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James Sakoda
Tule Lake

January 29, 1943

Mr. M. does not take too much interest in the Co"op, even though he is a member of the Board. Others seem to feel that if he is allowed such an important position he ought to work harder than the others, which he is not doing.

7. Fumi Sakamoto

Fumi is extremely extroverted, even to the point of being blunt and aggressive. Part of this can be attributed to the fact that she did not get along with her father when she was young. Any fact that explains this is that her family has always lived in a Caucasian district in Sacramento. The neighborhood seems to have been populated largely by foreign-borns of comfortable means. Her husband was a Portuguese, while she was also rather intimate with an Italian family. She also mentioned that Mexicans lived in the same district, too. The rest of the children in the family went to Japanese school and also to Lincoln Grammar School, which is dominated by Japanese, although it was further away than another school which Fumi attended. At this school there were only about two other Japanese. Thus, Fumi associated mainly with Caucasians during her school days, keeping contact with Japanese only through her "Y" and church work. This probably accounts for the fact that her aggressive ways were allowed to develop without too much hindrance, because they were ways which allowed her to get along in a Caucasian group.

Monday, February 1, 1943

1. Kakiuchi Family

Mrs. Kakiuchi came back to Ruby's English class, and came over to see her. She seems to have felt lonesome for the class, both because of the fact that she was missing out on learning some and also because of her association with other students and the teacher. She said that she came to the class without telling her children.

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One of the most interesting questions to probe is why some children become attached to the family and remain rather quiet. One factor seems to be the extent to which conformity to families' ways will serve to satisfy individual desires of the children. In the case of the Kakiuchi family, the concern of the parents for the children seems to have been an important factor in the children growing up to be very obedient and staying at home as much as possible. Mrs. Kakiuchi related that she never beat up her children once because she felt that when she was small she too used to be naughty, which was probably only an excuse for her being nice to her children. On their birthdays she always let them do what they wanted to do most and gave them a party because she wanted the children to feel that the parents were concerned for their welfare. Even here in the camp she is preparing a feast for her children on birthdays. She has always gotten along quite well with her husband, and feels that happiness within the family is the most important thing. George is working in the mess hall and has taken part in a Japanese drama (Hototogisu) and in sumo with some of his friends, many Kibeis. In the mornings and evenings he attends classes. For this reason he has not found it necessary to go out to play very much, and has been satisfied with his routine of living. He wanted to have his mother not go to English class and stay at home because he wanted to have her at home whenever he came home during the day. The girls in the family also stay at home most of the time, except perhaps to go to Buddhist church.

2. Assassination Party

During August and September when there was so much trouble brewing, there was some talk that a few people were being suspected of being "informers." Among the most frequently mentioned were Dr. Iki and Walter Tsukamoto, but in general such talk was kept rather quiet and did not spread widely. Just recently one Issei was heard to remark that there was a Ansatsudan (Assassin party) out to get five

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people including Tsukamoto, Henry Taketa, and Kibei Ikeda. Ikeda seems to have been accused of "informing" prior to evacuation. At any rate, the matter is very unclear. It is said that activities of this group were stopped by colonists who believed that it would be unwise. If this talking is true, then it goes to show that germs of disturbance, such as those that occurred at Poston and Manzanar, existed in this camp, too.

3. Nisei in Army

From some remarks made by an Issei, JS believes that there is a feeling among the Isseis that they fear their sons having to join the armed forces. As this Issei stated, the U. S. is poor in tactics and Japan is strong so that she cannot expect her son to come back if he should join. When it was pointed out to her that her sons would have to go to war no matter in which country they lived, she said that she could not help her concern for his children. Even when they are late coming home from school, she worries about them. She remarked that Yego sneaked off to the JACL conference in Salt Lake City, by taking out a group of workers to the sugar beet field, first. The feeling seems to have been that the JACL is trying to make Niseis join the Army, and that the announcement by Secretary of War Stimson to the effect that Niseis would be allowed to volunteer was caused by the JACL. The rumor, incidently, was that Nisei were to be drafted even if they remained in the Projects, which, of course, was not true.

4. Coop Ward II Membership Meeting

The meeting was held in Block 30. There was some fear before the meeting that the mess hall would be too small to hold the membership in a ward, which totaled, for Ward II, 1080. However, it was pointed out that no more than 1/4 or 1/5 should be expected to show up. Actually, however, only 80 or so showed up, when 109 were required to make a quorum. The meeting was started a little after eight without a quorum.

Matsumoto: Mr. Matsumoto before the meeting asked JS to include a letter

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of things from the Board to the Committee on Committees for the backing the Board received from the Committee. It could have been included in the report given at the general assembly, but at a ward meeting, the only effect it could have would be that of showing that Mr. M. had done good work. JS suggested to him that he have the chairman include it in his report. The chairman said he had too much to report on, and the matter was turned over to JS, who was required to include it in his report on the activities of the Board. Mr. M. in his own report on the Committee on Committees related that everybody in the Coö্প had worked hard, including the Board. He wanted priase for himself, but he was cooperative and praised others, too. Realizing this, Mr. Sakamoto, the chairman, in his report mentioned Mr. M. several times as having worked hard. It would probably please Mr. M. if he knew and if he could sit on the Board.

In the beginning of the meeting Mr. Sakamoto was going to go through the by-laws, a copy of which he had in English. Mr. M. stopped him and pointed to a Japanese copy, and showed that he would like to do the reading of the By-Laws. Although he was not scheduled to read it himself, Mr. Sakamoto let him go ahead and do it, which he did very efficiently.

Ikeda. In giving his report on the Management Committee, Mr. Ikeda brought up everything that he had talked about at the committee meeting, even things which did not concern the committee at all. Mr. Sakamoto later mentioned that his report was too long and that he was just trying to show off what his committee had done. While Mr. M. and Mr. I. were similar in this respect, Mr. I brought out things in such a way as to make his committee seem like the only active committee in the Coö্প, and to show that the Board was not carrying out the things that his committee suggested. This lack of loyalty to the Coö্প but only for himself, marks the difference between Mr. I and Mr. M. Mr. I. is out to get attention for himself, and does not seem to really care about the Coö্প or people working in the Coö্প. His lack of thought is indicated by the fact that recently he made two

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suggestions on the same night which were contradictory. He asked that cash register receipts be used instead of scrips because that would be more inexpensive. He also asked that the use of scrips in the canteen be made compulsory.

Auditing Committee. Up to this point the Auditing Committee has been the hardest to understand. First it got tangled up with Mr. Smith when they attempted to supervise the inventory-taking. The inventory taking was done in a reasonably satisfactory manner in one day, where the Auditing Committee wanted about a week. On the checking up of the price, however, they seem to have done nothing about it. Then later they protested that they were not consulted when the price was put on, and therefore could not approve of the financial statement. Consequently the financial report was made by Mr. Mitsutome, a member of the Board. Mr. Takagi, who gave the report of the Auditing Committee, was not as cooperative as Tad Tomita had been at the general assembly. Tad gave an account of the activities of the committee which smoothed over the fact that the Auditing Committee was dissatisfied with the financial statement and did not approve of it. What they were dissatisfied with, of course, was the fact that they were not able to supervise everything completely to their satisfaction. Mr. Takagi, however, in his report went into the details of why they were not entirely satisfied with the financial statement, attempting to justify the stand taken by the committee. In this respect, he too was not loyal to the Coop as an organization.

As each report was finished a few people left. No questions were allowed till the reports were all given. A few had probably come to ask questions, but they were not allowed a chance to do so. Most of the reports were too long, and by 10 p.m. most of the people were tired of hearing reports. It was getting cold, too, even though a stove was burning in the hall. One man finally got up and asked that more coal be put in the stove. The chairman asked that everyone move up a little closer. The small group that was left was not desirous of hurting the feelings of the speakers by leaving, but when the man spoke it gave them an

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excuse to get up and leave, leaving behind hardly anyone at all. For a while the chairman did not know what to do. After some discussion it was decided that no more reports would be given, although there were three more on the agenda, and the meeting closed because there was no one around to ask questions.

Most of the people attending were Isseis, practically no young people were present. Of the Isseis, about eight were women. The largest number came from Block 30, where the meeting was held, and from other blocks only five or six each turned up. After the meeting Mr. Ikeda remarked that it was not very encouraging (hariai ga nai) to attend two or three meetings every week on cold nights, and then find that the people are not willing to come to listen to reports for two or three hours. There seemed to be a feeling among representatives that perhaps they were wasting their time if the people were not interested in their own business. It was pointed out that most people did not care because they had only one dollar invested in the Coop. Elberson's insistence on a high membership fee should have been followed, perhaps.

According to Fumi, Ward III had an even poorer attendance with only about 40 present. They were able to finish giving their reports, however, although it took till 11:30.

5. Coop Board of Directors Meetings

The last meeting of the first Board of Directors begins at 8 p.m. The minutes are read by Executive Secretary, and approved as read.

Report from General Manager.

George: I have no report, but Mr. Ichikawa will give a report on his buying trip.

Ichikawa: (In Japanese) Did business in Denver, Salt Lake City, St. Louis, Chicago; we bought 80 or 90 thousand dollars worth. The hardest to get were sheets, towels, white muslin (white cotton goods). The other goods we got

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as much as we intended to. Dress goods for women were difficult to get. You cannot get cotton dress goods any more. We talked with the credit manager of the Rice-Stix. They asked us to buy first, and then they would talk about credit. After we bought, the Credit Manager wanted to know how the material should be sent (in small shipments). They wanted to ship the goods in four or five different shipments. It would take about six or seven months to pay for the goods according to their plan. They wanted us to make the payments as soon as possible in order to hurry up the shipment. This credit problem is serious. They praised our statement for November 30, but they wanted the statement for December 31. They said that they would not send the first shipment until the statement is sent. They may sell the goods that we bought if we don't pay soon enough. We got most of the goods that we wanted.

At Chicago we got into contact with nationally advertised brands. They did not want to open new accounts, and out of four stores, one store refused to open an account at all. The other three are willing to open an account since we are selling in an Army camp and they thought it was a special case.

Hamai: I bought about 10,000 pounds of candy, but how about making candy here, because we can get sugar from the Government. The candy store can get sugar if he sells candy to Army-run places. There are no more chocolate candies, only hard candy.

We got \$8.50 and \$6.50 slacks. The only thing we are out of are shoes, suits, and hats.

(Elberson asks JS what he asked Ichikawa, because he referred to Reeder's. The other buyer explains in English.)

Elberson: How much of an order did you expect to place before you went?

Buyer: Forty to fifty thousand dollars.

Elberson: You did better than you expected to.

Buyer: RS has given up two \$20,000 to relocation centers on one purchase. It takes about six weeks for goods to come in.

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George: We need \$75,000 to \$100,000 capital.

JS: Do we have to borrow money?

Hamai: No, we can raise the price. The people won't kick if we do not advertise that we are going to raise the price.

Elberson: We ought to raise the price a little and get some investment from members.

George: Mr. Reeder is coming this Thursday. I brought this matter up in the Management Committee. There has been quite a lot of criticism. I figured that if there is a lot of criticism there is no use in having him come in here. They believe that they were in favor of him coming in if the Board was of the same opinion.

Jacoby: What are the objections?

George: It creates a demand.

Elberson: Is it true that our sales of goods is suffering?

George: Our sales have been down to \$400 or \$500 a day.

Roy: The Management Committee said to wait until the buyers came back. If the buyers can get what they want, the committee would rather see Reeder's go out.

Ichikawa: I think we can get the things that Reeder's sell if we can handle the credit matter. It is funny why they talk about national-brand merchandise in a camp like this. I think it is because a few persons start talking about such goods. I don't think such expensive brands would be sold in a camp store. If some people want it they can make use of the mail order.

Roy: If we turn down Dick Reeder's proposition, would not it ruin our chance of buying? Couldn't Reeder's stop our orders?

Jacoby: Wouldn't Reeder's help out till we get our credit structure straight?

Koso: Maybe it is better to cancel Reeder's coming in Thursday.

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JS: Is that arrangement definite?

George: The arrangement is not definite. He just phoned in that he was coming in. I think he went to San Francisco and bought some goods which fit the Japanese people. I think you should consider that, too. But I don't want you to think that way.

Hamai: We don't have to buy at 10 per cent.

Elberson: In order to keep good relations with Reeder's, since he is a friend of the Japanese, I think we should taper off our relationship with him. We should prepare him for it, so that he can quit without taking a loss.

Buyer: We are not getting our order of Arrow shirts. Maybe Reeder's stopped our order.

JS: I think that we should let George handle the matter as he thinks fit.

Chairman: How about leaving the matter up to the general manager.

Horiuchi: Mr. Coverley says that he is going to close up the Project as soon as possible. We are going to be relocated in about six months. (He is ignored.)

George: Let's let this go, and I will talk to him.

Treasurer's Report on December Statement

Sugimoto: \$135 laundry account was found in the sales account.

Taketa: (he questions him and is not satisfied by his answers) If you send such a statement to the manufacturers, they are going to doubt our statement.

Sugimoto: We sent this change to the auditor.

JS: Is the new rent figure retroactive to the first six months?

Jacoby: Yes, the new rate has to be paid. (The old rate was \$25 for rent and \$25 for water and light. The new rate is going to be \$75 per barrack).

Elberson: We are still fighting this rent business.

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Executive Secretary's Report

Koso: I gave two gifts with the Executive Committee's report. One was to Miss Topping who gave a series of lectures on coöps. Also a gift was made to Fumi. A letter of appreciation and \$5 was made. Donation was made to Youth Social Activity when it sponsored the President's Ball. All of the receipts from the dances were given to the hospital. Twelve cases of soda pop (\$13.20) were sold.

Application to join the Coöp Wholesale was finally made today.

The Planning Board and Council asked for \$10,000 donation. I have written an answer to both, of course, stating that such donations are not favorable because we have rather weak capital structure, reserves were not set aside, we are not sure that we can donate such amount without being subject to income tax. I stated that we are considering this proposal. Last Saturday they called us in. They thought that the Coöp should donate at least \$2,000. They said they would back us up on the sale of scrip. Some of the Planning Board people mentioned at a membership meeting that three Coöp heads made a commitment to donate about 2 or 3 thousand dollars, which is not true.

The Executive Committee looked through the price list of the photographer, and passed this matter. We now have to get a room for the photographer.

New representatives are being elected. On the fourth, old and new representatives met at 1220 from 7:30 so that they will be prepared to elect board and committees at the following Thursday meeting. The Board has to stay in its post until the new board is elected.

Taketa: The way that the matter has been presented at our membership meeting; it was quite different from previous presentations. They said that they were not asking for donations from the Coöp on the strength of the pledge of each Coöp member to donate their own patronage dividend. I told this person that

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they could go ahead and get the pledge from the members, but whether we honor such a pledge or not is another matter.

Koso: We are going to ask the two organizations to fulfill their promise of backing up the compulsory use of scrips, but we cannot back this plan up. They will have to contact the people directly.

Horiuchi: Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Yamashita claims that the two organizations agreed that the WRA agreed that the old profit did not belong to the Coö^op and that it belongs to the public and not to the Coö^op.

Elberson: Mr. O'Brien did not say that the past profit belonged to the Coö^op.

Shibata: Mr. Shirrell said clearly that the money of the old enterprise belonged to the Coö^op and not to the people.

JS: We should approach this matter diplomatically.

Koso: Mr. Ikeda and Mr. Yamashita know that the money belongs to the Coö^op.

JS: There is talk that the raising of money by the people will cause the WRA to stop from giving money to the people for recreational purposes.

Jacoby: The Japanese are not the most popular minority group in the U.S. The WRA's hand is tied because Congress has placed a definite instruction on recreational funds for the Japanese people. An instruction says that the local resources should be canvassed first, and that the WRA might be in some money to help, but the WRA will not foot all of the bill.

Elberson: The photographer will be here next Tuesday from ten to seven p.m.

Protest letters are going into Washington on the matter of rent. Mr. Coverly is somewhat concerned about the rental. He is interested in giving us some equipment, and having the WRA purchase some of the equipment we have at the present time and renting them back to us at a reasonable rate, and he hopes to make up for the \$75 rent, so that we can sign the agreement.

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Theater Project: Mr. Coverley said that the WRA might be able to purchase the projector and rent it back to us at a reasonable rate. He also suggested that the WRA could furnish free labour on the construction of the movie theater and perhaps even see that seats were made available. These were just suggestions. He wanted from me a definite statement that the people wanted a theater. If we are able to definitely make that statement, then we can negotiate with Mr. Coverley. The Coöp can make its best contribution to the juvenile delinquency problem by building a theater. I think it would be desirable for the Coop to take over recreational activity, if the Coöp can take over the financial aspects, especially if it can be put on a self-supporting basis. The members will be more likely to accept such a proposal.

This Board is not against the principle of paying rent, but against the unreasonable provision on rent. If this Coöp is to have any significance after we get out of here, its significance will not be because of any subsidizing from the WRA but because it is a self-sufficient business organization and a successful number.

Resolution to make weekly meetings of the Board legal.

Fiscal term, December 1 - March 31.

Miss Topping Donation.

She donated \$30 to reproduce a book on Coöp Movement in Japan to be distributed to the people.

Honda: I understand that the book is not copyrighted, but can we reproduce such a book? Will it be legal?

Koso: I don't think we have to worry about that. Miss Topping will understand if we can not carry out the work. We wrote to London for permission to copy the book.

Makino: I would like to learn a little more about this patronage dividend matter. I wish it could be clarified to the people. Are customers allowed credit?

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George: I am sending out memos that such practice should be stopped. I did pick up a pair of skates which was charged out to warehouse 351 for equal distribution. A party wanted the skates. I was also accused of making reservations for woolen material or something whereby some of the customers were turned away; I made the reservations. I would give the guy a suit if he could prove it.

George: About ten skates were sold at the warehouse. I took four of them myself. I have set a policy of nothing being sold at the warehouse, and nothing saved for customers.

Taketa: Change is not being given when a large denomination scrip was left and the purchase was small.

George: The clerks are allowed to give change in money under such circumstances.

\$5,000 Loan

Koso: The loan is secured because the people trusted Mr. Sugimoto. Mr. S. wants an insurance on the \$5,000, 3% interest if bank interest is 1%, 4% if bank interest is 2%. Payment on demand. Money not to be used by the Coö"p, but to be left in the hands of the treasurer.

Sugimoto: I want complete custody of the money.

Taketa: In large corporations such as this, I don't think one individual should shoulder the financial burden by himself. I don't see why Mr. Sugimoto has to take all of the responsibility by himself. The person lending the money should loan the money to the Coö"p.

Roy: I think the fund should be used for other business purposes, too. Why let part of the money lay idle.

Jacoby: It won't remain idle.

11:30 p.m.

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Wednesday, February 3, 1943

1. Kazuko and Construction Trouble

Kazuko went back to work this week, only to find that her department was in the midst of what seemed to be developing into a serious trouble. She heard parts of the struggle going on from various persons, but does not seem to know clearly just what is going on. She says that Richard Fujioka put in time for his men without making them work and Isseis attacked him for this. Elberson said that he thought T. said that his men did work eight hours. One other thing that seems to complicate matters is the fact that F. is supposed to be sympathetic toward the Caucasians. Frank Kiyama, I believe, is in the same position.

Kazuko now realized rather clearly the insecure position she is in as Mr. Slattery's secretary. The first day she says that she kept away from his inner office because she was afraid of getting into trouble. This seems to show definitely that she is beginning to feel the disadvantage of being definitely on Mr. Slattery's side. There was a meeting with the Planning Board on this matter to which she wanted to go, but her parents told her not to go because it was dangerous. She seems to be determined to tell no one anything in order to preserve her neutrality. Another interesting aspect is a possibility of a relapse of her breakdown because of the trouble in the office. She said on Monday night that she was tired because of what went on in the office.

2. JACL Meeting, Report of Salt Lake City Conference

Walter is speaking. He talks of the Army language school as a "wedge" for Niseis to get in.

"It seems that most of the privileges are being returned to the Niseis."

Legal Aspect. "Misunderstanding may put the JACL in a very embarrassing position. People say that the JACL sold the people down the river by not opposing the evacuation. If you read the account of activities of the JACL then you know that such rumors are unfounded. Since Pearl Harbor the JACL leaders were against

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evacuation, but when it became known that military necessity would make evacuation necessary, we had no choice as American citizens but to cooperate. That was the only ground on which we cooperated in evacuation. People have differed in their opinions. Some people have defied evacuation and have been arrested. The JACL could not go to the help of these people because of our promise of cooperation to the military authority.

There are any line of cases -- your Webb case. The Attorney General in California in behalf of the Native Citizens and other super-patriotic organizations, attempted to take away the right to vote. Fortunately the court turned Mr. Webb down. This shows that the majority of the people in America believe in fair play. They have a lot of money and appealed. I feel confident that the appellate court will affirm the judgment of the lower court. The Government is trying to help the Niseis wherever it can. The Secretary of War Stimson's pronouncement will help us in other legal matters, such as the refusal to let Nisei on land in California, Utah, Arkansas. I think Mr. Stimson's pronouncement will go a long way in sobering these legislatures. JACL members should feel a little bit better than other Nisei who are not members, because they have helped to bring this about. You may only contribute \$2 or so, it made it possible to maintain our office in various cities. Those things we have done, and certainly as insignificant as it may seem today, it has had a definite bearing on the recognition of Nisei citizenship rights. I defy anyone to show me where the JACL has fallen down in any respect. Time alone proves what work we are doing, and they will probably be after the war that the people will begin to realize what the JACL is now doing. It is no reason why we should quit. If we have any self respect we should continue this work.

The JACL will join in the Webb case to oppose it, but will not join in the other cases. I know Mr. Yasui of the Yasui case, which has a splendid decision in its favor, but the JACL cannot step in on those cases.

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Mr. W. of the ACLU said that our problem was the problem of all minority groups. If our rights can be suspended, then the rights of every minority group can be suspended. Mr. W. said he was not interested in the Japanese in particular, but in the rights of all minority groups.

An Italian who had a Japanese sweetheart and came to JACL dances, was ordered out of San Francisco because of his interest in Japanese scroll writing and had Japanese friends.

On our return trip we were very tired. We were royally fitted while we were in Salt Lake City. Our train was delayed getting into Reno. We had to spend a night in the police station wholly because of complaints from citizens because Japanese were running loose at night. Otherwise we had nothing but pleasant experiences. Salt Lake City and the Colorado area is already over-saturated with Japanese. It's not fair to them for more to go in and create more problems. We should strive to avoid those two localities.

Estimated Budget. The free zone chapters are raising \$10,000. They are a very young group, and quite a contribution to raise that amount. The estimated budget is \$63,175. How are we going to raise that amount? We are working on slim wages. Mike is so far receiving only \$75 a month. Imazeki spent more than \$500 of his own money. All down the line our officers are getting between \$75 and \$90, although they have been promised more. They have done a marvelous piece of work. More than 8/10 of the \$63,000 will be raised on the outside. Approximately 1/2 will be raised by Americans on the outside; those inside the centers are only asked to raise \$5,000. That is your challenge. I know I can depend on those of you here, because you were the ones who supported the JACL in the past. We have got to get the others in this center to do their share.

Army men will be here to enlist men between 18 and 37, women who want to join the WAAC, and men who wish to apply for wartime industries.

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Questions. (Taketa sharing the meeting)

XNI: As soon as this relocation committee accepts students in various colleges, do they clear the names, or are the individuals required to clear their name with the FBI?

X: The Council and the FBI must clear on students. At present there is no means of appeal. Consider: 3x grade point and 2x personality. Also financial status. The top 10 per cent is usually selected for relocation.

XNI: I would like to have Walter clarify the rumor that the JACL asked for voluntary evacuation.

Walter: We asked the members whether they would prefer voluntary induction or if they would prefer involuntary induction. There were very few voluntary requests. The overwhelming majority was in favor of induction under the Selective Service. The Council canvassed the blocks and I took the minutes. The sentiments in other centers were identical. Therefore, the JACL requested the War Department to open the door for entrance into the Army on a selective service basis and we also opposed a separate Nisei division. (He reads the official resolution.)

"We demand reclassification on the same basis as citizens of other race."

Sakada: In Mr. Stimson's message it said that the initial method of recruitment will be by voluntary. Can we take it to mean that some more is to follow?

Walter: I don't think Secretary Stimson said that.

XN2: Tom said that there were a lot of opportunities on the outside. Aren't those people just interested in just Japanese stoop labour and working just during the seasons?

Tom: No, they are also interested in families moving into farms. There are vacancies on farms without any man power.

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Sakada: In regard to being ^{an} essential war industry worker, do you have to be the owner?

Tom: No, if you are a worker of an essential industry, then you are an essential war worker.

XN3: Most of us evacuated prior to harvest season. We find that we are rather short on finances. Is there any possibility of gaining federal assistance?

Tom: Yes, there is the FSA. There are people who are glad to get you started. There are owners of farms who have farms and can get you started. The sugar beet owners have a lot of money, too.

XN4: How soon can we go back to California? (Someone claps his hands, others laugh.)

Tom: I think you have to ask General De Witt.

XN4: If there is a shortage of man power all over the country, why cannot they accept us in California?

XN5: Since the JACL opposed the recruiting Niseis along color lines, what stand does the JACL take on volunteer enlistment on color line?

Walter: Those who evacuated did so because we felt that it was a duty to our country. Here is an opportunity to serve your country. The opportunity is not as good as we would like to have it. Are you going to be an American citizen all the way, or only with certain reservations? I would like to think of you as American citizens going all the way. There are people who do not intend to remain in this country even though they were born in this country, because they have been soured by the evacuation, but I think those people are in the minority. We have suffered a great deal. I personally have lost my practice and my property, but after the war I don't know any country that I would like to live in than the United States. I am going to stay here and so are my children. I would not be welcome in another country. This is the only country I have. If

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it is, I am going to give to it everything I have, even though my country may not treat me in the way I feel it should.

If your future lies in this country, then it is to your advantage to serve your country. After the war is over, then good things are going to the war veterans. You want to get into the benefits. Taxes will be exempted and you will find it easier to get Government jobs. Now that the die has been cast and it is going to be an all-Japanese division, I hope most of you are going to turn out for it. I hope the division will gain nation-wide recognition. You will serve even those who are not serving in line with you. I think that is the right attitude for the patriotic and loyal Nisei to take. (fairly loud clap of hands)

XN5: Can you define military necessity?

Walter: I think military necessity is not something that you can lay your hands on. It differs with the commander in that area. He felt that the evacuation of the Japanese was necessary.

XN5: Why did the Army prefer evacuation to martial law?

Walter: Martial law is difficult because it deprives the civil rights of all people, whether dangerous or not.

At the time of evacuation this country was afraid of a Japanese invasion, some authorities admit. It was for this reason a quick evacuation of Japanese was thought necessary.

XN5: One purpose of the JACL is to hold the constitutional rights of the citizens. Another point is that the JACL should look after the welfare of the Japanese people. The relocation will cause disruption in the project. If the doctors leave, who will take care of the sick? Has the JACL taken any step to look after such cases. (very quiet)

XN6: I think I can answer that. Both Dr. Carson and Mr. Shirrell were in favor of the Doctors relocating. The WRA or W. S. Public Health will furnish doctors.

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XN5: I think that point should be clarified. Could we depend on the WRA or any other government agency to furnish the necessary numbers of doctors?

Walter: I don't know whether you have a grudge against me. The doctors and nurses are the same as us. They should not be obliged to stay here at \$19 a month. The WRA is obliged to look after the welfare of the people here. I think the WRA will get other doctors or ask these doctors to stay at a reasonable salary. The only solution is to pay the Japanese doctors a good salary.

XN5: (Kitazumi) I think the majority of the colonists hate to voluntarily relocate themselves because of ^{the} finance situation. I think this angle should be stressed. Are there any facilities for relocation.

Walter: Myers said that the WRA will not donate any money for relocation purposes. It will not loan money because it did not want to have any hold on the Japanese people.

XN: (Muramoto) Life insurance and property, what was done about them?

Walter: I asked Mr. Myer the same question. He said that the question had never been presented to him. He said that he was going to Washington to take the matter up of getting a moratorium on life insurance.

XN7: An Issei asked me if I failed to volunteer whether it would be looked upon as being disloyal.

Walter: No. But consider yourself an American, and what do you think they would feel if the Nisei were allowed to join and did not join?

XN8: (George) How am I going to pay my income tax when my books are not here?

Walter: File a return based on your best estimate.

XN9: Is it true that the \$19 is not taxable?

Walter: I think they are a part of your income. But we are not sure whether your subsistence and clothing allowance are a part of your income.

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Sakada: Mike is volunteering. Won't that handicap the work of the JACL?

Walter: Yes. In the event that he does volunteer, I think Mr. Kido will take his place.

Sakada: How about JACL leaders who want to help the JACL but cannot spend their own money.

Walter: At present the volunteer work is being done by people with means or by people who are single.

Report. (by Nakamura)

Many Easterners did not know that there are citizens in the projects.

(Groans heard throughout the crowd)

Mike has been working without compensation. Others are working for \$75 or \$100. The rent for room usually costs about \$50. Staff members also offered to go with only two meals a day. We would like to give these people a more attractive salary.

Muramoto: What is the WRA or OWI doing about fighting against anti-Japanese propaganda?

Yego: The leave section approached the Council to see what was the best means of carrying on the relocation. One recommendation of the committee was to fully investigate the employer end. Evacuees have also left a poor record by leaving a job right away. There are two ends to be investigated. All offers will be thoroughly investigated.

Muramoto: What does the JACL intend to do about the anti-Japanese bills?

Walter: First, it is a question whether the JACL has the money. It is desirable, but have we the money. The sooner we start the Tule Lake Japanese the sooner we can start on matters of this sort. How about getting started on the organizational end?

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Organization .

Taketa: How can we form a nucleus? Could the past presidents of the past JACL chapters get together to form a planning committee?

XN: How about having a committee to make recommendations?

Cal: I move that we take up your suggestion. (Taketa corrects him.)

I so move.

Ted Nakamura: I had in mind having one central chapter and committees for each ward.

A weak vote is taken. A few ayes and noes are given. A roll of chapters is called and the meeting adjourned. There are about 150 persons present at the meeting, and only about one fourth were girls.

Friday, February 5, 1943

1. Election of Coöp Representative

This week we had an election of coöp representatives throughout the project. In the Block 25 the announcement was made that an election meeting would be held for members. Only a handful of people turned up, however, and made it impossible to hold an election. The following evening, therefore, ballots were passed out in the mess hall and members were expected to vote for a representative, one Issei and one Nisei. At one table nobody seemed to be interested in who was to be elected. In the first place, they did not know who should be voted upon, since there were no candidates named. Mr. Kaya refused to vote because he did not know whom to vote for. Mrs. Kaya said that it did not matter whom she voted for, and asked another person to mark her ballot for her. The result of the voting was that Mr. Nishida was elected as the Issei representative, while George Ike got the greatest number of votes and Yamamoto trailed behind. George said that he did not want to run for representative because he was going out to work in the sugar beet fields and also because he had too much work as the President of the Young People's Club. He was the old representative from the block and probably did not

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find the meetings so very interesting. Yamamoto was asked to take the job over, but he too refused on the ground that he had too many other things to attend to.

This lack of interest in the Coöp on the part of the people was shown at the ward membership meetings. Since the membership fee is only \$1 and since almost all of the people were asked to become members, they did not have any particular interest in the Coöp. The spirit of the Coöp which lies in the members taking interest and taking active part in running of the Coöp, is not evident among the members. Since there isn't any competition and very little conflict with the WRA, there is no need for the Coöp to fight for the Coöp.

2. Mr. K. on Seicho-no-Ie

Mr. K. is a middle-aged Issei, probably in his late 40's. He has been working as a cook in a Caucasian home for some time (over 9 years) prior to evacuation. His interest in Seicho-no-Ie seems to be quite deep. Seicho-no-Ie can best be described as a Japanese version of Christian Science. It believes that all ills are spiritual in nature and caused by the wrong attitude taken by people. For this reason cure is a matter of changing one's attitude. Suggestion is used to a large extent, it seems, and psychoanalysis, used to explain the source of evil thoughts in the person's mind.

K. claims to have cured many people here in camp whom doctors could not handle at all just by talking to them for two hours or so. One patient in Block 26 who could not walk at all because he was so feeble, is now up and working. Another, a grumpy old man with paralysis changed his dissatisfied attitude just by listening to Mr. K. for about two hours. One lady who was almost hysterical and at odds with her family and her neighbors, found that by changing her attitude that her neighbors were willing to be friends with her. He claims that even T.B. patients in the hospitals get well when they are told that they do not need to

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stay in the hospital and should come home and be working. At Sacramento he cured a minister's wife who was an invalid for years without any real disease, just by pointing out why she was being sick. He quotes both Christianity and Buddhism to the patients, whichever happens to be appropriate. He relies most heavily on psychology and psychoanalysis, but often makes snap judgments and absolute statements. He believes that there is no such thing as an organic disease, although he has the advantage of being able to use suggestion to its fullest extent because of his absolute belief. The type of people he treats, too, are susceptible to such treatment because they are usually ignorant and believe many of the things he says which really cannot be proved.

Since his teaching tells him that happiness is a matter of spirit or attitude and that there is no such thing as unhappiness in the world, he believes that one can be just as happy here as anywhere else. He says that there are a lot of things to be thankful for here. He says that many people would be afraid if they were told to go out within a month.

3. Kazuko Tanabe

Kazuko wanted to know when the oratorical contest was going to be held. She said that she wanted to give a speech telling the Japanese people what they should do. JS asked her what she would tell the Japanese people. She said for one thing that they should cooperate more with the WRA. JS then had to explain that much of the trouble that has happened was the fault of the WRA. He also pointed out that there were Caucasians who looked down upon the Japanese and even hated them, and they should not be working with the Japanese people. This seems to have shocked Kazuko somewhat, and she wanted to know if that were true.

Kazuko also said that she was afraid of staying in camp very long and in association with the "good-for-nothings," because she would become just like them. By "good-for-nothing" she meant people who had very Japanese ideas from

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whom she thought that she had nothing to learn. She said that she would be willing to associate with Yoshimi Shibata and Noboru Honda. The latter, she thought, was still too sympathetic to the Japanese. Kazuko can not seem to get rid of the idea that she is superior to most of the Japanese here.

4. Kibei Attitude on Enlistment

Kazuko related that she hears some Kibeis and Isseis talk about the recent voluntary enlistment which was proclaimed by Secretary of War Stimson. There seems to be suspicion on the part of the Kibeis and Isseis that this enlistment and offer of jobs in War industries was a means of getting people out of the projects. They suspect that there is some ulterior purpose behind the move which would benefit them at the expense of the Japanese people. They also seem to believe that the Niseis are fools to fall for anything like that and volunteer for the U. S. Army. There were grounds for this suspicion because recently the WRA has been trying to do everything it could to get people to resettle, and so far the program has not been very successful. They rightly suspect that Japanese will not be allowed in war industries because in the past minority groups have had a difficult time getting any job of that sort. It is not unlikely that such applications for jobs will end up in jobs in agriculture for which only part of the community is willing to go into or are equipped for. To Kazuko the attitude of the Kibeis was disgusting and she said that "She could not stand it." To JS it is the natural outcome of a series of incidents and has some basis.

From the same source there has been talk about Niseis who have volunteered being murdered by the Japanese when they were captured by them. Those who did not volunteer but were only fighting because they were drafted were not harmed. This type of rumor seems to be a warning against Niseis volunteering for the Army. I supposed that was the way the Kibeis and Isseis feel, or perhaps it is a propaganda broadcast from Japan.

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Another Kibei who is Americanized enough to pass for a Japanese Nisei was saying today that he did not intend to volunteer. He remarked that there was too much discrimination. In answer to the statement that there was a 50-50 chance of coming back alive, he said that Negroes and Japanese troops might be sent to the front while the hakujins stayed behind. This idea of a separate Japanese unit is really not so good.

5. Isseis on Enlistment

There was talk in the block manager's office today by a few Isseis that the Army was planning to recruit 6,000 Niseis. Fifteen hundred were to come from Hawaii, 500 from the outside, and 4,000 from the projects. One man stated that if there were not enough volunteers then the rest would be drafted just the same. He qualified this statement later by saying that Mr. Coverley had said that this might be done. He concluded that Mr. Coverley would not say a thing like that without good reason. The expectation seems to be that not many will volunteer because of the manner in which the Japanese were treated by being evacuated.

6. Mike Imbe

Mike's pro-American stand is more than skin deep, which is probably the case with many people connected with the JACL. She said that the Japanese were very brutal, and she thought that it was not surprising that there were rumors to the effect that even Niseis are being murdered. She said that this was more reason why America should win. She also pointed out how fanatic the Japanese could be and how lacking in grace and kindness they were. Women who were brutally treated because they had gotten on the wrong train, a Nisei girl who was slapped in the face in the store because she was dressed up too well and ignored a leaflet handed her advising her not to over dress, which she could not even read, etc. She seems to feel a hate for the Japanese. This is surprising because she seems to have been brought up in an ordinary home where the parents were ordinary Isseis.

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Mike said that she did not want to stay in here if she could possibly get a job. She did not look too much even on the outside, however. She did not want to attend classes here, and preferred to stay home and knit. She does not look forward to going to Japan as Shizuko does. Perhaps she is taking out her dissatisfaction with life in general on the Japanese. The fact that her sister is very Japanese and her jealousy of her sister may account for this. As was mentioned before Mike took a reaction of becoming Americanized, while Shizuko became very Japanese. Mike has said that she had a case of inferiority complex and also said that she once had ambitions, but has none at the present time except for a home, three meals a day, a few movies thrown in. She undoubtedly has a great amount of resentment pent up in her system, even though she is a pleasant enough girl to get along with. Her outbursts today against the Japanese were really surprising.

Sunday, February 7, 1943

1. Miss Topping's Lecture (notes from speech in Japanese)

In Confucius' word they say "In the four seas everyone are brothers ." There is a place where everything is done on a cooperative basis. "A man's a man for all that." "The day is coming when men shall be brothers the world o'er." I was thinking of these words by Bobby Burns. You are being treated badly, and I have thought of what you could do under the circumstances. Some think that you should go East to relocate or others think that you should go back to Japan. I think both are good. It is not a matter of land. I think that the cooperative is a good thing, cooperatives can be found in the East or in the West. The present-day politics is the play thing of the rich. I would like to discuss cooperatives as a social movement. Then it does not matter what sort of political set-up you have. I sympathize with you very much. In the last two weeks you have come to my lectures and filled the mess halls, and I shall never forget about you. I am going East and would like to contact Caucasians for you and bargain with them.

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What should we think at this time? Some people would like to hear the story of Australia. An old man asked me that, and I was glad. Australia started as a prison. It was first populated by people sent by force from England. People in the labour movement, etc. were sent there. They suffered, but in the second, third, fourth generations they liked progress. In Scotland they hang people for religious differences. The sons of some of these people have gone to Australia. Melbourne was populated by people of such faith (junkyo-sha). They are very progressive and believe in the freedom of men. When Kagawa went there in 1935, they were all converted and wanted to hear more about the teachings. They asked for a practical demonstration of teachings, and I was sent there. The idealist church people backed up the cooperative movement. Things like this cannot be done in England. The cooperative movement in England is the movement of the labour class. The church people are too rich. In Australia it is different. I don't think that there is such a thing as no hope. Australia started as a prison and we are in a prison, actually. Mr. Kagawa said if you want to do social work you are not qualified unless you enter prison once. I cannot express myself fully -----.

I praise this attitude in you people. You people have worked hard and opened up California and Oregon, (the opening of a wilderness is the task of Japanese). One old woman said that she did not want to take it easy, but wanted to go East and start a boarding house or start farming again. I admired her. Every one in America wants to take things easy. They want to live a life of material comfort. They spend their money and become poor again and hence cannot become civilized. The person who seeks the simple life and then spends what he has for other people is the speciality of the Japanese. Such humanitarian aims are the Japanese's specialty. America lacks on this point. I would like to have some of you stay in this country. Those of you who think that they cannot stand this country any longer, I don't think we can ask you to stay. Japan is a civilized country. But I would like to have you stay in this country and work as a guide for the people in the country.

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When you came from Japan . . . I asked a man who had "four scores and seven years ago" on his wall and had pictures of Lincoln in his room whether he thought that this country would be a democracy according to Lincoln's ideal. He said, "Of course." People in Japan expected Americans to practice no racial discrimination. Dr. Kagawa used to tell me that, too. Dr. Kagawa says that you people came to this country with that ideal in mind. That ideal has become a lie. What caused this? After the Civil War we had scientific mass production (industrial revolution). At the same time the banks -- the banks of the rich people, of capitalists -- did things which made America imperialistic. America changed very much because of that. Mr. Kagawa says that there is no hope except for the Cooperative Movement. Politics are being used as a tool of the rich people in my country, I confess. The present system is a slave system. A few billionaires have made the others slaves. Half of the population in Japan are members of cooperatives. In England this is true. In America the coö্প movement is rising. I admire the cooperation that is being done in the countries in the East.

I think it was all wrong that the Japanese Association was blamed. I admired the way in which you handle your affairs. You should mix in with some other race and start a movement again to help each other again. Study groups, as they have in Sweden should be held. In Sweden there was a man who became the prime minister through these study groups. I would like to show a movie film of the coö্প movement in Nova Scotia. You will see the step in education on coö্প work, and you can put them into practice. I plan to see study groups in each block. For any purpose, wherever you go, it will stand in good stead as an education. I would like to see such a movement now. I would like to teach the America of the cooperative movement in Japan started about seven or eight years ago. Komujin started it. Two thousand years later Ninomiya-Sontoku appeared. When the coö্প movement was introduced into Japan by Hirata there was already a preparation to accept it. America is a political

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democracy, but that is not sufficient. Economic democracy is necessary if the rich are not going to take away the freedom of the poor.

I would like to see both Japan and America lean on each other. I think we can consider this suffering the suffering of a birth. Japan and America did not have an understanding when they became married. That is why they do not get along now. They got together only on the matter of goods. They did not have the spiritual preparation. America has many faults, but I would like to see both Japan and America together and friends. We are in the midst of the fight on a honeymoon. I sometimes think that it would have been well if we had been born in some other age. This age is probably the worst age yet. But spring will come, dawn will come. And by our efforts the bright spring will come.

How can this be accomplished? First, the matter is spiritual. I do not care whether the teaching is Confucius, Buddhist or Christian. I was evacuated 30 years before and have been evacuated many times since. Dr. Kagawa says, "When you suffer, do not think you are suffering by yourself." When you suffer say, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." I saw this on the brief case of a teacher who came to teach here. When Jesus Christ said that some rowdies tormented him, one of them asked him to remember him when he went to heaven. Jesus replied, "thou shalt be in heaven with me today." ---- "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This is wrong. This is only the first verse of a hymn of suffering which ends in victory. It represents the suffering of the poor people and the suffering of Jesus. It was sung for the benefit of the 12 disciples. -- We all have to strive to advance civilization. . . .

Sometime back there was a movement "to make California white." And the people asked that California "be kept green." Niseis have been discriminated against, but it does not mean that they do not have any hope. They have an opportunity to move into a greater world in which they could go on and help the people. I would like to have you people stay in California, but some of you will relocate now to other places. Just like Jesus Christ, this is a fortunate thing. We should make a

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brotherhood of all men. I studied this scientifically. From twenty years ago I have been chased out from various places; I have been constantly travelling. But there are people in every country who want to hear Dr. Kagawa's teachings. Of course, it is not everybody. They wait for him. I know there are no other roads open. We must admit Eastern culture into America. It does not exist in England. Here in America we have some amount of liberty. There are people who do not like the present government, who prefer the brotherhood of men. You should meet those people and hold study groups. You can work together with Jesus then. Jesus thought of his enemies first, and of himself last. When I become emotional, I think of these seven thoughts. While we are in the project, I would like to preserve our spirit. Think of others and make way for a humanitarian life for others. I would like to see a group living in love. I think that the Christian and the co"op people should get together to accomplish this. With knowledge and capital the world can be ruled. We must rule the world ourselves -- we can leave this to ourselves. We are the labouring class; we are the oppressed. We must become the rulers of the world. We should go together and discuss matters. Let's turn the meeting over into discussion. Shall we carry on the discussion in Japanese or English? (No one is in favor of English. It is decided that the meeting would be carried on in Japanese.)

I am going to Philadelphia, and I want you to tell me the thing that you would want me to say in Washington. In Philadelphia lived William Penn, a man who believed in brotherhood. The Friends have an Executive Committee in England which calls its meeting "The meeting of Suffering." I can get any word through by means of these Friends.

XN: What is the future of the Nisei? What are we to do?

Topping: We are one of a great number of Japanese. Even Japan was made up of a large number of races. In the United States we have not perfect homogeneity

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yet. In cooperative discussions there are people of many nations. The Indians contributed something to America. The English settlers also contributed a great deal. What did the German settlers contribute? They contributed thrift, industriousness. There are many other things they contributed. Now, what did the Japanese contribute? They contributed the specialized kind of farming, reclaiming lands on the Coast, and the evacuation showed us how much the Japanese contributed on the farms. But what else? I am sure that you people are going to contribute to the melting pot of America the Kazoku shugi. There is a certain thing that we need to bind together this melting pot. Many different nations went into the making of America. Niseis may turn out to be the manganese to make things just right. So I am waiting; I do not want to force you, but I do want to see more of you go to the Middle West. People from the South in the West are different. I have seen the Japanese in Nebraska. They are very welcome. It happened to be a good cooperative state. No one feels superior or inferior. So I want you to come to the Middle West and integrate yourselves with the people. I would like to see more of you on the farms and not so much in the city because it is easier. I would like to see you acquire yourselves with Kagawa's teachings because you can lead the discussion then. The study group may turn out to be not so different from the Japanese association that you had.

Do not think that there won't be any chance for professional work. There are so many places in the Middle West where professional people are welcome. There are many church groups who will welcome you. I know Japanese doctors are going to be wanted.

Adj. Matsushima (?): Your face is American, but I think you are Japanese. In individual relation Americans are tops. But when in groups they tend to discriminate against Japanese. I cannot understand this. If Niseis remain behind and are discriminated against, they will not be able to enter the American life. If the Americans will prepare themselves to accept Japanese, Aren't Americans afraid of Japanese who are too smart? Americans recognize the progress of the Japanese people.

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If the Japanese make progress in the Middle West it won't be of any use to go East. I would like to have a frank answer.

T: Among the Americans there are Anglo-Saxons and non-Anglo Saxons. The Anglo Saxons are competitive, but on the part of non-Anglo Saxons there are possibilities. Wherever you go not only individuals, but also groups differ. A majority of the groups are poor possibilities, but not all. The world is full of rich people and it has become easy to discriminate against people. There are groups, however, which do not discriminate, and I wish to introduce you to such groups. The Mennonites, Church Brethrens, Friends -- there are a great number of people. We should build up from the side, too. Since the word Proletarian is dangerous in America, I want to use the word "least." If the people in the "least" group will get together and discuss problems they should be able to understand each other well. I would like to have the Niseis open up America without love -- this desert of love.

Matsushima: In Florin the Japanese were sent to a different grammar school. This was also done in Walnut Grove. These children lack very much in English when compared with other Niseis. This discrimination is recognized by both Isseis and Niseis. In the future if such practices are carried on, I fear the future of the Japanese in America. When you meet any important people I would like this matter discussed.

T: It is just as you say. Florin was used as a political foot ball at the time of the Land Act. I felt very sorry for the Japanese. To avoid such a situation, I think that you should relocate. The Americans in Florin are really low down (kato). (Laughter throughout the room) It seems that there are only thieves in Florin (laughter again). I would like to tell them the cause of the war, too. All they think about is discrimination. There is discrimination against other nationalists, too. Americans are still young racially. They are a race still in its stage when it wants to destroy things. They have started to learn about science and

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have gotten power. Because of materialistic power, they think that they are the only ones who are great. Look up the history of Cecil Rhodes, Rothchild and Zaharoff. The Americans were surprised at the strength of the Japanese. You people have to be teachers to these $1\frac{1}{2}$ -year-old Americans.

February 8, 1943

1. Coöp Board of Directors' Meeting

The meeting is opened at 8 p.m. Koso reads the minutes of the last meeting. Ten members of the Board are here. Before the meeting JS talks to Jacoby.

Reports. Takeo Yoshihara.

Theater. Everything is available except the wiring. I contacted the community activities and they were in favor of such a project. They are planning to get two more projectors so that they can give movies once every two weeks. They are all 15mm. films, and hence their selection of pictures is limited.

Koso: The Council went on record accepting the recommendations made by the juvenile delinquency committee. Among those recommendations was one on building a theater. A committee obtained no result on a theater being built by the WRA. They refused, but Mr. Coverley is thinking of assisting the colonists in such an attempt.

Kuramoto: One thing that we have to think about is running into competition with the WRA.

Jacoby: Four machines will show to about 1200 people close to their own blocks.

Don: It is a matter of whether they can get the projectors or not.

Takeo: When four machines are going we can see a picture every week, but the new pictures cannot be obtained because the film companies are restricted in turning such films out. The community activities are willing to give up the movie activity if the Coöp will take it up.

Jacoby: But if we cannot get the wiring Mr. Coverley suggested the use of the factory building. The theater project is tabled for the present.

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Research Director Department. Noboru: The first series of discussions with the employees has been completed in eight days. The discussion method was used, and we have made good progress. Mr. Elberson has asked me to start the photographer's appointment. Until the 23rd everything is filled. Appointments are being taken at ten-minute intervals. Five of the educational leaders have been selected. Ward III and Ward V have yet to have a leader. We are meeting every day to study questions and answers. We expect to use the motion picture in the educational program. Each leader is assigned to each committee. We are meeting once a week with the general manager. I would like to have the permission of the Board to allow these men to attend committee and ward meetings.

Executive Secretary's Report. Koso: The Planning Board decided to back up a compulsory membership. The Planning Board wrote that they wanted the matter of the donation dropped.

License Fee. Twenty-five dollars for three months was suggested by the committee on planning but no action on this has been taken yet.

Branch Office

A conference at Salt Lake City with representatives from other projects was suggested by Mr. Abbott. It was suggested that Mr. Hamai be sent there as a representative.

Compulsory Use of Srips

Koso: This matter was recommended by the Management Committee, but we thought it was too early so we waited. Thus the Planning Board and Council are in favor of this idea. And the time has come to act on this matter.

Elberson: Why not let the people tear out the srips?

X: Why not punch the tickets?

Shibata: It takes too long.

Honda: The people suspect of shortchanging by the clerk.

JS: I move that the use of scrip be made compulsory and customers be

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allowed to tear out scrip at home. (Seconded by Roy and unanimously passed).

Capital Structure

Jacoby: There is an advantage in low prices. People are going to go out and it may not be necessary to increase the capital structure.

Koso tonight has gotten ahold of himself and is guiding the discussion. He points out the three alternatives: Markup of price, loan from people, loan from the WRA.

Establishment of strong capital structure was tabled and recommendations sent to the new Board that a small markup be made.

Sato: How about starting a fish shop here?

Koso: It is being looked into now.

Harry: People in our block are buying oysters which cost \$3.50 a quart.

Donation Policy

All of the wards have not replied on this matter.

Shibata: Since this is the last meeting, we should give the President and Vice President a big hand. The President should also be given a gavel for remembrance. (This is agreed upon).

Analysis.

The Board meeting tonight was not very different from other meetings. It was the same sort of rambling sort of discussion. Koso came out strongly with definite suggestions, and that helped to the Board to keep on the right track and, more important, to make up its mind. Don did not say very much. Dr. Jacoby and JS were playing games of go-narabe on paper, but both managed to make comments now and then. Roy was active in trying to keep the discussion on the right track. It is funny why he cannot talk a better brand of English. He asked JS tonight to make the motion on the scrip sale deal, which he seconded. George was against the compulsory use of scrip, and seems to be acting in the same way that Sumio did in opposing the Board on some issues. Evidently, there are problems that they have which do not

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readily occur to the Board members. Mr. Sato spoke once on the matter of changing the cash register, but was told that he was off the subject. I think most Isseis would have been quite hurt if other young people did anything like that to him. Practically all of the talking tonight was done in English, and Niseis dominated the meeting. Mr. Kuramoto has come to place some reliance on JS for suggestions and for motions.

Tuesday, February 9, 1943

1. Analysis of Miss Topping's Lecture

Usually when Miss Topping or Dr. Ichihashi gives a lecture the hall is usually packed. At the last lecture given by Topping, however, the mess hall was not quite filled. There were still a few seats open. This was probably due to the fact that the snow was on the ground about a foot deep, and it was still falling on the ground. Practically all those present were Isseis, with only a handful of Niseis. I recognized Masami Hayashi, Mas Tanaka and Bob Iseri, all of whom can be called the quiet type. There were about a dozen or so Nisei girls. Of the Isseis only a small percentage were women and the majority men. This may be due to the fact that it was snowing, but can also be attributed to the fact that in general women do not go out, even to lectures, as much as men. One exception here are the English classes, which are almost wholly attended by Issei women rather than Issei men.

Miss Topping spoke in Japanese, mixing in a few words of English here and there. She spoke with a trace of American accent, but it was not really bad. She hesitated and paused a great deal and seemed to be searching for words, but her delivery showed that she was quite used to the language. The way she said things the words she used showed that she knew the language quite thoroughly, but she could not express herself quite freely, and was not always able to get over a point clearly. The Isseis probably had difficulty understanding what she said all of the time, in spite of the fact that she did speak Japanese, because she often referred to English

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phrases in Japanese and also referred to such things as the Industrial Revolution, which many Isseis probably did not know about.

During her talk Miss Topping rambled somewhat, but she kept the interest of the audience by the interesting statements that she made. Her lecture was most boring when she elaborated on Christian teachings, and most interesting when she talked of the Japanese being mistreated by inferior (katona) Americans. During her lecture she brought out clearly several points. Among them were: The Coöp is a means of salvation for the oppressed. The Church is an aid to the Cooperative Movement. For thier own benefit the Japanese should relocate to the Middle West and mix in with the coöp people there.

Miss Topping's most interesting point was her attitude toward the Japanese people and toward Americans. She was teaching a class of Kibeis and she was asked to leave by the school authorities. From what she said at the lecture it can be well imagined what she told her Kibei class which displeased the school authorities. In every possible way she sympathized with the Japanese people, even to the extent of perpetuating the myth that the Japanese people are superior and Americans are inferior so popular in Japan. She also said that Japanese can go back to Japan if they wish, but she wanted them to stay in America as a favor to the Americans, to teach them how to live better. Then she referred to Americans several times as being inferior and made the audience chuckle.

The Isseis were probably pleased with the way she speaks. Possibly they thought that here was an intelligent woman who really understood the Japanese, as they had thought about Lindbergh. But that they were not convinced of the wisdom of staying in America and in resettlement in the Middle West was borne out by a question asked by a Salvation Army man, who wanted to have an assurance that there would be less discrimination from Americans in the future.

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2. Loyalty of Hawaiians

So far in the social structure no mention has been made of Hawaiians as a group. While it was known that Hawaiians did tend to go around together they had not been conspicuous enough to merit mention as ^a large group. There was a group of Hawaiians from Santa Anita, there were Hawaiians in the #2 fire station, there was a gang of Hawaiians from Sacramento, but they could have been treated just like other rowdy groups, although they did have distinctive features of their own. On this problem of loyalty, which is being made clearer by the coming registration for draft and outside employment, the Hawaiians have come to deserve a mention as a group.

The general observation that people from Hawaii are more loyal than people from the Northwest, the people from the Northwest are more loyal than people from California can be made. It has been observed already that people from the Northwest were more cooperative with the administration than people from California. Californians have also mentioned that they were not in favor of volunteering themselves, but they felt that people from the Northwest might be different. This general sentiment on the part of the people probably has a good basis in actual fact.

Recently several incidents have suggested that Hawaiians are much more loyal than those on the mainland. The first were letters in the Dispatch recently which attested to the desire of Hawaiians to join the Army. Yesterday JS met some Hawaiians in the Administration Building who desired to join the Coast Guard. Evidently they had been sailors before and they declared that they did not want to stay on land. A Japanese had already gotten into the Coast Guards, one of them said as he brought out a news clipping to prove it, and he thought that he should be allowed to join too. If he could not do that he wanted to serve in the merchant marine because he would be able to do more good there than joining the Army. He did not want to go through a period of training, but wanted to get

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into action right away. He also stated that he did not want to "rot" in a camp like this. This brings out the unpleasantness of the camp as a factor in the Hawaiian wanting to join the Army or the Navy. Riley also pointed out that many of them had friends already in the Army and looked forward to joining the Army just to be close to their friends. But loyalty is manifested by these Hawaiians, which is more than can be said for many people from the mainland.

The question then arises, what makes these Hawaiians more loyal than the people from the Northwest, and the people from the Northwest more loyal than the Californians? One ready answer is that the Hawaiians have seen less discrimination than those on the mainland, and the people from the Northwest less discrimination than people in California. The difference in loyalty was pointed out by JS to several people from the Northwest and their reply was? "We cannot blame the Californians when you hear of the way they have been treated." Loyalty, then, to a large extent, seems to depend upon the degree of good relationship with the Caucasians. Any reluctance on the part of minority groups to join the Army or to show enthusiasm for the American cause can partly be blamed on social relationship existing between the dominant group and the minority group. Who is to blame for this relationship is another question.

3. Taketa Going Out

Taketa is a member of the Board of Directors. By occupation he is an accountant. So far he had received three offers for jobs in the Middle West as an accountant. The pay ranges from about \$140 to \$160. He is hesitating about accepting the jobs and leaving camp because he is not sure that he will be able to make ends meet on that salary. He has a wife and one child whom he has to look after. If rent for an apartment costs from \$60 to \$75 a month, it is evident that a family of three will find it difficult to get along in a city at this time. He does not find camp life too bad, and therefore does not feel that he must go out

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at the present time. Conditions in here must get worse or offers from the outside become better before such a hesitating attitude is broken.

4. Interview on Kibei Wardens

It probably would have been difficult to get the story of the rash Kibei wardens from their standpoint without intimate contact with one of their group. Fortunately, however, Fumi Sakamoto had worked with them quite intimately as their confidante and was willing to tell JS their story as well as she knew it. An interview was arranged one afternoon, and she told as much of the story as she could remember. The following account, based on the interview, is interspersed with observations by JS on the general status of Kibei wardens, sectionalism, etc., items on which light is thrown by this account.

For a full understanding of the account it should be remembered that police activity in Japan, along with entertainment activity, has always been connected with the underworld and gambler type of people. People who have gone into police work have been associated with people who did not want to make an honest living, people who preferred not to maintain families and community ways by remaining non-conforming bachelors, people who had been gamblers or tried to get along in the world on the strength of their physical strength or skill in such art as Judo. To some extent the same trend of lack of "honest workers" among policemen and firemen is found in American system, too. Because of this situation, people like these often enjoy very little prestige in the community, although the job of policeman in Japan is considered a Government job and a highly respected one. The Kibeis, as a minority group among Japanese in the United States, are sometimes connected with this group because they are not able to get into better lines of work because of their handicap.

The struggle of the young Kibeis in the warden crew can be looked upon as an effort on their part as a minority group with very few privileges to estab-

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lish a secure position and a good name for themselves through their work as wardens. The struggle is one between a respectable group and a non-respectable group, with the Kibeis upholding the respectable standards. It is also the struggle of a weak minority group against a stronger dominant group. The struggle can also be viewed as that between a young group and an old group, although the struggle is not the traditional one between Niseis and Isseis, but between Kibeis and Hawaiians. Sectionalism also enters into the picture since the Kibeis came largely from the Northwest group and were in the force first, and their power in the force was later taken away from the organized group that came in from California.

This account does not clarify the whole picture, such as the relationship between the Isseis and Niseis on the force, and hence requires further study.

The first group of colonists who came into the Project came in largely from Washington and Oregon, where Japanese were not concentrated so much as in California. The age qualification at first was set at 20, and hence the force tended to be made up of younger people. The selection of the personnel was done at first by Dr. Jacoby himself, and done very carefully. The first man on the force to achieve any leadership was Takao. He was the oldest on the force at that time, good natured, and a "good-for-nothing" in the past. The second person to achieve leadership was Tamiyasu, a more efficient and stricter man than Takao. Both of these persons were made head men.

The trouble in the warden crew seems to have started with the coming of Sam Hayashi and his group of "Hawaiians" from Walerga. Sam Hayashi, a man of about 45, was a known gambler from Sacramento. He was connected with the Japanese organized gambling joint, the Tokyo Social Club and was considered one of the three top gamblers. He had an interest in eating and drinking places and was considered the "pinball king" in Sacramento. In Walerga he was the head of the police force there and gathered around him a group of Hawaiians, composed of

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men who were considered Hawaiians or people who associated closely with them. The reputation of the police force in the assembly center was very poor, and was considered a joke, the common concept being that the force was always loafing.

Sam brought with him his own group of Hawaiians of at least ten into the force here in Tule Lake and was made one of the supervisors, along with Tomiyasu. Takao was relegated to a lower position. Hayashi, in his leadership position set up a system of divide and rule, pitting the older Isseis against the hot-headed Kibeis. On the advice of the supervisor the age qualification of the wardens was raised from 20 to 25 as a means of getting more dependable men. The selection committee for the interviewing of men was set up, made up of the two supervisors and Dr. Jacoby. Thus most of the power in the force was put in the hands of Tamiyasu and Hayashi and his group, the latter being considered the non-respectable group.

The Kibei group was made up largely of people from the Northwest who came in with Takao and Tamiyasu, and there were very few who came in with Hayashi. They did not like the fact that Takao was relegated to a lower position than Tamiyasu and Hayashi. They felt that Hayashi and his group had no personal integrity. There were several field and desk sergeants who were with Hayashi, and combined they wielded authority. When they came across a warden they did not like they put him on duty where, it was unpleasant. The feeling of the Kibeis was that they were being discriminated against. The dissatisfaction seems to have been general at first, but became more specific later on. They did not like the assignments made by the supervisors, for instance, because they felt that they were made to do more than their share of night work and wood pile work. They would not have minded it if the work was done by the whole force in rotation. Another thing, Hayashi made an Issei patrol in a car at night with a Kibei instead of allowing two Kibeis to patrol together. They resented this fact because they felt that the Issei was acting as a stool pigeon. Resentment against Hayashi mounted, and they came to a point where they felt that only a "beating up" would have any effect. It

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should be noted that the resentment was never against Dr. Jacoby. They did not feel that they could appeal to him because they felt that he had aligned himself with Hayashi.

About the middle of July Fumi was working in the Adult Education Department. At the time she did not have very much to do, and when Dr. Francis asked her to help Dr. Jacoby by making some armbands for him, she consented. While she made armbands wardens brought her materials and things, and in this way she became acquainted with them. They took her home in their car and also took her out for an ice cream or soda pop. Even when she had begun to do coop work and had to attend meetings at night, they did little errands for her. When the Kibeis decided that something should be done about Hayashi, they called on Fumi for advice.

The Kibeis had begun to think about beating up Hayashi and throwing him into a ditch. It was necessary to call a meeting of the Kibeis. Either Hayashi's permission was asked and refused, or they went ahead without his permission and were suspected by him of being up to something. Hayashi forbade the meeting, which enraged the Kibeis because they felt that he was over-stepping his bounds. Hayashi had given no reason for refusing them a chance to meet. He assigned some of the Kibeis to night duty so that they would not be able to attend the meeting. The group, however, met just the same rather secretly, about a dozen in number. One fellow who was more moderate than the others felt that they needed advice in order to avoid any trouble and he and a few others got the permission of the group to call in Fumi as a confidante. The car was parked about a block away from the meeting place when they went to the meeting in order to avoid suspicion. Because some of the Kibeis were on duty, they came to the meeting at different times, and others had to leave to report for duty.

Fumi heard the grievance of the Kibeis. They were angry about the fact that the supervisors had overstepped their bounds and used their position to take

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advantage of them. They also stressed the fact that the supervisor and the people about them were not respectable people, and that they made it difficult for them to go out and do their duty, because the warden force had a reputation of being not respectable. They had come to a point where they felt that something drastic had to be done to be effective. The other group could not be trusted, and hence they had to act secretly. Fumi's feeling was that the Kibeis were handicapped by a lack of knowledge of English. When they got into an argument with the supervisors, they lost their tempers before they could find an adequate answer.

Fumi's advice to the group was that for their own sake they should band together. However, she pointed out the danger of committing any violence, pointing out that if they knew their procedures they would be able to get some of the things they wanted. She convinced them that beating up Hayashi was not the only or the best way out. In order to organize the group, Fumi suggested an informal picnic for the Kibei group. Hayashi refused to allow^a picnic unless the Kibeis told him what they wanted a picnic for. One of the Kibeis lost his temper and told him what they thought of him.. The picnic was held, but the organization of the Kibeis did not proceed very far. Many of the Kibeis became disgusted with their work, and when opportunities opened up in the sugar beet fields, they left the Project. They were replaced by older men, and their struggle in the warden crew ended. One concession made to the Kibeis was the promoting of Watanabe as desk sergeant.

Kibeis and the Kasubuchi Threat. Just before the contemplated threat against Hayashi, Kasubuchi, a block manager, was threatened because he was thought to have informed the administration concerning the ahodarakyo given at an Issei entertainment. Whether there was much evidence for suspecting him has not been established. He was seen among the crowd. Anyway, he was thought to be a fellow who talked too much. Soon after he received a threatening letter telling him that if he did not refrain from such activities in the future something would happen to him. The next day a group of about six visited him and he was told directly to be

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Careful. The group was made up of all Kibeis, Fumi believes. A warden must have been involved because Fumi was called in by Kristovitch for questioning because she was a friend of the wardens, at one time knowing all of the wardens on the force. Fumi told K. that her work with the wardens had a value of its own and that if she told anything she would lose their confidence and probably do more harm than good. She said, however, that if anything happened to Kasubuchi she would tell all she knew about the Kibeis. K. understood her position and let matters go at that. Fumi received a visit from some Kibeis who inquired what she had told Kristovitch. Fumi told them, and they went away satisfied. Nothing more came of this incident. Fumi felt that some of the Kibei wardens were involved in this incident because when they talked about sending Hayashi a threatening letter they looked at each other with meaningful glances.

Kibei Warden and Perry Saito

According to Fumi this story was spread around quite widely some time last year when there were still empty barracks which had to be watched because young people were likely to get into trouble in them. A young Kibei warden, patrolling these empty barracks looked into one apartment and recognized Perry Sato with a girl. He recognized him as a leader in the Recreation Department and also in the church and, not wanting to embarrass him by telling him anything, he did not say anything and started to leave. However, Perry was angry and railed at him for "snooping around." At this unexpected outburst the Kibei warden was taken aback. He did not intend to report the matter, but his indignation was aroused, and he began to wonder what he should do about it, since Perry acted so unpleasantly about the matter. On top of that the following morning Harry Mayeda sent a protest from the Recreation Department saying that some of the wardens were circulating false and nasty rumors about members on the Recreation staff. The matter was even taken up with Dr. Jacoby, and it was decided that the wardens would act as if they

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knew nothing about the whole affair. Harry contacted Fumi to find out whether the rumor was true or not. So far as Fumi could find out by questioning the Kibeis, it was true. Perry had been seen in an empty barrack with a girl.

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5. Army Registration Meeting

Fagan: Tule Lake team sent by the War Department to assist the WRA in accomplishing application for leave. These gentlemen will be here for some time. The policy of the War Department will be given by Mr. Sullivan.

Sullivan: I want to read a letter from Mr. Roosevelt to the Secretary of War. (he reads this) I am going to read the policy so that I won't make any mistake. Questionnaire will be distributed. Extension of policy means should be found to return you to a normal life. The effort is to find a solution of the War-time problem of one portion of the population. To put you on the same plane as the other citizens. Success is based on voluntary act of people. Restrictions accepted without loyalty suffering. The profit of the nation's good faith is to be found on whether they return privileges at the quickest possible moment. Your anguish is greater than those of other people. Reason for evacuation. Not all Japanese are loyal. Not all people are loyal in any race. Your difficult problem when war between Japan and America came along. How to deal fairly with loyal citizens. How to deal with disloyal person. Both could not be acted upon at one time. Until better method found one acted upon first. It was felt better to count upon the loyalty of the loyal citizens to continue. Change to be made now before any change occurs. This does not mean the release of hardship, but replacement by hardships faced by other citizens. Americans of Japanese ancestry are needed to fight for their country. They are wanted because it is known that they want to fight for the U. S.

Those who are willing and loyal are being asked to volunteer for the Army. Those who are not qualified are asked to volunteer for work in the

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war industry. There are people who are disqualified because of their connections with the Japanese Government. Steps must be taken to determine those who can be trusted. Invitation for volunteering is a token of good faith. It is contemplated that if you do not volunteer most of you will be drafted in due course. Japanese will be formed into a separate combat team. If you are defused throughout the Army, your effort will not be recognized. Your relation will be improved. You will have the same chance for advancement and the same pay. Many of you are suitable officer material.

----- (See Official Message.) Dispatch 2/10/43

There has been a question that has been asked already time and again. Is the formation of a Japanese combat team a type of segregation? I answer that it is not. It is a means of utilizing your strength to the fullest. It has an advantage of bringing the Japanese-American problem to the attention of the American public and bring their loyalty to the American people.

One of us will be from 8-5 at:

3708
1608
6615

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I would answer questions now, except that I have another meeting at 8:30. In the evening we will be in 1308 from 7 p.m.

Tanabe: (In Japanese) The questions can be asked in Japanese.

XL: Can't we hear it in Japanese?

S: They will appear in Japanese in the Dispatch.

Xl: Why don't the Niseis go ahead and ask questions.

XN: Does the filling out of questionnaires mean you volunteer for the Army?

S: No. You fill out another questionnaire for that.

Fagan: It is a leave clearance application.

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XN: Suppose you do not want to leave.

S: It is an application for leave clearance, and not an application for leave. Do not get this point wrong. If you want to stay in, this questionnaire has nothing to do with it. (He has Rev. Tanabe translate.)

X1: How about those who have signed to return to Japan.

Tanabe: (After asking S.) It is unnecessary to fill out anything.

XN: This filling out is compulsory then.

S: We do not like to say that. We are not here to hold a stick over you. We are here to help you. Our orders are to get questionnaires from everybody. I am sorry the time is up.

Wednesday, February 10, 1943

1. Army Registration Meeting

After the Army officer and Mr. Fagan left for another meeting, half of the people went on home, especially the women, and the other half gathered around to hear the opinions of others on the meeting. All of the people who could be called leadership material remained behind. They included people I had seen at coop meetings, the talkative ones in Block 25, the manager, and Reverend Tanabe.

There was a general dissatisfaction on the part of the Isseis because they were not allowed enough time to understand what the whole thing was about and because there was no room for questions. There was a feeling that the Army was trying to put something over on them. At the Council and Planning Board meeting held on the same matter, the meeting was called about 11 o'clock and was ended about 11:45 giving very little time for questions. The Japanese people are very acute at catching anything like this, and it can not be said that their suspicion is unfounded.

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If the team were to be here for about 2 weeks, it would not hurt them to spend one whole day to explain what it was all about and get the understanding of the people before starting the registration. But as Rev. Tanabe pointed out, the officer here tonight was only a sergeant, and he probably would not know all of the answers, even if he did give the people a chance to answer questions.

Another thing that was brought up by a few of the Isseis was that this registration was a means of getting the people out of here. The officer had said that applying for a leave clearance did not mean applying for leave, but many of the people suspected that eventually they would be forced to leave if they signed a leave clearance paper. This question was asked, but they probably desired more clarification on this score.

One of the immediate fears of the Isseis seems to be that they are going to be forced out of the project. A question was asked on this, and the discussion brought this out very clearly. There was a feeling that eventually they were going to be forced to leave. It brings up the question why Isseis did not want to leave. One man said that he had property in California, and wanted to know why they were not allowed to take care of them before being asked to leave for the outside. Perhaps he did not know that a great deal of effort had been made to take care of the evacuees property on the Coast. It can be seen that this was in line with the policy of the WRA to get people to move further inland. Another Issei pointed out that farming was a means of helping the war ends, and he could not see why the Japanese were not allowed to go out on near-by land and raise potatoes for alliving. Probably behind their mind is a fear of the outside coupled with a feeling that if they remain inside the Project their chances

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of returning to Japan would be better. Also, the Japanese Government had promised that if they stayed in the Projects it would be able to do something for the people which it would not be able to do if they went out to work. All of these forces seem to be working to make the people reluctant to go out.

Mr. Sakai, a block manager, said that he and Mr. Ikeda of the Planning Board had talked it over and had decided that it was best to protest a separate Japanese battalion because it was discriminatory. He related, however, that one Nisei said that a separate battalion would be better for Niseis because they would be more likely to be sent to Africa or some place other than the South Seas. He dreaded the fact that if he went to fight in the South Seas he would have to shoot at people whom he considered his own brothers. Mr. Sakai expressed surprise that Niseis should consider things in such a light. The significance of the separate battalion, however, does not seem to trouble the Niseis so much as it does the Isseis. When they learned that the sergeant had said that a separate battalion was created to give the Niseis a chance to prove their loyalty, the Isseis laughed.

One Nisei pointed to 2 questions on Form 134 which asked whether he would be willing to serve in the armed force if ordered and whether he was loyal to the U. S. to the fullest. He said that he wanted to answer both in the negative because he felt that he was not being given a fair treatment. JS pointed out that the only way in which he could answer such a question was yes, because if he answered no, it would not do him any good. Also, it would have a bad effect on the whole people. If he desired to return to Japan and become a Japanese citizen, that was all right, but not otherwise. Mr. Ikeda agreed with this point of view. The Niseis had no alter-

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native on such questions, although they could refuse to volunteer. What seems to bother some of the Niseis is the fact that they have been discriminated against, and even while volunteering is offered, it is being offered on a discriminatory basis. The Niseis are being allowed to show their loyalty and to volunteer on the same basis as Negroes and not as other American citizens. This sense of futility on the part of Niseis is evident. They are not enthusiastic, as a whole, about the whole volunteering matter, it seems.

After some amount of discussion in small groups, someone suggested that a translation of what was said by the officer be given to the Isseis because the Dispatch tomorrow would probably not clarify the whole thing very much. There was a feeling that since something was being put over on them, they should take immediate action and find out what it was all about, since registration was to begin the following morning. Rev. Tanabe was called upon to give as much of the officer's speech as possible. Rev. T. spoke from notes that he took, and Mr. Sakai and Mr. Ikeda added a few details toward the end. Then the questions on form 126 were read, and people decided that the questions were not so bad. Some felt, however, that if they signed the questionnaire they might have to leave whether they wanted to or not. There seemed to be a general reluctance to sign anything unless they found out more about the matter. Several suggestions were made that the Council should do something and get the registration delayed until more was learned about the whole thing. These suggestions were not taken up readily, however, and the people just sat around and talked, and talked, their talk not developing into anything. Rev. Tanabe

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later left, and so did JS, because the discussion was not developing into anything.

But it seemed that either in Ward II or in some other Ward a decision was reached to have the Council and the Planning Borad meeting that night at 10 o'clock to see what could be done to gain more time and information before proceeding with the registration. This morning Henry Kaihara, a councilman, informed JS that the registration had been delayed till noon today.

2. Henry Kaihara's Attitude on Registration

In Block 27 the young people had a meeting in which they invited the 3 members of the team and played games with them and discussed matters. Henry had a chance to talk to Tsukahara, the only Japanese on the team. Henry told him that he was against the separate batallion and against volunteering because he thought that the Japanese were getting a dirty deal. T's explanation was that it would give the Japanese a chance to prove their loyalty. Either the Japanese would have to volunteer, or they would be drafted eventually unless they went out to work in essential war industries. Henry would have been in favor of Selective Service and treatment of Japanese along with the other Caucasians on an equal basis, but he did not like this matter of discrimination and segregation. He said that the JACL leaders were fools to try to take credit for bringing the volunteering about. They did not have that much influence, and they should have realized that the people were not with them on this matter. He said that the people seemed to think that the JACL leaders were instrumental in bringing about this mass registration.

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According to Henry, T. confessed that he did not really like the idea of going around and asking the Japanese to volunteer. He was doing it because he was in the Army and he was given orders. However, he realized that people would talk about him and that it would not reflect well on his parents who are in one of the projects. In the Army, Japanese rate rather high among racial minority groups. But he said that Japanese were always Japanese as long as they had their Japanese face, which could not be changed.

Henry and JS discussed the qualities of the Japanese people. Henry thought that a Japanese Army would be stronger than an army made of those Hakujins. JS said that the Army made the mistake of thinking that they could put anything over on the Japanese people. They were very intelligent. Henry agreed and said that it was difficult to "pull the wool" over the eyes of the Japanese people.

Henry related the fact that his younger brother was in the Army. He had volunteered because his number was low and he would have been drafted anyway. At the time of the bombing of Pearl Harbor he had been sent to Pearl Harbor, where he received a shrapnel wound and was in the hospital for over a month. Then he was sent to Camp McCoy with the rest of the Hawaiian regiment of Japanese soldiers. His father was ill and he received a 14-day furlough to come to the Project from the Eastern Defense Command. When he arrived his father was seriously ill. He expected to stay for 4 days, but when the Western Defense Command heard that a Japanese soldier was on the Project, they ordered him to leave immediately. He had been in the Project for only 14 hours, and left at 4 a.m. in the morning. That

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evening at 7 p.m. his father died. Henry related this without any emotion and without making any direct remarks which showed that he was indignant about it, but it probably bothered him a little.

2. Feeling against JACL leaders

The feeling against the JACL leaders seems to be bad. There seems to be a general agreement that the JACL was instrumental in getting this volunteer business through. It is thought that the JACL, after a discussion at their conference in Salt Lake City, did send a letter to the Secretary of War asking for treatment of the Japanese in regards to the Army on the same basis as other Americans. It is also thought that Walter has claimed credit for the JACL as having brought about this volunteering which opened up a means for the Niseis to make headway by proving their loyalty. The pitiful thing about the situation is that the JACL is so little in touch with the sentiment of the people here. They do not seem to realize that suspicion and antagonism against them is growing by leaps and bounds. In the meeting last night one man asked JS whether Walter and Takeda were in the group. They were not, but the man probably had some questions to ask them. Mrs. Kakiuchi mentioned the fact that Walter and Yego were not liked by the Isseis. This morning Mary Kishiyama stated that someone, a bachelor, had thrown a rock into Walter's window. This story may not be true, but it just goes to show that the feeling of the people is mounting against Walter and his henchmen. The questions that many people are asking is whether Walter is willing to volunteer himself. He has very little to lose because he has a Captain's rating, they say, and therefore will be in a superior position in the Army. If he does not volunteer and continues to live here, there is fear that some violence is going to be done against him. In such a case, we are likely to have a Manzanar incident here if the right steps

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are not taken to prevent it. If such a danger should become imminent, Mr. Coverley should be informed of the right measures to be taken. If some of the boys volunteer against the wish of the parents, or others are drafted soon, and worst still if some of them are sent to battle and killed and Walter and some of the JACL leaders are still around, their lives are going to be in danger.

3. Kibei's Love Letter.

Hattie Kurose yesterday related an interesting encounter with a Kibei. She was helping at a store when a group of Japanese soldiers dropped in. A girl friend happened to know one of them and introduced him to Hattie. Soon after Hattie received a letter from this soldier. It was written in very flowery language, reciting the beauty of nature, etc. Hattie showed it to her girl friend and discussed the fellow. They decided that he must be a Kibei because no Nisei would write a letter of that sort. Through other friends they learned that this soldier was a Kibei.

The interesting thing here is that language alone is not the criterion of a Kibei. Their behavior also is important, even such a small detail as the type of love letter they write is important in identifying a Kibei, it seems.

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1. Kibei Reaction to Registration (George Hayashi)

This was the reaction of one of Ruby's English teachers. He was a young Kibei, about 23 years of age. He returned from Japan in 1936, but has been studying here in America ever since and had started to go through college. He speaks English quite well, but also speaks Japanese well, too. He had just started to teach for Ruby, and he came rushing into the room

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to tell Ruby that he could not teach any more. His face was flushed and he talked in an excited sort of way. He had been classified 1-A prior to evacuation, and he was afraid that he would be one of the first ones to be taken even if he did not volunteer. He wanted to quit his work because he felt that the future was uncertain, and anyway he was in no state of mind to be able to teach. His reaction to the whole volunteering problem was that he was "mad." He would go, he said, if he had to, but he thought that the U. S. had the nerve to put the Japanese people in a place like this and then ask them to volunteer for the Army. His attitude differed from other Kibeis on the point that he was willing to serve. His attitude can be said to be that of a typical Nisei. He said that it was Stimson's plan to settle the Japanese problem by sending them all to war and have them killed.

2. General Reactions

The whole problem of volunteering and loyalty to the U. S. is not very clear in the mind of the people. There are several issues involved. One is the application for leave clearance. Another is the attesting of one's loyalty to the U. S. or Japan. The other is the matter of volunteering. In general it can be said that very few people want to volunteer. But the main problem is developing into whether the Japanese are going to be loyal to the U. S. or not.

The reaction of the Issei is that there is no reason for being loyal to the U. S. since they are Japanese citizens. They also think that it is foolish for anyone to volunteer for the Army because this is a losing battle for America and there is no sense in the whole thing. Behind this

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declaration is probably a fear that their sons will be taken in the Army, and they want to keep their children at home if possible.

The reaction of the Kibeis in Block 25 seem to be that they do not want to volunteer for the army. Many believe that since they are returning to Japan after the war there is no sense in declaring one's loyalty to U. S. There is a great deal of fear that if they join a Japanese battalion they will be sent to the front lines in danger zones and be sacrificed by the U. S. Army. There is also a reluctance to join the army in the first place.

The reaction of the Niseis seems to be generally one of indignation at being asked to volunteer and thus being put on the spot. They are angry for having been put in a camp, and feel that it is an injustice to be asked to volunteer. The fact that the Japanese are being put into a separate combat unit and receiving discriminatory treatment also irritates the Niseis. Most Niseis do not want to seem disloyal to the U. S., but they are not very enthusiastic about going to war.

3. Block 25 Meeting on Registration

Meeting was called last night in every block by the Planning Board and the Council to discuss the registration. A meeting had been held by the 2 groups to attempt to clarify some of the questions, especially the two on joining a combat unit and being loyal to the U. S. There seems to have been some desire to have the question on loyalty delayed, and also to clarify the exact meaning of question on combat duty, but the explanation by the Army officers seems to have been rather meager. It was decided that the block people's opinion on the matter would be asked before further action was taken.

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In block 25 Mr. Nakamura, the Planning Board representative, took charge of the meeting, while Mr. Yagi, the representative of the Council took care of the discussion in English. The discussion was poorly organized by both men, and the floor was merely opened to questions and opinions without clarifying very much what should be discussed. Practically all of the people in the block above 17 seem to have turned out, and it was probably the largest block meeting held to date. There were about 150 present at the meeting.

The reaction of the Isseis was immediate. The same people spoke. They agreed that they owed their allegiance to Japan and the Emperor. It was also pointed out that they did not have American citizenship and that they were "put in a place like this." They saw no reason why they should be loyal to the U. S. One or two wanted to have the question delayed because it was embarrassing. But an equal number declared that there was no need to hesitate in answering the question. They were Japanese and it was natural for them to answer "no."

The opinion of the Niseis were next asked. Mr. Yamamoto, a Kibei, with a normal school education in Japan said that it was natural for Kibei to be loyal to Japan, but he thought that Niseis too should be loyal to Japan since they had been mistreated here. No one else had an opinion to offer, and the chairman called upon JS to give his point of view. He got up and spoke in English, saying that the time had come for Niseis to get off the fence and make up their minds on which side they stand. If they intended to return to Japan and live there, then it would not matter too much if they answered no to the matter of loyalty. On the other hand, if they intended to stay here, then they had to think about the matter more carefully. He pointed out that loyalty to one's country was an important thing, and

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Niseis had only one citizenship. In his talk, which was entirely unprepared but well thought over in advance, he pointed out that according to the Japanese loyalty was an important thing and it should not be given up easily. He brought up the example of the wife who left her home and went into her husband's family and was expected to stay by her husband even if there are strains between the two families. He also stated that he himself had told people in Japan that he would be loyal to the U. S. because he was a Japanese and was taught to be loyal. He also hinted that Niseis can not be sure of a welcome in Japan. He stressed the fact that the problem was an individual one and each one should make up his own mind.

After he finished speaking, there was a great silence. Clearly the large majority of the audience did not agree with him. Then one young Nisei about 19 or 20 got up and said that he was against serving in the Army because the treatment of the Japanese in the Army was going to be discriminatory. Another said that he was against serving because Niseis had no rights at the present time, anyway. Mr. Yamamoto said that JS was not accepted in Japan because he did not try, hinting that he could not speak any Japanese. He felt sure that Niseis would be welcome in Japan. Tanabe sneered that those who could not be assimilated in a country was a fault themselves. Others got up and favored the Niseis putting down no. The matter of joining a combat unit was not so important, because they believed that "No" would be the appropriate answer for question 28 in regards to loyalty. There was a great applause by Isseis and Niseis and Kibeis whenever some one made a remark in favor of such an idea. The advice of the Isseis to the Niseis was that they should not be scared into changing their answer when they

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appeared before the Army officer. One Nisei wanted to know whether they could not be allowed to write their answer because they were afraid that they would be influenced by the Army officer when they were questioned. No one had any new idea. What the questions meant when answered "Yes" and when answered "No" was not clarified. The only answer from the block people was that they desired to answer "No" to the question of loyalty.

4. Block 47 Meeting

The meeting in Block 47 was railroaded by an entirely different tone. The Nisei leader Yoshimi Shibata, in the first place, was capable and handled the meeting skillfully, he knew what he was after and did not confuse the issue as was done by Block 25. The Isseis were willing to let the Niseis talk over their own problem by themselves in another part of the mess hall and did not try to coerce them into a decision as was done in Block 25. The Isseis had decided that they would omit question 28 concerning loyalty since it was understood that this was possible. The discussion of the Niseis took on a different trend. Most of the young people seemed afraid of being thought disloyal. As George Nakagawa pointed out, the question on loyalty was a routine question which was asked in the leave clearance form before. There should be no difficulty on that question, meaning that it should be answered "Yes." The question which they were doubtful about was the one on joining the combat unit. If it meant practically the same as volunteering some of them did not want to answer the question yes. On the other hand, they did not want to answer no without knowing what that involved. There were several older and more intelligent people in the group, and people who were more Americanized than people in Block 25. The whole tone of the meeting was different. It was soon decided that efforts would be made to find out

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just what answering yes and answering no meant and the possibility of rephrasing the question to make it clearer if possible.

There was also a clear report on the activities of the JACL. The organization of judges with asking the U. S. Govt. to allow Niseis into the Armed Forces. Walter Tsukamoto, Henry Takeda, and Tom Yego were called before the Planning Board last Friday and questioned as to whether they had done such a thing. Henry Takeda's answer was that he had not. As a proof they brought the three volumes of minutes and asked the Planning Board members to go through them. The Planning Board said that if they found that the JACL was being misunderstood, they would be willing to clarify their position to the people. The result of this investigation has not been completed as yet.

5. Analysis of meetings

There seems to be a fear of being drafted on the part of Niseis and a fear of having their children drafted on the part of the Isseis. The fact that Niseis have been mistreated has made it easier for the Japanese to insist that Niseis need not be loyal under the circumstances. The difference in reaction of Niseis in Block 25 and in Block 47 can be traced partially to the difference in the background of the people. Block 25 is made up largely of people from Walnut Grove and Isleton, where Niseis talk more like Kibeis. It may also point to the fact that Niseis are very easily influenced. In Block 25 they were under the influence of their parents, and in Block 47 under the influence of the Nisei leaders.

6. JACL Stand

The Isseis and probably Kibeis have been angry because the JACL has asked for Nisei induction into the Army. Probably many Niseis were indignant about this, too. The rumor spread that the JACL had asked for such

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an induction. The JACL leaders now seem to claim that they did not ask for it. Probably this, too, is a false statement, because Walter announced at the JACL meeting that they had asked for classification on the same basis as other Americans. In fact, he stated that JACL members should be proud of Secretary Stimson's announcement in regard to volunteer evacuation, because they had a part in bring it about. The people have been angered, and there are already traces of possible violence. A knife is reported to have been found on Walter's door the other day. There is danger of another Manzanar Incident occurring here. If Walter does not volunteer himself and others are inducted, he is risking his life if he stays behind. Walter is said to have asked a warden for protection in going home from a meeting of some sort. The warden, probably an Issei, is said to have told him "nothing doing."

Friday, February 12, 1943

1. Problem of Registration

Until this time the Japanese in America have gone along accepting their treatment by other Americans without too much protest. There was discrimination in the past; it did not bother many people. When the war broke out, the Niseis were put on a spot where they had to make up their minds on which side of the fence they were on. Many of them were willing at that time it seems to fight for the U. S. if they were called upon to do so. Not many, probably, would have volunteered at that time, especially because the war was fought against Japan. There was a tendency even ^{on the} part of some Niseis to look upon Japan as being somewhat connected with himself. His consciousness of being a Japanese was probably at the source of this, and the influence of the Isseis in molding the opinion of the Niseis on this matter was also great. The stock argument of the Isseis toward Niseis was that after all, no matter how hard Niseis tried to be Americanized they

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were still Japanese as long as their skin color was yellow. Consequently, even at the outbreak of the war probably many Niseis were still wavering as to which side they would prefer to be on. But since they were not required to make up their minds definitely, many of them continued to go on without making a definite decision.

The evacuation swung many people who were wavering against the U. S. It was exceedingly clear to the Japanese people that they were discriminated against. The fact that citizens were moved out without any attempt at establishing loyalty or disloyalty, while other enemy aliens were allowed to remain on the coast, was a good proof of that. The American public, however, continued to believe that the Japanese had been moved because of military necessity and that the Japanese were still required to show their loyalty whenever they were called upon to do so. This was generally expected of citizens, but often of aliens who were ineligible for citizenship here. Because of the confinement of both Isseis and Niseis in the same place away from Caucasian influence, the pressure toward remaining loyal to the U. S. was made rather ineffective. In fact, organizations such as the JACL was in danger because it voiced pro-American ideas.

Whatever the Army had in mind when they decided to ask Niseis to volunteer for the Army and to register everyone for leave clearance, it served one important function. The Niseis were put on a spot where they had to make up their minds as to whether they wished to remain loyal to the U. S. or not. If they were to remain loyal there was still a further question whether they were willing to serve in a combat unit or not. Sitting on a fence was no longer possible. It was unfortunate that the two questions were asked together, because being asked together, the Niseis were required to show their loyalty by joining the combat unit. Whether the Army schemed

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to put the Niseis in such an embarrassing position or not is not known, but it was either a diabolical one or an extremely foolish one. The whole process is an undemocratic one, filled with discrimination. The separate Japanese combat unit is in itself extremely undemocratic, and one that no amount of reasoning can excuse as according Japanese equal treatment with other nationalities, except with Negroes. If it were necessary to induct Japanese into the Army the regular selective service procedure could have been used where Japanese could be assured to a large degree that they would receive equal treatment. With a separate Japanese battalion a larger proportion of Japanese might be required to serve in the Army.

Up to this point the biggest reason for not being willing to serve in the U. S. Army Combat unit or to answer yes to Question 28 was the fact that Japanese were discriminated against in the present, and will continue to be discriminated against in the future. The fact of discrimination before evacuation, then evacuation, life in a concentration camp, a separate Japanese battalion, and the fear of being sacrificed at the front have been pointed out by most Isseis and Niseis who were not desirous of joining a combat unit. One important question in the minds of people is whether discrimination alone is good enough reason to refuse to serve in the Army. Evidently many Isseis and Niseis think so. Willing to serve if they are given equal treatment, but not otherwise. Another question is whether Niseis can afford to give up their citizenship. Here the argument is that their citizenship has not done very much good anyway and that they can do much more for themselves by returning to Japan. While this is not the opinion of the majority of the Niseis, this is the most common assumption of Niseis who are willing to answer no to Question 28.

The problem seems to boil down to something like this. How do different

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types of individuals answer Questions 27 and 28 and what are their reasons for it? Are there any sectional differences in the answers -- and in the excuses given for the answers? What seems to account most for differences in answers and excuses of different individuals?

2. Registration meetings

In many of the meetings held in blocks to ask the opinion of the people, there was a misconception of the purpose of the meeting. According to people in the Planning Board, the purpose was to ask the people what things they wanted clarified. They did not want to ask the people whether they were going to answer yes or no. Such answers had to be the responsibility of the individual and could not be answered as a group. In Block 25 and other blocks the tendency was for reaching a decision. There also seemed to be a tendency on the part of the Isseis in Block 25 to put on pressure on the young people to answer in the negative.

3. Walter Tsukamoto

The block manager informed me last evening that Walter had left the project in care of O'Brien. Nobody else seemed to know anything about this.

4. Kakiuchis, Block 52

The Kakiuchis are an average Japanese family, except for the fact that the parents have good control over their children, and the latter are rather closely attached to their parents and to each other. There are 3 children, one boy and two girls. George is eligible for the Army, and he has been disturbed by the recent events. He seems to have made a temporary decision that he will answer no to Question 28 and will return to Japan even if he has to go back alone. In Block 52 the Isseis have decided not to answer the question. The Nisei ~~have~~ decided that they would answer yes on condition that they received equal treatment with other citizens.

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5. Rev. Sasaki

Rev. Sasaki seems to agree with Isseis in general that it is all right for Nisseis to answer no to Questions 27 and 28. He does not seem to insist on a strictly ethical standpoint of view which requires loyalty to one's country, in light of the discriminatory treatment the Japanese are receiving and are likely to receive here in America. He pointed out that Niseis would have a better chance in the Far East, and thought that such practical matters should be considered in deciding the question. When JS pressed him as to whether the ethical consideration was more important or the practical matter more important, he said that if Niseis were willing to accept discriminatory treatment then it was best to answer yes to Questions 27 and 28. He did not seem to want to stick very closely to a strictly ethical standpoint of view, which many people in Japan might have maintained. He said that ethics was a cloak to hide the evil nature of human beings, anyway.

6. Chieko Shigekawa

C. is a good example of a girl who has adjusted herself to Caucasians during her childhood. She lived in Anaheim where there were very few Japanese neighbors. For this reason when she went to grammar and high school she went around with Caucasian friends. She was the only Japanese girl in her group. For instance, she was better treated than other Caucasian girls because she was the only Japanese girl in the group. When she went to summer camp, for instance, they made her head of this and that to the extent that some Caucasians were jealous of her. The rest of her family made a similar type of adjustment, including George, who created quite an uproar in the Records Office.

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When she went on to college, many of her friends did not go to UCLA as she did. She also had to work, and for this reason did not have the opportunity to make Caucasian friends. She was, however, invited to weddings and had opportunities to chat with Caucasian friends when she met them. She spoke rather sadly of the fact that she did not have the opportunity to make many Caucasian friends. She pointed to one quiet Japanese girl who was able to stay at one of the best houses and was still unable to make more than a few Caucasian friends; on the other hand, she had begun to associate with Japanese. While she recognized that she was slightly different from other girls, she was not acutely conscious of the process of assimilation into the Nisei group. The second year she joined their sorority and came to know them better. She did not realize that her manner of saying things rather bluntly and making wisecracks openly was resented by the other Japanese. It was not till two years after she started to go to college that some of the girls told her that when they first met her they thought she was a rather disagreeable person. She in turn thought that many of the girls were interesting and were wasting their time in school because all they thought of was dates and boys. She herself, she said, did not find any of the Nisei boys very attractive and did not care for them. The funny thing is, she remarked, was that many of those girls were married prior to evacuation. She also thought that they were rather petty, always trying to point out the bad points of people. What if some one did something that was not exactly normal, what did it matter to them. Why can't people lead their own lives? She had never become intimate with the other girls except one girl who was very much Americanized herself and Rose Sakemi, who was quiet, but different from

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other girls. She admired Rose because she was not like other girls in wanting to take things easily, dress up well, and the like, but preferred to work her way through school without the help of her parents.

C's adjustment to camp life is typical of people of her type. When she first went into an assembly center she had intended to stay for only 2 weeks because her folks were in another center and she was with her brother and his families. She did not try to make many friends because she had always intended to go out. Here in Tule Lake she has attempted to leave to join her folks. Eventually she wants to go out to study, since she has about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years of college to complete. She had a brother in Michigan who is willing to find her a job so that she could get out there and possibly go to school later on. This inability to make very many friends and desire to leave is typical of people of her type.

When casually asked about the matter of registration, she said that there was only one way in which a Nisei could answer Question 28. She said that she was against a separate battalion for Niseis because it did not give them an opportunity to fight side by side with Caucasians who could help them after the war. She recognized that it was segregation and that it was not very good. She admitted that the treatment of the Japanese had not always been fair. Evidently she had come to a cross-road where she was not quite sure whether she wanted to live among Caucasians wholly or not. She asked JS what he wanted to do, and was told that he would live among the people he found he had to live with, depending on his job, etc. Her leanings are probably towards Caucasians, possibly with some reservations.

7. George Shigekawa

George has always lived among Caucasians and associated with them. Chieko, his sister, related that all during childhood and through college

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he associated with Caucasians and had hardly any Japanese friends. She said that he owed his position to Caucasian friends that he made during his college days. One of them was the head of the Cal. Personnel Board and another the head of the Civil Service division in Los Angeles. At the present time he is in Washington, D. C., working in the employment division of the Social Security. He believes that there will be opportunities in this field because of the unsettled condition after the war.

8. Council Meeting with Lt. Carroll
(See separate notes)

Analysis: The questions and answers made several important points clear. First, Lt. Carroll assured the councilmen that the Japanese combat unit was to be purely voluntary. It would include no one who did not volunteer for it. This is contrary to his announcement the other day, as related by some people, as if there were not enough volunteers. Niseis would be eventually drafted to fill the quota. Lt. C. made it quite emphatic that this combat unit was to be made up of only those who volunteered. Some Niseis were worried about this point because they were willing to take their chances along with the rest of the population, but were not willing to volunteer or to answer yes to Question 27 and be drafted immediately. The second point cleared up was that answering yes to Question 27 did not mean voluntary enlistment. Answering no to Question 27 does not mean that a person will not be drafted. For voluntary induction it is necessary to fill out another form. Selective service induction is going to be done by separate local draft boards by means of classification of all Japanese from 4wc classification. This is the third point that was clarified. The matter of induction is going to be handled by the local

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selective service board, putting the whole matter under the same conditions as prior to evacuation. There is less likelihood that Japanese will receive a different treatment from other Americans. For the Isseis it was announced that a separate question could be substituted for Question 28 which asked him whether he would be willing to obey the laws of the U. S., which is certainly more reasonable.

Two points concerning the purpose of the registration which could have been surmised by most people was that the selective service questionnaire was being filled out to weed out the loyal from the disloyal. Asking question 27 in conjunction with question 28 helps to widen the gap between those who want to remain loyal and those who would rather answer no to both questions and take the chance of being deported. It was also brought out that others were being asked to fill out Form 126, which is a leave clearance form, to facilitate the resettlement process. The first step toward getting people out, of course, is to have their leave clearance so that when they do want to go out they will be able to do so.

After the meeting some of the councilmen stayed behind to ask more questions of the Lt. Carroll and Sgt. Tsukahira. Lt. C. told his group of listeners that if Niseis are drafted, there is a good chance of their being drafted into the combat unit. While the group talked there was a feeling that there were so many things unfair about the whole situation. The separate Negro and Filipino troops were discussed and the feeling was that the Japanese battalion would be just like them. Sgt. T's attitude seems to have been that he did not like the treatment the Japanese were receiving but that there was nothing that he could do about it all. There was a note of pessimism and futility in the discussion which would probably be increased when they went back and talked to Isseis.

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Saturday, February 13, 1943

1. Broken Legs

Some fellows have broken their legs tobogganing on the hill after snow. One fellow is said to have broken his leg in three different places. One fellow's comment was that now he would not have to go to the Army. Mrs. Yoshikawa's son was run over about a month ago and broke his leg, I believe. Some people were referring to him in the shoe shop, saying that he was lucky because he would not have to go to war. Evidently both Isseis and Niseis are looking for good excuses to get away from being drafted.

2. Mrs. Yoshikawa

Mrs. Yoshikawa felt that Niseis should be allowed to make up their own minds. She believes that many of them want to live in the U. S. According to Miss Toppings, she said, the Emperor of Japan said that Niseis should be loyal to the U. S. She believes that for Niseis to be loyal to America is being loyal to Japanese ideals. This stand point is one that is being taken by people with education and high moral standards.

3. Registration Office

The registration is being carried on in the office of block manager. A Caucasian teacher with a helper has been assigned to each block manager's office from 8 to 5 p.m. In most blocks because of the confusion, very few people have gone to register, and hence the teacher and the helper have had to sit in the office every day. In some blocks it is reputed that the teacher was sent home because nobody in the block intended to register anyway. In the Council meeting yesterday it was pointed out that many teachers were "getting a beating" which they did not deserve. The Isseis and Kibeis seem to have taken an attitude of defiance toward the teachers who have been asked to help in the registration. In Block 25 one man kept raving

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in Japanese to several people about him that U. S. was being beaten. He pointed out how foolish it was for Niseis to stay in America when there were so many opportunities elsewhere. He seemed to be rather proud to be talking in the way he did. He layed a great deal of stress on the fact that ever since he had come to America he had been discriminated against. When Pearl Harbor was bombed, he said, he felt that it did not matter if he died because Japan had taken revenge for him. Wherever one goes this matter of discrimination is always brought up as a primary reason for not helping the U. S. in its war efforts or a reluctance to join the U. S. Army. It may be only an excuse, but it is a powerful one because it is backed by a strong emotion.

While no words have come over from Japan via the radio saying that Niseis should be loyal to Japan, and men in foremost positions in Japan in the past have said that Niseis should be loyal to America, the Isseis are interpreting things to swing the loyalty of Niseis to Japan. This man, for instance, said that there had been a broadcast from Japan saying that those speaking English should return to Japan even though they can not speak a word of Japanese. There is a great deal of wishful thinking on this matter, since deep down in their hearts many of the Isseis know that it is wrong to shirk one's duty to one's country.

4. Mas Tanaka

Mas is difficult to place on the social map. In many ways he is similar to JS. He has been to Japan for a number of years and went through a commercial school, and returned to America in 1941. He speaks Japanese well, and English with a slight Kibeish tinge. He has been to junior college in Sacramento, and is desirous of getting more education in America.

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He associates with Niseis, and seems to prefer their company to the company of Kibeis. He has learned to dance and for the past few weeks has been going to a dance every night. This Americanized trend plus his education has made him see that he has an obligation to the U. S. at this time. Evidently he has argued with his parents that he was going to answer yes to question 28, and they insisted that he should answer no. He is worried because he does not know what to do. He is inclined, it seems to go ahead and answer yes just the same. The fact that he works in the Council as the assistant to the Executive Secretary probably opens him up to the opinions of the councilmen, which is generally in favor of answering yes to question 28 without any further consideration.

5. May and Kingo

Kingo tends to be rather on the Americanized side, identifying himself with Caucasians ^{rather} than with Japanese, so that it is natural to expect him to be willing to be loyal without question to the U. S. May, has been in Japan for 8 years, but she sees that as an American citizen her loyalty belongs to America. On this score her thinking is similar to that of Ruby Sakoda, and JS. All of them think of the problem in terms of duty to one's country. While they may ^{have} ties in Japan, much more than most of the other Niseis, they can see that they owe their loyalty to the only country of which they are citizens. While they are indignant at the discrimination the Japanese are receiving, they are able to see the whole picture rather clearly. This ability to see the situation objectively is possible to these people because they have traveled and have gotten a cosmopolitan outlook on life. They know that if they shirk their duty right now it is because they are unwilling to take the risk of being killed in

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battle or to incur other responsibilities for the present. May says that Niseis in her block who have spoken in favor of answering yes for those who are not definitely planning to return to Japan was called Inu (Dog.) And Kingo is determined to answer question 28 in the affirmative and not tell anyone about it.

Sunday, February 14, 1943

1. Block meeting

A meeting was called today in the block by the Planning Board representative from the block, Mr. Nakamura. The hall was to be used by the Hog Department for their party, but Mr. Nakamura did not seem to give it any consideration and merely said that it would not take so very long. JS asked him to start the meeting at 6:30 since the dinner was eaten at 5:30, but he would not change his mind until Mr. Tanabe, the steward, came along and told him about the Hog Department party. Practically everyone above 17 years of age probably came out to the meeting. The women and girls generally sat in the back, while the more important men sat in front.

The main business for the evening was a petition from Ward II to refuse to sign leave clearance papers. This matter seems to have been discussed at the meeting today of Planning Board representatives. Possibly it was Mr. Ikeda's suggestion. Mr. Nakamura explained the situation and turned the meeting over to a chairman from the block, Mr. Nishida who was chosen beforehand, because they did not want to have things look as though the matter was forced on the people. The floor was opened to discussion whether the people wanted to refuse to fill out the leave clearance form at all or not. Yamamoto was chosen secretary to take the minutes for the occasion. Then several people gave their opinions. 1-B was the first to give his opinion. He thought that it was unnecessary to fill out such a

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form. Then I-U gave a similar opinion. The rest did not seem to be eager to say anything. I-V was called upon to speak, but he gave a rather hazy answer, saying that the matter required some thought. Mr. Sakamoto was asked his opinion, and said that the matter should be left up to the heads who knew all about the matter. A few of the leaders immediately got up and refuted him by saying that the Planning Board should not be held responsible later on because this was to be the decision of the people. A few others gave their opinion. I-V said that the Isseis should be asked to be treated as war prisoners because then they would not be under compulsion to obey the Government. This, however, was left out of the agenda because Mr. Nakamura was not ready for this. The chairman seemed to be a little confused as to how to take a vote on the matter. I-B urged a hand vote on the matter. The vote was finally taken to refuse to fill out leave clearances. Only the Isseis voted, and all of them raised their hands. One Issei said when the hands were being counted, watch out and see who does not vote.

The meeting was then turned over to the Niseis. Mr. Yagi acted as chairman, while Dorothy Sofye was secretary. There was really no business for the Niseis to talk about because a meeting was scheduled to be held tomorrow night to hear the answers to the questions sent to Washington. But there seemed to be a feeling that something should be decided upon by the Niseis. Opinions were asked for without clarification of the situation. JS got up and explained that there were 3 separate problems involved: leave clearance, selective service registration, and volunteering for the Japanese combat unit. He spoke in Japanese this time to make the issue clear to the Isseis. Jimmy Nishida wanted to know why the Niseis alone

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were asked to register once more when they had registered before. Why wasn't the same thing being done to Italians and Germans. The chairman wanted to take a vote of some sort and wanted to know whether the Niseis were in favor of registering for the Selective Service or not. JS immediately pointed out that answers from Washington had arrived and the block people were to hear them the following day, and suggested that a vote be delayed until they learned what the consequences of not registering, etc. were. One Issei bachelor then got up and asked what would happen to the property of the Niseis if they lost their citizenship. There was some laughter throughout the audience when several people said that that would not occur if Japan won. One Kibei fellow shouted that Japan would win. However, this was an important consideration for Isseis who were very much concerned about money. But it was generally laughed off as a minor point because Japan was going to win the war. It will be interesting to see what Isseis will think about this matter in their saner moments.

Discussion died down when one Kibei fellow got up and suggested that Niseis make up their mind to refuse to register for the Selective Service or apply for repatriation papers. It was clarified that if repatriation papers were taken out Niseis would not have to register. K-I got up and said that he was in favor of the suggestion. He suggested that papers be passed out for everyone to answer yes or no. Paper was immediately passed out. JS pointed out that the group had not decided that they wanted to vote upon such an issue. The chairman called for a motion and Jimmy moved and several Niseis seconded the motion, George Matsumoto's voice being quite loud in the group. It should be noted that both Jimmy and George are the type of individuals who are not popular with other people and are not too intelligent. Both of them have a desire to attract attention whenever they

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can. JS asked whether a vote was going to be taken even though people did not know the answers, from Washington, and everybody seemed to be in favor of an immediate vote. Only Tad Oshima raised his voice and asked the same question, evidently feeling that it was foolish to take a vote at this time when there was to be a meeting tomorrow. Niseis were asked to write on their piece of paper what they intended to do: register or not. JS and Ruby handed in blanks. When the votes were counted several people gathered around, being rather curious. 68 voted yes, and there were no "hds". A triumphant cry went up through the crowd. One Kibei fellow said loud enough for the benefit of JS who sat close by, that there was only one "dumb" fellow in this block who would be willing to answer yes.

The bachelor who had suggested that the property of the Japanese matter become involved kept muttering that this was a serious and difficult question. He had come from another block and probably found it difficult to understand the actions of the people. The meeting was then adjourned, and everybody filed out seemingly satisfied.

2. Analysis of Registration Conflict

The conflict caused by the registration seems to be rapidly coming to a conclusion. The process of deciding on which side of the fence to be is being speeded up a great deal by the pressure put on by the group. Whether Isseis should fill out leave clearance or not is a minor matter. The concern of both Isseis and Niseis is the matter of loyalty to the U. S. and whether Niseis would have to be drafted or not. Volunteering seems to be out of the question for most people. On the whole, it seems that Isseis are feeling rather calm about the whole matter, except where it concerns the Niseis. Concerning the leave clearance they seem to have made up their minds definitely that it is all right if they never get

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out of here for work on the outside. They do not seem to be bothered by prospect of having to return to Japan, either. There is a slight possibility that they will start to think about their property back home and try to figure out ways and means by which they can hang on to it. It is for that reason, probably, that more Isseis have not applied for repatriation papers up to this point. Mr. M. once related this fact to J.S. The other worry of the Isseis are the Niseis, whom they do not want to leave if possible. Many of them desire to stay here if Niseis are staying in America, or if possible they want to take them back to Japan with them.

The greatest fear at the present time, it seems, is the fear of Niseis going into the Army. One fear is that they will have to fight against Japan, but probably the greater fear is that of having to face the prospect of death. No one wants to die, and Japanese are not exceptions. This fear of sending their children out to the battle field is very great in the Isseis. It is for that reason that they think of every possible reason to show that Niseis do not owe their loyalty to U.S., that Niseis will have many more chances in the Far East, that Japanese in America will always be looked down upon.

Niseis seem to feel this fear the most acutely. They give every possible reason to show why they should not have to join the Army since they have been discriminated against. This reason is always brought up, by even those who are willing to serve if necessary. Another reason given is that they do not want to fight against their blood relations. It is also pointed out that there will be many more advantages for Niseis in the Far East (assuming that Japan is going to win). So that many Niseis can no longer see the whole picture clearly any more. It is almost futile to argue with Niseis who are too young to think for themselves and have been imbued with ideas of their parents, or who is not intelligent

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enough to see the whole picture more clearly. The more intelligent Niseis seem to agree that about Question 28 there should be no hesitation, unless they are willing to give up their citizenship and return to Japan. They see their obligation to be loyal to the U. S. in spite of the discriminatory treatment they have received. Here two fears operate to make the Niseis hesitate in his decision -- fear of being disloyal and fear of having to go to battle. There are other practical considerations that individuals must face, but these seem to be the larger factors which trouble the more intelligent Niseis. For the less intelligent there seems to be only the fear of going to war.

The stand of the Kibeis is rather interesting. Since most of them want to return to Japan anyway, and since they have practically no stake at all here in the U. S., they can give up their American citizenship in preference for their Japanese one immediately. Most of them seem to be willing to take out repatriation papers immediately if necessary. Since their minds are made up about the matter, it would seem that they have very little to be concerned about. But they have tried rather hard to swing other people to answering no to question 28. One hypothesis that can be raised at this point is that Kibeis are interested in making other people answer no because they want to help Japan win the war. Certainly, their attachment to Japan, for the most part, is strong enough for them to feel in that way. For them it may not be a matter of merely giving up one citizenship for another, but of actively fighting for the country which they consider their own.

Another feeling which may motivate some Japanese is a feeling of defiance toward the U. S. for the treatment they have received at their hand. This is especially true of many Isseis, it seems.

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Reasons for signing with one country or the other can be broken down into the following categories:

Ideology
Citizenship
Race
Personal Consideration

Of these reasons, ideology seems to be playing the smallest roll. A few so-called radicals may side with the U. S. even though they are Isseis because they do not believe in the ideology maintained by Japan. For some the ethical consideration tied up with citizenship is the main factor. They are willing to answer yes because they feel that by doing so they are playing the game according to the rules. The strongest reasons, however, seem to be race and personal consideration (in the way of fear of death). While the latter is very strong, the former can not be overlooked because it has clouded the thinking of the Japanese people to such an extent that they cannot think about things calmly any longer. These hypotheses should be kept in mind as the conflict develops.

Monday, February 15, 1943

1. Mr. Nakamura says

JS talked to Mr. Nakamura, the Planning Board representative from his block, at the breakfast table. Their tables are right next to each other. JS asked whether it wasn't true that at last night's meeting it was unnecessary for Niseis to make any sort of decision. He admitted this, saying that Niseis could not make any decision at that time. He said that it was a very difficult question for Niseis to decide upon. He pointed out that Niseis in other blocks were not as extreme (Kakoku) as the young people in this block. It is natural that Niseis should be loyal to the U. S., he said. The only thing is that if they go to battle it is

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almost 90% certain in this war that they shall die. The Isseis, according to him, think that the Niseis' decision should rest on the result of the war. If the war ends in Japan's favor the Niseis' citizenship will be effective, I think, he said. If America is in a favorable position when the war ends, then a Nisei's citizenship is likely to be ineffective. Mr. Nakamura seems to recognize that the young people in this block are not very intelligent and hence are not capable of making wise decisions for themselves.

2. Dr. Kuki, on Opportunist

JS became involved in a lively discussion on the matter of registration with Dr. Kuki. He is an Issei, middle-aged, a former dentist, speaks English rather fluently and seems to be proud of it, likes to argue. Dr. K's stand was like those of the other Isseis, but it had a philosophic reason behind it. He felt that Niseis should study the situation carefully and decide in a manner that would do him the most good. When JS asked him about the matter of loyalty and ethics, Dr. K. said that ethics was a cloak for practical considerations anyway. His feeling seems to be similar to Rev. Sasaki's, that practical matters should take precedent over ethical considerations. When JS pointed out the stand that Socrates took when he had to drink the poison and preferred to stay in prison and die, Dr. K's answer was that it was the practical way out because his conscience would have bothered him if he ran away. JS brought up the teachings of great teachers like Buddha and Confucius, and he said that those people and all the human beings were different. If we wanted to be saints, then it would be a different matter. He then went on to argue that it would be all right for Niseis to answer no because the U. S. could not take away the citizenship of a citizen. There might

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be some imprisonment, but that imprisonment would have to be based on an act of congress. And when such act is passed, it could not be expected to be retroactive to the past. Hence, after the war people would forget about the whole affair and Niseis would be able to live as they had been living before. JS called Dr. K. a pragmatist and an opportunist. He accused him of not having any principles, but Dr. K. maintained that he considered certain things, such as killing, were wrong. JS felt that this just went to show that he was inconsistent when he found it was convenient. In this regard he seemed to be rather consistent. Dr. Kuki said that he would like to know how JS answered his questionnaire, but JS would not tell him.

Dr. Kuki is an Issei, but differs from other immigrant Isseis because of his education, profession, and his ability to speak English. The argument above was carried on in English. He is intelligent enough to know what is right and what is wrong, and when an idea is a mistaken one or not. It is easy to argue with him because his thinking is not clouded, as is the mind of so many other Isseis, with fantastic and unrealistic notions. However, he lays stress on practical considerations rather than on ethical considerations, and in this regard he differs with some Isseis.

3. Swede

On the outside Swede's contact has been almost wholly with Caucasians, having run around with a rather "rowdy" bunch. His identification, therefore, has always been with America rather than with Japan. Without knowing his opinion on the matter of registration, just by knowing his background it would have been possible to guess his stand. JS met Swede at the part of the Hog Department, and had occasion to ask him what he thought of the registration. Swede said that he was just about mobbed

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from the people in his block. At the block meeting he protested the fact that Isseis and others were trying to railroad the Niseis into answering a certain way. He said that all of the young people were above 17 years and over and none of them were kids, and therefore could think for themselves. He told the group that they should be left alone. Immediately he incurred the wrath of a great number of people, and seeing that he was not wanted at the meeting, he offered to leave the meeting, which he did. The next morning when he was going to the shower room a group of people (Isseis or Kibeis) came after him, and he ran away to avoid trouble. He is still living in the block, but is probably an ostracized member of it. His notoriety for misdeeds probably helps to make him unpopular.

4. Mrs. Yoshikawa

Mrs. Yoshikawa takes a rather objective view of the registration. She does not seem to fear the consequences of a Nisei's answering yes to Question 28. Her policy is to let her children make up their minds for themselves. She says that she hardly ever talks of war in front of her children because she wants to respect their feeling of being loyal to America. She recognizes the fact that Niseis may find it rather difficult to live in Japan. She herself, she says, will find it difficult to live in Japan now because of differences in opinion. She recognizes also the foolishness of Isseis in thinking about their property and leaving it all behind. What her racial attitude is due to is difficult to say. She is an intelligent woman, which probably helps to gain insights into matters. She is a religious woman, a Buddhist and says that she is willing to trust Lord Buddha to the fullest. It will be interesting to learn about other circumstances of her life which might account for the fact that she is so calm about the whole matter. She does not believe, for one thing, that answering Yes to question 28 will end in sure death of the Niseis, which

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so many Isseis and Niseis seem to believe.

5. Status of volunteers

According to Mrs. Yoshikawa there is a family in Block 48 that has been ostracized because one of the sons volunteered before the war and another volunteered again recently. There are rumors to the effect that 200 Niseis, have already volunteered for the combat unit from Tule Lake, which is probably a rumor, but some people feel relieved that their own sons will not be drafted into that combat unit. However, volunteers are being looked upon with scorn and antagonism. Why this should be is hard to understand. It was related by Mrs. Yoshikawa that when some Niseis volunteered some time back into the Army and joined Niseis who were already in the Army they were greeted with scorn and were demanded why they had volunteered. Evidently on all sides people frown upon volunteers. Much of this may be caused by the fact that Niseis are not treated equally even in the Army. Serving in the Army is a duty which one accepts because one has to and not one to be accepted eagerly. The other reason might be that many people are of the opinion that there is no salvation for the Japanese people in America unless Japan wins, and hence resents any one who joins the Army of his own accord. The evacuation alone is not the reason because there are resentments against those volunteering even before evacuation. But discrimination could be a good reason for it.

6. Hawaiians

Of all of the groups the Hawaiians are probably the most loyal among the Niseis. They are willing to volunteer if they can. Many desire to join the navy or the merchant marine. One Hawaiian said that he wanted to do work on the convoys. Although the work was dangerous the pay was good, he said. Even those who have associated with Caucasians largely after staying in camp for some time have come to realize that discrimination

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is a reality. For some reason or other this does not seem to bother the Hawaiians so very much. The fact that they do not have very much to lose by the evacuation might account for it. Probably the greatest factor is that they have not seen much racial discrimination and they are not racial conscious enough to let the evacuation and other discriminatory measures bother them. Also, their treatment in the hands of Japanese on the mainland has not been very good, and they have nothing to lose even if they incur the displeasure of the Japanese about them.

7. Special Council, Planning Board, B. M. Meeting

The hall is filled with representatives and with visitors. The official representatives are asked to sit together in the front two tables by wards. There is some confusion because of this. The visitors are mostly Issei men, with only a few young people listening in. The meeting is opened in a calm manner by Harry Mayeda. The roll is called of the three groups represented. The representatives from the Planning Board from each block are represented, while only the official councilmen from the ward is represented, making the number of Isseis a great deal larger than the number of Niseis.

Guests: Lt. Carroll
Sgt. Sullivan
Harvey Coverley
Frank Smith
John D. Cook (is introduced)

Harry: It was our intention to hold a meeting much earlier, but many questions were submitted. We felt that it was necessary to have these questions answered in order that some clarification could be made on our registration status. We are able to give some more information at this time. It is heart-warming to see the interest the colonists had shown. I would like to grant the floor only to the representatives so that we might make progress in our meeting. After the speakers you can ask any question you wish. I would like to set a time limit at 4 o'clock

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so that these gentlemen can get back to their business (Father Dai is asked to interpret this into Japanese. The translation is very good)

Harry: I will read the questions and Mr. Coverley will supply the answers to the questions. I have a memo from the WRA to the Planning Board and Council dated 2/15 (translation)

Harry: The questions were those asked by the Block residents (trans)
These questions relate to Form 126 revised. Reserve your questions until the question period.

(See official mimeographed sheet for questions)

(Questions and Answers from 1-58)

Harry: Thank you Mr. Coverly. There are several questions on Form 304-A. Lt. Carroll was present at that special Council meeting and answered many of the questions asked. We are going to have these mimeographed and have them into the hands of the Council, B.M. and Planning Board. We are going to try to have these questions and answers tonight.

Lt. Carroll has a few words to say.

Lt. Carroll: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: It is now about 3:55, would take about 20 minutes. The War Department has been in your center for just one week. During that time you have been very kind, very patient. We have endeavored so far as possible to clear up any confusion that has been called by this new War Department policy. We have attended meetings that we have been invited to. Our offices have been opened every day. And before I make a statement which comes from the War Department, I think we should go back and review for just a few minutes what is behind this new policy and what is the mission that this War Department team here is aiding the WRA on. I do not think that it would be necessary to interpret this. You have had the mission delivered in writing in Japanese. Of course, if you want to interpret, it will take twice as long.

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What caused this new War Department policy. The action was taken following an earnest request by Nisei for a special unit where they could fight against the nations' enemies. (He reads Mr. Stimson's message). Out of that came the policy and the mission for which this team is here representing the War Department, working with the WRA. I am going to read to you the mission. (Reads whole message) You have no choice in the matter. A failure to do so will be evidence that there will be obstruction of enlistment and charges will be preferred against any of you against the following acts: (Espionage act) "shall be punished by fine of not more than \$10,000 and not more than 20 years or both."

Our offices will be open from 8-5. The registration throughout the block as laid down by Mr. Smith and B.M's and teachers will go on. Any questions that individuals want to ask can be asked of the team members. (end)

Harry: Before I open the floor, we shall have the questions and answers in your hands by tonight. On the questions and answers made by Lt. Carroll we shall try to have them in your hands. In the meeting tonight one member of the block advisory committee will be selected to sit in with them at the block meeting.

Oshima: Was the letter by the war department?

Carroll: It was approved by the war department.

Oshima: I am not reproaching the administration or anyone, but we representatives of the block have been put in a precarious position, but this beats them all. We are accused of not doing our work, but how can we. Lt. Carroll made the statement that the letter was from the War Department. We should have known that. We have been put in a precarious position many times. The administration should let us have all the information that is on hand.

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Coverley: I want to say in defense of Lt. Carroll that all the information that was available to us was passed out to you as rapidly as possible.

It was made clear that the message from Lt. Carroll was from the War Department.

Lt. Carroll: It was in the message.

Harry: The translation was too difficult even for people educated in universities, and efforts are being made to really translate the thing.

Tonomura: Many questions even today unanswered. This is very unsatisfactory. We have to bring these unanswered questions to the block and be questioned again. One group of Niseis asked me to have one representative of Japanese-American from each relocation center and have conference with War Department and clarify matters before they answer these questions or register for volunteer or Army.

Coverley: In the first place, we have attempted to answer every question that has been asked. If the meeting is unsatisfactory^{it}/is because the question was not presented. Every question asked was answered. With reference to a conference in Washington, I question the feasibility of it. The War Department will not listen to it. They did not give any other comments to send delegation to Washington.

Tonomura: According to Mr. Coverley's statement, he answered every question. As far as it concerns, it does not belong to the authority of the WRA he cannot answer it. Or it belongs to War Department and not his position to answer. This is very vague answer. We can say he did not answer to the question.

Ed. Najima: In the case that this new registration is establishing loyalty to the Government, how soon does the Government let us have the result.

(he asks several questions in a row. They do not seem to be so important.)

Dai: (translates into Japanese) How soon can we learn the results of the

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segregation of loyalty and the disloyal. Is it advantageous to register early? Is there a possibility of the registration being closed after a number of questionnaires are in? What happens when Caucasian references fail to reply?

A: How will the references affect the status of the person answering?

Coverley: So far as the WRA is concerned the references merely help to attest to the fact that a man or woman is a person of good reputation. If you are in doubt of the address, I would hesitate to give such an address. All of the references need not be a Caucasian reference. I would suggest that they be mixed up.

Smith: I would like to say were I to give a reference to a person who is away, I would write a personal letter and tell about the matter.

B: Is there any fear of the Government closing the registration after obtaining so many forms?

Coverley: It is difficult for me to give a categorical answer to that question. It certainly is possible if the people here are not interested. You understand that the reason the registration of Nisei women and alien is being made at the same time is because the WRA has an opportunity through the kindness and courtesy of the War Department at the same time they process the citizen. The War Department has consented to use its facilities and FBI and other and clear everybody at the same time as the registration of the citizen men go through. I would say that they might close it if it drags on too long.

Suzuki: I want the first question answered because I think it is important to all.

C: In case this questionnaire is to establish loyalty will we be able to know within a definite date?

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Carroll: Induction into the combat team is expected to begin on March 23, and acceptance will mean loyalty. For others leave clearance will mean loyalty, but this will take longer.

Smith: After leave clearance if you have a definite job it takes only from 4-7 days to get your clearance.

D: Would an early registration have any advantage.

Coverley: Obviously it would.

Roy Miura: I have a person who signed in pencil to Questions 27 and 28. Could he see it because they might be changed.

Carroll: I would be glad to if I haven't sent it to Washington. If I send it to Washington it is out of my hands.

Miura: When we evacuated the War Department said that it was the best way to fight for the U. S. We have homes which we worked hard to get. If we are prohibited we cannot be volunteer soldiers. We fight because we want to go back to our homes. That is one reason why we are fighting, why we are asked to fight. Don't discriminate against us, but press this point time and again.
(Loud applause)

Watanabe: (BM) I would like to know what happened to a resolution presented to the Planning Board from the young people in Block 49 which said the same things as was mentioned by Mr. Miura.

Harry: I would like to have the questions extended to 4:30 with the approval of the guests.

Matsumoto (BM): If we should fill out 304-A will we be drafted without filling out 126-A.

Carroll: You must fill out both of them.

Nimura: (P.B. substitute)

We are representatives of our block and leadership material. What do people here expect to decide in their blocks. Block opinion was presented to the PB,

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but so far as I know half of the people are against this. (registration)
I would like to see the tabulation. If this is compulsory, there is a chance
of clash by the people and the administration. If we consider ourselves
leaders just by taking back to the block, then we are not fulfilling our aims
as leaders. Who can answer this question. What can we take back to our
block people as gifts. (Applause) (Father ^{Dan} ~~Die~~ translates into English)

I would like to see some important principles with which to solve this
situation. (J.S: Evidently he wants a unified stand against registration.)

Harry: I would like to add a few words. The answer I feel is this. The
purpose of today's meeting was to take the list of questions as submitted
by the various residents from the various blocks in the Project and have
either the Project Director or a representative from the War Department
answer those questions for us if they are able to do so. Mr. N intimates
that nothing substantial came out of this meeting. But I would like to add
that wherever possible we have attempted certainly to convey information by
way of answers to the questions.

Shirai: (IN Japanese) Mr. N asked that the stand of the P.B. and council be
made clear. I would like to clarify this matter. We council and PB members
have received many complaints. I would like to clarify any misunderstanding.
We felt that these misunderstandings had to be clarified, and took that policy.
However, we can not always take a uniform action on all matters. Individuals
may make individual decisions depending on their own mind. I would like to
have the people gather their own opinion together and present it to the ad-
ministration again if necessary. (Translation: We are acting only as a
channel between the people and the administration) (There is quiet)

Coverley: It seems to me that Mr. N answered some thought that made a lot
of good sense. He mentioned the importance of this job. He mentioned the

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necessity of getting it down smoothly and harmoniously. The only thing that I did not get quite clear was that he did not see any principles for getting it done. We have given you all the information that we have. I think every one knows what we are aiming at. I think the principle should be the principle of self-interest. It is an opening wedge that may solve and blow away 90% of our troubles. Just from the stand point of your own future and the future of your family I would give this matter careful thought. If anything should happen to lose this opportunity because of failure to take advantage of it, it may not come again. I certainly hope it won't be overlooked.

PB (Block 16) A question from Nisei from my block. If all Niseis answer the questions satisfactorily, what privileges can they get for parents. (silence)

Carroll: (mumbles to himself. "We have answered it.") (Talking throughout the audience) I am going to answer it in three sections. He may file an application for leave and his chances for approval may be favorable because of your volunteering for Army. But there are no special privileges (laughter)

Question: Some parents desire very much to see their sons who are about to go overseas. What is the present policy. Niseis seem to be discriminated at present. What can be done. (Applause).

Carroll: Since the new registration policy has been put into effect more leaves have been given. If he obtains a furlough, it is far easier than before 2/1 for him to come back to the relocation centers for a visit.

Sakai (BM): If such things do not proceed smoothly, I would like to ask Mr. Coverley or Lt. Carroll to send in such requisitions. I have a father of a soldier and he had the organization of parents or soldiers. I sent a letter to General Dewitt, but we did not even receive an answer. The parents want to see their sons for the last time, and they wonder why their sons can not come back. Only 6 or 7 emergency cases where the parents were seriously

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ill they were able to come back, but others have not.

One thing, if the clearance papers come and it is determined that we are not enemy aliens it seems that we can go back to our homes. We are put in here because we were considered to be dangerous. If that is not possible I would like to have this accounted upon.

Coverley: We will do everything we can. (snickering)

Harry: I know that there are lots more questions, but we have held the meeting as long as we can. You will have questions in the block meetings, and I would like to have them transmitted to the PB and Council.

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Analysis

There was a general feeling on the part of the audience that many of the answers were evasive and many more were not very clear. After the meeting people seemed to feel that very little had been clarified. Possibly the chief worry of the 3 groups is that they would have to go back to the blocks and have to face the people with only vague answers on hand. The point that was most clarified was that the registration was compulsory. It was Mr. Coverley's contention after the meeting that there would not be a fine for refusing to answer the questionnaire because it was going to be mandatory, even if they have to come after the individual. Mr. Nimura wanted the group to take more definite united action, but he was unable to get any action because Harry handled the matter skillfully. The three groups are definitely afraid of taking any definite action, but seem to be taking the policy of letting the people decide what they want to do. They see the difficulty of the situation, but are afraid of leading the people because of the presence of unreasonable pro-Japanese faction within the block.

2. Mike Imbe

Knowing Mike's stand on being loyal to America, JS inquired of her how

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bad her block was. She said that at the meeting she got up and suggested that they find out what the punishment was for a person not answering the questionnaire, which the people wanted to decide upon. She was immediately squelched by an Issei who told her that her suggestion was irrelevant. She was enraged because another man had made a similar suggestion without incurring the wrath that she did. Her explanation was that her family was not liked because they did not cooperate with the block people in signing petitions. Mike, however, is determined not to let other people tell her what to do.

3. Mas Tanaka

The last time I spoke to Mas he was in doubt as to whether he should comply with the pressure that his parents were putting on him to make up his mind to live in Japan. Yesterday, however, I learned that he had changed his mind. His argument was that if he should fight for the U. S. he would never be accepted in Japan as a full fledged Japanese. He pointed out the fact that Question 28 had referred to the Emperor of Japan, which made it different from questions about loyalty asked him formerly. He said that the Japanese people would not stand for anyone who had forsworn loyalty to the Emperor. His excuse seems to be rather weak, but he wants to believe firmly in it. He says that people should not be afraid of going to war or should they waver in their decision and straddle the fence. After listening to the Sakodas, however, he seems to have reconsidered his position again. I think he is still on the fence, not knowing exactly where he stands. He has been educated in Japan and for that reason has some stake in Japan, but he is Americanized enough to be able to feel the conflict in loyalties.

4. Shirai

Shirai is a young Issei, getting his education in America. He was about to go back home when the war broke out. His identification is with the elite group from Japan, evidently. He is said to have remarked that he

Block 25

p.1030 (Feb 11) Kibei reaction; do not want to volunteer for Army; expect to return to Japan; no sense in declaring loyalty to US; fear of being sent to front lines in danger zone
Nisei: indignant at being asked to volunteer. Feel it unjust. Do not want to seem to be disloyal, but do not want to go if war.
Block meeting; about all people over 17 turned out. Largest block meeting ever held. All Issei who spoke were against answering "yes". One or two voted to have question delayed, but others insisted that "no" be answered.

Opinion of Nisei was asked. Yamamoto (Kibei) said it was natural for Kibei to be loyal to J, & that Nisei should be too because they had been mistreated here. JS, asked for opinion, said that if Nisei were planning to stay here, they must be loyal. Stressed fact that problem was an individual one. Audience disagreed. No applause. Other speakers all favored "No" as answer. Issei tried to coerce Nisei to answer "No" answer.

Block 25 (2)

Meeting of Feb 14. Issei: vote was taken (by raising hands) to refuse to fill out forms. After hot discussion Nisei were asked to write on piece of paper whether they intended to register or not. JS & Ruby backed in blocks; all others voted not to register.

JS Journal

Block 27

p.1031 (Feb 10, 1943) Young people had meeting the while they waited Army team & discussed matters. Japanese on team (Tsubakura) admitted to one of them that he did not like idea of being on team.

Block 47 p 1039 Feb 11

Technique differed from Block 25. Nisei congregated in separate part of hall & talked matters over. Most of young people were afraid of being incidentally disloyal. Question on loyalty was taken as a "routine question", which should be answered "yes". Doubts expressed re question on combat leave & it was decided to investigate matter further.

Block 52 p 1044 Feb 12

Issei decided not to answer question 27. Nisei to answer yes "on condition that they receive equal treatment with other citizens".

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would prefer to be in an interment camp because there were educated people in there with whom he would have interests in common. He believes that the people here are ignorant and without any culture at all. This difference in class is an important one.

5. Block Meeting

Today the new registration procedures came out because no one seemed to be registering in each separate block. It was decided that registration would be done at the administration building, beginning with male and female citizens first, and aliens last. Male citizens, 17 years of age or over of Block 13, 25, 32, 9, 42, 53 on Feb. 18 in the Administration Recreation Hall were to be registered. Female citizens of block 15, 38, 36, 21, 24, 70 were to be registered in the visitors' building. The plan seems to have been to make it difficult for block people to apply pressure on those desiring to register, thus taking widely separate blocks and citizens first and registering it a place away from the block.

A block meeting was not planned in Block 25 because the block manager and the Planning Board member wanted to avoid trouble. Only an announcement was made by the block manager of the new procedure. In the evening, however, in the block manager's office RZ, Nisei, was asked how he was going to register, and he answered that he was not going to answer. Mr. Nakamura then looked worried and suggested that a meeting of the block people be called to discuss the matter. A meeting was subsequently called, and each apartment was contacted individually. A group of 23 or so got together in the mess hall. The only ones doing any talking at first were 2 or 3 Kibeis. The meeting was called to order by FJ., who explained the purpose of the meeting as giving some advice to the young people because it was difficult for them to make up their minds. He said that it was not the purpose of the meeting to make up the minds of the individuals whether they wanted to register or

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not. When the floor was opened for suggestion, no one seemed to have any concrete suggestions. Several blurted out that they were not going to register. The Kibeis were most vociferous in this, and they said that it was foolish to be loyal to America and die. One cited the Kyoiku Chokugo, implying that his attitude was in conformity with it. They were in good spirits, and did not seem to be afraid of refusing to register. They seem to have in mind that as a last resort they can apply for repatriation papers if they liked, however, their policy seemed to be one of waiting to see what happened and taking out registration papers as a last resort. They ridiculed the idea of registering and laughed in a forced sort of way.

Several of the Niseis joined in on this sort of talk, speaking in English sometimes and sometimes in Japanese. There were the older Niseis who thought they had opinions of their own -- 20 years or over. Their argument was that they had been discriminated against and that it was foolish for them to risk their lives in the U. S. Army. "Who wants to die" seemed to be the main theme of their argument. When it was pointed out that they might have to join the Japanese army if they returned to Japan their retort was that "That's different" -- they were willing to fight for Japan. There was a fear written all over their faces, whereas the Kibeis did not seem to be afraid at all. The Niseis were not sure of themselves even when they joined in with the Kibeis in saying that they did not want to register. When they laughed at what the Kibeis joked about, it was rather forced and not spontaneous. Not more than 4 or 5 of the Niseis did any talking. The rest of them kept still, seemingly waiting for a clarification of what they should do.

Probably the most pitiful group were the 17 or 18 years old youngsters who did not understand what was going on. The rest of the group did not know the real implications of the situation, but the youngsters probably could not make head or tail of the whole situation. Most of them just

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listen quietly, although occasionally one tried to join into the spirit of the others who were doing the talking and agree with what they were saying.

A vote was called for by the chairman, and it was discovered that all were in favor of not registering, while JS refused to commit himself. Then there was more talking, without any particular clarification. The Kibeis were intent on making a lot of noise, while the others looked on rather worried.

JS observed that nothing definite was being clarified as to what would happen if the questionnaire were not answered, or answered in certain ways. It was made clear at the beginning of the meeting that there would be a punishment of some sort. One Nisei who did some talking tried to insist that the penalty was only for answering foolishly, and that there would be no punishment for not registering at all. JS started out by asking the group how many of their family were willing to take out registration papers. Most of the Niseis did not seem to know, although they were definitely given the impression that none of their parents were willing to stay in America after the war. JS then said that if they took out registration papers there would be no problem because they did not have to fill out the questionnaire. It was brought out that the administration had run out of forms and that they would not be able to take such papers out. The Kibeis made noise, but they were willing to listen to the discussion. The rest of the Niseis were very much interested to get whatever clarification that was available, and pressed closer to hear the explanation being made. The Kibeis asked JS to speak in Japanese, which he did in part, but tended to revert entirely to English. He then went on to point out the other alternatives refusing to register would

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probably involve a punishment. Answering no to Question 28 did not mean that one would lose his citizenship, but only that he would be liable to reduction of rights. Here the Niseis insisted that they did not have right, anyway. Then JS explained that volunteering into the combat unit was possible, but that he did not advise it. Answering no to Question 27, he said, meant that a person did not want to join such a unit, but it was not an assurance of it, whereas answering Yes to the question meant probably that when they were drafted that they would be likely to be put in that unit if convenient. He also showed that there was a possibility of not going to the Army if they were in war industries, and pointed out the possibility of going out to do farm work. These alternatives did not seem to be very attractive to the group. The Kibeis wanted to know whether they could withhold their repatriation papers till the last possible moment and still be able to avoid any sort of punishment. The youngsters in the group kept very still and did not say anything. They were probably unable to size up the situation for themselves when all the facts were laid on the table and two sides of the picture presented.

There was an Issei from neighboring block who had gone to a meeting in Block 32. A large meeting was going on there, and many questions were being asked and answered. Suzuki, the councilman, had gotten up and said that if registration was not carried on there was a possibility of martial law being put into effect in the Project, and soldiers coming in to take over. This quieted the group down to the extent that those who were in favor of not registering at all were not able to control the group. This Issei, however, told the group of young ^{people} that if they made up their mind as a group to say No, they would not have to register. He said that if all of the young

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people got together and made a unified decision, there would be not need for registration.

3 or 4 Kibeis intruded on the meeting and demanded to know how this block felt about the matter. The answer was that the block was all against registering. It was learned that these Kibeis had come from Block 42 to see how other blocks who had to register the following morning were getting along. They said that they had heard that Ward II was against registration and seemed very much relieved to hear that the answer was against registration. Their reply was that in their meeting they had asked each person what they were going to do, and only 3 had said definitely that they would go and register. They had decided to contact other blocks and talk things over. Another group had been sent to contact the other blocks, and block 32 had been contacted already. They suggested that 2 or 3 representatives be chosen from each group and be sent to a meeting at a central location, and they suggested Block 25. The chairman suggested some other place. The Kibeis from the block kept saying that it would be all right for them to hold a meeting in their mess hall for such an important purpose. By this time the group had dwindled down considerably. The chairman was left holding the bag, not being able to refuse its cooperation, but feeling definitely that he was getting himself into trouble. The plan was to have a meeting in the morning about 8 a.m. so that plans could be made as to what they should do in a case some punishment was meted out, etc. The rest of the group, including JS drifted away, leaving a small group of interested parties behind.

The whole matter had come to a dangerous situation. The leaders had refused to take any responsibility and guide the people in what they should do. All during the last week there was an under-current of demand from the people to take steps which would make registration unnecessary. The matter

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had been left up to the people to decide when they were still thinking of ways and means of not registering. The Kibeis in each block seem to have taken matters into their own hands to make registration unnecessary by getting most of the others to refuse to register. Their solution to the problem was relatively simple because they could always take out repatriation papers. Why they did not want to do this is difficult to say. Perhaps they feared that they would be sent back to Japan and be drafted there again. It is probably true that many Kibeis, especially those who came back in recent years, were those who had come back because they did not want to join the Army in Japan. The Niseis did not want to register because it meant for many of them standing a good chance of being drafted and hence of dying.

What will happen is difficult to say. It will depend, for one thing, on how the administration chooses to handle the matter. It will be necessary for the exact nature of the punishment for not registering to be made clear if that threat is going to be effective. It is a very touchy situation, and one which may develop into another Manzanar Incident.

Thursday, February 18, 1943

1. Miura's Statement

One of Ruby's pupils (Issei) has come and told her that a statement made by M. was considered very good by the block manager. It was a statement made at a recent meeting that if the Japanese were not allowed to have a home of their own they would not be able to fight whole heartedly, and asked Lt. Carroll to do all he could to press this matter to higher officials. Mr. Nakamura mentioned that this was a good statement, too, although JS felt at the time that it sounded too much like whining. But it probably expressed the feeling of the people very well.

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2. Block 34

In Block 34 meeting on registration the older Niseis seem to have the young people well under control, and they seem to be in favor of registering, and probably of answering Yes to Question 28. It would be interesting to find out what factors cause some blocks to say Yes and others to say No. The age of the Niseis is probably a very great factor, and also the locality from which they came. The Isseis and Niseis leaders also probably make a great deal of difference in how the questions were answered.

3. Kibeis

The Kibeis are playing an important role in this registration conflict. They are the ones that are doing the most talking and trying to swing people to answering No to Question 28 or not registering at all. It has not reached the stage where they are threatening people who do not comply. But the pressure is definitely there. Some Niseis have been tagging along with them, not knowing that their position and the position of Kibeis are not the same. The Kibeis have no stake at all in this country and have only their own country to boast about. They talk of being willing to die for their country, but actually they seem to be afraid of serving in either army. Q.R. says that those who have come back around 38 or 39 did so because they wanted to avoid the draft in Japan. Now, they are afraid of being taken in the U. S. Army, and consequently are trying to find ways and means where by they can avoid it. The easiest thing for them to do is to take out repatriation papers, but they seem reluctant to do this even.

It is learned from reliable sources that many of the Kibeis have taken out repatriation paper blanks, but have not as yet handed them in. It is said that the administration is now out of those blanks till more are made. Some Kibeis in the block went to the office for them, but learned that there

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were none available. Those who have the blanks are holding them until they absolutely have to register, in which case they prefer to hand in their repatriation papers. It seems to be their desire to stay in the Project till the end of the war. Undoubtedly a great deal of this is motivated by a desire to avoid becoming involved in any war as an active fighter, since they may have to join the army in Japan if they are sent back right now.

4. Yoneko Yoshimoto

Y. has come from the N. W., is in her early 20's and works for Dr. Francis in the Ad. Bldg. She lived in a community where there were about 259 or so Japanese, but she says that they intermingled somewhat with the Caucasians. For this reason, she feels that they are more "broad-minded" than the people from California. Evidently she has been criticized for some of the things she had done, and she attributes it to the narrow experience that people in Calif. had. Recent events have brought out very clearly one difference in attitudes in the people from the N.W. and people from Calif. When Niseis volunteered for the Army Intelligence School, many of the volunteers came from the N.W. For this reason people always refer to the people from the N.W. as being "different." Recently, her block (70) completed their registration, while very few people registered in other blocks. Block 74 in the same ward did the same thing. This has made them rather unpopular, and she is probably starting to feel the insecurity of her position, although it is not so bad because she had her whole block behind her.

5. Okanos

The stand taken by the Okanos are typical Kibeish. They do not believe for one moment that they owe any loyalty to the U. S., but think wholly in terms of being Japanese and Japanese citizens. They do not see why the Sakodas should waste their time in America where they would not be getting anywhere.

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The assumption of the father^{is} that^{it} is certain that Japan is going to win, and hence it is advantageous to be on the winning side when the war is over. It is surprising that the matter of loyalty is not brought up, and when it is mentioned by some one else they probably bring up the fact of discrimination to counter-act it.

6. Kayas

Mr. Kaya is typical Issei in regard to his language ability. He can understand some English, but not too much. Mrs. Kaya is a Kibei, but not like an Issei, although she is probably only in her 30's. Their stand on many matters have differed from others in the block, and much of this can be probably accounted for by the fact that they have lived away from Japanese community in general, working in homes. First of all, they do not have the bitter feeling of hating the Caucasian and of having been discriminated against, which most of the Japanese have felt because they had practically no property to lose and they had no children's future to worry about. Consequently, even if they are living in a virtual concentration camp, they do not feel too bad about it at all. In fact, Mr. Kaya, because of his Seicho-no-Ie teaching, goes around saying that there is no such thing as unhappiness. When speaking of the duties of a citizen, he can say truthfully that for Niseis to be loyal to America is being true to principles expressed by the Emperor Meiji in his Kyoiku Chokugo, which is read at practically every important ceremony held in schools in Japan. He also says that the reason people are against registration is not because of the discrimination but because of the fear of having to die. This is one thing that can not be expressed in a group opposed to registration because it is probably true.

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6. Akahashis

As block manager of a very reactionary block Mr. A. is in a very insecure position. He himself has come from the city (Oakland) and hence finds that his ideas are different from those of the people in the block. He also had an attitude of mixing in with Caucasians in order to have good relations with them, and hence tends to be more tolerant towards Caucasians than are the people in the block. He has never been popular in the block even with the Isseis -- in fact he probably had more in common with the Niseis who were trying to organize a club of their own. They must have had some influential connections because they were asked several times whether they desired to return to Japan on an exchange ship, which they put off. Seiko, their high school-age daughter has consented to return to Japan with them, but Ziggy, the older son, has refused to say that he would return to Japan. He says that he will marry in America and stay over here. He was one of the few that registered, and Mrs. A. remarked that people looked at him with suspicion. He has not answered yes or no to 27 and 28, but was contemplating answering no to 27 and possibly giving a vague answer for 28. Ziggy's main fear seems to be that of going to battle and dying, and wants to avoid it if possible. JS advised his mother that he should answer no to 27, yes to 28, and then go out to work in an essential war industry.

Friday, February 19, 1943

1. Registration Results, 1st Day (2/18)

The first day of registration was an important day, because it served to set a precedent for the whole Project. There was a definite move not to register at all, and the results of the first day would have served to determine whether that move would be successful or not. As the Kibeis, some Niseis

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and Isseis said, if everybody got together and decided that they were not going to register, then they would not have to register. What would happen if no one registered was anyone's guess. The idea was that a large group could not be punished so easily or heavily as a small group. Those who were determined to register were probably afraid that they would be making themselves subjects of resentment if they went and registered, while the majority did not. Many others, especially Niseis, who had not definitely made up their minds, probably were willing to follow either faction which was able to gain the leadership.

Whether the meeting of the representatives from the six blocks that had to register in the morning produced any results is difficult to say. At least, the group does not seem to have gone out to tell people not to register. Whatever results were obtained were kept quite secret because JS who lived in block 25 did not get any wind of the results.

Perhaps it was decided that repatriation papers should be taken out and handed in when it became necessary to register or do something. There was a rush in the Ad. Bldg. for repatriation blanks, and a long noticeable line was formed. It was said that by noon 300 blanks had been handed out and that they had run out of supplies of blanks again. Those who observed the line on the whole seemed to be surprised that so many people were willing to take out repatriation papers. Some of the boys from block 25 were seen standing in that line. Some people concluded that those who went for repatriation papers must have been Kibeis, and probably Kibeis would make up the bulk of the line.

Those who were doubtful of their stand or who expected to register seem to have decided to wait to see what others were going to do. In the morning only from 10-15 boys (girls unknown) had registered. Several young

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boys evidently answered no to question 28, and were being asked by Sergeant Tsukahara if they would not reconsider, and the boys sat there looking very much confused. Most of the women working as interviewers had nothing to do, while the receptionist jumped up to greet JS as he went into the Personnel Recreation Hall. Part of the hesitation was undoubtedly due to the desire of the people to play safe by following the crowd. They did not want to be the only few who registered or who did not register. This was enhanced by the fact that the air was filled with antagonistic feelings, and individuals definitely felt the pressure of the opposing side, if it constituted the majority of the people in the block or in the Project. And in the majority of the blocks the feeling registering seemed to be definitely in the minority. Also, there seemed to be a general expectation that the leaders would find some solution or show the people the right road to take. The block manager, the Council men and the Planning Board all seemed to wish a peaceful settlement of the issue by people going out to register, but they were generally afraid to take any definite stand on the matter. Consequently the people were left without any guidance.

In the morning the Planning Board met, but decided that it would publish an announcement clarifying the attitude the Planning Board was taking on the issue. The council did not meet at all, while the block manager only made necessary announcements. The announcement of the Planning Board included the statement that it could not decide for the people either way, to register or not, to take out repatriation papers, to answer Yes or No. All it was doing was to attempt to clarify the issue for the people, and answer questions wherever possible. The decision had to be made individually. Then it suggested that individuals talk ^{over} the matter with their parents before making their decision. This was shown to Coverley and he refused to allow the last

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part of the statement. He thought that the Niseis should be allowed to make the decision for themselves. (See documents) He was afraid, it seems, that the Planning Board was trying to put the power of final decision in the hands of Isseis. Consequently the announcement by the Planning Board was never made.

In the afternoon more people were in line for repatriation papers. This time, however, boys began to register, and most of the interviewers were kept reasonably busy the rest of the day. Evidently as the deadline approached many of the boys had made up their minds to register as the lesser of two evils. By 4 p.m. one sheet had been filled with names of registrants (2 columns, perhaps fifty names to a sheet) and a second sheet had been begun, and about 15 names were listed on it.

From Block 25 evidently very few boys had registered, if any registered at all, except JS and George S. George was willing to be drafted when the time came, but did not want to join the Armed forces particularly and so answered No to question 27 and Yes to question 28 without asking any questions. Other boys seemed to take longer to answer the two questions, not having made up their mind or not having enough knowledge of what the two questions actually meant. Half a dozen boys from the block went off rather late in the afternoon toward the Ad. Bldg., but it is not known whether they went to register or to turn in their repatriation papers. In the evening it was announced by the block manager that it was necessary to register or to file repatriation papers, and that people in the block had till 8 p.m. tonight to register. In the evening, however, practically no girls and only a handful of boys were registering around 7:30 p. m. evidently there had been no last minute rush to complete registration.

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The first day, however, had not gone by without some incidents. It was rumored ~~that~~ several people were arrested for things they have been heard to say. Mr. Nimuro who spoke at the meeting of the three groups, and who had taken a leadership part in almost every one of the strikes and incidents that had occurred on the Project was taken in, the Planning Board member from Block 47 announced and advised the people to be a little more careful of what they said. The block manager of 47, James Nakaguwa, was called in several times by Dr. Jacoby and questioned. There was another Nisei arrested, according to the story of one of the block people. There seems to have been a feeling on the part of the administration that there was active obstruction, of the registration going on. No doubt these measures helped to make the people afraid of opposing registration or refusing to register.

The first and most difficult day of registration is now over, with probably a third of the people having registered. The rest should be easy unless some of the hot-headed individuals start an organized opposition against registration or start to protest some of the arrests made.

2. Kibei Students

The Kibei students tend to keep to themselves and apart from other Kibeis whom they consider to be rather worthwhile. Their club has as one of its purposes Americanization, which was put in to make their organization acceptable in the eyes of Caucasians. The leaders of the club are afraid of announcing this purpose at this time because they fear the wrath of the other Kibeis if they ever found out that the club has such a purpose. Consequently, the constitution of the club, although it is ready to be announced, is being kept secret at the present time.

Saturday, February 20, 1943

1. New Regulations.

Up till yesterday, everybody was under the impression that if they

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took out repatriation papers they did not have to register. The registration Rule, issued as a supplement to the Dispatch which is dated February 11, 1943 reads:

"Q: Who registers.

A: All evacuees, males and females, citizens and non-citizens, 17 years or over except those who registered for repatriation to Japan."

Of course, the interpretation can still be made that those who had not taken out repatriation papers at the time registration began had to register. Niseis in line for repatriation blanks were turned down unless they had already registered. In the evening the following announcement came out:

"All male citizens must register with the military team and fill out the War Department Questionnaire."

"Some Tule Lake residents have the mistaken idea that if male citizens obtain repatriation blanks, they do not have to register. We can not control rumors, but we can say what is true. The War Department requires the registration of all male citizens."

Major S. L. A. Marshall

- It was said that the Major was sent from Washington to see what was delaying the registration procedure.

In Block 25 the boys who had filed repatriation papers were indignant about the whole matter. As one of them expressed: "Baka o mita" (did a foolish thing.) They had been rather obedient and had gone out and taken out repatriation papers which they did not really want to take out, instead of refusing to register at all, as was being done by boys in some blocks. Another expressed a fear which others probably felt: now they would be drafted even if they answered no to question 28 or just because they did so, and perhaps be sent off to war to be killed. Not unless this basic sense of per-

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secution and suspicion is recognized will one be able to understand the reaction the people are taking to the registration. For those who wanted to avoid entering the U. S. Army at all cost, the situation has become unsettled again. Even to take out repatriation papers was a decision in itself, although many of the boys did not seem to have thought very deeply about the matter. At least it has been a source of regret to many parents to have to leave their property behind because this repatriation has taken place.

For many Isseis, this matter of son vs. property is an important one for Isseis. Their main desire is to keep their sons safe. At the same time, however, many of them are reluctant to part with their property, for which they have worked all these years. The prospect of returning to Japan without any or very little money is not a pleasant one, either. In the case of the Higashinos, the sons registered because the property was in their name. In case of the people in Block 25 the Isseis seem to be willing to give up their property in preference to risking the lives of their sons. F. M. mentioned one family where the son was urged to take out repatriation papers, but the parents have decided to stay behind and take care of their property and perhaps make a little money before returning to Japan. While there are a great many other factors which tend to tilt the scale one way or other, these two are probably the ones that give the Isseis the greatest amount of headaches.

2. Mrs. Akahoshi

Mrs. Akahoshi is an intelligent lady and a shrewd observer of people. She sees things in better perspective than probably any other person living in Block 25. She remarked to JS yesterday that people had started to make plans to leave the Project and start farming and working on farms. But this

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registration has closed their minds, entirely to the idea of going out. The people do not want to return to Japan right away, and would prefer to wait till the end of the war to see how things are going to turn out before making their decision. Many persons would have gone out to farms to work, and perhaps would have stayed even after the war. Since man power is needed in the field of agriculture at this time, it would have been to U.S.' advantage to humor the Japanese people along to make them stay. Since the young people have been required to take out repatriation papers, it has become necessary for the parents to do so, too. Most of the parents are not willing to let their children return to Japan alone, and feel that they have to sacrifice their property for the fact of their children. The Government handled the registration in a poor manner. It was introduced in such a way as to make the people believe that they were going to be sent off to war to be sacrificed, through the creation of special Japanese combat unit. The officials do not seem to realize this state of mind of the Japanese people.

Sunday, February 21, 1943

1. Block 42

What went on in Block 42 yesterday has spread throughout the camp evidently. Riley, who lives in Block 46, has heard of it. Ruby has heard about it from one of her Issei pupils. Fumi Sakamoto has heard of it through Tad Tomita, who lives in that Ward. Ruby's story seemed to be the most distorted. She says that a truck was sent to Block 42 to take those who did not register to jail. Tad maintained that the Planning Board and the Council were against the registration and therefore the people were against it, too, which does not seem to be true. Both the Planning Board and the City Council were afraid to take any stand on the matter. From R. N. who lives close to the scene

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of the trouble we have the following version, which seems to be the most accurate.

By noon very few people in Block 42 had registered. Why the administration picked on Block 42 is difficult to say, unless they suspected that it started the movement to keep people from registering. As a matter of fact, it was the block which contacted other block people on the matter of people who were not registering getting together to talk about future plans. On Wednesday evening a meeting was held of all the young people in Block 42 above 17 years of age. Each person was called to attend the meeting. Each person was asked whether he was prepared to register or not. Only 2 within the group came out and said that they were definitely prepared to register. One of them was Frank Tsukahira, a person who had lived among Caucasians before and had mostly Caucasian friends before coming to camp. He did not speak Japanese very well and felt that if he were forced to return to Japan because he did not he would not be able to adjust himself over there. One other person thought that registration should be left a personal matter, instead of the block deciding on the matter. There was probably a group of young people who were willing to register if pressure was not brought to bear on them, but they were afraid to speak up ^{at} the meeting. The rest of the group answered no.

Mrs. Murayama gave her opinion at the meeting and quoted a group of leaders in camp who had gotten together specifically for the purpose of getting a unified decision as to the best plan to follow. This group was composed of Father Die, Harry Mayeda, F. M., T. S., Mrs. Marayama herself, and a few others. The consensus of opinion of this group was that there was nothing to be gained by not registering and that it was best to go ahead with the registration. The group did not like Mrs. Murayama's opinion, evidently,

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and some one got up and moved that all those not directly connected with the meeting should leave. Therefore, Mrs. M. had to leave the mess hall, although at the time she felt she really did not have any right to be there because she was not a Nisei and had no children of draft age.

Mr. Ohmura was also in favor of registration, but he did not have any weight with the group. It was decided that other blocks which had to register on the first day should be contacted, and the group waited till late in the evening till the report was made by representatives from the block who went out to do the contacting. At this point some people who were disgusted with the procedure left the meeting. The group was dominated by Kibeis, but to what degree the information is not very clear. No one wants to mention names or accuse others for fear of being called spies.

Perhaps it was because of these proceedings that the administration decided to make people from Block 42 register. Block 25 produced very few registrants, but no one in the block was called upon for questioning or anything. At noon Mr. Coverley, Dr. Jacoby and a couple of Army officers came into the mess hall of Block 42 and read off the names of those who were supposed to register. Only half a dozen or so in the mess hall answered, even though all of them were there. They were told that a truck would be sent down at 1:15 to take them to the place of registration. When they went out a great deal of noise was made in the kitchen by clattering dishes and even breaking some to show defiance against this group from the Administration. 2 trucks came on time but nobody got on, and it left empty.

In the afternoon a group of 40 or 50 from Block 42, according to one person, stormed the Ad. Bldg. to demand of Coverley the official order from Washington requiring registration regardless of filing of repatriation papers.

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The telegram from Washington was brought out and shown to the group, which went home without creating any disturbances.

In the evening a car rolled in Block 42 and out stepped Dr. Jacoby, possibly with Kristovitch and some wardens. A crowd quickly gathered around and surrounded the car. Dr. Jacoby then spoke to the group, telling them that they had to register because it was an order from the Army. He had nothing to do with it except to follow orders. The crowd jeered and asked foolish questions, when Dr. Jacoby was trying to be fair. E. U. felt disgusted with the whole procedure, and left the scene before the crowd broke up. No violence was done, but no one offered to go to register. Dr. Jacoby went back to the Ad. Bldg. without meeting any danger, and the crowd broke up. At 9 p.m. the block was as peaceful as any other.

The attitude of the people in Block 42 seems to be one of defiance. There are talks that if the truck comes after them they will surround it and not let it get away. What is worst, everyone is talking about there being spies in the block, and that those Inu (dog) have to be weeded out from neko (cat). These spies are accused of receiving \$150 a month from the FBI. Among those suspected are Mr. Ohmura, Mrs. M's brother, Mrs. M. Mrs. M's brother lives in another block as a block manager, but quit his position because people had begun to say that he was a paid spy. The people in the block suspect Mr. Ohmura very much, in spite of the fact that he is rich and does not have to support himself by being a paid agent of the FBI. He has not mixed in with the Japanese people in Chico very much, it seems, and has associated somewhat with Caucasians. They attempted to maintain a certain cultural standard, and this probably irritates the people very much. Mr. Ohmura, also is a blunt sort of man, and for this reason has incurred the displeasure of the people in the block. It is being related that he once lost a wallet

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containing 60 odd dollars in the block. It was found by another man who saw Mr. O's name in it. Seeing Mr. O close by, he hailed him and asked him if he had lost anything. Mr. O looked about in his pocket and said that he had lost a wallet. The man produced the wallet and gave it to him. Mr. O took the wallet, merely saying that "My name's in there, you know." Evidently he had forgotten to thank the person profusely. The man was angry because Mr. O had not said anything else, and the story has been making the rounds of the block. The fact that the Ohmuras are rich, fairly successful, and maintain a certain amount of social standard all add up to make the people in his block bitter against him.

2. Mrs. Ishizuka

Mrs. Ishizuka is a Kibei herself. Her husband came after her in 1941. He stayed only 3 months because he did not want to be caught up in the draft. Clearly, then, he does not want to return to Japan until after the war or until after he is past draft age. For this reason, he finds, probably, that he does not want to take out repatriation papers. This puts Mrs. I. in a spot because she has to make sure that she is not deported just because she does not register, or if she does, just because she answered No to question 28. But there is pressure in the block against any one's registering, and it is going to be interesting to see what she does. She probably sees that there are arguments for registering, knowing that not registering would mean the chance of jeopardizing her future. When the feelings of the people cool down a little, this conflict will become clearer to them.

3. Mrs. Tom Taketa

Tom and Mary came from Walnut Grove but unlike the other people in the block they came from the town and not from the country, as did the other people within the block. This accounts for the fact that they act like city people and do not have much to do with the people in this block. They as-

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sociate with the Mitsutomes and go to play Mah Jong there. They also play Mah Jong with the Yamamotos, who also maintain certain social standards of an educated person. Mary has worked in the Bay Area, and at present is working in the Beauty Parlor, a job which gives her more status than she would have if she were merely working in the mess hall here.

Tom, however, is trailing along with the rest of the people in the block, saying what others would want to hear, although he does not say much most of the time. Mary does not want to go back to Japan, but says that she will tag along with Tom -- she has to. Tom is probably slightly confused by the whole issue. He does not have enough determination to make a decision which the majority of the people in his block would oppose. He comes in contact with people outside of the block who favor registration, and he probably sees that there are good reasons for registering. It seems that he took out repatriation papers with the rest of the people in the block, although he was not willing to reveal this at Koso's wedding reception to Dr. Akamatsu. He will probably do what the rest of the people in the block do, not registering if the majority in the block do not register.

4. Pressure

While outwardly it may seem that any one who wants to register can go out and register, it is becoming increasingly clear that there is a definite pressure against registering. The Isseis are feeling the pressure and consequently are relaying it on to their children, demanding of them that they do not register. Some young people are refusing to say they registered even when they did, because they are afraid that they and their family will be looked upon with resentment from the rest of the block. The Sakamotos in Block 34 registered, and already they feel the resentment of the people in the block. Those who have been accused of being spies are refusing to attend block meetings or step out of their apartment very much because of the suspicion that

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it might arouse. So far no violence has been committed and none probably will be committed unless there is actual proof of "informing." But life is being made rather miserable for a number of people who have chosen to register.

Monday, February 22, 1943

1. Soldiers in Block 42

What actually happened in Block 42 last night will have to be reconstructed later. According to Jimmy Nishida, who went to see a show that was to have been shown in Block 42, the show did not take place. Instead wardens, soldiers, and firemen came and picked up about 35 or 36 boys who did not register and went off with them. Each apartment was visited separately to contact each boy. The soldiers had bayonets. When the truck left some of the boys shouted, "Hinamaru Banzai." Since there were about 50 boys that were supposed to have registered, it means that only about 14 or 15 in the block registered. This figure, however, is not an accurate one. In block 44 a meeting of all the people in Ward V was held, it was reported. Here each family head was asked whether his children was going to register, and those who were were asked to leave the block in which they lived.

The reaction of the people has definitely been that no one must register. The feeling has become one of trying to keep closely together for the sake of mutual protection. Block meetings were held in most of the blocks, it is believed, giving the so-called "agitators" a chance to take a leadership role. The Planning Board had a meeting, their result of the meeting was awaited in all of the blocks. Discussion in one block lasted till 5 in the morning.

Rumors went around that high school boys would be required to register at school, and in Block 25 it was decided that high school children would not

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be allowed to go to school. Some of the parents were worried about this, and inquired whether or not those below 17 could be allowed to go to school, but the matter had already been settled. Clearly, some of the parents were worried about their children not being able to go to school when it was unnecessary to stay at home.

At the same time it was decided to go on strike concerning the release of the boys who had been taken because they had not registered. Whether the Planning Board had started this or not is not

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definitely known. The hospital crew, the mess crew, transportation crew, and the janitor crew were to go ahead with their work, while the rest went on strike. However, work was to go on while the negotiations were going on. It was decided also that if the boys were taken for not registering, the parents would go along with them wherever they were sent. The opposition seems to be that there wouldn't be a jail big enough to hold 15,000 people.

2. George Kakiuchi

George comes from a conservative family and represents the Japanese type of personality. He is around 19 or 20, and his reactions show the predicament of the younger Niseis who are unable to resist the opinions of their parents or their block and friends. At first George was determined to answer No to question 27 and Yes to question 28, probably believing that answering Yes to question 27 meant volunteering. Then he decided to change to answering No to both questions. Then when the new registration began he was determined to take out repatriation papers. His parents were willing to take out repatriation papers, too. They were willing to give up their property in Calif. since they had some property in Japan. George himself felt that he would have a difficult time adjusting himself to Japan, but could not feel that he could join the armed forces of the U. S. and fight wholeheartedly. But since his friends are determined not to register, he feels that he will have to do the same. If he were independent and didn't live with his parents, he admits that he might make a decision, but as matters stand now, he has to follow the crowd and also do what his parents tell him to do. His dependence on his parents and on his friends is very clear in his change of attitude toward registration. The community pressure now is exceedingly great, and last night's incident has made it very difficult for anyone to register at the present time.

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3. Rumors

One of the most important aspects of the present registration conflict is that the whole issue has been clouded by rumors and suspicion and distrusts. One of the most prevailing rumors is that even if one registered and answered no, the answer would be changed to yes. Another is that if a person answered no the soldiers would make the individuals change their answers to no. It seems to be true that boys who answered no to question 28 are asked to reconsider once before signing the papers definitely, but this is done out of consideration for them, because many of them do not know what they are doing. Another rumor which has become prevalent is that babies who are born on the Project have no claim to citizenship because they are given a different sort of paper. Another rumor is that Japanese soldiers are practicing without rifles, but are only being shown how to use hand grenades. They mean to send the Japanese soldiers to the front lines without weapons and be killed off. Another rumor is that if girls register they are going to be taken for the Army, and be used in the Army brothels. These rumors are brought up for discussion whenever several people get together to talk about the registration and are against registering at all. These are in addition to all of the instances of racial discrimination and unfair treatment that the Japanese have had to face or they have heard about. Added to this is the claim that if they return to Japan they will be able to find opportunity in Java. They used to say Manchuria before, but very few people now think in terms of Manchuria.

4. "Agitators"

The concept of agitators was not developed very clearly, but it is necessary to continue to use the word because some word to designate people who like to lead crowds at moments of disturbances is definitely required.

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The tendency has been for the same person to figure in all of the conflicts that have occurred on the Project. Nimura, for instance, was announced in one block as having been taken recently. He spoke at the meeting of the three leader groups when he was not even a Planning Board representative. He did not say anything extreme, but achieved the effect of getting the people roused without actually saying things that might be incriminating. In the theater project he was in favor of some drastic measures if the Council was not willing to reconsider its position. He spoke at the broadcast meeting and was the person who made the rather amusing speech at the farm strike. He is a clever speaker, and undoubtedly gets satisfaction out of speaking at such meetings. He tends to show off his pro-Japan feelings too much.

Closer to home, XI-L has followed a similar career in his own block. of being a speaker. He is definitely of a poorer ability, He does not have the intelligence that N has, nor the same ability, even as an "agitator" type of leader, and his activities have been confined to his own block. His favorite past time is to rave how Japan is winning the war, and America is losing it, how strong Japan is, etc. He likes to parade his anti-administration view points. When the old chief cook in the block wanted to quit, he was against giving him any sort of thanks. The upshot of the whole affair was that the old crew was kicked out and Tanabe grabbed one of the more desirable jobs. When the matter of registration came up, he was against any one's answering yes to question 28, but was not willing to go to the extreme of telling people that they should not register. But now that other blocks are taking stand against registering, he has taken a leadership role within the block to tell them what they should do. This conflict has given him an opportunity to act as a leader for a while.

Much of the leadership in this conflict seems to have been taken at first by Kibeis. In Block 25 there were no Kibeis who were capable enough

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to do anything except to do a lot of talking against registering or against remaining loyal to the U. S. so that their leadership did not extend upon the block. It was effective only to the extent that most of the boys in the block quietly took out repatriation papers instead of taking the alternatives of registering. Kibeis in other blocks, however, were more active. They contacted other block leaders and made an effort to resist the registration itself. That the movement started in Block 42 is (seems) unmistakable. How many Kibeis are involved is difficult to determine at present. The Isseis have now joined in on the conflict since the soldiers took away boys from block 42, and it seems that the leadership now lies in the hands of the Isseis.

5. Wavering Crowd

One of the interesting aspects of the people who are against registration is that they tend to waver in their decision when things go wrong. When it was learned last night that soldiers had taken a group from Block 42, several boys who had been against registration and vociferous in their stand, started to talk about the advisability of registering within the next couple of days. The same thing happened to Jimmy Nishida. Back in a group of their own kind, however, they regained their confidence when they saw that others were willing to stand against the Army in not registering. Their strength is borne out of a membership of a group so that they are very weak individually. Behind their wavering seem to be fear and uncertainty -- fear of being drafted, fear of being harmed, fear of disapproval of the majority of the people. Personally each individual has no conviction except as he follows the voice of the whole crowd.

On the other hand, those who are standing up for registration are doing so with a firm conviction that they are in the right. On the whole

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they tend to be rather calm, knowing what it is all about. If they did not have the conviction it would not have been possible to register in the first place. They speak more realistically and pass on less rumors and foolish reports than the crowd. They do not mind the fact that they may be the only ones in the block who have dared to differ from the rest of the people in the block. At heart, they feel that they are right, and will not change their mind just because of the large number of people in the opposing camp.

6. People with means.

One other interesting point is that those who are standing up for registration are people with some social position or wealth and the like. The Ohmuras are supposed to be rich. The Hashimotos in Block 29 are reputed to have social position and property in Japan to which they can go back any time they wish. Their family also have some higher education -- Amy having gone to college. One lady from Block 30 claims that she has some property in Japan to which she can go back if she wished. She seemed to have a fairly good home back home in Calif. She has only one son, but still she has allowed them to register. She is willing to take the risk of having her son drafted, because she believes that it is the right thing to do. She is not afraid of the rest of the people in the block because she believes she is in the right. On the other hand, many of these people who argue a great deal about how wonderful it would be if they returned to Japan, have neither education nor money nor social position in Japan or relatives on which they can rely if they did go back. They are the ones who are being afraid of losing their sons in the Army or of giving up their life fighting for the U. S. and trying to rely on Japan, when they really haven't very much to rely upon. Frustration-aggression may not be a formula that works all of

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the time, but it certainly seems to be a useful formula to apply to present conditions.

Another similar distinction that is becoming clear is that between the educated and the masses of ignorant people. Those with some education and wide range of knowledge tend to be able to see the situation in a manner closely akin to the facts. The ignorant masses, however, do so much hazy thinking based on false reports and rumors and become so emotionally involved so that they are unable to approach the true situation that exists at the present time. They can not tackle the problem in front of them sanely because they can not see the problem in its real light. In this regard FO and FN seem to have a better grasp of the situation because they are able to get more accurate news and do some thinking for themselves.

While all of these factors are correlated, recent conversation has brought out the fact that those who are leading the crowd against registering tend to be people who were not successful on the outside and who have found a good opportunity to attempt to be leaders here. Mrs. X mentioned one such person who talked rather rudely to her when she had helped him on the outside when he was in distress. FO mentioned another person T by name, who was barely able to eke out a living on the outside, but was doing a lot of talking here. Sakuma in Block 32 is reputed to have been a drunkard and a loafer, but was the chairman of the meeting held at the block recently. The tendency seems to be for the type of people who have been frustrated in the past to gain control of leadership positions while the conflict is in progress. The Planning Board, made up of rather calm and intelligent men, has been approached by a group of Isseis, it seems, to go on strike. The Planning Board asked for a little more time, and said that if they could not solve the problem, they would turn the matter over to the group to do as they pleased. This attempt by a group of relatively frustrated, ignorant and poor people with

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low social status to gain leadership positions seems to be general throughout the camp.

7. Planning Board and City Council

This reporting of the proceedings of the Planning Board and the Council was heard at the Social Welfare Department from Mr. P. 5 members of the P.B. and 5 or the C.C. met with Major Marshall, Lt. Carroll, one officer from the western defense command, and Mr. Coverley. The two groups asked that the 31 boys (5 were reported released) who were taken last night be returned to the Project. They were told that under no condition would those boys be returned. The Army and Administration also flatly refused the request to delay the registration until things were cleared up or to make changes in the registration proceedings. Among the requests was one asking that no coercion be exercised and that individuals be allowed to answer the questions in any way they pleased. The result of the meeting was that the Army and the Administration refused to listen to any compromises, and announced their resolution to go ahead with the registration as they had planned. The implication was that any one who did not register would be taken just as the boys in Block 42 were. A meeting was held in most blocks in the afternoon, probably, to convey the result of the meeting. The Planning Board and Council both resigned as a body. The wardens also were reported to have resigned.

According to another report only the Planning Board dissolved, and ^{is} the City Council merely "tottering."

Tuesday, February 23, 1943

1. Predicament of S.U.

Up till the time the soldiers came and took the boys in Block 42 who did not register, there was no open coercion of people into not registering. Soon after, however, one Block called a meeting and asked all those concerned

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to sign a paper saying that they would not register or get out of the block. S.U. lived in that block and unwillingly signed the paper. He is in his late 20's, thought to be rather queer, rather liberal in thought. He is out of step sufficiently with other Niseis in order to make a decision contrary to the rest of the group and be able to stick to it if it did not require too much painful adjustment. He really wanted to register because he could see no advantage in not registering. He was definitely not strongly pro-Japanese, probably intended to stay here in America even after the war. His reason for signing the paper was that he had to think of his family, because if he left the block because he did not want to sign the paper his family would have been discriminated. If he were independent, and his family were living in some other center, it would have been all right, he said. He saw the prospect of being picked up by the soldier and being sent off to jail, and did not like it at all, but he felt helpless to do anything about the matter. He was determined to keep the matter a secret because if it ever got out that he had told and it had reached the ears of the Administration, he knew that he would be considered inu. He was afraid that some of the young Niseis who were forced to sign the paper would not be able to keep it secret when the authorities started to question them. At the present time the registration is unfair for those who want to register but who feel too greatly the pressure from those about them to go ahead and do so. The Administration probably has made no provision for such persons, and it is difficult to see how they can get out of their predicament as long as they are afraid of facing the wrath of the people in their block and in many cases in their own family.

In the same block (44) the people were told not to leave the block in the morning. This restriction was called off in the afternoon, but they

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were told not to go to work. There seems to be deep fear of spies or inus and the block seems to be taking full protections.

2. Block 71

Last night there was a meeting in Block 71 which May attended but Kingo did not because he was out to teach a class. The progress of the meeting was interesting because it offered a good contrast to some of the blocks that had already made decisions against registering and for a general strike. It seemed that the meeting progressed rather calmly. A few people seemed to be for the whole block agreeing to not register, but the majority of the block people favored leaving the question up to individuals. Several boys, including Kingo had not registered yet, and were afraid that they would not have the chance to do so if the block passed such a resolution. One Kibei fellow, evidently not very intelligent, argued for the whole block not registering. When he was questioned as to his reason for such a move, he was not able to give a satisfactory reply. Then the block manager pointed out that he himself had registered and would not be risking being taken, and what was more he revealed that this Kibei had registered within the block when it was not his turn. The matter of strike came up too, but most of the people felt that it was not a wise thing.

Then some people came from Block 33 to tell the people that they should make a decision not to register. Both blocks were to register on the following day, and Block 33 had already made up its mind not to register. It probably wanted more or less support from Block 71 which had to register on the same day. For awhile everybody became excited and there were suggestions about calling up each person concerned to ask him whether he was going to register or not. May was frightened because she was afraid that Kingo would not be able to register. She came back to the apartment to see if Kingo were home,

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and advised him to go out again or at least not to come to the meeting because if he did not know what went on at the block meeting it would make it easier for him to go and register. Kingo was determined to register the following day even if it was not the turn of the block. The majority of the block was still against making a decision for the whole block. Some one asked the representative from Block 33 why they had decided not to register. He brought up the fact that he had had a business, was forced to close it up and evacuate, etc. Since most of the reasons he stated were personal and not relevant to the situation at all, the people decided that there weren't enough reasons for not registering. Thus the meeting ended with most of the people in the block feeling rather relieved.

3. Inu

May and Kingo are suspected by some of the people in the block as being an inu. Their circumstances just goes to show on what evidence people are considered to be an informer of the administration. May had received an invitation from Mrs. Jacoby a long time ago to come to see them. They knew JS and wanted to meet his sister who sang so beautifully. Several weeks ago May and Kingo were invited over, but Mrs. Jacoby phoned to the block manager's office saying that they could not receive her because Dr. Jacoby had to go away on a visit elsewhere. The block manager related the information to May, but she suspects that he told others, including Kuwada, who has been rather close with the block manager lately. The only two families which have drying racks in the block are reported to be the block manager and K's. K has been ousted from Santa Anita as troublemaker, and May suspects that he is going around telling people that she and Kingo are informers. The other night she went to Mr. Cook's place to hear some records, and she is afraid that that might have gotten out too. Probably most of those being suspected of being inus are suspected on grounds like these or on more flimsy grounds.

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4. Block 25

Yesterday afternoon a meeting of block representatives of Ward II was held somewhere. The result of this meeting is not known, but it is presumed that the strike was mainly discussed. Within the block a meeting was held to hear the report from the Planning Board member. Mr. Nakamura resigned as the Planning Board member, and Mr. Nishida was re-elected in his place. For coop representative, which was Nishida's position, Nagata and Nakamura were nominated, and Nakamura was elected. Tanabe's position is not very clear, although he seems to have been decided that the block would favor a general strike. This morning, however, it was announced that since the whole Ward has not approved of a general strike yet people would be allowed to go to work on their own discretion. A meeting of the Ward would be called later in the day and further plans would be made out for a general strike.

Evidently Ward II has not arrived at a uniform decision concerning the general strike. The people are still wondering what they should do. Probably waiting to see in which direction the majority of the people in the Project are moving. Block 25 is definitely wavering in its decision. So far they are willing to go on a strike if the whole Ward is willing to, but they seem to be definitely afraid of facing a situation alone. It is not the girls of 25's turn to register yet, and the block manager was instructed to go and find out how the registration of girls was coming along in order to determine what the girls in the block should do. The people do not have enough thinking power and determination to make up their own minds.

5. X.L's Block

In XL's block some Kibeis and Isseis are all for not registering.

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The Kibeis have drawn up a statement saying that they are against the registration because they have not been treated equally. They also added that they wished to be treated like Japanese nationals and prisoners just as the boys in Block 42 were. They went around the blocks asking boys and girls to sign the statement. One of their arguments is that they can not allow the 37 boys in Block 42 to suffer alone. Their solution is to have every one ask for the same sort of treatment. Probably there is a belief that if every one asks for the same sort of treatment then the Government will not go ahead with its plans. The boys mentioned that they wanted to impress Coverley with the fact that they did not like the unequal treatment, but they did not seem to realize that the WRA had very little to do with the Selective Service registration. Why girls should be dragged into this affair is also difficult to see. XL's family and one other family, an ardent Christian family, were about the only ones in the block that were in favor of registration. XL's folks were rather in a muddle, hemmed in on both sides by the block people and by their children. X, herself, cannot see why they should not go and register. There is some property and bonds in her name, and she does not feel that it is right that all of that should be given up. She has been called up at one a.m. this morning and has been arguing the questions till daylight. She still wants to register, but did not want to be the only one who had not followed the rest of the people in the block. The Kibei boys said that each block was being approached with this petition they had drawn up, and wanted her to sign it too, but she put them off, saying that she was not making up her mind to register or to sign.

One interesting thing in XL's background is that the family on the whole is educated, the older children having gone to college. They also have a certain amount of property, and assurance of some means of supporting themselves in Japan because they have relatives who are in a fairly secure

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position. The family has tended to keep rather aloof from the rest of the block people, whom they consider to be rather ignorant. XL kept pointing out that the other people in the block had very little education and that they were not thinking things out very sanely. This cleavage between those of a higher status and those of a lower status seems to be quite general on this registration issue.

6. Hashida beaten up.

Hashida, the Japanese translator for the Dispatch, was beaten up lately by a group of Kibeis and Niseis. His head was beaten until it bled and some of his hair was torn off. The excuse for the beating was that H. was an inu, an informer. H. was a Kibei, with some integrity. His father, it is said, was a good-for-nothing and consequently had a bad reputation. The boys who beat him up seemed to feel that their act did not involve them in any serious crime. They could not see, for instance, that if he had died, they would have been accused of murder, possible of the first degree. They brushed aside the incident saying that Japan would not look on the incident in that light. Some of the boys of that type probably feel that they are doing a good deed every time they beat up a suspected inu.

7. Eta

Besides being called inu, those who are unwilling to go along with the rest of the people are being called eta in some blocks. The reasoning is that these people do not want to go back to Japan because they will not be treated well in Japan, and hence want to stay in America.

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1. Block 25 Triumph

Monday night Block 25 had an important meeting which probably had an effect on the whole community attitude toward the registration. To go back a little ways, it should be remembered that up till the time the 31

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boys in Block 42 were taken away there was a general belief that if no one registered, then the whole program would be called off without any loss to the colonists. The motive of the Kibeis who started the agitation is harder to understand, but most of the Isseis who were in favor of not registering seemed to be of that opinion. The main idea was that if a few registered then it would jeopardize the whole group that did not register. Actually coercion to sign petitions stating that they did not intend to register and desired treatment similar to boys from Block 42 were circulated in many blocks especially Ward I and Ward V. By Monday night, however, it had become clear that the Army was no longer bluffing -- it meant to take those who did not register. The movement took on a rather heroic aspect, the argument being not the saving of the large number of people who did not register, but that of not letting the boys from 42 suffer alone. Most of the boys became afraid that they would no longer be able to sign even if they wanted to. Some had signed petitions giving away that right already, and others knew that there was too much opposition in his block for him to go against. At the same time Niseis and parents of Niseis probably became frightened from the idea that the children would be taken away and perhaps not be returned from jail for 10 years. These agitations were being carried on mainly because the people desired to avoid Japanese being taken into the U. S. Army because they did not want to risk the lives of the Niseis. First, many of the boys had chosen repatriation as a way out, but found later that they had to register anyway. Not registering was their second attempt at a solution of the problem, but it was becoming increasingly clear that this was not going to provide a satisfactory answer to evading the draft. The majority of the people, lead by a small group of agitators, especially Kibeis, were all for forcing people into not registering. The people could

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not stop this movement even though they started to realize that it was going to lead to disaster. How Block 25 was able to turn the tide and get all of the people in the block to register and also influence other blocks in the Ward offers an interesting study in change of attitude on the part of the people.

The account cannot be given in detail because JS did not attend the meetings himself and what he has heard has only been fragmentary. Mr. Tanabe was still in control of the meetings held within the block. The block manager and the Planning Board member had been shoved aside, even though Tanabe did not have any elected position to give him the leadership at such meetings. The discussion of a general strike was still in progress, and it was decided in Block 25 that if a general strike was called they would join in. By Monday evening, however, T. had become rather unpopular. He heard from some one in the block that some people questioned the fact that he was the right man to lead the people because he had no children. Probably the feeling was that T. as a leader was not considerate of the feeling of the parents, but only going ahead with his plans because he had no children involved. T. on his part probably felt that things were not turning out so well and that his position was becoming very risky because the future of the plan of action he was taking seemed bound to end up in disaster. Consequently, he offered to give up his leadership position, saying that he had no right to be a leader because he did not have a son. When he left, however, he made a dramatic statement about how he had done all he could for the people even at the risk of his own life. He was willing to be dragged off by the FBI at any moment for the things that he had said and done, and he felt that the Block people did not appreciate it. Some of the block people asked him

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to continue with his leadership, and told him that it was cowardly to withdraw at that time. However, he preferred to drop out of the picture, and the majority of the people were willing to let him do so.

With T. out of the picture, the whole outlook for block 25 changed. There ^{were} ~~were~~ only one or two other persons who might have taken up the leadership position after T., but they were probably not willing to do so with matters as they stood. The block manager was for a peaceful solution, and so was Mr. Nishida, the new Planning Board member. Yamamoto, the educated Kibei, also could not see what good not registering would do. The spark that changed the attitude of the people, however, came from ^{an} ~~from~~ other direction. Mrs. Oda, who was concerned for her sons, got up and made an indignant appeal that the people should think more seriously about the matter instead of making a festivity (omatsuri-sawagi) out of it. Immediately Mr. Kaya, the former chief cook, got up and shouted "so, desu" (that's right) and started to make a dramatic speech. As the chief cook, Mr. Kaya had not cooked more than mediocre meals, but he had managed to keep crooked dealings out of the mess hall and was able to give the people sufficient food and no cause for complaint because of shady dealings. He was not popular, however, except with his crew and the block manager, because he incurred the jealousy and antagonism from the rest of the people. He differed from others on many of the issues, such as the theater project, that came up, and it served to make him unpopular with a number of other people. On the matter of registration he did not believe that the block people were doing the right thing, and he also believed that Niseis should be allowed to remain loyal to the U. S. if they so wished. Loyalty was the same in any country, and for Niseis loyalty to one's country meant loyalty to America. But up to this time he did not say anything at meetings because he knew that he was not popular and because he did not have any children and would be accused of

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that immediately. But he could restrain himself no longer. He got up and gave a fiery speech, weeping himself and making others weep. The important thing was not what he said, but that he chose the psychologically right moment to say it in. According to Mrs. Kaya, Mr. Kaya said that the people should think very seriously about the matter. He argued that to Niseis with only American citizenship the country was like a father, and there was nothing wrong in the father asking for an answer of yes or no to a question. It was natural that all Niseis should go out and register. He spoke for some time, taking off his glasses and shedding tears and making those at the meeting; both Isseis and Niseis, do the same thing. With T. out of the picture, he had said the very thing the people were probably waiting for. After he spoke there was silence, no one saying anything for a while.

It was then suggested, by Mr. Yamamoto, it is believed, that the block manager should be sent to the office to find out whether Niseis would be drafted if they answered no to questions 27 and 28. If they could get a signed statement saying that they would not be drafted under those conditions, it was decided that the whole block would go out and register.

The following morning the block manager went to talk to Mr. Coverley. The latter was glad to have the block manager come to talk to him, probably because he did not know what was holding up the registration. He assured the block manager that if the boys answered no to questions 27 and 28 they would not be drafted. An announcement of the conversation was made at noon, saying that the whole block would register after a signed statement was gotten in the afternoon. Mr. Y. got up and confirmed what the block manager said, saying that the group would all go and register when the signed statement was in hand. That afternoon about 2:30 a meeting was held when the block

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manager came back with the signed statement. After making a short announcement of the statement at the meeting, everybody was instructed to go out and register. There was a little confusion because some of the girls thought that they had to go out to register when their turn had not come around yet. The Kibei fellows in the block, who were rather quiet, just quietly went along with the rest, some being afraid that there would not be an interpreter there to repeat the questions for them and to translate what they said. The letter read:

"Confirming our conversation this morning, the War Department does not plan to draft any person of Japanese ancestry who answers "No" to questions 27 and 28 on Form DSS 304-A. I am advised by Major Marshall, who represents the War Department on this project, that he is willing to give you a similar statement in writing also.

"Please keep in mind, as I stated this morning, that registrants are free to answer these two questions in any way they see fit. The important thing is that they must register. If this is done and the answers to both questions 27 and 28 are "No", they have complied fully with the law. Otherwise they are in danger of criminal imprisonment."

Harvey M. Coverley
Project Director

Mr. Coverley had asked that these words be passed on to other blocks. Mr. A. went around to the blocks in War II, showing them this letter. Later he had copies of the letter made and passed out a dozen or so to those who came around to see the letter. Several copies found their way into Ward I and Ward V. In the evening a statement from Major Marshall clarifying answers to question 27 and 28 came out presumably as a result from the same conversation that Mr. A. had with Mr. Coverley. This statement was mimeographed

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and three copies distributed to each block manager's office. The letter to Mr. A. was sent to the Planning Board, too, and relayed on to other blocks from there, too.

The people in Block 25 were very much relieved with the turn of events. The more quiet group consisting of Akahoshi, Nakamura, Nishida and Sakamoto were again back in the position of leadership, while the opposition lead by Tanabe and supported to some extent by Adachi and Ueda withdrew into the background. The feeling of most of the people was that they ^{were} just about to do a terrible thing. The Sakodas, which along with Mr. Akahoshi's boy, had been about the only ones that had registered, were again treated by the block residents as one of them. The Planning Board had congratulated the block on its accomplishment. Feeling that the whole issue of registration was solved by this one move of getting a signed statement from Coverley, the block residents went on record asking that the City Council, which had resigned, reconsider its resignation and come back to work. This resolution was written up by JS, since there was no one else in the block who could have done the work, with the possible exception of the block manager's secretary.

The attitude of JS toward the change of attitude of the block people has been that they were lucky because Mr. Kaya did speak up when he did. Otherwise the people would not have been free themselves from mob control even though they felt that it did no good to follow the others. Mrs. A's feeling was that these country people really did not know what they were doing. Mr. Kaya is being careful to keep quiet about the whole change, but he too probably feels that he knows the inner mind of the people and for that reason feels superior to them.

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One thing brought out very clear by this change is that the main motivating force behind the crowd is the fear of being drafted. Another thing is that the crowd had no conviction and was willing to follow the rest of the people, because they did not know clearly the issue involved. It seems that most of the boys in the block answered no to both questions 27 and 28, and seem to be very happy about it all.

2. Kibeis

It has been clear from the very beginning that Kibeis were at the head of the movement to make everyone refuse to register. It started out with a block contacting another block, till there was a nucleus body working definitely toward this aim. What happened to the first group that got together the morning when Blocks 42 and 25, etc. had to register is not know. On Sunday evening at least one block had already made its residents sign petitions saying that they refuse to register. This was continued in some blocks on Monday. On Monday evening a mass meeting of Kibeis, reputedly about 300 in number, was held in one of the mess halls, possible in Ward I. Only Kibeis were allowed in the meeting, and representatives from every block seem to have been called into the meeting. In order to keep out inus from the meeting each person allowed into the meeting was asked to sign a roll. The roll was to be destroyed, but the names kept and typed in case a resolution of some sort was made by the group. According to one report, there was a great deal of shouting and yelling, and not very much sane discussion going on. One topic that occupied part of the evening was about inus and methods of disposing of them. There seemed to be an idea that if news of any of their activities that leaked out it did so because of informers who were paid from the administration or by the FBI. They do not seem to realize that news of their activities are going around the camp by means of rumors. One person observed that the Kibeis were being very "dumb." He said

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that it was very clear that they were afraid of the draft and that that was the only thing that motivated them into action.

That night two persons were beaten up -- Rev. Kuroda and Hashida. Rev. Kuroda was beaten up, reportedly, because he had gotten up and talked against signing a petition and had declared that he would answer Yes to question 28. It is said that he was beaten up in front of his wife. Mr. Hashida was reportedly beaten up because he had refused to take a leadership role with the Kibeis and also to sign one of their petitions. His uncle was locked into another apartment and a fellow went into Hashida's room as a guest. When H. turned around to offer the fellow a chair or something, he was struck from behind on the head with a file, which broke in two. He had to be taken to the hospital and his head sewn up with several stitches. It was reported that several people in Block 42 and some in Block 4 were "marked" men.

A mass meeting of Kibeis was planned for the morning of Tuesday at 9 a.m., but this was called off for some reason or other. A petition protesting the registration because of unequal treatment of Japanese, and asking for equal treatment with boys of Block 42 was drawn up and circulated in many of the blocks on the Project. Ward I and Ward V seem to be most fully covered. In some places the people were contacted individually. In others a meeting was held in the mess hall, and people told to sign the petition. In Block 4 several persons protested the enforcement of such a petition on the people, reserving their own right to register. They were told to get out of the mess hall, which they did, about 15 in number. The same thing seems to be going on in Blocks 47 and 48 and probably other Wards in the Ward.

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Last night to get uniform action the Kibeis had another meeting, this time getting Issei and Nisei delegates from each block. Block 71 was opposed to sending delegates and most of the people who were asked to go refused to do so. They were afraid that they could not say what they desired in front of a large group of Kibeis. Finally one Hawaiian boy offered to go along and also a Spanish War Veteran with another Issei. How successful that meeting was is not known.

That the Kibeis are now definitely under suspicion is clear from the fact that the New Planning Board discussed as one of its problems the handling of Kibeis. They are probably beginning to incur the wrath of the people for the beating up they are giving to people. It was rumored early this morning that Rev. Kitagawa was beaten up. Another person was also going to be beaten up, but since he was not home, they beat up some one else instead. Some people thought that these people deserved to be beaten up. Most people seem to believe that there are already paid informers in the groups.

The camp is now beginning to break up into those who registered or want to register, and those who are signing petitions not to register, largely under duress. In which direction this will swing will be the thing to watch within the next few days. If the Kibeis can be controlled, it is possible that it will result in the whole camp registering. The action of the Planning Board also will have a great deal of bearing on what happens next.

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3. Planning Board

All that is known of the work of the new Planning Board are things announced in block meetings by Mr. Nishida, the representative from his block. He makes rather clear reports. In his report last night he briefly

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stated that 4 problems were up for discussion. One was the matter of trying to get the boys from Block 42 back to the camp. The second was the activities of the Kibeis; the third was concerning the general strike, and 4th was about the stand to take on registration. It was decided that a strike would not be undertaken at this time. No unanimous decision was reached on the matter of registration, and it was no time to map out plans for getting the boys from 42 back. The problem of handling the Kibeis came up for discussion, but there seemed no definite decision reached on this either, although it was recognized as an important problem. Another meeting was held of all Planning Board representatives this morning, and it seems that nothing was decided upon. There was no time to take up means of getting the Block 42 boys back. After the close of the meeting and 2/3 of the members had gone home a new light was shed on the registration problem, which Mr. Nishida thought was rather important. One fellow had asked Major Marshall whether the government had any right to force Niseis to register or to conscript them when they were being held in a center of this sort. Major Marshall said that he could not answer to that question, but that he would ask Washington for an answer. Mr. Nishida seemed to think that there was a possibility of there being no need for registering at all and that the Block 42 boys would be returned because there was no necessity to register in the first place. Also he brought up the fact that in an international law book it stated that those who were held during war-time for more than 6 months would be considered war-prisoners and treated as such, in which case it would be unnecessary to answer any questionnaires. There seemed to be some hope that there were still ways of avoiding the registration.

One interesting fact pointed out by Mr. Nishida was that the Planning Board has split up into two definite groups -- the Nampa or Opwa-ha

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(the gentle party) and the Koha or the Kyoko-ha (the aggressive party).

The former was willing to listen to reason, to change their stand, to accept compromise plans. The latter stood for extreme goals, for opposition without reason, for use of brutal forces. Mr. N. stated that the Nampa held a slight majority, and was optimistic of the result of the proceedings of the Planning Board. It is interesting to note that these leaders did not look upon the matter of getting back the boys from Block 42 as important as settling the more immediate problems of doing something about the Kibeis. Within the blocks those who were in the Koha made the saving of the 42 boys as their main issue.

4. Block 25 Meeting.

A meeting of Block 25 was called together by Tanabe. Evidently he is the contact man for Ward meetings, as is Mr. Yamamoto and Mr. Kaya. Mr. T. was rather apologetic, and let Mr. Yamamoto give the report of the Ward II meeting and did not make himself conspicuous as a chairman. The block manager had to go to another meeting and left soon after the meeting was started. A secretary was required to take the minutes, and some one suggested Mr. Sakamoto, who refused to do the job. George Ueda refused the job, and it was shoved on to Mr. Nakamura. Mr. Yamamoto would have been the logical secretary, but he had to attend to another meeting, too. After a report on what went on at the Ward II meeting, opinions were asked from the groups. The report brought out the fact that all of the blocks in Ward II were not united in their decision to register as a body. It seemed that in every block there was a sizable group of people who opposed registration absolutely. General fear was expressed by block members that perhaps they had done the wrong thing by going ahead and registering as a group since other blocks were not following up the lead taken by the block. Tad

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Oshima, a rather quiet Kibei, got up and said that the block did not take the action that it did because it was afraid of joining the Armed Forces or because it was afraid of going to jail, or because they did not care about the boys from Block 42. To show that they did care for the Block 42 boys he suggested that everyone expressed the determination of standing by them if there were any ways of helping them at all. Clearly he expressed the fear in many people's minds that they were being traitors to the cause by saving their own skins. No one else seemed to be willing to get up and talk, indicating for one thing that everyone was not in favor of taking Tad's stand. Mr. Kaya got up and clarified the issue in a way which those who were doing muddled thinking could not have done. He said that the only thing necessary was to be honest about the situation. The people in the block had made their decision because they did not think that any good could come of not registering and because they wanted to save many parents and many sons the anguish of going to jail. It was felt at that time that the Block 42 boys could be helped by everyone not registering. While this explanation was the true one, there seemed to be some dissatisfaction with it. Mr. Sofye got up and said that he had told his son to put down no because he thought that by everyone registering, the Block 42 boys had a better chance of being returned to camp. Mr. Coverley or Mr. Jacoby had promised, he said, that if everyone registered the boys would be returned. He was interrupted by Mrs. Akahoshi, who said that she had not heard her husband say anything of the sort. Others agreed with her that Mr. Akahoshi had only announced that Mr. Coverley had said that there was a possibility of taking steps to get the boys back if the people showed sufficient good-will and registered. George Ueda clarified the issue by saying that the Oregonian had stated that

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Mr. Coverley thought that the boys were forced to do what they did and that they were not at fault. The fault lay with pressure groups which coerced them into taking the action they did. The general feeling was that there was a chance for the boys to be returned if, or even if, everybody registered. There was a definite desire to feel that Block 25 registered, feeling that they could help the Block 42 boys. They recognized that they had made a mistake by not taking uniform action with others. It was brought out, however, that when Mr. Akahoshi brought back the message from Coverley and held a hasty meeting with the block managers in Ward II to announce that statement, all of the block managers at that time had been in accord with him. Mr. Nishida suggested a written resolution to clarify the stand of Block 25, but Mr. Nakamura suggested that everyone be allowed to give his own explanation and that no written statement be issued. This was probably wise because a written statement would have given others a chance to attack the block with evidence. There was nothing else to discuss and the meeting broke up after lengthening for a little while.

Correction: It was mentioned before that Mr. Tanabe had offered to resign from his position as contact man for meetings. He was prevailed upon by others to stay in office because it was cowardly to withdraw at this time. Mr. T. then offered to do his best for the cause of the block. Everybody in the block now is following the Nampa stand taken by the block, and T. too, is staying with the block people on this score.

Motive: The motives of the Block 25 people in doing what they did and saying what they are is readily understandable. George Ike, the President of the young people's club gave an adequate explanation of the stand taken by himself and others in the block. When the Kibeis came to the meeting and

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offered not to register, the block people tagged along because they thought that the Army was just bluffing. George and John Itoda said that they were both willing to register before these Kibeis came to the meeting. When the soldiers came and took the boys from Block 42 he knew that the Army was no longer bluffing. He reasoned that there was no sense in not registering since there was nothing to be gained, implying that there was a lot to be lost. In spite of what Tad said at the meeting, the real reason for not registering in the first place was the fear of draft (although there were other factors involved), and the real reason they changed their minds was the fear of being put in jail. The reason they are uneasy now is because they fear the anger of people who are in favor of not registering until the Block 42 boys are returned.

5. Ward II

In Mr. Yamamoto's report of the meeting held in Ward II, he said that there were a group of people who were in favor of taking action similar to that of Block 25, which set a precedent. Some of these people had a feeling that the problem was clarified because of the letter from Coverley, but they met opposition from some people who insisted that no registration take place until the Block 42 boys were returned. The group split up into two groups. The Nampa thought that it would be better to register now and ask for the return of the boys, and the Koha wanted to refuse to register until the boys were returned. Within each block, too, it seemed that there was a general split, and no unanimous decision reached. Some of the blocks presumably were almost all in favor of not registering until they learned that the Army was not bluffing. Now it seems that people are wavering in the opposite direction.

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They want to register if they can get a majority number of other people to do the same thing. It is now a matter of "face" then anything else. JS met one man from Block 29 who felt that it was best to register now, although he could not see what could be done if the rest of the block did not come around to it.

It seems that those in Ward II have not as yet signed any petition not to register as has been done in Wards V and I. This seems to be also true of Wards III, LV, and III and VII, although some of the blocks in these wards might have signed such petitions. Conditions in Wards V and I seem to be bad yet. Especially in Ward V people seem to be rather hysterical about being determined not to register and not to show mercy to those who have registered. Many of the boys have their suit-cases packed in preparation for leaving at a moment's notice. In Block 44 it was reported that they had chicken dinner today as a farewell party. Boys were said to have shouted Banzai. They seem to be feeling very heroic and patriotic about their action.

6. Kakiuchis

The Kakiuchi's are very much under sway of the opinion of the block. Mr. K was saying when the soldiers went off with boys from Block 42 that everybody must resist registration. But it seems that the family has come to the conclusion that it is the best to register, both for the sake of the children and for the parents. Mrs. K loves her children very much, and she has worried a great deal about them. She wants to register as long as a large majority of the people in the block are willing to do the same. She probably realized the selfishness of her motives, but still her love for her own children is greater than her pity for the 31 boys who were already taken. This predicament of the people with families seems to be general.

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7. Rev. Iwao (Buddhist)

Rev. Iwao's stand is rather peculiar. He does not have any son old enough to be taken for the Army. He is one-track minded and does not seem to be so intelligent. He likes to talk by himself, and is rather incoherent when he does so, bringing up a variety of facts in succession which do not have much connection with each other. Some of the facts that he states are often based on prevalent rumors, the type that are circulated among the people here in Tule Lake. He seems to be very racial conscious, and continually harps on the fact that America has been wrong, that Japan is superior in this, etc., and seems to be obsessed with these ideas to the point where he is unable to think very clearly about matters. He is rather suspicious of people, and also tends to be rather antagonistic towards them. He has been told that he has no right to speak about this problem of registration because he has no children, and hence he has tended to keep away from block meetings and in general has not cared to give others his opinion on the matter of registration. His stand is that every one should make up his own mind and not consult others. Of himself he says that he is not going to register because he does not intend to leave the Project, even if his wife may do so. He is rather obstinate, and the kind of person one would not like to live with.

8. Tom Yego

Tom got a visit from some masked Kibeis last night. His wife answered the door and quickly locked the door when she saw the masked boys. A rock was thrown through the window, but Tom was not harmed. There was a rumor that the boys had gotten into his house through the window, but this rumor is reportedly false. Today Tom and his brother left the Project for Idaho, it is said. There was a rumor that Henry Tokeda has left too, but this seems to be false.

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9. Block 42.

One of the most interesting stories that comes from Block 42 is the one about the boy who registered without letting his parents know. When the other boys were taken and he did not have to go, his parents wept because they were ashamed of themselves for taking such individual action. When the soldiers came back the second time (probably actually to take the boys this time) the boy was begged to go along with the rest. He therefore tore up his questionnaire (how did he get hold of it?) and went along with the rest. This story may be just a rumor, but it is interesting just the same. (In fact, it was one of my student's son. R.S.) It goes to show to what extent the pressure of the group is keeping ~~from~~ people from doing what they really want to do.

The rumor is getting around that people in Block 42 who have registered are being refused any sort of food or service in the mess hall.

Friday, February 26, 1943

1. Kibei-Issei Conflict.

Up till recently the Kibeis have been doing the most to influence people. After the Planning Board and the Council refused to take any definite stand and then resigned, the Kibeis found it easy to take over the leadership. They were not actually organized, but they had stuck together in small groups. The night before the first day of registration at the Administration Bldg., a few Kibeis went around to contact other groups. This was probably the beginning of their movement to control the whole camp. Their first line of action was to call a halt to registration, since they did not want to commit themselves on paper, felt rather defiant about the whole matter against the

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U. S., were afraid of being drafted, etc. This movement not to register was successful, and on the first day, very few people registered, and hence those on the border-line were encouraged not to. Many took out repatriation papers in order to avoid registration. The people were shocked into action when it was announced that repatriation would not be possible until male citizens completed their registration. This announcement came out about Saturday, and increased the determination not to register. There was a general feeling at this time that if all of the people resisted registration, then it would be unnecessary to register at all. A hot-headed group from Block 42 signed a written petition saying that they absolutely refused to register and handed it to Kristovitch. On this evidence of their intention of breaking a law, they were ordered to be arrested. When they were taken, it split the camp into two factions. One, lead by the more hot-headed Kibeis, wanted to resist the registration all the more. This group started a movement to force whole blocks of people into signing petitions saying that they would not register. This was carried on largely in Wards I and V. Block 44 had a meeting immediately after the boys were taken and people were made to sign the petition then and there. On Wednesday night this movement was still going on, and Block 47 people were forced to sign such a petition. Most of the Isseis and many of the Niseis were with the Kibeis on this matter, and a tremendous amount of pressure was created in every block against registration. The other faction consisted of people who believed that it was best to register, which included those who desired to remain loyal to the U. S. More and more Isseis and Niseis wanted to join this group of people desiring to register because they saw that the Army was not bluffing. The

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Administration had definitely stated that the Block 42 boys would not be returned unless they were not found guilty and it was found advisable to return them to this camp. It stated that bargaining on the part of the people to register if the Block 42 boys were returned would not work. This was not made definite to the people, however, until later. It became increasingly clear to the large majority of people that if they did not register, the male citizens who did not would be taken to jail and families broken up. An increasing number of people began to think of ways and means of registering without going against the majority of the people, who were still against it.

Since it was discovered that the Administration was not bluffing, the Kibeis had to present reasons for not registering. After the boys in Block 42 were taken, their main argument was that those boys must be saved at all costs. It was becoming evident, however, that nothing could be gained by further resisting registration because a larger number of boys would be sent to jail. The main worry of the people now was the fact that many of them wanted to register without seeming to have sacrificed the Block 42 boys. It became increasingly clear, however, that bargaining was out of the question in attempting to get these boys back.

In the meantime, the Kibeis beat up two men for their stand for registration -- Hashida and Rev. Kuroda. This was probably the biggest mistake the Kibeis made. It gave the Isseis reasons for feeling resentful toward them and their brutal methods. After that, the Kibeis were the target of criticism from the Isseis and also from the Niseis. The Planning Board discussed ways and means of handling the hot-headed Kibeis. The Kibeis, however, had started to gain strength. They held a meeting of about 300 Monday night, and planned for a mass meeting in the firebreak where they proposed to get several hundred signatures on their petition against registration and take it to the administration. This did not succeed, for some reason or other.

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The next night, their tactics were changed, and Isseis and Niseis from each block were invited to attend. On Wednesday night a similar meeting was held, but the Kibeis had already started to lose interest in their cause. Evidently there was a split in their ranks the leaders being against coercion and gangster tactics. They desired to be sincere in their leadership, while many of the followers merely desired an opportunity to give vent to their sense of frustration by opposing registration and making others do the same thing. The dilemma of the Kibei leaders was that they were no longer in sympathy with what their own group was doing, and began to feel the antagonism of the large number of Isseis and Niseis. At the joint meeting of Kibeis, Isseis, and Niseis on Wednesday night held at #2520 a resolution was presented by Kibeis declaring that registration should not be done because it would give the Government a chance to take the citizenship away from Niseis and hence also take away their property and their rights. Later the Kibeis admitted that this was only a means by which they wanted to halt the registration that was going on. At this meeting the Kibei leaders brought up no talk of trying to force others into signing the petition against registration. Instead their energy was concentrated on making their resolution one which would be acceptable enough to send to Washington through Major Marshall. This resolution was presumably revised on the following afternoon. In the meantime the Kibeis in Ward II had been called together by Kintaro Taketa to get their point of view. They drew up a resolution saying that they would register and answer no to question 28. This resolution was accepted by Ward II representatives. But this too was abandoned at the meeting last night when it was learned that answering no to question 28 did not mean that a person would lose his American citizenship. The Kibeis in Ward II were unwilling to take further responsibility

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in telling the people what to do, and they dropped out of the picture. The larger Kibei group was presumably still attempting to hold out against registration. For the present their rallying cry was that the answer from Washington should be heard before any registration took place. But even then, it was decided at the meeting in #2320 that blocks which had to register, should go ahead and do so if they so desired. Consequently, on Thursday Block 29 was instructed to go and register. The people were definitely against the Kibeis, and it seemed that leaders were not willing to take the responsibility for what would happen. The saving of the boys from Block 42 became rather a futile job. It seemed that the registration would proceed with increasingly less pressure exerted by the Kibeis.

This account is rather jumbled. It is only an attempt to see the whole picture more clearly so that one would not get lost in details or by what the people said. The motive of human behavior is often hidden, since they often do a great many things which are only cover-ups for their real motive. The whole registration conflict can be looked upon as an attempt at adjustment on the part of the Japanese people to a painful situation brought about by the necessity to register. This problem of adjustment was extremely complicated by the fact that there was a great deal of fear engendered in the people, and very few people were able to think about the problem very calmly. The whole attempt to avoid registering or answering no to both 27 and 28 on the part of a large number of people, can be considered random attempts at solution of the problem without too much deep thought about the matter. For those who have not registered yet, there is still a desire to wait for the answer to the resolution that is to be sent to Washington. Otherwise, they are still faced with the same problem that they were faced with in the

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very beginning -- to figure out how best they can solve the problem to their satisfaction by answering yes or no or taking out repatriation paper or by going out to work, etc. The people seem to be only coming to a point where they are beginning to think seriously of the consequences of their answers.

2. Kibei, Issei, Nisei Meeting

On February 24, 1943, the Kibeis invited Issei and Nisei representatives to a meeting in Block 23. The meeting was chaired by Kibeis, but it was noticed by some people that the meeting was poorly organized without an agenda to follow. Also, there was a tendency on the part of Kibeis to jeer at a person if they said anything that the Kibeis did not like. One of the leaders was also described as wearing a flashy striped shirt and a scarf, with hair slicked back, and looking like a Filipino. The comments of Isseis were that the Kibeis did not seem to know what they were doing.

The main business of the evening was taken up with discussing the resolution that had been drawn up by Kibeis. It advised against registration because it would give the American people a tool to take away the citizenship, the rights, and property of the Japanese people. It also stated toward the end that there was no punishment for not registering. The Isseis laughed at this suggestion. One person said that this seemed to be based on the assumption that Japan was going to lose. It was also pointed out that people could not hope for everything -- their property, their citizenship, their desire to return to Japan, not wanting to serve in the armed forces. The resolution was the general butt of ridicule from Isseis. Later it was announced at another meeting that this resolution was really drawn up merely to keep people from registering, and the Kibeis themselves did not think very much of it. The meeting lasted till past 12, but many people seem to

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have left because of disgust and because of the smoke in the room. At this meeting nothing was accomplished except to arrive at a decision to postpone registration until the resolution was revised, sent to Washington, and an answer came back. At the same time, blocks which had to register were told that they should do as they saw fit. Consequently, the following day Mr. K. Taketa advised the people in his block (#29) to go ahead and register, with the understanding that everything would be all right if they answered no to both 27 and 28.

3. Ward II Meetings

According to reports given at a meeting of Ward II held last night, the Kibeis in the Ward have been meeting separately for the last few days to discuss the problem of registration. It started, it seems, from the fact that the Isseis felt that Kibeis were getting too much out of hand, and consequently Mr. K. Taketa, of the Fair Practice Committee was asked to step in and ameliorate their attitude. The first thing he did was to call a meeting of Kibeis in Ward II to see what they were doing. He discovered that as a group they were not the ignorant and flightypeople that they were rumored to be. He said that he found that they were thinking about the registration problem very seriously. Possibly this was a face-saving device which T. used to give the Kibeis a chance to drop out of the picture. This is a reasonable conclusion from the skillful manner in which T. was able to handle conflicts in many mess halls. At the meeting of the Kibeis from Ward II a resolution was drawn up saying that they were thinking seriously about the problem, that they desired to take a means of solution which was both wise and thoughtful (of others) (chi mo ari, jo mo aru) and that they

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declared themselves definitely as citizens of Japan and would go and register no to question 28. This resolution was passed by Issei, Nisei, and Kibei representatives who went to Block 23 after that meeting was over. Thus Ward II went on record in favor of registration and in favor of answering no to question 27 and question 28.

At the meeting last night the fate of this resolution was settled by the Kibei representative who contacted the main Kibei group. The representative was told by the main Kibei group that if a person answered no to question 28 he would not cease to be an American citizen, and he would only be an undesirable American. Hence, he might be dragged out of camp and be made to work like slaves, or may be sent out of the country and again treated like slaves. (Note the image used.) Therefore, the representative said that he could no longer advise anyone what to do. He said that he was now powerless to make any suggestion at all, and said that he would leave the matter up to the people now. So even this brief resolution was pushed into the trash can. Possibly Mr. T. scared the Kibeis into abandoning the idea of going on record for or against registration or for answering yes or no because they involved the possibility of being punished for obstructing registration. Consequently, at this point the Kibeis in Ward II quietly dropped out of the scene entirely.

A suggestion was made by some one that something should be done to save the boys from Block 42. Some one else immediately got up and said that the more immediate problem of registration should be taken care of first. It was brought out rather clearly that the administration would not accept any bargaining on the part of the people to register if the boys were released. The boys would be released even if the people did not register

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if there were reasons for their being returned. But they would not be returned even if all of the people registered if they were found guilty and they should not be returned to the camp. This was clarified by Mr. Tsuda, the warden. There was a suggestion that if the bargaining did not work, the petition should be started asking for the return of the boys anyway, but even this was ruled out because the more immediate problem of taking care of the registration should be taken care of. It should be noted that there was a desire to get on with the problem of registration and at the same time rescue the Block 42 boys. It was a matter of deep concern to many people that the boys be "saved," and that they do not go ahead and register only to save their own skins. The petition to ask for the boys to be returned was only a method of saving face for those who wanted to register. They did not want to go ahead without making some gesture of that sort. But the group had come to a point where even this did not matter -- they wanted to let the matter of the 42 boys go for a little while longer and take up the registration first.

One man got up and said that he solved his problem by deciding that since Japan was back of him he should not register. He seemed to be a fellow without very much influence, and did not create much impression on the group.

Mr. Tsuda clarified several issues by giving an account of what he knew. In the first place, the 42 boys would not be returned unless there were reasons for their being brought back. But he also pointed out that there seemed to be good reasons to believe that the court would be lenient with the boys and that there was hope of their being released, anyway. He pointed out the example of a young boy, 23 years old, a Nisei, who had

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torn up his Selective Service questionnaire because he learned that he could not file repatriation papers. When he was questioned, he replied that he would not be loyal to the U. S. and that he would return to Japan and that he wanted Japan to win the war. This boy was returned to camp, however, on the grounds that he probably did not mean what he said. The administration seemed to be taking the attitude that the people did not really mean it when they answered no to question 28. Mr. Sakai brought out the fact that in his conversation with Major Marshall, the Major had said that those who answered no to question 27 probably would not be taken for the Army even if they answered yes to question 28 because there was a great need for workers at the present time.

Taketa skillfully kept pointing out that if the people did not register, then punishment was certain. The Block 42 boys could not be returned by everyone bargaining for their return on the basis of registration. Also the groups could not reach any decision because no one was to advise another how to register. Each one had to make his own decision.

Mr. Imai pointed out that even if a person answered no to question 27 the probability of his being treated like a slave was poor because America claimed to be a democracy and since the freeing of the Negroes had never treated any people like slaves. Byron Akitsuki said that it was doubtful whether a person who answered no to question 28 would still retain his citizenship. The matter would be solved at any rate if a person took out repatriation papers, he said.

The decision reached without being worded except by the chairman was that every family had to go back and make its own decision.

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At the end of the meeting Mr. Sakuma brought a petition from Ward III simply asking for the release of the Block 42 boys. They decided not to accept the petition at this time because it felt that they should wait to see what would happen first. Ward III had intended to send petitions to each Ward to be circulated throught the Colony. They felt that quick action had to be taken to save the boys. He said that they felt it should be done even if it did not achieve any result (showing its face-saving nature). He left without receiving the approval of the group. The meeting broke up quietly with some people agreeing that nothing had been solved.

Saturday, February 27, 1943

1. Asako Higaki

Asako's family was very much disturbed by the registration. Because of their naive beliefs, they probably believed many of the rumors that went around. A's sister, married to a Kibei, was so excited a few days after registration started that she stopped teaching her Adult English class. When JS went to see A. because she was recovering from a tonsil operation, the mother and A's sister were very cold to him. A. spoke to him decently, but even she too seemed to feel that JS was being too curious about the stand their families took on the matter. A. would not say whether her family was against registration or not. In all probability they would go and register if the rest of the block did so.

2. Block 23

This report comes from a woman living in Block 23. There is a strong group of 18 Kibeis in the block who have been very active, over the registration. Evidently the group had swung the block to a point where the majority were high-pressured into being against registration, and against any one who regis-

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tered. For this reason, Block 33 was most often heard as a "bad" block, probably the one that had the most difficulty in deciding to register. During the last few days, however, the parents began to speak up in favor of registration. One common argument they pointed^{ed} out was that Kibeis and Issei bachelors who had no family responsibility could not possibly know how the Issei felt. The lament of this woman was that the quieter Isseis did not speak up, while a few of the more irresponsible ones aroused the others by getting up and making fiery remarks about the Japanese spirit, etc. Finally as a compromise, the Isseis signed an agreement saying that they themselves would not register if their children were allowed to do as they pleased. Also, the Kibeis agreed that they would not resort to any use of force. This made it possible for Niseis to register, and thereby avoid being liable for criminal treatment. As the lady explained, from the standpoint of the Isseis they were able to achieve their aim by giving up a right of their own which they felt was not of much consequence, anyway. They did not think that there would be any harsh treatment of Isseis because they did not register. The important thing was that their children be allowed to register so that they would not be dragged off to jail. On the part of the Kibeis, they seem to have felt that they had to back down because the Isseis were turning against them. Also, they had come to a point where they could not make reasonable explanations for standing up against registration. Consequently for them getting this written agreement was of sufficient face-saving value for them to back down comfortably enough. Soon after the agreement was signed someone mentioned that if the administration got hold of such an agreement, those who signed it might be arrested for obstructing registration. There was a slight wave of panic, a hurried discussion was held, and finally

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it was decided that the signed paper should be destroyed. Also, the block people were to go about their business as if no agreement of any kind had been signed at all.

This pattern of the Isseis turning against the Kibeis and they in turn backing down seems to be quite general throughout the Project. The greatest amount of difficulty is being experienced in Ward I and Ward V where many block people were forced to sign petitions saying that they will not register. Whether these petitions are still being taken or not is not known, but such tactics seem to have been generally dropped. At the present time the answer to the resolution sent to Washington stating the reasons for not registering is being waited, and there seems to be a general willingness to register if the reply is that the people must register. The question now is what is to become of those people who have already signed petitions?

3. Attitude toward Kibeis and Agitators

The attitude of two women toward Kibeis and Issei agitators is probably typical of many Issei women with^a family to worry about. The more irresponsible Kibeis and agitators are inclined to think in terms of Japan, and not terms of glorifying themselves by acting like patriots. These Issei women, however, prefer to settle things peacefully, laying more stress on the welfare of the Japanese people, especially of Niseis, rather than thinking about the welfare of Japan. They feel that it is better for the Niseis if such problems as that of registration are settled peacefully instead of getting all excited about it. They regret that the quieter type of Issei men do not speak up at meetings so that the voice of the more peaceful type of people is rarely heard at meetings. Those who do get up and talk, on the other hand, tend to be Kibeis and Isseis who have no responsibility at all. These women were very indignant when the Kibeis started to beat some people

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up. Their criticism of the Kibeis after observing their behavior at meetings was that they became excited quite easily and resorted to the use of threats of violence too easily, and did not have very much intelligence.

4. Kibeis

The activities of the Kibeis are difficult to trace for lack of information. Q.O. seems to have picked up some information and casually passed it on to me. On Sunday night the Kibeis had their first meeting, which was attended only by a small group, it seems. On Monday, a large group representing each block in the Project, met. It was at this meeting signatures were taken and the meeting at which Perry Saito turned up by mistake and was threatened with violence. At that time the Kibeis were willing to beat any one up on the slightest excuse. Earlier in the evening they decided that a mass meeting would be called the following morning to present a signed petition to Coverley saying that they refused to register. According to Q.O. there were many fiery speeches made, but no one seemed to know why such a petition was going to be presented. Later in the evening, in fact, around 2 a.m. in the morning, the Kibeis cooled down somewhat, and decided to call the mass meeting off. Instead, for the following night a meeting of Isseis, Niseis, and Kibeis was called, possibly to get more uniform action.

Meetings were then held with Issei and Nisei on Tuesday and Wednesday nights. By this time, the Kibeis had weakened a great deal in their stand against registration. Ward II Kibeis were willing to register and unwilling to take any leadership role by Thursday evening.

From Q.O.'s observation, some of the Kibeis are now willing to register. They are only waiting for an answer from Washington, D.C. to the resolution that they sent. He mentioned that the Kibeis found it awkward to back down

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at this point after starting out in such a fiery way. Some of them, however, admitted that after being asked questions and attempting to answer them that there was a great deal they had to learn yet. The feeling now seems to be that they really can't find much reason for holding out against the registration. The important thing now, is to back down without losing face. "They won't like it," Q.O. said, "if people blame them for everything." They feel that at least they gave the people something to think about.

5. Radio News

Yesterday morning a broadcast came from Japan, it was being rumored within the Block, that Nomura had stated that the 500,000 Japanese in the western hemisphere would be brought back on a ship sent from Japan to exchange prisoners. It was stated that one exchange had already been made, but that there would be second and third exchanges.

6. Pro-Axis vs. Pro-colonists

It is undoubtedly true that part of the people who agitated against registration or pro-axis sympathizers discuss of obstructing the war efforts of the U.S., even granted the fact that many of these people were probably afraid of being drafted. To this extent then, there would be reason for continuing the agitation against registration even till the very end, even if the majority of the people go on registering. And to this extent they would be desirous of retaining power and organization within the community, even if they have to use force to do this. Just at this moment the quieter pro-colonists elements who want to take a middle course, are getting the upper hand over the pro-axis elements, if that is what they are. Since the pro-axis aim cannot be declared in public, even to Isseis, the Kibeis who do not sincerely believe in fighting for pro-axis cause here in the Project, would not have much reason for protesting