

Wax, Rosalie (Hankey)
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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

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pp 1-44

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

Revised until 2:00 p.m. if any changes required

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

APRIL 9, 1945

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN

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

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

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

The Ho:koku has stopped bugling since Sunday.

Meetings of Ho:koku and Noyes

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

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

Immigration and Naturalizations Service Here at Tule Lake

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

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

Spanish Consul and Japanese

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

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Mrs. Wakayama

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

Ho:koku's Beliefs in Reuniting of Families

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

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

Cut In Rice in Tule

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

TALK WITH KURATOMI

Mr. Kuratomi gave me a good deal of the information on early activities at Tule Lake. Kazama, Mori and Hatano have been called chairmen of the farm group in various minutes. Kuratomi explained that Hatano was elected chairman of the group at their first meeting on October 15. Kazama was the secretary. The group had two or three secretaries. They had no organization before the accident. Mori and Yoshiyama played a peculiar part in trying to organize the farm workers soon after segregation and before the accident. Because of this activity Mori was sometimes called the farm chairman.

Mori and Yoshiyama were holding meetings with the idea of organizing the farm group. This was before the accident, right after segregation.

Mori was head of an informal group talking about politics and other matters. I don't think he had anything to do with forming the farm group (after the incident). (Nevertheless, he was made vice-chairman of the Daihyo Sha. R.H.)

Hatano was the legitimate chairman of the farm group. He was elected after the accident.

There were a great many minors working on the farm at that time.

(Here Singer [Mrs. Kuratomi] spoke up, 'My brother was one of them. He was 13.')

Kuratomi: That was one of the reasons the employment of minors developed into an issue.

Personnel of the Civic Organization

The Civic Organization was composed of the Ward Chairmen of the Block Managers. They had a chairman, a vice-chairman and a secretary. The greater majority of the body would be old Tulean. Most of the block managers after segregation were old Tuleans.

Accident Committee

I believe I was there myself. That was the very first thing the Daihyo Sha did. We got statements to the extent of the injuries and took down their names and ages.

Best arrived on the project August 1, 1943.

Kallum was head of the Agricultural Division. Cahn was an auditor - Tsuda would know his real title.

The Planning Board

The new member of the Planning Board in my block was appointed by the block manager. I don't know what was done in the other blocks. They were supposed to be Issei, but a lot of Nisei were appointed. The positions were just appointed by the chair.

On October 26th we phoned Mr. Best and asked for an appointment.

Why Kuratomi Did Not Discuss Pedicord on October 26

The biggest cause of the people was to straighten out the farm accident. Although that was just an excuse, because there were so many things in camp that needed to be improved. The report of the hospital committee wasn't complete. Besides we wanted to get the farm group back to work as soon as possible. This talk with Mr. Best was to be the first of a series of reports and we intended to bring up the matter of Dr. Pedicord later.

Kuratomi's Sentiments on Compromising with Ho:koku

Kuratomi definitely disapproved of Noyes' policy of making a compromise with the Ho:koku. He also disapproves of another internment because of the possible effect on the people. He said that there is a large faction in the Ho:koku which is pulling for discontinuing their activities entirely, and given a little more time they might put a stop to it of themselves.

A Ho:koku man told me that some leaders were called to Mr. Best's office. Evidently they were told that if they would stop the bugle playing within a month, most of them who ask internment will be sent. They said there was a written statement.

If they do that it will be worse in camp. The Caucasians must remember that the relations between relatives among the

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Japanese are nothing like relatives among the Caucasians. Even people who now have no connection with the Ho:koku may be pulled in if there is another pick-up.

If Department of Justice Takes Over Camp

I think if Justice takes over the camp that we should start a new life here. I think we can do it, providing there is no monkey-business. The center has been settling down steadily for several weeks now. I can tell that by the fact that visitors here (to Kuratomi's apartment) have dropped off.

The authorities must keep the relatives of the Ho:koku in hand. Otherwise they will be a continuous aggravation. Next they will be pushing for reuniting the families.

The boys were arrested, sentenced and put in the stockade after 15 days. Then they were sent to Santa Fe. Naturally, the others are going to keep it up if that's what happens.

TALK WITH NOYES

This interview is pretty chaotic - but Noyes talks this way.

Noyes began his negotiating with the Ho:koku on last Monday, the 2nd of April. He offered the Ho:shi-dan, the Ho:koku-dan and the Joshi-dan their choice of three propositions. (See enclosed minutes.) The Ho:koku decided to take No. 3 - that the activities would stop if all male members over 18 who desired it, were interned. However, the Ho:shi-dan (the adults) came back with five counter propositions. (See minutes) When these were not met, the Ho:shi-dan seceded from the Ho:koku-dan (except for the Ward VIII Ho:shi-dan which stuck with the Ho:koku) and is now going its own way. Noyes is pleased with this secession, interpreting it as a break up of the organization.(1)

Men (officers of the Ho:shi-dan) have come to me saying that they had been threatened because they are against the proposition, (getting interned and giving up bugling, , etc.) The majority of the Ho:shi-dan voted No. It's the old fellows who don't want to sign their names to anything that are so stubborn.

Here I brought up some objections to Noyes' plan, the chief one being that it would not stop the fundamental trouble - the old issue of resegregation. Making another internment would stir up the people again and it would not stop the adult resegregationists from pressuring for reunity with their interned males. To them, this signifies a successful consummation of their old aim, resegregation. Noyes did not agree. He said that the only alternative was to use force, tear gas and guns. With some more of the group gone, he figures they won't be quite so annoying, having been whittled down a bit in numbers. I then asked why things couldn't go along as they were. Noyes said that the Department of Justice was pressuring him for action. I let this slide for the moment but later on in the evening (after some rum) asked him when Justice had last communicated with him. He said when Rothstein was here. (This was March 17!) But before the evening was over he told me that the real reason he was taking action was that he feared that if he didn't, the Department of Justice would crucify the WRA again by getting this marching and bugling into the newspapers, ruining relocation, etc. The idea is - stop the noise in any way possible, lest the Department of Justice use the activities at Tule Lake to harm the WRA.

[1. See talk with Noyes on April 11, for correction.]

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Noyes then gave me the statistics on the number of people who had signed his "Proposition No. 3".

1400 signatures total
208 male citizens over 18 (most of these are renunciants)
332 aliens
90 women citizens over 18
335 women - aliens and some dual citizens (mixed up)
493 boys and girls under 18

Noyes said,

We can't stall any more. The people hold it against the WRA.

(Noyes showed me another document (not enclosed) which contained five conditions to which the signers listed above have agreed. As even I can plainly see, this is going to involve the internment of 540 more men - a procedure which makes me very uneasy.)

Noyes then stated that Burling has been nagging him constantly from Washington and that there was no alternative to the internments but the use of force, which would make more bad publicity for the WRA.

I asked how many meetings Noyes had had with the Ho:koku in my absence and he said he'd been meeting almost every day since last Monday. He was all worn out. He stated that he had gotten the go-ahead from the Department of Justice on the removals. Moreover, when speaking to the Ho:koku, he had stressed to them that the men did not have to be interned. If they had a "sick wife" or little children, they might wish to remain in camp.

Noyes then said happily that I would be surprised how many people were applying to have their renunciations cancelled and were also applying for relocation. I asked how many had applied for cancellation and he said that the only figures he had were from the relocation office - 12 people.

I then asked if people were being allowed to leave if they had renounced citizenship.

Yes, said Noyes. Justice is nuts. The Army controls the excludee list. There are about 4,000 people on it. They have put most of the male renunciants on it, but as far as we can find out they have put no female renunciants on it. If they are not on the Army segregate list what basis have we for holding them?

They originally said everybody who renounces his citizenship was going to be on the segregate list.

Noyes had heard that Wakayama had been transferred to Ft. Stanton, with Tachibana and Higashi.

Visit of Spanish Consul - Captain Martin

Noyes told me that he was forced to draw up a special memorandum for Captain Martin stating that the Ho:koku and the Ho:shi-dan did not represent the people who wanted repatriation in Tule Lake. The Spanish Consul also asked Noyes about the Ho:shi-dan's flag, but Noyes told him that he'd have to go to the Supreme Court to get this flag.

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Immigration and Naturalization Activities

They started serving warrants for arrest and for deportation. The people became confused and frightened, not realizing that these warrants merely called them up for a hearing. I talked to Hertogs, the Officer in Charge, and he was very sensible and cooperative.

On the whole, the Immigration and Naturalization seem pretty decent, although they have some very tough blokes on the staff. One guy came out of a hearing saying, 'I couldn't break down the son of a bitch.'

A lot of the people were scared. There was that scandal up in Missoula where the Immigration people are supposed to have broken jaws and noses. It was reported to the Spanish Consul and the Department of State. The men were removed and fired, but the people here were scared.

I also asked them to clear up some cases. People were asking for relocation who were on the stop list. There were fourteen cases, and Hertogs cleared up twelve of them right away. But he wrote on the slip - "OK - relocate". Then the people got the idea that the Immigration and Naturalization was here to force relocation.

I then asked just what the Immigration and Naturalization was supposed to be doing in Tule Lake:

They are investigating Issei for illegal entry into the U.S. They served about 101 warrants. These cases (arrested for deportation) are to be heard and closed up. They have less than 2,000 on their stop list (I neglected to ask if this was at Tule Lake alone. I believe it is.)

This is entirely separate from the Army segregee list. Originally the Army list was about 3,500. It is rising all the time and is now 4,000.

I have not determined if they have put all the male renunciants on it. As far as I can see, they are taking the key men and tying up the whole family. They won't give any travel permits to men on the segregee list.

WRA Regulations

The Department of Justice forced the WRA to pass the special regulations. Fortas practically ordered Dillon Myer to get the regulations passed.

(It was here that I asked when the last order from Justice had come. Noyes said when Rothstein was here.)

Rothstein said that Dillon Myer had told Fortas and Burling that the regulations had been approved for ten days and Fortas wanted to know why they were not in force. Noyes said that this was up to Best.

I then asked that if internments took place when would this occur. Noyes said in about two weeks. (Well, I'm glad I'm here.)

APRIL 10, 1945

TALK WITH KAYO IIDA - Nisei Girl - Parents Former Ho:shi-dan Members

Kayo assured me that her family had withdrawn from the Ho:shi-dan. They had written a letter to Mr. Best, but had not yet received any assurance that this letter had been received by him or that they were considered out of the organization. Kayo spoke more harshly against the resegregationists than she ever had before.

It seems that there are so many people in the organization who feel that they should listen to Mr. Best and stop the marching and bugling. But so many of the hot-headed young ones feel it would not be true to the people who have gone to Santa Fe to stop.

Quite a few people are getting disgusted. They are getting out or they are speaking of trying to get out as they did not do before. To begin with they didn't have very good leadership material and now they (the leaders) are worse.

The people attend the meetings and nothing definite comes out of it. The subject is still floating in the air.

We have not heard anything about the Immigration and Naturalization people. I guess people who came in illegally would be worried, but we don't know any of those people.

I heard Mrs. Wakayama and her husband were both going to Crystal City.

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TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN

Mrs. Deschin passed on the news that Noyes had told her that Myer arrives here on the 16th to stay three or four days and study the situation thoroughly. Mr. Holland, a big short relocation man from Washington arrives also. According to Noyes, Myer expressed the desire to go into the colony and address the people on relocation. (Das Gott erbarme!) [God help us!] Best, however, hinted to Myer that he did not think this wise, so Myer may abandon the idea.

There has been a considerable increase in questions about relocation in the past three weeks. I get it from so many Caucasian sources that there must be something in it. I will try to make an appointment with a well-informed Caucasian who should be able to give me pretty accurate figures.

TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes informed me that after the meeting (minutes attached to notes of April 9) the Resegregationists still did not bring him their answer but asked for another 24 hour extension which he was forced to grant them. He now has 472 signatures for internment. He is annoyed, however, because John Burling is putting pressure on Inness to refuse to intern the men. Noyes thinks the thing is going through though.

He told me that it was not the Ho:shi-dan which had seceded. It's part of the Ho:koku-dan which seceded from the main resegregation group. As the picture stands now, part of the Ho:koku-dan and the Ho:shi-dan and Joshi-dan of Ward VIII stand with Noyes and are willing to abide by the regulations providing the young men are interned. The rest of the Ho:shi-dan and Joshi-dan and part of the Ho:koku will have none of Noyes' proposition No. 3 and are continuing to bugle and march. So one group of boys is holding quiet morning ceremonies, the other is holding noisy morning ceremonies. The people who have accepted Noyes' compromise are being threatened by the others. One man who had signed up to be interned wrote to Noyes, requesting that his name be taken off the list because he has false teeth and is on a diet of soft foods.

I asked Noyes about the blow-up at Santa Fe mentioned in John Burling's letter which follows. Noyes said that the boys had rioted because the Department of Justice had tried to stop their taiso (morning exercises) by force. Tear gas and guns were used, said Noyes, and several men were shot. Noyes pointed out that Justice was unable to stop the demonstrating in Santa Fe unless they used force even though they had only young men to deal with and all the force needed. How then could they expect Noyes to stop the men, women and children at Tule Lake?

Also picked up an interesting story of a young Nisei. This boy, Takeda, was given an exclusion order by the Army. He has been trying to get his parents to agree to let him relocate for a year. Finally, they have consented. After applying the young man was told that he was on the army segregate list. Evidently, nobody is told this until they try to relocate and there have been several cases in the past month. The boy has appealed. Noyes says that if the appeal is not granted he's going to ask for a writ of habeus corpus and raise hell.

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We had one of the worst dust storms in history today so I stayed in and wrote. The dust here is really magnificent. You eat it, inhale it, sleep with it, and, when you can't stand it any more and grind your teeth. The dust in your mouth makes the noise very impressive. Ah, how miserable I would be if I were not a masochist.

LETTER FROM JOHN BURLING

April 6, 1945

I incline to the view that Mr. Grodzin's wager of \$1.00 that the recent Chapman-Burling expedition will prove useless will probably be won by him. The essential trouble is not that Chapman did not get the right information or form the right opinions but is that he will be too diplomatic and cautious and that Myer, surprisingly, will prove to be too skillful a political operator. Chapman does not understand that neither Ickes nor Fortas feels that they have been supervising WRA for the past year and therefore erroneously thinks that strong criticism of the policies and administration of that agency would seem to be a criticism of the policies and administration of them. Accordingly, he is phrasing his report most politely. Myer, on the other hand, is demonstrating extraordinary audacity. Without waiting for Chapman's report, much less for a formal discussion and decision as to the matters of policy, he is starting off again tomorrow on a tour of the West Coast. This is dangerous since it ought to annoy Fortas enough that he would reverse Myer's policy and throw him out in absentia. Myer's general position plus his reputation as a noble and good man is such that this unlikely and effective reconsideration of the policy will be blocked by his mere physical absence. I would never have dreamed that he possessed such political skill. He has not demonstrated it hitherto.

The remainder of the expedition was not very rewarding. On Saturday night in San Francisco, Lee got the idea of flying on Sunday to Salt Lake City. (The remainder of this gives no information.)

The nub of Chapman's recommendation will be that additional relocation assistance be granted and that some sort of welfare shelter be provided for those who really cannot relocate. He will not say, however, although he agrees with me, that if these measures are not adequately pursued then it will be better to rescind the closing order. His reasoning, I believe, is that if he makes a recommendation he must assume that it will be adopted, reasoning which I do not follow. I am writing a much more disagreeable report. Since it is not this Department's responsibility, this will do no good.

My guess is that the upshot of this will be that Myer will agree to some improvement of the relocation process, that he will balk at others and that announcement of the creation of a welfare refuge will be so delayed as to be of less help than it would be immediately. One thing which softens my disappointment as to the vigorousness of Chapman's report is that he is an expert on Congress and feels that money could not be obtained from Congress to do some of the things I would like to do.

In case you have not heard of this, there was apparently some sort of a fracas at Santa Fe in the middle of March which involved the use of tear gas and, I believe, clubs. Apparently the shaved-heads started the trouble by heaving rocks at the administration building as a protest over the resegregation of Tachibana.

From what I have learned the bugling, etc. [at Tule Lake] goes on more or less as before and the WRA authorities have no intention of doing anything affective about it. We have been asked by Myer to pick up another 500 but are loath to do so at the present time.

You will be delighted to know that Mr. Myer in person intends to visit Tule Lake, I believe on April 16.

In view of the interest which potential readers of the two most common races at Tule Lake might have in some of the contents of this letter, I am sure you will see the necessity for its prompt destruction.

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LETTER SENT TO HO:KOKU BY MR. NOYES

April 7, 1945

Mr. Hideo Masuda
Acting Chairman of Group Consisting
of Former Members of Hokoku Seinen Dan
Tule Lake Center
Newell California

(Noyes refuses to recognize the
existence of the Ho:koku, so addresses
the chairman as above. R.H.)

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication informing me that your group unanimously has decided in favor of having all members of your group who are 18 years of age or over transferred by the Department of Justice to an internment camp and that you wish to have the WRA Administration at this center recommend to the WRA Director at Washington, D.C., that he recommend to the Attorney General of the United States that your desire for such transfer be accepted and acted upon. For my part, I will inform you promptly of the Attorney General's decision, my reply in any event to be made to you within four weeks.

The conditions which you must observe in connection with your above-described decision are as follows:

1. Your entire group immediately will cease and discontinue marching, Taiso, bugle blowing, shouting, banzai-ing, parading, wearing of emblems of your former organization, wearing of armbands or headbands; will not gather as an organization or use any of the firebreaks (you may, by permission from Internal Security, gather peacefully for any lawful purposes, but not under the name of Hokoku Seinen Dan).
2. That after the removal from this center to a Department of Justice Internment camp of all male members of the former Hokoku Seinen Dan of the age of 18 or over, the remaining males under 18 years of age will abide and continue to abide by the conditions set forth in Item 1 above.
3. That upon receipt of notice that the transfer to the internment camp will take place, you will arrange to deliver into the custody of Internal Security all of the bugles owned by or in possession of all the members of the former Hokoku Seinen Dan. Receipts will be issued for such bugles and the bugles will be kept in the custody of the government until such time as the respective owners issue instructions for shipment to a point outside of this or any other WRA center or outside of any Department of Justice camp.
4. You are to furnish me, at the very soonest moment possible, but within 48 hours at the outside, a complete list showing the names, addresses, family numbers, and alien registration numbers, if any, of all males 18 years of age or over of your group who have voluntarily expressed their desire to be transferred to a Department of Justice internment camp, it being understood that the list shall include only aliens or citizen who have applied for renunciation of citizenship and have had their hearings.

You will return to me immediately a copy of this memorandum on which you will have indicated your unqualified agreement to abide by the terms set forth, by your signature under the word "accepted".

Sincerely yours,

Louis M. Noyes
Project Attorney

Accepted:

Accepted:

Accepted:

APRIL 12, 1945TALK WITH SALLY YAMASHIRO

I asked Sally what she had been hearing about the Ho:koku:

I've heard that quite a number of the Ho:koku people were getting discouraged. Is it true that the Army made them quit bugle playing? It seems that they are coming around all the time riding bicycles to all the members in the blocks.

I then remarked that there was a possibility that more of the Ho:koku might be interned. Said Sally:

Internment is just what they want. They won't stop bugling until they are reunited.

Last Saturday George was talking on the telephone in Japanese when he was cut off. He tried again and the operator cut him off again. Then she told him that no Japanese was to be talked on the phone that day because the Army was going to take over at 23 sharp if the Ho:koku didn't stop bugling.

(This is something Noyes didn't tell me. I'll ask him.)

They (Ho:koku) are raring to go [be interned]. That's the only purpose they have for bugling - nothing else .

The statement that Mr. Best put out. Why did they put that out? If they're going to intern them, they'll never stop.

Those people who are segregees in the other camps - will they be forced to get out too? Or will they send them here? (I hear this question almost everyplace I go.)

Renunciants Relocating

Miss Davis (of Welfare) told George that there was an evacuee who was a segregee, a renunciee, he was on the stop list, in fact he was about six kinds of people who couldn't go out! He said, 'Mr. Best, I want to go out.' And he went out! I bet if the people outside knew that certain people who had renounced went out, they wouldn't feel kindly toward them.

I've been receiving a lot of letters from Gila telling that they're going to stick it out to the end. I hear the food there is not very good. The food here is all right though.

Proposed Internments of Those Who Keep Marching and Bugling

If he takes just those who want to go, the real people (leaders) will be left here. It's the Issei who seem to know nothing: they're the people really behind it.

George was so happy when he heard that the Army was going to put a stop to all this nonsense. He said, 'Now we'll have some peace for at least a month or so.'

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN

Heard from Mrs. Deschin that Mr. Solomon, newly arrived Welfare worker from Manzanar, was called into Gunderson's office and told to resign immediately.

The reason: He took the lead in attempting to start a pressure group among the other welfare workers to do something about Bagley, the very unpopular head. Best is reported to have stated that he'll fire everyone else on the welfare staff before he gives way and fires Bagley.

APRIL 13, 1945

ENCOUNTER WITH JIM TACHEUCHI'S SISTER NAKO

I had written a letter to Jim's sister asking to be allowed to call. I encountered her today while making an appointment in the beauty shop and she cautiously asked me not to come because there was going to be another pick-up.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

On Proposed Pickup

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Relocation

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

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

President Roosevelt's Death

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

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

The Ho:koku

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

Loyals Who Came In With Segregants

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

Result of More Pick-ups

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

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

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

TALK WITH KURATOMI

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

On Myer

I used to have quite a lot of respect for Mr. Myer. But lately I'm beginning to lose faith with him. Above all I'm disappointed. Keeping Mr. Best here is the biggest boner he ever pulled.

Riot In Santa Fe

(Kuratomi had heard that there had been some trouble in Santa Fe.)

I heard that the Ho:koku bunch was under strict surveillance and that the former occupants are against them. Those men even organized themselves so that the new arrivals will have nothing to do with the internal organization of the camp, and be on no committees.

The Ho:koku has had seven or eight meetings in the last ten days. I heard quite a few seceded.

The power of the group who want to stop it altogether is gaining momentum. Though at the beginning it was probably only 15% it has grown to about 30% of the group now. If you intern them it will be additional trouble for nothing. It won't gain anything.

DISCUSSION OF NOVEMBER 1943 INCIDENT

Yoshiyama was not a big shot. He had very little following.

When I first came here an old Issei from Topaz asked me to meet a fine young man who might do us some good. I went to this old man's house and was introduced to Mr. Yoshiyama. He started to tell me about organizing the center. I didn't answer. I could tell by looking at him what kind of trouble he might cause.

Three or four days later I went to his house and there were six or seven men there, mostly the Topaz group. I believe sincerley that the trouble with him is that he lets too many people utilize him.

(I took a chance here and asked Kuratomi if it was this bunch in Yoshiyama's house that was behind the coal strike. He said it was.)

They came to me and I told them nothing doing.

At that time there were various different groups interested in different problems. I took most interest to form a committee to study and decide on the Japanese Language school problem. I was called to meetings like this twice.

Here Mrs. Kuratomi entered. She began to read the paper and commented on the President's death. Kuratomi said,

It's too bad about Roosevelt, isn't it.

In a tone of voice much different from that of Mr. Kurihara.

April 13, 1945

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Kuratomi told me that when his block had voted for Daihyo Sha members on October 16 (Block 6) the people turned out 100%. (I think it is no exaggeration in my report to state that at least 60% of the people took part in selecting the representatives.)

Kuratomi commented on the members of the Motor Pool present at the first Daihyo Sha meeting.

I felt sorry for them. The atmosphere was strong against them because the people felt they were responsible.

At one of the educative meetings I attended (before the incident) an old Tulean said, 'They have started a coal strike but I don't believe they'll succeed.' We tried (to strike) and we didn't succeed.

In discussing the University of Chicago Kuratomi mentioned that he had a friend teaching Japanese there.

A person doesn't need a Ph.D. these days to teach in a University if he knows Japanese, he said rather enviously. Then he added, But I guess the United States thinks I'm a bad boy now.

HO:KOKU

The Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan sent up a notice today that they would cancel all ceremonies today out of deference to the death of the President.

APRIL 14, 1945TALK WITH MORIHIKO TOKUNAGARelocation

I seldom have a conversation these days in which my friends do not initiate a discussion of relocation - how it is going to fail and express sympathy for the people in the other centers. Tokunaga was no exception.

A friend wrote from Los Angeles to Manzanar, telling about 32 Japanese living in the Boyle Heights district. (Tokunaga told me they were living in a certain Catholic school building on Boyle and Whittier with which I am well acquainted.)(1) He said that out of the 32 there are only two who have not gotten stoned or slapped while living there.

Of course Myer can make some of the centers close, perhaps four or five, but he can't push them all out.

Ho:koku

I hear that the Ho:koku split on WRA's proposition to stop blowing bugles for one month. The Ward VIII and I complied to the request and stopped blowing. The rest of them keep on. Because if they stop blowing bugles they will lose face in front of the boys who have already gone to Santa Fe.

Wakayama's Wife

Wakayama's wife went to Chicago to divorce her husband and get a job as a Japanese language school teacher. She didn't tell anybody in camp here, but that's what she did.

(Wow - this is a new one. I should be able to check it with the Relocation officer - think I will.)

Is it true that Wakayama has been sent to prison for ten years?

Riot in Santa Fe

I heard the riot in Santa Fe started when the Santa Fe people from Hawaii found out that Wakayama was the brother of one of the big government inu in Hawaii.

Ho:koku

I don't think they'll stop bugling. The Ho:shi-dan and Ho:koku-dan are abnormal people. We can't judge them from our common sense.

[1. I lived in Los Angeles for about fourteen years.]

You know why they want to go to Santa Fe and Bismarck? They think if they are sent to Santa Fe they are sure they won't be drafted and they are sure they'll go back to Japan.

(I commented on how foolish this was, since there appeared to be almost no chance that the young men from Tule would be drafted.)

The people say, 'We can't trust the American government. Their laws or courts, we can't trust.'

We Japanese understand that whatever happens in camp the director will try to solve the problem in favor of the government. But we know the government wants to treat us fairly and that's what we want - only fairness.

Welfare Difficulties

Only a couple of weeks ago, Bagley tried not to give financial aid to a family where they had stopped working. The way it is, for a single man after they stop working, they don't give financial aid for two months because the government believes he should have saved enough to support himself. On sixteen dollars!! But for a man with a family, they don't give financial aid for a month. Bagley tried to keep a man with a family and children for two months. The whole social welfare got mad!

(Bagley had to give way on this issue.)

Best and Myer

The camp people say that Best used to be a gardener for Mr. Myer.

President's Death

Mr. Tokunaga then asked me very confidentially if I thought the circumstances of Roosevelt's death were entirely above suspicion. I said I didn't know. He then said that the people were saying that he must have been poisoned.

While we had been talking a baseball game was started on the field just opposite Tokunaga's barrack. He asked me if I would mind going around the back of his house because of all the people out there. Wonder how long it will take in Tule, until this fear of being thought an inu dies down.

APRIL 16, 1945TALK WITH HELEN SASAJIMA IN BEAUTY PARLOR

Helen confided to me that she was seriously considering going out. Her sister was in New York and she planned to go there. She felt that the longer she stayed in camp the worse it would be for her. She's tired of living in a camp where half of the block people don't talk to the other half. In spite of her intention to relocate, however, she still believes that WRA is giving the evacuees a dirty deal.

I bet none of them would go out with just \$25, she said.

TALK WITH SANDBORN, Head of Colonial Police

Encountered Sandborn and chatted a bit. He remarked that he thought the best solution to the buglers would be to have Justice take over the camp as soon as possible. This would leave them no leg to stand on and the people would quiet down. I remarked that if this were done, the would-be segregees in the other centers would raise a terrific howl to get into Tule Lake. He didn't think they would.

He also told me that on Sunday, the Ho:koku began it's usual elaborate ceremonies, marching and bugling. Sandborn went in, took hold of his 21 and called over the leader.

Listen here, he said, The President isn't buried yet and this has got to stop.

Some of the Issei were called over by the young leader and after a brief consultation, orders were given, the Ho:koku marched off in formation and the ceremonies were stopped.

STAFF MEETING - MYER'S SPEECH

(A special Relocation Bulletin was issued to the staff today, urging their cooperation in the Tule Lake relocation program. I'll keep it here for my notes since I think it will tell you nothing now and it's too much trouble to copy it.)

A special staff meeting was called tonight at which Myer, Cozzens, Best and Rex Lee were present. Cozzens spoke first. He stated that it had been decided that the job of relocation, evacuee property and transportation should be administered from one location. Consequently the whole West Coast office will be transferred to area offices by the end of this month. The problems of administration will be handled directly from Washington. The problem of the Japanese on the West Coast is not so bad as it appears to be. Support in California has been excellent. Practically all of the evacuees who have returned have been pretty happy. He told a story of a Japanese who called on the WRA office for help. When the WRA employee arrived and asked what the trouble was the Japanese "threw his arms around his (Caucasian's head."

What's the trouble? asked the Caucasian.

Nothing, replied the Japanese, I just wanted to see how quickly you could come if something happened.

Cozzens added, You'd be surprised how happy the people (Japanese) are to see someone from the WRA.

The people in Tule Lake are going to have an opportunity to move out.

Rex Lee was then introduced by Mr. Best as an example of Dillon Myer's astuteness in picking a handsome young man for a difficult job. Lee stated that the Relocation people were well ahead of schedule at present. He is confident that as soon as school is out "we will get the evacuees out by the hundreds and thousands." However, the relocation problem here at Tule Lake is peculiar. Tule Lake is a year and a half behind the other centers. Many people are tied down because some of their family members are destined for segregation. But this should not be too discouraging. One of the best ways to help the Japanese relocate from Tule Lake will be to get their friends and relatives who have gone out to write to them. A short term leave program is about to be initiated at Tule Lake to help get the people started going out. He is sure the entire pattern here will change soon. There is already the nucleus of a very good relocation organization here at Tule.

It's up to you personally to help in the relocation job - work with the people (Japanese) assigned to you. The job can be done and done quickly.

Myer then made the longest speech I have heard him make at Tule Lake. He went over the history of the WRA which I will not recount here. Relocation should have started with evacuation. But after the Nisei record in battle, public sentiment toward the Japanese has almost completely reversed itself. In fact, he thinks it is completely reversed today. By the end of 1944, almost 75% of the Nisei capable of making a living for themselves had left the camps. They have the whole country to relocate in now. All are cleared except for some people in Tule Lake.

There were five reasons why he decided to close the camps this year:

1. There are 20,000 youngsters under 18 living in the Relocation Centers. These youngsters should have the opportunity to grow up in the United States, not in Relocation Centers. This is his No. 1 reason.

We can't afford to do anything else except help those kids lead a normal life.

2. Anybody can get a job today if he can walk or crawl. It will be ten times harder after the war is over. The country needs the man power now, also.

3. The third reason concerned the dependency cases, the old and ill. The welfare people are not so busy on the outside now. They have time to help us with the people now and they won't later.

4. You can convince Congress you need money for only so long. You can't fool a bunch of Congressmen very long.

5. The pressure groups (anti-Japanese) are against the relocation program. They want to keep the Relocation Centers open because they make good targets. Today 41,000 people have relocated or are in the Army. Some people thought that we'd have a big rush when they opened the gates, but I did not think so. Today there are about 54,000 people out and we are right on schedule. From March 1 to July 1 we expect to move out 4,000 a month. They must go during May and June. In July and August we'll move out 6,000 a month - in September 8,000. I believe you are going to be surprised at how many people in Tule Lake are going to continue living in the United States.

(The following is verbatim)

Every Japanese, including those at Tule Lake, have a major adjustment to make whether they live in this country or in Japan. They must get down to some realistic thinking. This must be brought to them in a patient, kindly sort of way.

The war is going to be over sooner than we think. Are we going to keep the United States paying to keep people in camps after the war?

The United States has a great stake in the Orient. The little job we're doing here is very important because we're dealing with people of oriental ancestry. The people who do go back to Japan should go back not too bitterly. They are pretty good people. The oriental peoples in general are watching with great interest how we handle this whole problem. Japan is making every bit of capital she can out of the so-called atrocities up and down the coast in the last year or two. I don't think the U.S. can afford to spend a lot of money or a lot of time continuing to make a whipping post of ten to fifteen thousand people when the whole question of international trade is at stake. It is only sound economics. It is also that old feeling we have in the U.S., that even the underdog should have a chance.

The people in this room are probably faced with one of the most difficult jobs in the U.S. That's how to get this problem figured out and get the people (Japanese) to understand. There are two things we must do.

1. We've got to go ahead and skim off the top of the bugle blowing group.(1)
2. We've got to build the community back to a normal condition as fast as we can without making too many mistakes.

This will be a slow and patient job. But you will be surprised how fast it can happen. To begin to reestablish confidence it is necessary to get them to believe us.

In the eight centers I have heard a lot of talk about loans and grants. Most of this is pure rationalization to cover the fact that they're afraid. At Tule Lake our job is to open the gate gradually between the center and the administrative area. (Some members of the audience looked disturbed here, and Myer hastily added, "I mean gradually.") It will all go fine especially if we can get the group moved out which has been making trouble. I wouldn't be surprised to see a lot of job offers come right here to Tule Lake. But I don't think we should pour the pressure on here. It will be a slow and patient job. it looks now as if the pressure is about off.

I'm going to do everything I can to see that the staff doesn't suffer by staying here and finishing a good job out. But I won't guarantee anything.

Many of you would like to know when Tule Lake is going to go to the Justice Department. I don't know but my guess is that it will not be for some time to come because there are some very intricate factors to be worked out. We (WRA) know how to do a relocation job better than anybody else. Except for the boys who insist on going to the internment camps we are not looking forward to any resegregation. The other increment is largely out. WRA is not planning to operate any centers after January 2 next. Anything left will be turned over to Justice.

(1. I cannot resist one caustic question: what in hell does Myer think the Department of Justice has been doing here in the past three months?)

April 16, 1945

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Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

TALK WITH NOYES

Talked to Noyes briefly today. He was very happy over the solution which he says has been worked out to take care of the reunion demanding families. He also said that he had been enormously impressed with Myer whose policies and outlook are like those of Roosevelt.

LETTER FROM JOHN BURLING

April 7

My idea, of course, is that there is something in Myer's view that staying in the Centers institutionalizes the evacuees so as to make it progressively less possible for them to be relocated and that where they could now successfully go out they should be made to do so. The trouble is that many of them cannot in fact go out and that if you tried under the present circumstances to push them all out, we would just create a second Tule Lake. My scheme was to be implemented by increased relocation assistance such as larger cash grants, loans to purchase household good, etc., and some direct assistance in finding housing.

In general, something like this will be proposed in the Interior Department and a watered-down version of this plan will be adopted. Since Myer will not like the modifications to his plan, however, they will not be pushed and instead will go along until the fall, at which time it will turn out that there are thousands who will refuse to relocate. It is a sheer gamble whether Myer will build up enough pressure to push these people out so as to drive them into the Department of Justice camps or whether they will merely be left sitting in his camps when the deadline comes.

I have said that the dependencies cannot be cared for under the present system. I do not know much about social work but what I learned in two or three days in California certainly convinced me of the correctness of this. In the first place, it is my understanding that substantially none of the assistance summaries which have been sent by the Centers for processing in California have been returned. It is also my understanding that California will not approve any assistance case unless housing can be found in the county of residence. With a few exceptions, housing cannot be found in the county of residence and the dependency case cannot therefore be transferred to California. Since other states will be unwilling to assume the responsibility of caring for permanent dependents after federal assistance cases, it is doubtful whether many dependency cases can be shipped elsewhere than to the Coast.

LETTER FROM J. BURLING

April 13 - 1945

At the present moment it seems hard to believe that the Attorney General or the Under Secretary of the Interior (or the Under Secretary of State who was being brought into it) would have much energy or attention left over to devote to the problems of evacuees (after the President's death). The destruction of the nerve fibers of the Government will be so great that the top people will for a while be worried about keeping the thing going at all and problems such as an international organization, the war with Japan and reconversion of our economy are such that the statistically unimportant problem of 60,000 evacuees may well drop out of sight. On the other hand, this view may merely be a part of the extraordinary gloom with which this city and I am enshrouded.

As of yesterday Chapman reported to Fortas and Ickes, and Mrs. Kingman of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play was going to make a very strong recommendation to Fortas. In addition, the State Department was going to complain about the closing policy and a meeting was scheduled between Fortas and Biddle and it was my guess that enough pressure would be applied to Myer to make fundamental changes in his policy so that he would quit. If that happened, I thought since the idea of a welfare shelter open only to those who can show they are non-relocatable was mine that the new administration of WRA might talk to me about who should put the plan into effect. As it is, God only knows what is in store.

APRIL 17, 1945

TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes remarked that if his campaign against the Ho:koku had accomplished nothing else it had knocked their unity into a cocked hat. Here at least he's right. He also justified himself to me for the policy he has been following, admitting it was a kind of a shell game but that you couldn't treat the bunch in any other way.

We had no alternative. It was that or a question of cracking down. And that would have been a shock to the whole colony.

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

Those trials were a lot of work for me.

When I got the go-ahead, I worked on the weakest men (arrested Resegregation officers) who had been sent to jail. I told them that they must agree 100%. I didn't get it.

Opler, Brown, (New Reports Officer) Ross and I went before the Central Cabinet of the Ho:shi-dan on Thursday (April 5). After that I had them working for me getting the signatures of people who agreed to abide by the conditions. I told them how to separate the signatures, aliens, citizens, women, etc. They got the name, address, family number, and alien registration number.

It's the Ward II Ho:koku which has gone strong for the proposition. (Mr. Tsuda corroborated this later.)

They even signed up the kids one and two years old. It's just like the old Resegregation Movement.

The men with us say that the other group is crazy and that they are afraid to go out at night now. The leader of the Ho:shi-dan has received a threatening note from one of his best friends.

The relatives of those going are all pledged to behave themselves.

(I then asked Noyes what his plan was to keep the relatives in order if there were no reuniting of families.)

To the group going out of here I stated that as long as WRA operates this center no one will be forced out of here. The WRA is going to assist with relocation plans only upon request. 'That's not very definite,' they said.

Best and Army Hearing Officers

This happened in the middle of January. I told Best about the renunciation and relocation questions and he talked to them. When Best asked the significance of asking if the evacuee had applied for renunciation of citizenship the answer was that these were instructions from the presidio.

Later I found out why this was. It was to put them on the segregation list. They were transferred from the exclusion to the segregation list.

They asked about relocation just to be human.

(I suspect that these questions about relocation were an important factor in inducing some people to renounce. Noyes believes that the arrival of the large Justice crew and the speed of the hearings was just as important. I really don't know and don't think anybody knows.)

Wakayama Being Transferred

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

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

APRIL 18, 1945TALK WITH "SLIM" TSUDA

[This interview with Mr. Tsuda had been arranged by George Kuratomi. When I arrived at Mr. Tsuda's barrack, he introduced me to a gentle elderly man, his father. Thereupon he hospitably offered me a larged tumbler of distilled sake which, I found, had the potency of strong brandy. When I typed my hand written notes I noticed that as the interview progressed, my writing had become larger and larger. But the notes, somewhat to my surprise, were coherent.]

Myer Speaks to Block Managers

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

He stressed his intention is to relocate the people. He gave out five reasons of the WRA policy of closing the eight centers, excluding Tule Lake. He didn't definitely set the time but he said by 1946 this camp will be transferred to the Justice Department.

1. Was that it's more than fair to relocate the Nisei. They are entitled to get out and lead a normal life.
2. Was that all the patriotic effort of the Japanese American soldiers have achieved in Italy influenced the American people to change their minds toward the Japanese.
3. Was of all the undying WRA effort has been gradually beginning to show outside that the Japanese should relocate. The people are accepting the Japanese.
4. He gave credit to those who had already resettled outside. They had done a splendid job. The Japanese have more friends now than prior to evacuation.
5. He said that the welfare agencies outside were more willing to help now than they would be after the war.

Reaction of Block Managers

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

Noyes and Ho:koku

I think Mr. Noyes made a big mistake. Over half of the population of camp is neutral and wants them to stop.

(I took issue with Mr. Tsuda here and said I thought a fraction of the population was actually hostile to the Ho:koku and probably more than half wanted them to stop. He agreed with me.)

Therefore those sentiments of so many people would in time cause them to stop.

Mr. Noyes threw the rock in the pond now. He made a little ripple. The question was asked to Mr. Myer yesterday. 'In case WRA doesn't intern the boys and the Ho:koku keeps blowing, the majority of the people here will have to endure the inconvenience if the WRA brings in a curfew or something like that.' So they asked him if the WRA couldn't have them transferred (re-segregated). Mr. Myer definitely said that within his power he'd do his darndest to exterminate their activities.

The best thing to do is to get the boys back here. For the rest of the people something should be done in camp and create some real Tule Lake spirit so the authorities could clarify the status of the people in camp and bring the boys back.

The people's fear of the Ho:koku is greatly reduced now. The Ho:koku itself is split in two. Manzanar and Ward II have gone with Noyes.

If the WRA came out in the open and made a statement that the people in this camp would have to go out, they'd have another big trouble.

The Farmers Meeting in October 1943

All of the farmers went to the meeting as I remember. But it was just the foremen who went into mess hall 12. The rest of them stood around outside. The place was all jammed up with a big crowd.

As I remember it, the majority of the farm foremen were old Tuleans.

Civic Organization was all old Tuleans and most of the block managers were old Tuleans. (Tsuda, as you know, is an old Tulean himself).

When things popped up in Tule Lake most of the old Tuleans were willing to give the Daihyo Sha moral support.. But when things didn't look very nice they were the first to get out.

[The following is verbatim.]

The old Tuleans figured they had a priority in Tule Lake. The other people who came in were strangers. The old Tuleans were supposed to know and do everything. They thought they had the right to. Then the people who came from the other centers had a different viewpoint. They felt the jobs and everything should be according to the population. But the old Tuleans didn't think that way.

Another reason the old Tuleans went against gengjyo -iji so fast was because of the fact that the old Tuleans had the Planning Board here. Some of the big shot old Tuleans had planned that that organization was going to be the political boss to rule Tule Lake.

But it so happened that the Daihyo Sha was elected 24 hours earlier than the Planning Board Meeting. The Planning Board was connected with the big shot Co-op people, like Yamatani and Okamoto.

When the Army came in and things didn't look very nice, the old Tuleans and a few others turned against the Daihyo Sha Kai.

The Planning Board was first elected here because of friction when Mr. Shirrel was here. The Nisei were the Community Council and the Issei made the Planning Board. More than half of the Planning Board left at segregation. The remainder of the Planning Board had the interest to build that group up into a centralized organization. They went into action -some blocks picked representatives and some blocks didn't. A week before the Daihyo Sha organized, the Planning Board called a meeting but they could not hold it because there was no quorum. I believe that especially in ward five, six, and seven the new people didn't understand what the Planning Board was and so they didn't select any representatives.

Right after the Daihyo Sha organized and they called another meeting of the Planning Board, some block people figured that they had already . . . [A page of my fieldnotes is missing here.]

and Mr. Shitanishi to join in with Mr. Tateishi's office. Mr. Kimura is Nisei and Mr. Best had a better feeling toward him than toward any other member of the Negotiating Committee. So he got into a position to get in and out of Mr. Best's office.

Meantime I had two difficult arguments with Mr. Tateishi until the time when he made a beeline to the hospital (at the time of Hitomi's murder). One was in regards to Mr. Best organizing the centralized representative body and the next was about the police Commissioners Election.

Two or three weeks before the Hitomi incident I went to see Mr. Tateishi and asked him to close up his office.

At this same time the Resegregation Group, with Tachibana and the Poston group came up. Tachibana was bragging himself on how many boys he was getting out of Santa Fe. Mr. Best was rather harsh to him and Tachibana assumed that the reason Mr. Best was harsh to him was caused by Mr. Tateishi. Since I was making in and out of Mr. Tateishi's place, it created the impression that I could be a dog too. I didn't want to see friction between the Poston Group and the Jerome Group and us - we were all Gengjyo-iji. That's why I asked Tateishi to close up his office., Tateishi said all right.

After Mr. Tateishi told me he would close, I went to see Mr. Tachibana and told him I had told Tateishi to close his office because I didn't want to see any

friction. I said, 'I want you to use your influence to stop this inu talk.' But it still kept on because I wasn't a member of the Resegregation Group.

Tsuda added that when the talk got very bad he threatened Mr. Tachibana and told him that if it didn't stop he'd see that Tachibana's head got beaten in. Mrs. Tachibana, sitting on the bed, looked very scared. She said,

Oh, I'm sure my husband isn't responsible for that.

Tsuda said he felt sorry for Mrs. Tachibana.

Military Registration

Tsuda said there were about 600 Nisei who did not register in Tule Lake.

Relocation

The people might go out from now to June and July, but after the summer they are going to stay put. They will not go to a strange place in winter.

Imachi's Connection With Long Tale Above

Imachi was closely associated with Mr. Shitanishi and we were all in favor of Genjyo-iji and didn't mix with the resegregation idea.

As I left Tsuda remarked that more people in camp were beginning to discuss whether it was wiser to stay in camp or get out.

APRIL 20, 1945TALK WITH MURPHEY, RELOCATION WORKER

I have been somewhat delayed in getting information on the much advertised increase in relocation, due to the presence of Myer and Rex Lee on the project. I finally got an appointment with Shallit, who has been promoted twice and is now Assistant Head of Relocation here, only to have him not show up in his office. (He is a close friend of Opler's which may have something to do with it.) So I interviewed Mr. Murphey, a new man.

Murphey could not give me any statistics on the number of people who have gone out in the past few months. He did however state that seven people went out last week and five this week. In the middle of March, he stated, practically nobody went out and, I suppose, this present number is regarded as an encouraging increase. He told me that most of the people who came into the office to talk about relocation were segregees or excludées. Renunciants, he finds, are on all three of the lists, Free, Excludée and the Segregation list. Practically all of the female renunciants are on the free list, and are being allowed to go out if they apply.

I don't think the renunciation of citizenship has entered into the relocation status of the people so far. So far as we know, the Army Hearing Boards have not been notified of those who have renounced citizenship.

To get a better knowledge of the policy toward renunciants I told a fictitious story of two Japanese friends of mine who were thinking of relocation but were renunciants. Murphey advised me as follows:

If they're excludées, tell them to get out here as soon as possible. The chances are the Justice Department would act more favorably toward them if they are outside. If a fellow came in here who was an excludée and a renunciant I'd encourage him to get out as fast as he could.

Murphey then asked me if I had heard anything of the relocation of one Richard Doi, of block 80. He was a block manager who told none of his friends of his decision but insisted that he be taken out of camp in the middle of the night.

(I was in the New Relocation Building from about 10:15 to 11:30, A.M. During that time not a single Japanese showed his face in the building. Five Caucasian staff members were in attendance and were almost pathetically glad to see me. They acted like people who were dying for somebody to talk to.)

STORY FROM TEACHER

Miss Roudabush informed me that two of her highschool students had come to see her about relocation. Unfortunately, they have renounced their citizenship. She urged them to go to the Relocation Office but one said that it was all right for a girl, but a boy just could not put on a suit and go to the Administrative area carrying a suitcase. He just couldn't do it, because of what the people would say.

(The following is verbatim.)

TALK WITH MR. AND MRS. ODA

Ho:koku Rumor

I hear that the Ho:koku has promised to stop if the Department of Justice will allow the families to reunite. But they intend to continue the same activities until they are joined.

Speech of D. Myer Before the Block Managers

Dillon Myer made a statement about the present WRA policy. He gave five reasons.

1. WRA has planned to close all the centers except Tule Lake.
2. WRA is going to stop operations by next year.

Here Mrs. Oda interrupted,

One thing I'd like to know is how the people are reacting to this in the relocation centers.

Mr. Myer also said there were 20,000 boys and girls who wish to go to school. He also said additional relocation agencies had been established on the Pacific Coast.

I didn't make an announcement at the messhall of Mr. Myer's speech. The supervisor didn't tell me to. So the people don't really know much about it. Anyway I don't hear them talking about it.

Mr. Myer didn't say anything forceful about relocation at Tule Lake. He also said he would not separate the groups here.

Confusion in Peoples' Minds About WRA and Army Policy

About three years ago the Army ordered us to evacuate the coast. Last year the Army lifted the evacuation order. Also the WRA has worked a long time to try to relocate the people. The point is the relations between the Army and WRA is the big point among the residents. When we ask the WRA they say the problem is the Army's. When we go to the Army they say it's WRA. A lot of people are just wondering.

Ho:koku and Army Rumor

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

Myer and Block Managers

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

(The following is verbatim.)

Ho:koku

I don't think the exchange agreement with the Ho:koku worked out. Because of the families here have their men interned and now they will maintain the status quo.

(Evidently status quo has now come to mean the continuation of bugling.)

I heard a large group intended to quit the Ho:koku.

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

People In Other Centers Wish to Come to Tule Lake

(This is a remark which I hear constantly.)

I hear lots of people in the other centers wants to come up here.

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

The Fence

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

TALK WITH KURIHARA

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

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

Relocation

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

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

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

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

TALK WITH SHALLIT

Mr. Shallit apologized at dinner for not keeping our appointment this morning. He told me that Mr. Best has given permission for a limited number of evacuees on the free list to visit Klamath Falls. People are also going to be allowed to take picnics to Castle Rock. Both of these new policies are at Myer's suggestion. Best, however, desires that only small numbers of carefully selected people go into Klamath Falls to avoid any unpleasant incidents.

LETTER FROM SALLY YAMASHIRO

The situation in this camp doesn't seem so quiet nowadays, Miss Hankey. The people have been quite concerned as why Mr. Myer was here. Also people now know for sure that about 500 more will be taken. After this batch is taken, the rest will all be forced to relocate. The parents and wives of the people interned don't think it applies to them. They say so. So what do common people in general think? They're murmuring now that WRA has forgotten that they and not only the Hokoku are also disloyal to U.S. That they have also renounced citizenship. That they have also signed for repatriation. So what happens? You know more than I do - they all got the jitters.

Well, Gee Whiz, I wish something would happen and happen quick to make these people live not in fears and worries but in peace.

(The degree of tension which Sally describes is not yet widespread through the camp in my opinion. Her block is a kind of barometer and often shows which way the most worried people are feeling. In several cases in the past, the first sign of fears and panic came from her - and later became widespread. Well, we shall see.)(1)

ANOTHER LETTER FROM JOHN BURLING

(This communication is an answer to a rather critical letter of mine. It seems the more Burling is banged on the head the more he talks.)

I have been having an argument with one of my superiors as to whether we should now seek to take over the management of the segregation group (either at Tule Lake or elsewhere) or wait until the end of the summer. My main argument was that there was so much confusion that the matter couldn't be handled by negotiation and that we should take it over as soon as possible and let the Immigration boys worry over the bugling. I have now succeeded in persuading my opponent.

Since the Department of the Interior has been requested to detain persons who renounce their citizenship (and who are, therefore, presumed to be nationals of Japan) as well as persons on the Army segregation list and aliens who desire present detention and ultimate repatriation, there is no doubt as to the authority of WRA to hold such persons. Since such persons, together with members of their families who will desire to remain with them, constitute almost the entire population of Tule Lake, it should be pretty clear to almost anybody that there will not be much relocation. As far as I can see, the only persons who can be relocated are citizens who do not renounce their citizenship and who do not desire to remain in Tule Lake with a family member who has renounced or who is an alien and wishes repatriation and aliens who do not wish repatriation.

There may be some technical justification for the WRA's position in that our request for detention was until recently an oral one and Ferguson now takes the position that they will pay no attention to a request unless it is in writing. Such a request was sent out in writing

[1. Or again Sally, because of our friendship, may have expressed fears and anxieties more easily and frankly than many of my other respondents.]

on Saturday. In addition, there is no doubt that WRA knew about the intentions of this Department since I personally told Ferguson and Myer about them more than a month ago.

Whatever happens to the general Center closing policy, however, it is my guess that it is more likely than not that Justice will take over the detention problem as soon as the mechanical details can be worked out.

Have you heard about the fun at Santa Fe? If not, you will be pleased - although you will also be sorry you weren't there. It appears that the last group to arrive at Santa Fe took to wearing their sweatshirts with the Hokoku insignia around the camp. Previously they had been forbidden to wear the shirts but the shirts had not been confiscated. As a result of this insubordination, an order was issued requiring them to turn in the shirts and some of them announced their intention of not doing so. At about this time the Camp Commander learned that the instigator of this particular activity was one Tachibana. As far as I can make out, two simultaneous orders were given, one for the Border Patrolmen to go through the barracks and confiscate the sweatshirts, and the other to arrest Tachibana and remove him to a sub-segregation center. The confiscation took place without incident but when Tachibana was taken out a group of about 300 Hokoku boys went to the main gate either to protest or to say goodbye (as they now claim). They began yammering at the main gate and some of them threw rocks over the fence at the administration building. They were then ordered to disperse and return to their barracks. The Border Patrolmen went along the fence four times ordering them to go back and when they continued not to do so they tossed some gas grenades over the fence and squirted gas through the fence (the gas grenade has the charming trick of turning red hot so that you can't pick it up and throw it back at your adversary). The embattled Hokoku then retreated from the fence to an area in the center of the camp and took a second stand. At this point some of the more sensible ones returned to their barracks but about a hundred began a serious rock barrage. Sixteen Border Patrolmen armed only with night sticks then opened the gate and proceeded toward the Hokoku in wedge formation. The hundred Hokoku, many of whom were black or brown belts, thought they were equipped to take on 16 men with sticks. Uchida, it is said, stepped to the fore and announced that he was a black belt judo expert and could take on the Border Patrolmen by himself. Apparently he and a few others felt it necessary to get out in front so as to encourage the less belligerent of their followers. Uchida got down in an appropriate crunch and then sprang at the first of the oncoming Border Patrolmen. This officer, with agility that must have surprised Uchida, stepped to one side and Uchida proceeded through the air unobstructed. Midflight, however, he passed the second Boarder Patrolman who had the ready wit to swat Uchida on the head with his night stick. Twenty four hours later the black belt regained consciousness.

A general melee ensued, at the end of which there were no Hokoku in sight except ten or fifteen lying on the ground. No one was seriously injured, however, and much fun was had by everybody.

Only five people can be found who will admit that they were present at the battle. In addition to those who fell on the battlefield, however, some 30 wounded appeared the next day and asked for medical services but would not explain the source of their contusions. Although I am not as bloody as you, I must admit that I am very little grieved at the idea of a hundred rock-throwing Hokoku having the hell beat out of them by 16 Border Partrolmen who did not have firearms. In any event, it is alleged that complete quiet resigns at Santa Fe and that many of the youth wish they had never left mama. Their uneasiness is not diminished by the fact that Tachibana, Higashi and about 15 others have been taken to a secret hideout. The boys have no idea where they are.

[I had, by this time, begun to feel some sympathy for the young men who had been interned. I was distressed by the implication that I would find this letter enjoyable.
R.H.W.]

APRIL 23, 1945INFORMATION FROM SCHOOL TEACHER

Miss Roudabusch told me tonight that some of the high school senior boys were having a wienie roast outside of the fence (around the colony). She said,

Some think it's the grandest thing they can go outside of the colony fence.

However, they cannot go outside the fence around the entire camp.

SHORT CHAT WITH KAYO IIDA, NISEI GIRL

Kayo said that the people she knew (her family is ex-Ho:shi-dan) were still talking about the coming internments. Many of the boys were all packed. She also has noticed that more people are talking about the possibility of relocating. Mr. Myer's speech does not, however, seem to have caused much excitement. A few people are saying that non-Ho:shi people are going to be forced to relocate, but not many believe them.

TALK WITH GEORGE KURATOMI

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

Effect of Myer's Speech to Block Managers and Spanish Consul Representatives

As you know the people have no respect for the Block Managers to start with. Myer also saw the representative body which used to see the Spanish Consul, on the following day. But the people have no feeling whatever that these men are their representatives. 'Why pay any attention?' is their attitude.

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

There are no serious rumors about Myer, relocation, or resegregation.

Mr. Wakayama

Mr. Wakayama's being taken to Crystal City will have a very queer reaction. The Ho:shi-dan people felt that he was one of the leaders. Now they are suddenly confronted with the

(The following is verbatim.)

fact that he and his brother-in-law are the only ones being sent from Santa Fe to Crystal City. Some mothers and wives have recently received letters from the Justice Department, after they asked for family reunion, telling them there is to be no family reunion.

New Political Movement Starting in Camp

Right now a new movement is starting. The Representative Body to deal with the Spanish Consul is one group, the Warden's Organization is another group and the Civic Organizations is another group.

Mr. Okubo, Mr. Fujino, Toyofuku and Ono -they seem to be getting together and making a bid for prestige. I hope they won't do it for their personal glory.

The Daihyo Sha Coordinating Committee was called Renraku-iin which means Communications Committee. The so-called Coordinating Committee that broke the status quo was called the Kakubumon Sekinin Sha [which means Coordinating Committee].

Somebody must have given them (Coordinating Committee) a very strong guarantee that we (Negotiating Committee) would never be let out of the stockade or they would never have dared organize.

November 12 Meeting of Daihyo Sha

The motion to cancel the mess meeting was made by Takahashi. It was immediately seconded by six or seven men of his clique. When it was put to a vote the results were overwhelmingly in his favor.

I was really angry that day. I didn't give a damn for the way they acted. I wanted to put some of the responsibility on them.

Kibei yogore - this means literally dirty Kibei - but actually the meaning is closer to hoodlum or bum.

Army Entrance

When the Army came in they yelled and shot. The people were all confused. They didn't know what was taking place. If anybody stuck their heads out of a window or a door the soldiers shot into the air and said, 'Get back in.'

On November 5th all the soldiers would say to the people was, 'Get back - get back.' The people didn't know anything. They just stood around. Then the soldiers threw tear gas. Tear gas was even thrown into some of the barracks in blocks five and six by mistake.

When work was cut out entirely, the soldiers had to take over the responsibility of delivering the food.

Here Mrs. Kuratomi interrupted: They threw the food all over the place. They were so scared they set the food in the middle of the road. Sometimes a sack of rice was a block away from the mess hall.

TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes has evidently been tremendously impressed with Dillon Myer. Myer has, for instance, has given instructions that the Adult Education in Tule Lake should not be cut as was previously contemplated. The Machine Shop is to be kept up.

Myer went in to see the Ho:koku ceremonies. (I asked what his reaction was.) Noyes said that Myer stated that it was his intention to stop them and put them under control.

Myer is also in favor of allowing the Japanese schools to continue but to control them strictly. To stop them now would be too great a shock.

Noyes also informed me of something I had not known before. Colonel Austin, for his splendid handling of the "riot" at Tule Lake was given a medal, promoted to a full colonelship and given the superior job of controlling a German Prisoner of War Camp in Arizona.

APRIL 25, 1945

TALK WITH MRS. NAKANO - Nisei

Mrs. Nakano brought up the subject of Mrs. Wakayama leaving camp herself. She thought the business of Wakayama going to Crystal City was pretty bad. Evidently, Wakayama's good fortune is annoying other people besides Ho:koku families.

Reaction to Myer's Visit

From Mr. Myer's visit it doesn't look as if we're going to be pushed out of here by Janaury 1. It seems as if he doesn't intend to put on the pressure.

People are also saying that they heard a broadcast over the radio that nobody from Tule Lake will be drafted, if they go out. But the people don't believe it, they say it's propaganda to get us to go out.

Confirmation of Renunciation

Mrs. Nakano then asked me when people were going to hear from the Department of Justice that their renunciations were accepted. She said:

I don't think anybody has gotten an acceptance of their renunciation yet (except the Ho:koku).

Relocation

I think there are going to be a lot going out. Aren't they going out already? They know the war is going to last a long time now.

We heard a broadcast from Japan. It says that the people are to prepare for a twenty years' war. So the people here say, 'That's the best part of your life.' The broadcast

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also said that the chances of an exchange boat is going to be very small. As for us here - we're convinced - we feel that we couldn't do very much for our country if we did go back. We're not very important.

The broadcast was made about a month ago.

Besides the people are getting tired of this place.

Japan says she'll move to Manchuria and continue to fight.

If Germany ever falls, it's going to be a terrific fight. I'd hate to see Germany go down.

Mrs. Nakano's Girls' Club

We're going on a hike to Castle Rock.

Mrs. Nakano said the Joshi-dan wasn't bothering her any more. A friend present added,

But they certainly talk about you, behind your back.

Mrs. Nakano shrugged.

TALK WITH MR. NAKAMURA - LEGAL AID

Nakamura regards Myer's statement that Justice will take over here with mixed sentiments. Of course, since the Justice people are trained lawyers, he feels they'll be better than a lot of the WRA staff - but on the other hand, he was not impressed with Burling or with the Immigration Officers. Hertzog, the head, is all right, he said, but the other men are dopes. Moreover, he says Justice pulled a dirty trick on the Ho:koku.

As we are accustomed to do, we went over the motives for renunciation of citizenship. Nakamura stated:

The main motive - responsible for more than half of the renunciations was that they didn't want to go into the Army. That, as you know, was the biggest propaganda put out by the Ho:koku.

They have no sentiment to fight for the Army of Japan either. If they fight, they want to know what they're fighting for. The Nisei who renounced have no desire to return to Japan.

The Army Hearing Board being here had a lot to do with it too. The fellows felt they were going to be inducted.

The Ho:shi-dan people should have waited their time. They could have waited and expressed their feelings before they were inducted. But they felt that they'd be safe in an internment camp.

The Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan figure any statement from the WRA or from Justice is a lot of boloney. WRA keeps making statements that they never live up to. I hear some of the

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Issei saying, 'If they'd give me a couple of mornings I'd stop the whole thing.'

How would they stop it? I asked.

All you'd need is a couple of Internal Security with guns to go in and shoot in the air and they'd all go home. It could be stopped easily without bloodshed.

Reaction To Myer's Visit

The general reaction of the intellectual persons is that they appreciate Myer's efforts to make this a relocation center. They feel if the young people want to go out, they should take this opportunity. Many persons have been changing their plans because of the war. They feel that it may last a long time.

(This gave me my chance to ask about the short-wave broadcast, which I did. Nakamura admitted that it had affected some people. He added that the Immigration Hearings were affecting some people too.)

The Department of Justice is conducting these hearings for deportation cases and if they should be cleared, they might be able to reside permanently in this country.

Besides, the war news isn't so encouraging to the Issei. Of course, they feel that the major part of the Japanese Army has not been tested yet, but still, they feel it's going to be a long war.

APRIL 27, 1945TALK WITH SALLY YAMASHIRO

Mrs. Wakayama's going to Crystal City seems very peculiar after what they (WRA and Department of Justice) said in the paper (that families would not be reunited). Maybe the others were expecting to join their husbands too.

Reaction to Myer's Visit in Sally's Block (68)

When Mr. Myer came here the people (Ho:shi-dan) in this block said, 'See - what did we tell you. Now you'll wish you had gotten into the Ho:koku and stayed out of the draft.'

The Block Manager didn't announce anything about his speech in our mess hall. But the Manager in 67 did. But when the people in 67 came over here and began to talk about what Mr. Myer had said, things quieted down here. The facts are going all around now.

Two Boys in Ho:koku

There's a family in this block that had two boys in the Ho:koku. Their mother made them go in. They used to go out every morning and bugle. Now they don't. They come into the mess hall almost late for breakfast and say it feels good to get a long sleep. The people are getting out of the Ho:koku and Ho:shi-dan but very quietly.

Lots of the boys were pushed in by their parents.

Promises of Ho:shi-dan

The Ho:shi-dan said they would take care of the people left here - the dependents of the men interned. But one of my girl friends was left here. She has no relatives here and is going to have a baby. Now she is in the hospital with heart trouble. And none of the Ho:koku people even go to see her. There she is, all alone.

Sally, as everybody else is doing, agreed with me that the camp is very very quiet now.

TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes told me that the Internal Security had made a raid on a small Ho:koku headquarters and confiscated eleven bugles. They also arrested the leader of the bugle corps and took his bugle away from him.

Well, I said, That's twelve down and about 125 to go.

APRIL 28, 1945TALK WITH THREE NISEI GIRLS - Kimi Hashimoto

These three girls are in the habit of calling on me about once a month and talking over the current situation. Often they call on me to try to get some information on the particular worries of the moment. However, today, they did not appear to be concerned over anything except what possible changes would be made in the routine of camp existence if the Department of Justice took over the camp. They are particularly curious about what changes the Department of Justice might see fit to make in the employment situation. They wonder if people will get paid and if a lot of people will lose their jobs.

Although Kimi had a brother in the Ho:koku, she now remarked that she wished the administration would come in and stop the bugling.

All three of the girls agreed that there was more talk about relocation in camp than there has been. I brought up the subject of the broadcast from Japan and one of the girls said,

My - twenty years in Tule Lake. That's too much.

These girls, at least, are not enthusiasts for the arrival of the Department of Justice.

GILBERT
LANCASTER BOND
100% COTTON FIBRE

APRIL 30, 1945TALK WITH KURIHARA

I asked Kurihara if he had heard of the rumor of the reactionary organization Kuratomi had told me about last week. He said he had not, but added that if that group started anything, they wouldn't get anywhere with the people. He'll keep his eyes open for them, though.

Relocation

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

Shortwave Statement on "long war"

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

Talk on Department of Justice

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

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

Break Into Opler's Office

(Opler's office is quite close to Kurihara's barrack.)

I heard about that. It seems some intruder was just about to ransack the place when the janitor came around and he got out. They probably wanted to steal the typewriters or something.

(Kurihara and I agree that the act was not motivated by hostility toward Opler.)

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

Wakayama was in the U.S. Army all right - but in the National Guard of Hawaii - he never saw any action.

TALK WITH KURATOMI

Kuratomi told me that Mr. Hatano, the Farm Representative of the "incident" time, had come to see him and explained that his father had disapproved strongly of his talking to me. So Mr. Hatano sat down and told Kuratomi all he could, and Kuratomi took notes for me. As I have remarked before, even though the camp is quieter than it has been since a year ago last May, many people are still very reluctant to be seen with Caucasians.

Hatano's Story

(The following is verbatim)

He told me most of the farmers were transferees from other centers.

He said it had been raining quite frequently at that time and the farmers went to work in open cars and got drenched. Another of their complaints was that the transportation cars were in bad shape.

(These complaints preceded the accident.)

They had requested cargo trucks (covered) repeatedly, but Mr. Callum, though not disagreeing, never did anything about it.

On the particular morning of the accident, when the farmers were going out of the gate, they and the MP watching the gate had a little argument over passes. So the farmers came back without going to work.

He heard the workers grumbling - 'Why should we go out of the project to work. If we have to go to all this trouble, why should we work?'

Another grudge the farmers had against Mr. Callum, the Farm Supervisor, was that they were accustomed to bring in radishes and vegetables from the farm and Mr. Callum would stop them at the gate and make them unload the sacks and take them away from them. Once this happened during a heavy rain and they all got wet while they stood there. This griped them.

On the afternoon of the day the accident occurred, the farmers were told to report back to work. It was announced in the mess hall by the block managers.

Then the accident happened, as they were going out to work. So when the accident happened, the men, instead of jumping on the Caucasians, jumped on Mr. Sato, the Foreman and Mr. Matsumoto, saying, 'If you fellows weren't so anxious to work, we wouldn't have gone out and had the accident.'

Before the accident the farmers had elected a representative from each crew. There seems to have been quite a lot of complaints they wanted presented to the administration and the personnel in charge. These (the crew representatives) and the foremen met first and discussed the accident (as Tsuda also told me). All the other farmers and other people gathered around the block 7 mess hall.

Almost everyone in camp had heard of the accident and the farmers felt they should not return to work unless they were safeguarded against a repetition of a like accident.

The driver was thought to be under age, and his previous record of reckless driving had reached the ears of the farmers.

(I've heard this before. -That in Heart Mountain the driver was supposed to have a reputation for reckless driving. R.H.)

A large crowd gathered around the messhall. They were farmers and outsiders.

After some discussion of Saturday morning, October 16, the farm division, the crew representatives and the foremen met. As a result of the discussion they decided to consult the Planning Board. The Planning Board was the only organization which had the least inkling of a representative body at that time.

Hatano explained that he was appointed temporary chairman because Sato the head foreman, who would be the natural person, was so afraid he wouldn't assume the responsibility. He tried to push it to Mr. Matsumoto, the assistant foreman. But Matsumoto couldn't speak Japanese well, so Hatano took it.

Matsumoto and Sato feared that since so many persons had been hurt they were afraid to take the responsibility for the consequences which might develop later.

(I asked Kuratomi to explain this a little better. He said that since the truckload of boys had been such young fellows, Sato and Matsumoto were possibly afraid that the people would throw the whole blame on them in the event that they stepped forward now.)

Besides, the farmers were blaming Sato for telling them to go to work on that very afternoon, since they had been against it in the morning.

So the farmers took it up to Civic Organizations, and it was presented to Bill Mayeda. He said he would take it up with the Planning Board. But the Planning Board explained that they were unable to handle it, so they went back to Civic and asked Mayeda to call the block delegations, which they did.

I then asked Kuratomi a number of questions which had come up while working over my manuscripts and reports.

Motives of Stockade Detainees in Getting Out

Kuratomi said that some of the detainees may have intended to cooperate with the Coordinating Committee when they promised to do so. Others just wanted to get out (gap of five words here). Kimura, got out so that they could work for the release of Kai, Kuratomi and the others.

Kuratomi also told me that the letter "R" had no significance in Japanese and put the worries of the Coordinating Committee down to their extraordinary fear and tension

Because they were working against the Japanese.

I brought up the subject of the call for a general hunger strike which the anonymous "Second Negotiating Committee" put out on November 14. Kuratomi said that,

It might have been a bluff on the part of the authors, who didn't understand Caucasian psychology very well.

The Ward VII proclamation which denounced it was chiefly instigated by Mr. Takahashi. He [Kuratomi] also informed me that he and Kai had never stated that they would give themselves up if the other men were released. (Dr. Opler told me that they had done this).

The following men who took an active part in breaking the status quo were Old Tuleans: Nakao, Okamoto, Mayeda and Akitsuki. Namekawa came from Ht. Mountain. Naydo from Rohwer. (I'll get the three other names from Tsuda, who seems to know everything on these matters. R.H.)

Present Situation in Camp

As a result of the stockade and the Ho:shi- internments a lot of the hot heads in camp have been cooled off to a great extent. None of these people will take any forceful steps now, because they don't have a big group backing them up. It will be much easier to keep them in hand than it was a year ago.

If justice takes over I'd hate to see them make the same mistakes that WRA made.

Stockade Meetings and Coordinating Committee

Shimizu did not call any meetings in the stockade. Those internees who talked to the Coordinating Committee didn't talk much in the stockade when they came back.

Reaction of Army After Cancelled Mass Meeting

I knew the Army would get mad if they cancelled the mass meeting. I figured if we went into hiding maybe in a couple of weeks they would have cooled off enough so that we could talk with them. That's why Reverend Kai and I went into hiding right away, I told him to and I told Yoshiyama and Uchida too.

Expectation of General Residents

For the future the people are expecting something better. They feel that almost anything will be better than Mr. Best. Any new man would be better.

Ennis Talked with Stockade Detainees in August

Kuratomi told me that Ennis had talked to all of the detainees and had asked them if they were going to renounce their citizenship. Kuratomi told him he would not. However, when Kuratomi got back to the stockade, he found that all of the other fellows had said they would. Kuratomi tried to point out to them that if they renounced and were sent to Santa Fe, they were not (as members of the Negotiating Committee) sticking to their obligation to the people in camp.

Ho:shi-dan Woman in Block 36

There is a lady in block 36 who has gone crazy. Three of her sons have been interned and she goes around telling people not to blow the bugles. They have boys guarding her house now so that she won't go around saying things about the Ho:shi-dan. The woman who committed suicide the other day was also connected with the Ho:shi-dan.

Rumor of Another Reunion in Crystal City

Kuratomi told me that there was another rumor in camp - that soon more people would leave for Crystal City - he wanted to know if there were any truth in this.