the left numbered from 1,500 to 2,000. This, I believe,

provides us with a good estimate of the ~~membership of the~~ genuine membership of the ~~Sokoku~~ Sokoku ~~Kenkyu~~ Kenkyu and the Resegregation Group.

The stage was decorated by large bouquets of yellow and white chrysanthemums. White sheeting had been hung over the outer wings. Two altar like tables of box like form were covered with white and on the rear wall hung ~~not the Japanese flag~~, but a white cloth with a painting of what I interpreted to be the throne. Over the arch was a large sign with four ^(characters) kanji painted in red and white, and on the left wing hung a large ~~sign with~~ white sign with characters written in ink.

I felt a little ^{apprehensive} ~~nervous~~ as I joined a cluster of about 100 people, who appeared to be casual onlookers and were standing in the lee of the barracks. But no one treated me in any way as if I were not ~~an~~ Japanese.

8a 9a

Once I made room

for an elderly man, but he indicated that it was not necessary and squeezed
in right next to me. No ^{other} Caucasians except Internal Security made an

FOOTNOTE' p. 10

1. I have been told that Mr. Uchida is now head of the Sokoku's
judo organization. He has the black belt.

NOVEMBER 3, 1944, p. 3.

appearance. When the ceremony began an Internal Security Car drove up and parked in the adjoining block, but after about 20 minutes it moved on. Other ^{police} cars passed at intervals but did not stop.

The ceremony was opened by a gentleman whom I recognized as Mr. Tachibana. First everyone bowed to the stage. Then Mr. Tachibana spoke briefly (in Japanese) and gave place to a younger man who reverently

opened a box, removed a scroll, ~~and bowed~~ bowed to the scroll, bowed to the symbol of the ^Emp^{er}or and then chanted from the scroll. Incidentally, ~~before Tachibana began his speech, all present bowed to the stage in unison.~~

~~Next everyone bowed to the sun.~~ Next, everyone faced the sun, which was glowering dimly from behind rain swollen clouds. ^{Sokoku} The buglers bugled inexpertly and all bowed to the sun, ^{remaining in a bowed} ~~holding the~~ position for about three minutes while the buglers played several selections. ~~Some~~ Some of the casual spectators bowed also. A group of Nisei girls to my right, were very slow about catching on, but eventually most of them ^{also bowed.} ~~took up the proper position.~~

~~Following~~ When the ~~sunbowing~~ bugling ~~was~~ ended, all ~~again~~ faced the stage in unison and sang two anthems. ~~in which~~ Some of the casual ~~xxxxxx~~ spectators joined, especially the Issei men, who ~~stood next to me~~.

I should have mentioned that some of the Sokoku boys and many of the Sokuji people carried overcoats. ~~side~~ The Sokoku boys laid their overcoats on the ground and left them there during the entire ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ceremony -- more than an hour. Meanwhile, the cold grew ever more bitter// and we were struck by occasional gusts of ~~windy~~ wind blown rain. But no one opened an ~~xx~~ umbrella during the ceremony except one woman who had brought her baby with her in a baby carriage. She put the umbrella over the baby, but it blew off several times.

When the anthems were finished, Mr. Tachibana introduced Mr. Uchida ~~whommadananshortinspeech~~ as speaker for the ~~Sokoku~~ Sokoku.¹

FOOTNOTE p. 11.

[1. Later I learned that this speaker was Reverend Matsumoto.]

FOOTNOTE p. 11.

2. To the great Japanese Empire -- Ten thousand years!. ¹²⁴7

Uchida made a short speech, bowed, and laid his paper before the symbol of the Emperor.

Next the speaker for the Sokuji Kikaku Hoshi dan was introduced. ~~I~~

~~believe this was Tachibana, though I could not be sure of the name from that distance.~~ He bowed with a finesse which Uchida lacked and launched into a long speech which was delivered in fine style and with great fervor. ¹

~~While this speech continued~~ ^{During this speech} no one in the Sokoku group made an unnecessary move, no one so much as moved his head. The Sokuji people (of whom about ^{a fourth} were women, were more restless, but none stepped out of place.

~~I did not move.~~ ^{and on;} (Hanky, naturally, didn't budge either.) The speech went on it got

colder and colder. The overcoats lay on the ground. Occasionally one

of the Sokuji people would put on ^{his} ~~the~~ overcoat - but not one Sokoku

^{youth} ~~boy~~. When the speech was about half finished, it lasted somewhat over

a half hour, one of the Sokoku boys became ill and had to be ^{half} carried

~~from the platform~~ ^{off the field} by one of his comrades. ~~When~~ When he was taken from

my direct view I don't know what happened, because only a few ~~curious~~ ^{Issei}

among the spectators with me stepped forward to ^{look after him.} ~~see~~ and I ~~felt~~ ^{felt} that

if I craned my neck ~~and~~ or moved ~~and~~ it would be ~~most~~ discourteous.

About a dozen of the Sokuji people left before Tsuha (if it was he) finished his speech. Perhaps they did not like the ~~speech~~ or perhaps they ~~wannanahaminnannann~~ could no longer endure the cold.

When the speech was over Mr. Tachibana told everybody to put on their overcoats. Then

all drew papers from their pockets ~~whinnannann~~ on which was written the

words of a song. When this song had been sung, Tachibana made a short

~~xxx~~ closing address, everybody bowed deeply and ^{then} ~~shouted~~ ^{with raised arms,} "Dai Nippon Teikoku

Banzai, Banzai, Banzai!" ² ~~On the Banzai the people raised both arms to the~~

~~stage.~~ Thereupon the Sokuji people broke up and the Sokoku boys marched away.

12.

NOVEMBER 3, 1944 P. 5.

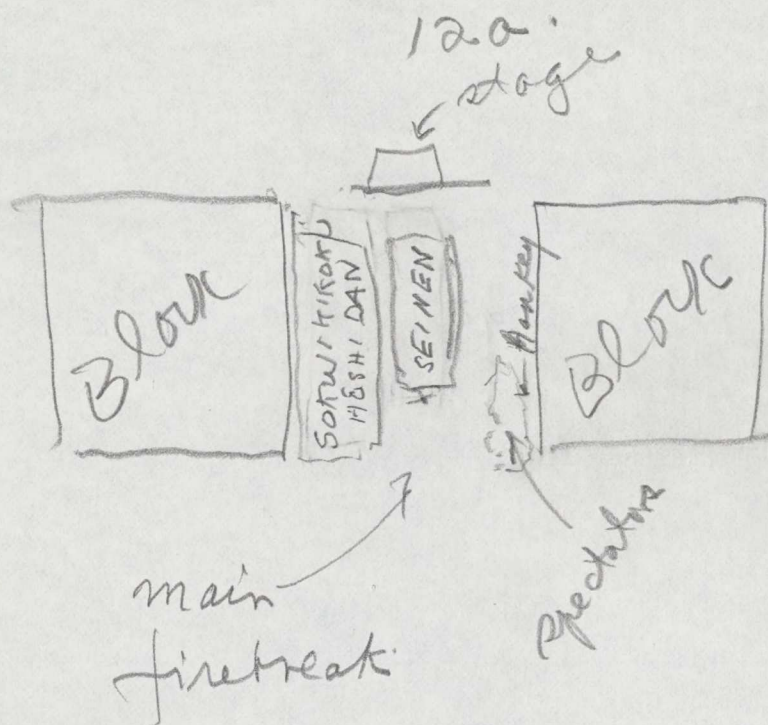
I found myself so cold and numb that it was several blocks before I could walk normally. So long as I live I will not forget the pathos of this 2,000 strong pledge of loyalty to the Emperor. Nor will I forget the ~~most~~ ^{most} ~~invaluable~~ ^{invaluable} ~~fellows~~ ^{fellows}, some of whom clutched the ~~undersides~~ ^{undersides} bottoms of their sleeves to keep the icy blasts out while others scorned to do even this. Most ~~impressive~~ ^{moving}, however, was the fact that I never once was made to feel an outsider or an interloper by so much as an overcurious glance.

If you are curious, this ceremony commemorates the birthday of the first Meiji emperor and draws its particular significance because it was under this ruler that Japan underwent its change to a world power.

After I returned from the ceremony I found that the Administration had forbidden Caucasians to enter the camp today. The

teachers had even been told to keep away from the school. ^{I suspect} This suggestion was ~~also~~ ^{I doubt that} wise, because a group of hakujin, even if sympathetically minded, could not have viewed the strangely pathetic worship of the Emperor without ~~chattering comment~~ ^{talking or moving} which would have fitted ill with the solemnity of the occasion.

Incidentally, the order to keep out was ~~probably~~ intended, I am told, to place the whole responsibility for order upon the Japanese residents, so that no "incident" could be ~~blamed~~ ^{on} the presence of Caucasians.



MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1944

TALK WITH K. *Wihara**Mr. K. Wihara*Called on ~~me~~ today for our weekly chat. He was still hale and hearty.I reported on the number of people at the Sokuji Meiji Setsu ceremony.

~~Mr. Wihara~~ He agreed with me that this was a pretty good criterion of the actual strength of both organizations, ~~saying~~ ^{saying} that they had forbidden non-members to attend the ceremony. He added that they were claiming a strength of 12,000. Every week hall, he told me, had their own ceremony. On the Meiji Ceremony he said:

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

Wihara
(K. meant this ~~was~~ ^{said} appreciatively and not threateningly.)

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

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

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

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

I contrasted the present pressure group with the Daihyo ~~Shu~~ ^{*Kai Kurihara*}; ~~I~~ ^{he} agreed that to him there was a considerable difference in methods:

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

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

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

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

NOVEMBER 6, 1944, p. 2.

14.

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Discussion of Inu Beatings

[I was at this time very anxious over the possibility that more opponents of the Resegregation Group would be ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ called inu and would be assaulted. I was particularly ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ worried about Mr. Kurihara, because he had been so open in his criticism. I therefore opened our conversation with a very oblique question. ~~xxxxxx~~ Since I knew that Mr. Kurihara had arrived at Tule Lake in December of ~~1942~~ 1943 and that he had witnessed the ~~disastrous and depressing~~ ^{strike} depressing and desperate situation at that time I asked him to ~~xxxx~~ compare how people had felt about inu in December with how they had felt in June. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I did not, of course, remind him that in June he himself had said: "The people are enjoying the beatings."]

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

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

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

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

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

~~(Hooper for K - this is probably straighter than all the dope in the State Dept. report.)~~

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

Wakayama said in Manzanar that he had nothing to do with the riot, -- as much as he agitated! Such deliberate lies he told, just to get out of it. ¹

1. For a brief account of Mr. Kurihara's own role in the Manzanar riot, see footnote 1, p. of my fieldnotes for Feb. 2, 1944.

NOVEMBER 6, 1944, p. 3.

that when K told me about Mr. Tokunaga's beating I got so mad that I threatened to go over and take it out of "W"'s hide personally. K grinned in spite of himself and remarked with admiration, "With your great strength you could probably throw him clear into block 34." But if T's good friends respect him enough to lay low, it behooves me as a good Japanese to do likewise. Gah - but the FBI would like to get their hands on him. Now that K. has trusted me with what he wouldn't tell the FBI, I'm really under girl.)

Knifing in block 78.

In respect to that I wonder what Mr. ^{Wakayama} ~~A~~ is ~~feeling~~ feeling today. He definitely told the people in the mess hall that he'd assume any responsibility. "The little bugs must die so that the big bugs may live." ¹

That's a very agitating statement to make in Japanese. (Evidently this remark ~~has~~ ^{may be interpreted in many ways.} a peculiar connotation in Japanese and means a lot more than it ~~says~~. He just told the people to go ahead and do anything they want. 'I'll stand responsible,' he said. This man did it and he's in jail now.

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

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

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

"I certainly am," said K.

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

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

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

16
NOVEMBER 6, 1944, p. 4.WALK OUT IN STATISTICS OFFICE

The informant on this story is a rather hysterical and biased young woman. The story, however, is interesting. As I may have remarked before, the presence of evacuee workers in the statistics section has been viewed with strong disapproval by some of the higher ranking members of the appointed personnel - Mr. Schmidt, in particular. (They can get their hands on too much data.) This factor may have some influence in the treatment given the evacuee staff, though I, for one, don't see why it would not be possible to transfer them all rather than treat them so rough that they quit. So until I have more data, I prefer to regard Miss S's ^{view} ~~opinion~~ that this desire to get rid of the ^{Japanese} workers is the prime factor behind it all with reservation.

Mrs. Bagley took over Statistics after Misses Waldron and Jefkovitz left, several months ago. I know Mrs. Bagley quite well, and while she is a pleasant individual, she is indubitably dumb. She plays an unbelievably stupid game of poker - so I reason unscientifically - how the hell can she run the statistics section? According to Miss S, she was not only dumb and halled up all the works but also antagonized the evacuee workers by her patronizing attitude and ^{her} ~~untestful type~~ of criticism. About a month ago, a Mr. Prime ~~Waldron~~ came in to take over the position of actual head. He too is very very dumb as far as ^S social consciousness is concerned, ^{he} but may know his statistics. Miss S. has a subordinate position in the section where she has worked for about a year.

The story of the walkout is this: Two evacuee boys who were working in the colony statistics office were ordered to work in the Administration building to ^{complete} ~~compete~~ a specific job. They did not like this because of (1) the walk, and (2) the stigma of inu which every worker in the Ad. section has to contend with. They were given to understand that they could return to the colony office when the job was completed. However, when it was done, Mrs. Bagley refused to let them ^{return} ~~go~~ and turned over more work to them.

17.

R. Hankey - Notes - Tule Lake

NOVEMBER 6, 1944, p. 5

They got mad^y and refused to continue to work at the Ad building and ^{were} terminated. The entire evacuee staff working in the colony office was ^{asked} out the same afternoon. They returned to work promptly the next morning.

It was more in the nature of a demonstration. The Caucasian staff, Prim, Bagley, ^{and} the personnel men whose name I've forgotten, met with Black and discussed the situation. Miss S. was in a position to eavesdrop and did so. According to Miss S. it was decided that the workers would behave - or else. Two girls had asked for transfers but were refused. No one will be allowed to transfer. Moreover, Black is supposed to have given his O.K. that if any of the staff ^{quit} ~~quit~~ they will not be allowed to take any other employment. This is supposed to be contrary to WRA regulations.

Opler got this story from S. and told her to take it to Best. She didn't feel she could do any good. However, Opler told her he would take it to Best. I'll try to check on it with Opler and ^{with} ~~Shallet~~ of Social Welfare and see how much truth there is in it.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1944

18

TALK WITH ^{Mr. Oda,} conservative block manager

^{Mr. Oda} and I had a long discussion on his plans to enter the University of Calif. Extension School and work of his B. S. in Electrical Engineering. I found out, for the first time, that he was not a graduate of Cal Tech., (It's the first time I asked for specific information) but had completed a ~~special~~ 2 year course in Mechanical Technology ^{at} the Pasadena Junior College and a special 14 weeks course in engineering for War Industries at Cal. Tech. He appears very serious in his resolution to begin to improve himself while at Tule ^{Lake} and I advised him as capably as I could. I'm going to see the advisor when I come to Berkeley and get a course mapped out for him. Meanwhile, I told him to write for his credits immediately.

He was grateful for my interest and talked more freely than he ever ^{did} before. His sentiments about the state of camp do not differ greatly from those of ^{Mr. Kuwahara} ~~the~~, although he has no idea of the inner workings of the big shots or, at any rate, will not admit that he has.

As we began to discuss camp affairs, he asked me if I had heard the rumor going around camp that Best and Black will resign next month. ~~this is started by the re-segregation bunch.~~

~~xxxxxx~~
Oda's change of attitude
Interesting change toward Sokoku Kenkyu

I asked if he had attended the Sokoku Meiji Satsu exercises. (As you may remember, ^{Mr. Oda} ~~he~~ joined this organization some time ago and was rather eloquent in ^{its} ~~the~~ defense at that time.) He said he had not attended, but had gone instead to the Kokumin Gakko ceremony. I then asked why he had not gone to the Sokoku exercises, since he's a member.

"I try to avoid anything. I haven't been going to the meetings. I told them, 'If I stay in your club I have to quit my job.' It's not only that, I have to avoid any other crowd. I just put down my name, but I don't go to the meetings.

"I'm afraid if that organization goes on as it is, it will get involved in more politics. That's why I'm afraid. They should consider every

NOVEMBER 8, p. 3.

employ council and that a fair discussion of the probabilities of the case was held with him - what the probabilities were if he pleaded innocent or guilty.

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

"The fact that the D. A. stated (~~I think to be~~) that he was not going to press for a penitentiary sentence -

(Here I asked what had caused the D.A. to come to this decision.)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

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

Mr. Tachibana

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

Tachibana

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

Tachibana

Tachibana

"Then ~~the~~ and the friends came in, the D. A. got up and shook hands with them and welcomed them in a very friendly manner.

Tachibana

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

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

Tachibana

Prize Attorney

(I then asked if ~~he~~ had contacted ~~at~~ at all, previous to this trial.)

He said he had, that he came in after the man was taken to prison, with the two delegates. He was sentenced to 90 days in the county jail. The ~~man's~~ name is Kiyo Shimida.)

90

man's

"The complaining witness at the conclusion of his testimony on the stand - and all during his testimony at the trial, he did not testify as strongly as he had before. ~~He~~ said, 'I will appreciate your

H-e

FOOTNOTE, p 21.

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

NOVEMBER 7, p. 4.

giving this man a light sentence as possible. The Internal Security officer (Japanese) concurred too.

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

The Project Attorney
also told me that in the drive to Alturas, ~~and~~ *Mr. Rose* and *Mr. Tachibana* got along very well together. ~~after "y" telling me that Rose was a spy~~

~~of long experience.~~ The three Japanese delegates had also ^{said} stated that

they would raise two or three hundred dollars for the man's defense.

The Project Attorney *Mr. Tachibana*
said he was disappointed in ~~it~~. "Why?" I asked.

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

The Project Attorney
(~~He~~ had hoped that ~~the~~ and the delegates would ~~show~~ ^{show} some gratitude

for the ~~extraordinary~~ *Mr. Tachibana* fairness and mercy shown the defendant. The fact

that the ~~boys~~ *Resegregationists* were willing to raise that much money ^{is interesting} ~~and are~~ ^{and are}

hard in camp as witness the Kei-Kratosi Tsuda falling out, and the fact

that it now appears that the delegates are bragging over their success

^{support to Mr. Kurihara's} gives some ~~corroboration to~~ ^{different viewpoint on this} matter.)

TALK WITH ~~the~~ *The Matsudas*

Matsuda
Mrs. ~~the~~ told me that there is a big rumor in camp that Mr. Robertson was sent away while Black and Best saw to it that "the books were all

fixed up" before the Justice Dept. took over. ~~The rumor who started the~~

~~rumor~~ ^{betam} (R is due back here tomorrow.) I expressed my appreciation for

being allowed to attend the Meiji Setsu. *Matsuda* Mr. ~~the~~ said apologetically that

he didn't understand why some of their ^{members} ~~advisors~~ had not chosen to stand

in the firebreak but had remained on the outskirts next to the barracks.

(It is with these folks that I stood.) Perhaps they were afraid, said he.

I asked what the writing on the wings and the image at the extreme rear

of the stage were. I was told that both were the Kimigayo (the Japanese

national anthem.). Evidently I was so far away that the ~~writing on the~~

writing to which everyone bowed had appeared like a picture to me.

23
22
NOVEMBER 8, 1944, p. 1.

R. Hankey - Notes - Tule Lake

SOKOKU KENKYU MONTHLY CEREMONY

at quarter to six this morning and went into camp
~~Arose and went into camp this morning at quarter to six~~ to see
the Sokoku boys special drill which they hold on the eight of every
month. Mrs. Matsuda told me that
~~(It is on the 8th of the month that all Japan now holds a~~
ceremony to pray for victory. ~~I was informed by Mrs. "Q".~~ Unfortunately
it was pitch dark when I went in and still pitch dark when the ceremony
was over so I was able to see next to nothing. The group present
was large and may have been as large as that which attended the
Meiji Setsu ceremony. It was bitterly cold, the ^{coldest} ~~coldest~~ day we have
had this year. All the puddles were frozen over.

The boys from each ward marched to the firebreak followed by the
block residents who are members of the Sokoku Kikoku ~~Washi~~ ^{Washi} dan who
marched behind them. Again the boys took up their stand in the
firebreak a block removed from the open stage. Then ^{at} a military ^{sounding}
command they marched forward in unison, goosestepping with vigor.
~~(They did not wear sets; moreover~~ ^{(most of} of the people were warmly
dressed. It was so cold however, that standing for a half hour was
painful even if ^{warmly} ~~warmly~~ dressed. The marching made a lot of noise but
still did not shake the earth as I've been told. ^{it did} It also was marred by
a dog who took this opportunity to snap at the marchers and was
reproved by an entirely un-Japanese, "Get away, you son-of-a-bitch."
^{This reproof} ~~which~~ echoed strangely through the darkness.

Next followed bowing to the ~~unrisen~~ sun to the accompaniment of
bugles. Then everyone knelt and prayed silently for victory while the
bugles continued. A speech was delivered by Mr. ^{Matsuda} ~~xxxx~~, who I know
very well and whose voice I recognized. The ^{himself} ~~speech~~ was also sung.
The boys marched home, and then ran part of the way. I was so frozen,
however, that I outdistanced them even when they ran. An hour and a half
later the sun came up. Some, as they ran, kept up the constant repetition
of "Washo, washo," in time to their steps. ~~It is said that~~

NOVEMBER 8, 1944, p. 2.

~~means of keeping the alert constant was employed.~~ Half the ^{young men} boys
yelled "Washo," on the first two steps and the other half on the
second two steps. In this way, a ^{youth} ~~boy~~ could draw breath while his
fellows bellowed. ^{most} ~~All~~ of these observations ~~except the fact that~~
~~the boys did not wear hats~~ were made by ^{ear} ear alone. And I had to look
~~very close to take care of the gate.~~ But I saw how they
were dressed as they marched home.

FOOTNOTE - p. 24

[1. See fieldnotes, October 30.]

NOVEMBER 9, 1944, p. 1.

TALK WITH ~~XXXXXX~~ MR. TOKUNAGA

Mr. Tokunaga

Received an invitation from "X" today to call on him. I found him looking as chipper as ever with his four stitch max scar beautifully healed up. ~~(It healed up much better than mine.)~~

Story of beating

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Tokunaga then told me:

"Among the re-segregants there is one group already against

NOVEMBER 9, 1944, p. 2.

Wakayama's
 violence, a modest group and then ~~the~~ violent side.

Knifing in block 78

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

Sentiment toward War.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Return to trouble

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

Kunihara

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

FOOTNOTE ~~XXXX~~ 2, p. 26.

- [2. Many segregants tended to blame ~~unjust~~ seemingly unjust or cruel policies ~~on the local administration~~ or decisions on local administrators rather than on the federal government. Indeed, I shared this view for most of the period that I ~~lived~~ lived in the camps. ~~X~~ See "Doing Fieldwork," p. 116.]

[1 Mr. ~~Ikk~~ Tokunaga may be referring to the rumors of mistreatment of
segregates confined in the stockade. - /

p. 26.
November 9, p. 3, 1944, p. 3.

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

F. note 1-2
I heard a rumor that the Japanese government said that some Issei in this camp is good for nothing. In the first place, when the Japanese government heard of the trouble ~~(in November)~~ the WRA Administration was torturing them. But the officials thought that soon the Japs would be beaten, so we can treat ~~them~~ them as we wish.

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

WRA

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

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

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

War Situation:

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

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

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

"Another thing, the recall of Stillwell and the ^{resig} resignation of the Ambassador. The papers say it is only ? . My guess is that Stillwell and the American govt. advised Chiang Kai Shek to wait until the Navy battle. If they win, American will send its fleet and aid Chiang Kai Shek. After the battle Chiang Kai Shek's expectations were all upset. Then I believe Chiang Kai Shek told Stillwell, 'What's the matter with you?' What's your position?"

NOVEMBER 9, 1944, p. 4.

Election

I'm very sorry that Roosevelt was ~~re-elected~~ reelected. I'll never believe they can beat Japan. With Germany still fighting and not by any means beaten they are already talking about what they will do with Germany. And Churchill and Stalin and Roosevelt all have different ideas.

Newspaper Expose of Hiroshi Killing

Mr. Tokunaga

I asked how this matter was coming along. "B" said that he suspected that the Japanese newspapers ~~xxxx~~ probably thought the story too hot to handle. I then asked that since the author did not mind publishing it,

~~and making it public property - if he could not get it published, would he mind~~

giving ~~signing~~ ^{for the study} ~~my name~~ ^{my name} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~ask him~~ ^{ask him}

"B" said he would write and ask him, only he doesn't know his ~~real~~ address or his first name. He told me that you can know a man

very well in Japanese society and not know his first name.

NOVEMBER 9, 1944, p. 42

RECEPTION OF NEW CO-OP SUPERVISOR

Mr. Perkins, who has replaced Currie seems like a pretty capable man. He told me, however, that he's pretty griped at the ~~negatives administration~~ attitude ~~xxx~~ Gunderson, new head of Community Management, is taking toward the Co-op. Perkins believes in working according to the WRA manual and sees no reason why the Co-op ⁵ should not have the photographic studio it desires. However, when he broached the matter to Gunderson, G, ^{Gunderson} said, "they aren't going to get it until they settle the canteen 4 (Caucasian canteen) matter." From both Currie and Perkins I gather that Best, Black and ~~xxxxxxx~~ Gunderson consider the Co-op board as agitators and view every request they make as pressure. Perkins ^{said} ~~states~~ that after examining the ^e memos carefully, he can not see that any of the requests they have made could be interpreted as pressure. Perkins doesn't want to stay ~~here~~ more than six weeks - the poor Co-op.

NOVEMBER 10, FRIDAY, 1944, p. 1.

TALK WITH Yoshiyama - ~~Yoshiyama~~

Went to ~~Yoshiyama's~~ today, ~~and~~ with a copy of the first meeting of the Daihyo Sha ^{kai} to see if I could ~~get~~ ^{get} him ~~to~~ ^{to} explaining the ~~whole thing~~ ^{confusing sections}.

Before we got to work he told me that he wasn't going to be able to show me some real trouble as he had hoped. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He ~~said~~ ^{told me} that he had gone to see Mr. ~~T~~ ^{Tachibana} and put before him a plan to ~~present~~ ^{circulate} a petition throughout the camp asking for the removal of Mr. Best. Simultaneously, in one night twelve ~~inu~~ ^{inu} were to be beaten up. ~~"X"~~ ^{Mr. Tachibana}, it seems, ~~called before~~ ^{had not approved} the ~~arrangement~~ ^{plan} of this ~~scheme~~ ^{and} refers to wait and see if the Dept. of Justice will take over the camp. ~~"X"~~ ^{According to Yoshiyama}, Mr. Tachibana had

(Tachibana) to Santa Fe immediately if such Violence broke out. ~~"X"~~ ^{Yoshiyama was} ~~disgusted at~~ ^{Tachibana's} ~~caution~~ ^{said}. He ~~says~~ ^{said} he doesn't care where they send ~~him~~ ^{him}. ~~"X"~~ ^{He} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~restraining himself for a while~~ ^{restraining himself for a while}. ~~However~~ ^{He} said he was going over to see ~~"X"~~ ^{Mr. Wakayama} tomorrow morning.

~~Yoshiyama~~ ^{Yoshiyama} also ~~said~~ ^{said} that he had gone to see Mr. Best about his renunciation of citizenship. He's sending for a form. If he renounces his citizenship, he feels sure that Best will ship him immediately to Santa Fe ~~(the internment camp for non-citizens)~~ ^(the internment camp for non-citizens).

Yoshiyama also told me that the inu living in his block had a meeting the other day and talked about making a petition to get him out of the block. He told me that he had told Mr. Best that if they did that he'd bring his boys and beat up the whole block. He has two hundred boys, he said, and also a special group of ten boys who have sworn to die for him. These ten have even given him ~~XXXXXX~~ their wills in case the ~~die~~ ^{die} or go to the electric chair. "Only five other people in camp -- and you -- know about this," he said. (This ~~scared me~~ ^{scared me}, because ~~unknown~~ ^{ye eyes!} ~~that~~ ^{that} if somebody inu I will probably be blamed.)

Yoshiyama then obligingly cleared up many of the confused or obscure ~~XXXXXXXX~~ sections I had found in the copy of the Daihyo ~~XXX~~

November 10, 1944, p. 2.

30.

Sha Kai meetings, given me by Mr. Akitsuki,

consulting his own notes which he had taken in English. ~~when the~~
~~copy I had become somewhat too confused.~~ This will not make much
sense to you since it is coded into the paraphrase of the ^{copy} meeting I
^{sent you} had prepared, but it certainly cleared up ^{many questions for me} what was going on in a
~~remarkable manner.~~

1. Non-Daihyo Sha Kai ~~xxxxxx~~ persons present were members of the Motor Pool, the Agricultural Dept. and the Hog Farm.
2. They didn't leave the floor. The non-representatives sat in the back of the room. The Dai Hyo Sha was seated in front.
3. They were elected by applause (the secretaries). They were looking for the people who would be the most capable secretaries. Komiya was experienced as a secretary on the newspaper staff in San Francisco. Some of the non-Daihyo Sha people had just come as visitors. Anyone who was capable of a secretary was selected. About six men were nominated and these three were selected by applause.

Additional Information on the Farm Meeting

Kai, Takahashi, and I were present at the farm meeting on the 14th of October. There had been a meeting before this (as I see it, the farm group held two meetings on the 14th,) and Hatano was the chairman there. But because the incident was too large for the farm group to take care of, they wished to bring it before the rest of the colonists.

At the meeting I went to (2nd meeting) Hatano said he wished to resign and ^{they} selected Mori ~~and~~ Temporary Chairman. I was invited because I belonged to the Planning Board. The farmers' resolution was already made at the first meeting.

They were all puzzled, so they called on us. It was decided definitely at that meeting that we should present the facts to the residents and ask for their support. We asked all the block managers to gather and find out their opinion. At that block managers' meeting it was decided to have two representatives from each block elected.

4. The ~~representatives of~~ ^{representatives of} the Motor Pool were really ^{so} scared to death. They apologized and gave condolence.

5. In Poston, where they had a similar case all the accidents had to be reported within 48 hours. Uchida asked if Sato had reported it. Sato stated that he hadn't because if he did go to the Administration, the people would brand him as an inu. Uchida stated that they must make a committee as soon as possible and see if the Administration had made a proper report to Washington, and ^{to} the U. S. Employment Compensation.

That's why I went to Mr. Zimmer's place at once and asked if it had been reported. (Here ~~I gave me the minutes~~ ^{I gave me the minutes} a copy of the letter Zimmer had written him. ^{Yoshiyama})

6. Before Mori spoke, Rev. Kai suggested a committee of five or six, because this center compared to other centers needed many improvements. He sug-

31.

NOVEMBER 10, 1944, p. 3.

gested a group of committees, motor pool, food, etc.

7. Mr. Izumi from Heart Mountain, a visitor, stated that at Heart Mountain. \$125. monthly was given to the ~~family~~ immediate family of the deceased in a case like this.

8. These were more or less complaints raised by various Daihyo Sha, comparing Tule Lake with the center from which they came. In Jerome food was like this, housing was like this, etc.

9. This was not getting anywhere. ~~xx~~ We must select a committee to negotiate with the Administration and close the meeting. Kuratomi said we must set up different committees because one committee cannot handle everything. He suggested various committees such as fire and sanitation, etc.

Method of selecting committees by wards: There are seven wards. In each ward there would be six representatives so each ward representatives should get together in the block manager's office and should elect one man to take care of the accident, 1 for house ~~management~~ one for sanitation, one for food, one for the Negotiating Committee, etc. There were to be seven men on each committee. ~~There was~~ This plan was followed.

Explanation of insertions and gaps in minutes:

Mr. Komiya was working for Mr. Takahashi and we had a suspicion that they had changed many things (in the minutes) to save Mr. Yamatani's and Mr. Takahashi's face. While we were in the stockade the boys wanted to beat him (Komiya) up for co-operating with Mr. Takahashi. But he said he realized Mr. Takahashi's actions were wrong. From Dec. 29 he said he was completely through with Mr. Takahashi and didn't go to Mr. Takahashi's place anymore.

But before he was picked up he changed many things in the minutes to save Takahashi and Yamatani. Mr. Mori told us many places which ~~were~~ erased.

(We now came upon a page of the minutes which made no sense at all.

After consulting ^{Yoshizama's} ~~the~~ minutes it appeared that the sequence of events had been shifted, and that several of Kuratomi's speeches were attributed to an anonymous person while incorrect speeches were given to Kuratomi. I suggested that ^{Yoshizama} ~~he~~ read me the entire section of his minutes. He promised to give me a complete copy of his English minutes when he gets them typed. They are ^{more} ~~far~~ more orderly than our copies, though not quite so detailed. Evidently he took notes at the meetings translating the Japanese into English.)

"Mr. Wada asked about working or not working and said that ~~xxxxxx~~ they were willing to co-operate with the Daihyo Sha majority. Mr. Kubota of B1. 17 also stated, 'Yes, we should like to know whether to work.'

"Mr. Kodani of B1. 6/7 said, 'The hogs and pigs are living things, so

32.

NOVEMBER 10, 1944, p. 4.

We should act according to common sense. Mr. ~~Takahashi~~ Takahashi of ⁶⁸ gave an example of Topaz where he came from. He stated we should just feed them and come home.

"After that the business of the hogs was forgotten.

"Mr. Hatano the farm chairman stated that many were unemployed so we should try to get Unemployment ~~compensation~~ compensation. Uchida of 37 stated that the most important problem at the moment is the people involved in the accident and the accident itself. We should clarify the problem first.

"It was decided that the representatives should assemble in the following blocks ~~(feed them)~~ to select the committees.

"Mr. Kuratomi suggested some central body to assemble all the various divisions. The central body could bring things up to the Administration and iron out the grievances. He also stated that in order to unify the body it was urgent that they elect a kind of Co-ordinating Committee.

Here Yoshinaga told me:

Interjection: "The Daihyo Sha, ^{one} ~~none~~ gave them that name. It means Representative Body - Daihyo - to represent - Sha one who represents.

It was also decided that the Negotiating Committee would be named ^(selected) when the time to Negotiate arrives.

Remarks on tone of meeting

This meeting was really very confused. Every one was burned up. They didn't decide what to do before going into a new subject. They didn't really achieve anything except to have the Daihyo Sha ~~now~~ meet and decide to elect committees for the accident, ~~managing~~ hospitals, food, sanitation, etc.

Powers of the Negotiating Committee

The Negotiating Committee was more or less given the power to appoint any person as a member of the Negotiating Committee. As secretary I was on it more or less. I nominated Rev. Kai to the Negotiating Committee and the people gather there - we didn't have any vote - there were only a very few, six or seven people, just agreed that he would be the best.

However, I will state frankly that the incident was too early. It was spontaneous. As Mr. Yosumura said, they couldn't help electing many people who were not capable.

"I know among the Daihyo Sha there were many people not qualified. Really, I'm not qualified to undertake such a ~~large~~ ^{tremendous} responsibility. I refused when I was elected. They said I'll be all right.

"The incident was a thing that nobody could stop. We couldn't help it. It went that way.

Additional Information on Funeral

It was the farm group that went independently at first. They wanted a center wide funeral.

NOVEMBER 10, 1944, p. 5.

Yoshiyama
chairman
I don't know how Takahashi got the ~~chairmanship~~ of his committee. Mr. Kashima was from Topaz and Takahashi was very influential there. Mrs. Kashima put everything into his hands. He informed me that I should be one of the committee. He and I didn't know the farm group had gone.

Yoshiyama told
~~He~~ informed me that Rev. Matsumoto ~~and not Rev. Tada~~ had been the chief speaker at the Meiji Setu. *Uchida* is the Dancho or head of the Sokoku Kenkyu.)

He also told me that it won't be long before the Matsude's are out. It seems that they, for some unknown reason, have fallen from grace with ~~Wakayama~~ *Wakayama* Tachibana with Wakayama "W" or "O". *Yoshiyama* has been ~~considered~~ offered the position of manager of the Resegregation Office in Block 54.

He also showed me a letter from *Mr.* Okamoto, who has been sentenced to four years. He also showed me a letter from an older man who had been interred in ~~XXXXXX~~ Santa Fe. The letter strongly reproved Yoshiyama for his activities in the center and for posing as a representative of the stockade detainees who had ~~been~~ been sent to ~~XXXXXX~~ Santa Fe. Yoshiyama was very angry about this letter. He told me that he had replied with a letter telling the Issei to go to hell.

TALK WITH MR. ROBERTSON

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

Robertson told me that the Administration ~~are~~ is

state he had ever seen it. Moreover, Best ~~remarked~~ ^{had told Robertson that} he had had a talk with ~~him~~ ^{Yokoyama} and that he was convinced that ~~he~~ ^{Yokoyama} was being very quiet and

[I did not understand what, ~~Mr. Robertson was trying to tell me, nor indeed,~~
~~if anything,~~ Mr. Robertson was trying to tell me. Up to this time he
 had always been able to help me and I knew that he was a good man.
~~I had no more to say to him, nor did I have any more to say to him,~~
~~that Mr. Yoshiyama and his boys intended to do something~~
 I knew that Mr. Yoshiyama was ~~x~~ not "being very quiet" and I strongly
 suspected that he and his boys were on the verge of some spectacular
 violence. So I decided to talk to Mr. Kurihara.]

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

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

[I left, still feeling very apprehensive.]

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

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1944, p. 1.

TALK WITH Kurihara

Yoshio Nakazawa is the name of the man who wrote the article exposing the Resegregationists and the Hitomi murder. He is at that Granada Center, family no. 128.¹

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

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

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

"A friend of mine spread the truth to the people of Manzanar. Those boys have such confidence in me that they will not tolerate any nonsense."

Even that bunch of boys in Manzanar -- Wakayama has about 30 boys under him -- they will

~~Even that bunch of boys in Manzanar - (30 or more under W) - they will~~
definitely refuse to support him if he ever consels any violence on me. He will be very much surprised to hear that.

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

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

^{Kurihara} also asked me how the ^{new} stockade ^(or jail) was getting along. ~~Interestingly,~~

FOOTNOTE, p. 36.

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

TALK WITH

Yoshiyama
Yoshiyama

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

(Indubitably,

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

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1944, p. 2.

~~of non-violence~~. In fact ~~the~~ ^{Yoshiyama} ~~settlers~~ wasn't going to be any trouble for a long time. ^{he said}

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

"There ~~are~~ three groups now. One group is our group, the Resurrection Group or the Bokujiki Kikoku, and its subsidiary, the Sokoku Kenkyuodan. The other group is trying to hold back our group because they've made a mistake before. ~~Kai and Kuratomi~~, ^{we} we were waiting for them to come out and have Rev. Kai be one of the advisors and Kuratomi one of the dansho or big shots of the young men's association. They forgot how much ~~had been~~ done for them."

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

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

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

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

^{Yoshiyama} "A" added that his group knew that many of their plans were being reported to the Administration and he knew who was doing it, ^{Kai and Kuratomi.} ~~K. and R.~~

^{He} also asked about the completion of the new stockade adding,

"If Best wants to pick us up and confine us again, it's OK."

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

INTERNEES FAMILIES LEAVE FOR SANTA FE

A noisy demonstration with songs, ^{and} ~~Banzais~~ ^{Banzais} was held tonight as the families left the camp.

~~Butcher~~ ~~Plaque~~ in.