

7:9

Oda, Thomas & Noriko

Longitudinal Oral history

83/115
C

LONGITUDINAL ORAL HISTORY OF ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{and Kimiko} ISAMU _^ KURUSU

1944-1945

TULE LAKE SEGREGATION CENTER

Kurusu, Feb. 2, 1944

2.

THOMAS ISAMU KURUSU

[Thomas Kurusu was a tall, slender and handsome young man. He was serious, ~~xxx~~ withdrawn, and very unaggressive. He spoke English with a heavy accent.

ISAMU
THOMAS/KURUSU

Isamu ^{He} Thomas/Kurusu was born on October 17th 1913. When he was six years old his mother died, and his father and Thomas returned to Japan, where he remained until he was eighteen. He told me in 1981 that he had finished high school in Japan. ^{When} his father died and Thomas returned to the United States to obtain an education as an engineer. He graduated from Pasadena Junior College and then, for a year, took an extension course in ~~ENGINEER~~ engineering at the California Institute of Technology. He lived alone in Pasadena and he did not tell me who financed his education. He was a handsome, ~~unusually~~ serious, and rather withdrawn ~~young~~ young man and spoke English with a heavy accent.

He did not tell me who financed his education. He was employed as a draftsman and was evacuated to Tulare Assembly Center. In September of 1942 he was transferred to the Gila Center where ^{he} I met and ~~he~~ talked with him in August of 1943. He ~~spoke~~ passionately denounced the injustice of the Military ~~Questionnaire~~ Questionnaire and even wrote a paper for ^{me} in which he expressed his views.¹

married Kimiko, a young ^{woman} ~~man~~ had been born in Japan. ~~I met him and~~ ^{and talked with} ~~Kimiko at the Gila Center in August of 1943.~~

In August of 1943, while I was working at the Gila Center, I approached him and asked him if he would care to tell me why he had answered the military questionnaire in the negative. He talked to me for an entire afternoon ~~answering~~ telling me why he had felt ethically obliged to say "No." He even wrote an essay for me on the subject.¹ After he and his ^{to Tule Lake} wife were segregated/in October of 1943, I wrote to them occasionally and at Christmas time I sent them a modest box of candy. Mr. Kurusu then wrote me that he would never forget this kindness as long as he

L. Apparently, Dr. ~~Thomas~~ Thomas did not give this paper to the Bancroft Library at the U. of California.

Kurusu, Feb. 2, 1944

3.

lived.

Mrs. Kurusu was ~~very much interested in~~^a beautiful and delicate young woman, young girl with the carriage and manners of a ~~person~~ reared in Japan. Though she sometimes participated in our conversations, she was ~~very~~ a very private person. For example, while I was a Tule Lake I never ~~heard~~ was told that she had been born in Japan (I assumed she was a Kibei) and I never learned her first name.

She was, however, the sister of the wife of one of my ablest respondents at the Gila Center, Mr. Inui. Mr. and Mrs. Inui and I were good friends and this, I think, also helped to establish my relationship with the Kurusus. 7

FOOTNOTE, p. 4.

[1. It was not until November 7 that he told me that when I had first come to visit him in February he had been very frightened. He had even taken the trouble to explain that I was just an old friend to several of the people in his block.]

TALK WITH ~~MEMBER~~ ISAMU AND KIMIKO ~~KURUSU~~ KURUSU

I paid my first call at the Kurusus' knowing that I would be well received. Only Mrs. Kurusu was at home. She was delighted to see me

and ran immediately to get her husband who is block manager and was in his office. When he came he appeared happier and less strained than when I last saw him at Gila. At that time he had been tormented over the decision of segregation and fear that his Caucasian friend, McNeil, would despise him for his decision. At Tule Lake he was, however, far more fearful of his Japanese neighbors than he had been at Gila. He told me that his block was composed almost entirely of individuals who were in favor of keeping up the status quo. He himself believed in law and order and felt that the evacuees should obey the laws of the United States as long as they were on United States soil. He said that now he says nothing. If he advised against violence he would get into trouble. So he just agrees with whomever he speaks to without committing himself too much one way or the other. He is now engaged in translating the Japanese printed matter given out by the Negotiating Committee and the Coordinating Committee and promised to forward this material to me within the next ten days. Oda's Japanese accent which was quite pronounced at Gila was stronger than ever. His wife, who is also Kibei, retained her excellent American English. She, with her practical, slightly flippant American ways, makes a much better informant than her husband, who hesitates to reveal any Japanese attitude which does not coincide with his idealistic frame of reference. While Mrs. Oda served me with cocoa and sweetened puffed rice and presented me with two beautiful shell flowers, [made at Tule Lake] they made the following statements.

The Odas' statement - verbatim.

Mr. O: "It's really a disgusting story. I think some of the people want power. They say 'We are working for the people.' I heard a lot of rumors. I believe they're working for themselves."

"This new Coordinating Committee is all right."

(I asked how this Coordinating Committee had been selected.)

Mrs. O: "That's what I'd like to know! I think they were elected from each division head."

Mr. O: "Since November we have had another so-called negotiating committee. They took care of all the camp affairs. WRA and the Army did not recognize them as true representatives. They (WRA) think they were not elected properly."

"Maybe they really tried to bring the center better. But their demands were more like orders than suggestions."

"Only a few people really know the inside story."

"More than two hundred people were put in the stockade. Seventy or fifty have already been left out. Some were taken before, but on November 26 we had the big search. We had a very nice soldier

Kxx Kurusu, Feb. 2, 1944

~~5~~ Kurusu

come in. Some were good (and some bad. The one who came here was really nice." (Mrs. O. agreed.)

"Honestly, I'd like this center back to normal conditions, but if I said that to the residents they'd say I'm a dog. Since I took office two-three men came over and threatened some of the block representatives."

"The leaders have no self-control themselves. There was so much excitement. A really clever man doesn't say very much. The rest of the public just follow them. The most clever men are not taking high positions. They are just resting peacefully at home."

DS > When they asked me to be Block Manager I refused. I thought it was going to be hard and tough. The people would be stubborn. But one night we had elections and I was elected."

(Here Mrs. O. digressed to the motives which had caused people to come to Tule Lake.)

DS > Mrs. O: "If they say 'Yes,' maybe they can't go to Japan. Many have relatives there. The people are forgetting the United States now. They say, 'We are Japanese.' The first time they (the newspaper) said there was trouble here, that was the first we had heard of it."

DS > Mr. O: "At the time of demands they told me that the demands were more like saying to them (WRA) how to run this camp. They took it that way."

DS > Mrs. O: "The army fellows are very nice at the post office."

MARCH 14, 1944

TALK WITH MRS. KURUSU

I called on the Kurusus'

Innis
 first to take them some Otsukemono (pickled vegetables) from the Kato's. Mr. Oda was attending a block manager's meeting, but his wife, a much better informant than he, gave me all the help she could. I planned to call Friday afternoon when he will be home and no other visitors are expected. Mrs. Oda explained that what she could tell me was only "what she had heard," and she did not hear very much because they live away at the end of camp.

Coordinating Committee

There has been no change in the peoples' attitude toward the Coordinating Committee. To me they all think in the same way. But they don't do anything about it. I believe they're going to give them (the Coordinating Committee) a fair chance.

The curfew came and people went back to work very quietly. To tell the truth I believe they've changed somewhat; but they don't say anything aloud. So many have gone back to work anyhow.

There are still people in the stockade. Some fellows were taken from our block and haven't come back yet.

I don't know much about center happenings. When the block managers have a meeting, no member of the administrative staff ever comes. If a happy solution is to come, both sides have to come together. In Manzanar, they tell me, every week the project director or a staff member comes to speak to the block managers.

I believe the block managers are in a neutral position and they should be able to bring up block problems to the administrative staff.

Kurusu
 Mrs. Oda now asked if she could ask me a question. She wanted to know why they have cut off one part of the camp with double fences. I explained that I had heard that this had been done so that if trouble threatened again the "good" might be separated from the "bad".

Daihyo Sha Kai

They came from the farm incident. They may have been started already before that. After the accident and before the funeral we were told to get a representative from each block. I don't know who was behind it. We voted for these representatives.

At that time the people wanted to get together and speak to the Project Director. I heard the Negotiating Committee was chosen from these representatives.

Second Negotiating Committee (Mrs. Oda perhaps means Coordination Committee)

No one knows about them. That's altogether unknown. There really was no second negotiating committee. All the people said that their representatives were already chosen and were in the stockade. We had no election like that in our block.

I heard the boys were already working in the warehouse.

Manzanar People

There hasn't been any effect from the Manzanar people coming in. It seems

/1. Mrs. Oda and Mrs. Kato were sisters. The Katos, who lived in the Gila Center, were my friends.

-97-

the Administration are afraid of them. They had a riot over there, you know. They've gotten very good consideration if you ask me. I think Gila had the raw deal. We were the last in here and when it came to work, Gila didn't have any. Manzanar already got work before they came in. Gila is too quiet /submissive/. I understand there are quite a number of people still in Manzanar who are coming here.

The Manzanar people are really crowded. They get three beams¹ and two or three people are supposed to get in that. For a few months or so you can be crowded. But when you don't know when you're leaving, it's very hard. I think the Manzanar people are trying to get better rooms. They say more people are coming from Gila or Manzanar and from every other center. They can't crowd all those people into three blocks.

The camp is so big now that if they make it bigger we're going to have to have trolley cars, so we can get from place to place. Everybody says Mr. Robertson is the only good one here.

I now attempted to call on my friend Jim Takeuchi and my block manager's brother, Bill Nishino,² but found neither at home. Being near the address of one of the high school students whom some of the Gila teachers had asked me to visit, I decided to call on her. This young lady proved to be working in the office of the Coordinating Committee.

I went there; the same strained silence³ on the part of the ten boys in the outer office greeted my appearance. I asked for the young lady and one of the boys went to get her. When she appeared we chatted for a few minutes, she regarding me meanwhile with a steady, amazed, awe-stricken stare. The young men in the room talked only in Japanese. I then asked the girl if she would ask May Iwihara to come out to see me. May came out immediately. She said Mr. Akitsuki would be very glad to see me and would like to talk to me, suggesting that she call me tomorrow at the administration building and let me know what time would be convenient.

The ten boys, sitting, standing and lounging in the outer office looked at me suspiciously. They said nothing, but were not rude. All conversation was in Japanese. (I had an interesting talk with some of these boys two days later.)

I called next on Mr. Iwata whose brother had sent him a message (and some money) from Gila. He was rather ill at ease, but made the following remark:

I don't know personally. There is lots of personal feeling among the Japanese. As far as the management of the Tule Lake Camp - all right. But a few among these people; they don't understand each other. They don't try to understand the other persons' point of view. If all the people concerned try to give in a little, I don't know; but I think things would be better.

I next called on another relative of a Gilan friend, Komura. The gentleman was not at home, but his family, a wife and several female relatives received me most cordially. Being women, they said, they keep out of politics; but they were

/1. The size of "apartments" was measured by the number of crossbeams on the ceiling.
/2. At Gila I had been living in the "evacuee section". My block manager had asked me to call on his brother, Bill.
/3. As at my previous visit.

~~XX~~ In April of 1944 I visited Tule Lake from April 12 to April 17. On my arrival I found the members of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ WRA staff in a state of extreme apprehension. Mr. Robertson^{*} (Assistant Project Director in charge of Operation), told me:

A group (of segregants) wrote to the Spanish Embassy and the Department of the Interior^{AS} asking what they thought about further segregation. The matter was referred back to the camp officials. Permission was given this group by the Administration (Mr. Black, (Assistant Project Director in Charge of Community Management Division) to find out the reaction to further segregation. They went about it by circulating a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ memorandum through the colony asking the people who wanted to be segregated and return to Japan ~~xxx~~ on the first boat to sign here. It was circulated last week. . . Several^X people had suggested that the colony was right on the ~~xxxx~~ verge of another incident. . . I find the whole colony very tense. . . The Coordinating Committee resigned last Saturday .

[I visited five Japanese American friends and found none of them in a state of tension. The contrast between their nonchalance and the anxiety of the WRA staff was striking.]

~~TALK WITH MR. AND MRS. KURUSU~~ APRIL 14, 1944

TALK WITH MR. AND MRS. KURUSU

[Unfortunately, the first page of my talk with the Kurusus is lost. But at the end I remarked:]

The Kurusus' appeared far happier and more at ease than at any of my former visits.

[As I recall the Kurusus did not have much to say about the petition.

So I asked them a variety of questions.]

Reaction to Request to Hear Myer Speak: on Nov. 1, 1943.

The first time I didn't know the object, why we should go. When I got there I find out the negotiation members were there to consult with WRA heads on the improvement of the center. He (Myer) didn't make any promise. He said, "I have confidence with Best." We went to the Administration building there for four hours. After three or four hours we find out it was for nothing because the committee couldn't accomplish anything.

Present Colony Need:

One thing we urgently need is a good organised central power.

Person
Mrs. Oda: This would be a fine time for the Coordinating Committee to resign.

Person
Mr. Oda: The members should be elected to a board that would not have the handicap of being self-appointed.

Reaction to Vote on Status quo (January 11, 1944):

I said No because our block said No. I thought deep in my heart it was very silly to keep on in a situation like this. We might as well change the system and have a better way to run the camp. I didn't have any objections to that election. I thought we did not have the authority to run the camp. WRA has the power. We listen to what they say and obey the law. If we keep going forever (with the strike), we're just sunk.

I think the people are so against the non status-quo because they don't like the Coordinating Committee. They don't trust the members. If the members of the Coordinating Committee were chosen by election, that's another story. But they're self-appointed. We don't trust them. We don't know them.

p. 24 - change to Bill Higashi, my old friend from Gila.
p. 25 - Here you should put in Matsubara:
I should be - saw Mr. Hamaguchi
p. 26 - I should be - began to gather, so with my
p. 27 - I should be - a number of men
This is Mr. Matsubara, the plaintiff's son testifying - could you
Put a note in front of every Matsubara on this page?
I should be "I thought my husband
p. 28 - I should be Mrs. Matsubara
I should be - his friend
p. 29 - I should be - you don't need to worry. XXXXX We'll
p. 30 - I should be - all said much the same
p. 32 - I should be ungrammatical

COMPLETED

CORRECTIONS, pp. 24-35 - KUNITANI

FOR RUSHBIE

MAY 23, 1944

[From May 13 to May 25 most of my respondents were happier and ~~xxxxxx~~ more relaxed than I had ever seen them. They felt that their situation had improved and they hoped for better things. By May 18, 264 of the men detained in the stockade had been released, and, according to an administrative announcement, "releases of from 2 to 5 persons are being made almost daily." (Newell Star, May 18, 1944). The Administration's attempt to get the people to elect a committee to nominate candidates for a representative body developed into a ludicrous failure. Out of the 74 blocks in the center, only 15 ~~xxxx~~ nominated representatives. When I discussed this ~~xx~~ phenomenon with my friends, they smiled and responded with expressions of oblique or ~~xxxxix~~ ironic satisfaction. Some seemed to feel that they had really put the Administration down.]

TALK WITH MR AND MRS. Oda. KURUSU

On the "Election":

Mr. Oda: *In my opinion the reason it didn't come out successfully is because some of the people in the center feel that unless the men in the stockade are released they will continue to back the Daihyo Sha Kai because the men in the stockade are our representatives.*

I told you last time it was better to have a good strong /representative/ organization. But the way people feel right now I think it's better to release the men from the stockade. I feel pretty strong that way.

Kurman
I had a meeting. Only 25 or 26 people attended, so I just told them the meeting was adjourned. (*Oda* lives in block 59.) As you know, the block managers can't stick their nose in politics, so I must be neutral. I did my best, but the people feel that way.

The Coordinating Committee:

Another thing, the Coordinating Committee was organized for the purpose of releasing the men and bringing the center back to normalcy. But right now it is in better condition than it was three months ago. The camp seems normal, now, but as long as the men are in the stockade people will feel that it is not a normal condition.

Some of the people say the Coordinating Committee didn't finish their work. They made a statement in the paper that they had completed their work but more than 50 persons are still in there. Some of the Issei were sent to the internment camp, which made the group mad.

Kurman
Mrs. *Oda* then repeated a milder version of the story of the beatings of the internees by Internal Security, saying that a girl who works in the hospital had told her and she knew this girl wasn't the kind to lie.

Some people say they'd like to know where they get the scum they hire on Internal Security. Internal Security has a very bad name.

Kurman
Mr. *Oda*: Unless WRA releases the men in the stockade there is no necessity to organize another committee. If the men are sent to Leupp there is no hope at all to organize another committee. The majority of people are just watching the Administration to see what they do. Besides people hesitate to be block delegates. They may go to the stockade if they are.

Kurman
It is interesting to note the change in *Oda*'s attitude since March and April. He is a strong proponent of obeying the laws of this government and the rules of the Administration while in this camp on U.S. soil. He has said very harsh things about the Daihyo Sha Kai. But the powerful sentiments of his very strong pro-Daihyo Sha block have convinced him that stockade release is the only solution.

/According to Weglyn, "Years of Infamy" (p. 207), the Army withdrew from the stockade on May 23. On May 25, the Newell Star announced that the WRA had taken over the stockade from the Army. I did not at this time know that this step had been taken./

Kurusu, June, 6, 1944

12.17

[On May 24, the day after I had this pleasant talk with the Kurusus, a Japanese American construction worker, ~~xxx~~ returning from an assignment outside the area was shot at close range by an Army sentry. He died on the following day. I visited a number of my Japanese American friends, but ~~since Mr. Kurusu was a block manager and lived in a very pro-status-quo block, I wrote xxx to him asking if I might safely visit him. I also asked him to write me if he did not wish me to call. On June 6, I received xxx the following letter.~~]

- a. ...
- b. ...
- c. ...
- d. ...
- e. ...
- f. ...
- g. ...
- h. ...
- i. ...
- j. ...
- k. ...
- l. ...
- m. ...
- n. ...
- o. ...
- p. ...
- q. ...
- r. ...
- s. ...
- t. ...
- u. ...
- v. ...
- w. ...
- x. ...
- y. ...
- z. ...

After the shooting of Mr. Okamoto, I had written to Mr. Oka (a Kibei friend from Gila) asking whether he thought I might safely visit him. He was block manager of a very pro-status quo block, and I did not wish to put him at risk of being called an inu. In my letter I had asked him to write to me if he did not wish me to call.

LETTER FROM MY FRIEND, MR. ODA, dated June 5, 1944

Thank you for your letter and sincere courtesy. I deeply regret that the tragic occurrence had to stop your visiting which I was expecting with great interest.

Generally speaking, the attitude and sentiment of the colony toward shooting incident is very quiet and does not make sharp and strong criticism in comparison to last year's incident. It seems to give me a hint that on account of the past experienced troublesome period, the colonists are acting much more sensibly and observing the present existing condition with the eyes of great interest.

As far as I can observe the present existing public sentiment, I hope that probably there will be no public disturbance or see the slightest tendency of trouble and pressure group. However, it appears to me that the colonists have received considerable shock and a tendency of great anger toward thoughtless cruel barbaric in-human being attitude of the military police.

Other day we held the regular ward meeting and a Block Manager brought up the sincere hope of request by the people, concerning inhuman attitude of the military police toward the recent tragic incident that hereafter, the w.r.a. would guarantee and take proper measurement and caution for our safety and security especially employees of the center. We do not want to repeat the tragic history. If these tragedies occur in any event, it will be the most disastrous thing to see and will greatly affect the public welfare and affairs in the future of the center. With understanding, the mutual cooperation and for the future of the center we must prevent and take safety measures from now on to promote public welfare and the harmonious way of living.

Since November's incident, it appears to me the general policy of the center has been very much complicated and changed on the part of the administration. To the best of my knowledge, we seem to have two authorities, w.r.a. and the army. This will induce us into contradiction of our minds to understand the policy and the settlement of difficult problems with the authorities. According to the statement of the Project Director, Mr. Best stated that w.r.a. will not be responsible for the shooting. In this case, the colony naturally think the army will take the fullest measurement for responsibility of shooting.

We understand that segregees in this center are given the fullest protection and w.r.a. enforces the laws in order to maintain the public in order and peace according to their regulations and that the army will protect our safety and security with the fullest cooperation of w.r.a. The most significant point which always is miscomprehended and contradict our minds is whether the army has authority or not within the barbed wire fence is the public curiosity toward the administration of w.r.a. From time to time, I hear the people saying that the army has no authority within the barbed wire fence whatever, and w.r.a. has the fullest power to control the entire center. The people feel the army is supposed not to stay in the boundary of w.r.a. This sounds very reasonable but we do not know what degree is the truth.

Tule Lake Center is known as the segregation camp and in comparison to the other nine Relocation Centers, the state of this center might entirely be different on administration policy of the w.r.a. On account of this the center might need the combined authorities over the Administration. The colony sincerely hope that either

one of them must take responsibility, otherwise we will have no authority to conform and to protect our safety and security.

With the most prudent attitude and the greatest interest, the colony is observing the progress of the present affairs and those false communication and broadcasting over radio deeply degrade the public morale and extremely irritate the public sentiment and anger. As the most typical characteristic of the Orient races, especially, Japanese has a great tendency toward excitement, irritation and judge things sentimentally. In consideration of these facts I sincerely hope that the authority take thorough steps for the investigation and the justice will be done for a better solution. Also I have confidence that the colony is eagerly waiting with great expectation for the official announcement of the truth.

(I think that Mr. Oda, in Japanese style, is obliquely expressing attitudes which have been more openly stated by other informants.)

WILD CAT JAPANESE SCHOOLS

From two Caucasians (teachers) I have heard accounts of certain "wild-cat" Japanese schools which are springing up here and there in the camp. These schools stress Japanese training of the most severe sort and refuse to come under the authority of the Japanese schools established with the consent of WRA. Mr. Best has taken some action (I don't know what) but apparently it has had little result. The organizers of the schools are according to rumor, young Kibei of very pro-Japanese leanings. The curricula, which includes physical training, is said to be very vigorous.

Another Caucasian teacher, a reliable informant, told me that young people are constantly dropping out of her classes due to pressure from home that they should not attend the English schools at all.

omit

Kurusu, June/4/ 1944
20

15. ~~W~~W

c, c, ~~JUNE, c, h, c, 1944~~, JUNE 20, 1944

~~Talk with~~

TALK WITH MR. AND MRS. KURUSU

[During June almost all of my respondents were talking about the inu
Several men, stigmatized as inu had been severely beaten, one of them
being a ~~xxx~~ Japanese American police warden who had protested against
that had been initiated
morning exercises/in his block because they resembled the militaristic

exercises customary in ~~xxxx~~ Japan. It is ~~ix~~ significant that the
make or of the beatings
Kurusu in this conversation ~~xxxx~~/no mention of inu/and ~~asserted~~ asserted that
the morning exercises were not militaristic.]

Mr. Oda said he had kept as careful a record as he could on the initial meeting
of block representatives to select a committee to investigate the Okamoto shooting.
He was pretty confused about it all; if he, who is well educated in English and
Japanese is confused, the people as a whole are probably utterly mixed up about it.
(Some of my respondents have told me that the people don't care and think that the
Spanish Consul won't accomplish anything anyway.)

Meeting to Select Requested Investigation Committee, to Investigate Shooting of Mr. Okamoto.

I attended this meeting. As you know the Japanese government has a great in-
terest in this case. They have requested the Spanish Consul to make a detailed
report and he has asked for a committee to make the detailed report to him. So,
since the members of the Coordinating Committee had resigned, there were no repre-
sentatives for the people. So, since nobody had responsibility, they suggested
that each block send a spokesman who was a Japanese national.

Then, June 4th we had an election. Some blocks elected a man and some blocks
just sent an observer to the meeting. All were Japanese nationals, mostly Issei.

Then they elected officers, president, etc. This committee is just temporary
and they decided to disband after the completion of the investigation. Some of
the people suggested at the meeting that they might remain as permanent Japanese
spokesmen for the people, but I believe in the present situation, they hesitate to
elect permanent delegates.

They named eight men for the committee.

(I asked if any members of the Coordinating Committee were on it.)

There were no Coordinating Committee members on that. This committee was
recognized officially by the approval of Mr. Best.

Everybody is afraid of the future and they didn't want it to be permanent.

It seems to me very few people know about the details of how this was done
(Okamoto shooting). They can't get the true facts. Besides they're afraid of
being put in the stockade. It's no use to fight against the Administration.
Everybody just keeps their mouth shut and quiet.

Kurusu 16.
Unrest over Shooting:

There was unrest, particularly among the young boys. They were quite excited. But there was nothing they could do. If they start trouble, something will happen. I know lots of people had good experience in the last incident. They don't want anymore trouble. If they start trouble, the same thing will happen.

And besides that, the investigating committee has been established and the people also believe WRA and the Army are taking care of it. The committee just started their investigation last week.

On the "Morning Exercises" which caused Trouble in Block 54:

We used to have morning exercises too. But they stopped it. I believe Manzanar is still having them. They are not militaristic exercises. I think the wardens are just afraid of public gatherings. There were one or two teachers arrested while they were having the exercises in school. I think that's why they have been stopped here. The block people didn't want any more victims.

The Issei are really hard minded. They're stubborn. It's hard for the old folks and the young folks to get along.

Continuing Importance of Stockade Issue:

Unless they release the men from the stockade I don't think there is any hope to organize any Central Committee. Everyone feels that way about the committee. They feel the time has not come. They would really like to have one good committee because in a time like this there is no spokesman.

Giri

That is simply obligations. Suppose those former Negotiating Committee in the stockade. Suppose right now we elect another representative from each block and organize a central committee. In that case we double cross them (the men in the stockade). We admit that they had criminal intention. That means giri. That's why, for the benefit of them we cannot do it right now, unless the WRA releases these men. That is the Japanese point of view right now.

I wish the WRA would release those men. When they tried to organize the committee (in May) everything happened that way, because of giri.

Morning Kurusu
More on Exercises

Mrs. Oda: It was the little children who just loved the exercises. They had a lot of fun getting up in the morning. He (her husband) was too lazy to get up. For the children it was tanoshimi (a pleasure - something to look forward to).

Mr. Best's Speech at the Funeral of Mr. Ohtanaka

He was thinking of the future of the center, particularly of the safety and security. I said to myself, "He's quite a diplomat." He made a very intelligent speech. If he had made the wrong kind of speech, it would have meant more trouble. He chose his words very carefully.

Kurusu, July 24, 1944

17

[On the night of July 3, Mr. Nema, who had ~~known~~ been stigmatized as ~~xxx~~ a "Number 1 Inu" was murdered. I did not visit my respondents until they invited me. On July 24, I received the following letter from Mr. Kurusu.]

LETTER FROM MR. KURUSU (dated July 20)

"Since the recent incident a number of persons have been removed from the center for protection. The residents were saying so much and doubted these persons. You know what I mean----

"The situation is gradually coming back to normal but I still feel some tension in camp. At the time of the murder the situation was so grave that the WRA called a block manager's meeting and suggested we have block meetings to decide whether the residents wanted a curfew for protection. The block managers could not decide and accept that suggestion because the proposition was too important for the block managers to decide whether such matter should be brought back to the block for consultation. As far as I can see the colonists and block managers have nothing to do with such important matters. In other words, we have no authority and power to make decisions. Of course some blocks may need a curfew for protection but perhaps other blocks do not want it. It appeared to me at the meeting that the block managers felt that the residents do not want it. Probably past experience.

"In connection with the assassination, the head of colonial police and other members had resigned. Consequently, the department is facing a difficult situation in carrying out their assignments. Up to date the reputation of police is so grave that it seems to me the colonists have no interest in the colonial police affairs. It tells very clearly by past experiences and every meeting which we held has failed. None of them succeed. The colonists held meetings regarding the election of the police commissioners but unfortunately failed except for two or three blocks. It appears to me that the colonial police department feels they have no support by the colonists.

"We arrived here October 8 and I became block manager November 5 so I really do not know what was in the minds of the people between October 1 to 14. As you know this is a segregation camp but it seems to apply only to the nine (9) Relocation Centers which recently completed their order by sending the remaining segregates. (I hear rumors from time to time that there are many loyal persons who should relocate

or go to another camp still in this center.) If peace and order is to be maintained WRA should take immediate steps to remove such persons. Unless complete segregation of segregees in this center, we shall not see any hope for peace. By means of removing such persons, I believe WRA will have a little more easier time to enforce the laws and carry out administrative policy efficiently as a real segregation camp. It seems to me that all the troubles that we have had in the past is due to entangled rumors, administrative policy and other misunderstanding.

AUGUST 1944

[Apparently I did not visit the Kurusus again until August 8, for which month I have lost my ~~Y~~ notes. From other sources, however, I have a few of the statements they made at our August 8 meeting.]

TALK WITH MR. AND MRS. KURUSU

[After the Nema murder the/Japanese American police force had resigned.
entire Attempts were being made to ~~reestablish~~ create another force.]

On Evacuee Police Force

The Issei in our block are against it because they heard the rumor of sending records to Japan. Also the colonial police used to wear a badge of the regular United States police. It said United States Police on the badge. Most of the people are afraid to connect themselves so ~~much~~ obviously with the United States government.

[I believe it was Mr. Kurusu, a block manager, who told me on August 8, that a high ranking member of the Caucasian Internal Security had addressed the block managers and told them:

If there's a failure it's going to be your responsibility. You've got to see that people in the block cooperate with the ~~xxxxxx~~ policemen. For these blocks which supply no policemen, no protection will be given.]

On New Resegregation Rumors

For more than two weeks everybody is saying we might be segregated again. First they said we would be sent to Poston, then they said Alaska.

Mrs. L. Kurusu: They told me that they had heard it over the radio and seen it in the San Francisco Examiner that the people are going to be sent to Jerome. It is the disloyal people who are going to be moved.

Kurusu, August, 1944

19.

During August Mr. ^{Yamashita} ~~Txxxxxx~~ and other ^{enist} ~~resegregationist~~ leaders ~~xxxxx~~ delivered "educational lectures" at small block meetings. They assured their listeners that ~~Kxxx~~ Japan was winning the war and interpreted the various reverses as a strategic trap into which the American forces were being drawn. They further ~~xxxxxxxx~~ emphasized that "for those who desire to return to Japan, the discipline and education of our children adapted to the system of wartime Motherland are absolutely necessary" and they ~~xxxx~~ asserted that they hoped, with the consent of the WRA, to form organizations which would provide such discipline and education. Mr. ~~Txxxx/xxxxx~~ ^{Yamashita} told me that he was giving these lectures without permission from the administration and would continue to give them "for the sake of the people." Simultaneously, a ~~xxxxfx~~ group of resegregationists, headed by Mr. Aramaki, a young Buddhist priest, approached the administration and received ~~xxxxxxx~~ permission to use the high school auditorium for a series of lectures on Japanese history and culture. On August 12, they ~~xxxx~~ proceeded to form a centerwide Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country, the Sokoku Kenkyo Seinen dan, with the expressed aims of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ organizing classes on Japanese language, history, and political ideology. Within a few ~~xxx~~ weeks about five hundred young men had joined the Sokoku.¹ Among them was my friend, Mr. Kurusu. Kurusu, however, did not tell me that he had joined until I wrote to Mr. Kurusu, asking when I might visit, but did not receive a response until September 12.]

/_I. See, "Doing Fieldwork", pp. 144-5; "The Spoilage," pp. 311-14.]

SEPTEMBER 22, 1944

LETTER FROM CONSERVATIVE FRIEND, MR. KURUSU

91

FOOTNOTE , p. 20

[1. No one ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ else mentioned this incident to me.

Kurum September 15

20.

September 12, 1944

Dear Miss Hankey,

"I have not heard very much news since your last visit. The most significant news was the releasing of the remaining evacuees from the stockade.

"The colonists surely waited a long time for this happy event. It appears to me that the residents feel the colony really has come back to normal condition and the releasing created the most harmonious atmosphere among the residents. I believe this will bring center into peace and quiet.

"I used to hear rumor that we might segregate to some other center. Certainly residents talked about resegregation vigorously but right now it has gradually died down."

yo. IK.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1944

TALK WITH THE KURUSUS

Resegregation:

At present they aren't thinking of it very much. They didn't like it very much because they hate to move to another camp. It was particularly the weather. The weather is nice here. Everybody hated to move to Poston.

Everything is quiet and peaceful now.

Warden Attacked:

I heard this morning somebody got drunk and attacked the wardens with a knife. ¹

General Serenity in ^{Kurum} ~~oda~~'s Block (59 and strongly status-quo):

I'm very happy nowadays. I don't have to worry very much. The meeting Wednesday was very successfully conducted. Everybody was very cooperative and the WRA office looks like they're trying to give more satisfaction. Everybody was happy when the stockade boys were left out.

Rumors of ~~Arrest~~ Indictment and Arrests for Murder of Mr. Noma

^{Kurusu}
Mr. ^{Oda} said he had not heard of the rumors of the arrest. He said: "I don't think that ^{Kai} and ^{Kuratori} could have been connected with that murder case."

Co-op:

On the whole the people feel all right toward the Co-op. But not many people attended the General meeting. There were only 17 persons there. That was the meeting for Ward VI for the Co-op.

(I asked how large a crowd could be expected and ^{Kurusu} Oda said perhaps several hundred for the ward.)

I don't see many people now who care (worry) about the Co-op. They have a good feeling about it now. Everybody is satisfied. I think the new treasurer is very capable. They even are going to give refunds.

Personally, I think the prices are too high compared with the present wages in camp. I think they're high. But the Co-op has to sell food because large families need an excess of food for babies.

Actually cosmetics are really necessary for the women.

Some people say the canteens shouldn't sell fruits and vegetables because we're getting food in the mess halls. Especially the canned goods is high priced. But we must have the food. We can get along without the cigarettes and tobacco.

The other day the people complained that the fish was so high. They said that the Co-op was making so much money on fish. They demanded that they sell fish at a lower price.

^{Sachs}
Schmidt's Resignation:

I know that at the Warden's meeting they don't have a good feeling toward him. He used too much force that time. One committee asked him to resign but WRA couldn't accept that.

^e
Sokoku Kenkyu Sein'in-dan:

The Sokoku Kenkyu is not a pressure group. They just want to study Japanese culture. I know because I'm a member. That's why I joined. They're not going into politics. I guarantee they will not start any trouble in here. If I see any trouble coming I will resign.

(While the Sokoku Kenkyu Sein'in-dan is at present taking no political action, knowing who is behind it and having heard the Matsudas' plans, I lean to the opinion that ^{Oda} is a little naive about the matter.)

^{Kurusu}
That three or four months trouble really gave us a good experience.

[during strike of 1943]

FOOTNOTE, p. 22.

[1. On October 4, Mr. Robertson, an Assistant Project Director, told me, in confidence, that on the ~~xxxx~~ day before a Japanese American had come to the Administration building and revealed that "agitators" of ~~xx~~ whom he was a member, were planning to disorganize the operation of the project.

On the morning of October 4, one of Mr. Robertson's key workers resigned and

another had threatened to do so. Robertson felt ~~xxxxxx~~ that the ~~xxxxxxx~~ colony was very tense. But I, in my visits, found no evidence of this kind of tension. }

[On September 24 the Resegregationists circulated a second petition accompanied by an explanatory pamphlet, requesting the signatures of "those who truly desire to return to Japan at the first opportunity. The ~~xx~~ pamphlet stated that the group was preparing a final list of repatriates and expatriates which was to be presented to "both the American and the Japanese governments."XX (See my fieldnotes for September 21 and also Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 315-18.)]

BRIEF TALK WITH MRS. KURUSU

I hoped to talk over the resegregation petition with Mr. ^{Kurusu} Oda but he was not home. His wife was expecting a music pupil. She said that they had received an announcement but were waiting to hear how the other people felt about it. The pupil arrived and I made an appointment for next Friday.

OCTOBER 6, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURUSU, BLOCK MANAGER

Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan:

Mr. ^{Kurusu} Oda still stands stalwartly behind the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan as an entirely unpolitical organization. He told me that they had a lecture every Saturday. He thought these lectures very good. Last Saturday the subject had been Japanese history.

Resegregation Pamphlet:

from Administration
"That is not authorized. That's one of the biggest objections right now. Everybody hates to sign because of the unauthorization of the statement.

"I got a notice last week (~~notice Black sent out~~) that Mr. Best was against resegregation. I don't know who's working on the body.

"Suppose I sign this paper? I don't think that would make me go to Japan very soon. Those things are determined by the Japanese government.

"Really, I'd like to know why those persons do it. Maybe they tried to get authorization (from the Administration) but they were rejected.

"Everybody would like to go back to Japan. But that wasn't done through the proper channels. The way I feel, I think they should contact WRA before they distributed those pamphlets. That's the regular procedure to something like that.

"Some of the people want to take my advice. But I can't tell them because I don't want to give false statements. We had many signatures in this block. (Oda's block, 59, is very strongly status quo.) *Kurusu*

"Really if they want to organize a good organization, they should contact WRA. If they want to carry out things."

FNY
Mr. ^{Kurusu} Oda and his wife remarked on the unusually quiet atmosphere prevailing in camp at the present time. I am certain, from their unchanged, natural attitude, that they also had no idea of the threats received by certain individuals. At the idea that there might be a memorial demonstration on November 1, one of the Administration's present pet bugaboos, they laughed heartily. "The people don't want any trouble," said Mr. Oda. *Kurusu*

Kurihara
TALK WITH MR. ODA, ~~CONSERVATIVE~~ BLOCK MANAGER

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

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

As we began to discuss camp affairs, he asked me if I had heard the rumor going around camp that Best and Black will resign next month.

Kurihara
Oda's Change of Attitude toward Sokoku Kenkyu:

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

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

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

I don't understand why those people want to start big organizations. The old Issei, maybe they want name and titles (when they get to Japan).

The organization is breaking up from inside because of individual relations and differences among the members. There is so much friction.

Most of the people in this center have decided to go back to Japan anyway.

Sentiments toward Manzanar:

Feeling of the people might be changed a little, but some of the boys are so stiff and tough and hard too. Frankly, I myself am being awful careful of those boys. They do something very extreme, so I just kind of take more careful step. I watch my language.

(He then asked me if the leaders of the Daihyo Sha Kai were the leaders of the Resegregation Group. I said I did not think so.)

Fear of Caucasian Visit in February and March:

Kurihara
I did my very best to get Mr. Oda to tell me his opinion on the comparative popular attitudes toward the Daihyo Sha and toward the Resegregation Group, but I could not get him to make a statement. He did, however, say that when I first came to visit him he had been very frightened. (He gave no indication of this at the time.) He had even taken the trouble to explain that I was just an old friend to several of the people in his block. Evidently, he has not been criticized for my

November 7, 1944 - p. 2, Dec. 15, 1944. -12-24

visits which have not been over frequent. He remarked again, that he lived in a very tough block.

[On December 15, Mr. Hamaguchi, one of those who had been expelled from the Resegregationist group, went to the Resegregationist Headquarters in Block 54, accosted Tokuichi Matsubara, the nominal head to the Resegregation Group, and demanded the reason for his expulsion. Matsubara, according to report, gave him a rude reply. Hamaguchi thereupon seized a piece of wood from a nearby woodpile, Matsubara grabbed a mop, and the two men had at it in what must have been a strange parody of a samurai sword duel. Although the fight lasted only a few minutes, strong-arm boys from both factions and a crowd of several hundred spectators assembled. Called on for an explanation, Hamaguchi made a speech, denouncing the Hōkoku for gangster tactics and for the degregation of the true spirit of Japan.

The leaders of the Resegregation Group at once approached the high ranking members of the Administration and told them that if proper steps were not taken immediately, they would take matters into their own hands. The Project Attorney told me that they had said: "We have 1,000 young men to call on, and had even hinted at the possibility of assassinations. They also plastered the latrines and laundry rooms with mimeographed statements to the effect that their "peaceful organization" had been attacked by "gangsters",

The project police immediately arrested eleven men (evidently accused by the Resegregationist leaders) and confined them in the Klamath Falls jail. Among these arrested was Mr. Kodama, the black belt judo man and friend of Kunitani's, who had challenged Mr. Yamada, the leader of the Hōkoku on the evening of October 30.

DECEMBER 19, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURUSU, BLOCK MANAGER, OLD GILAN FRIEND

^{Kurusu} Mr. ~~Cur~~ immediately began to talk about the ^{block fight in block 54,} ~~block fight~~ ^{trouble}. With those persons ~~in~~ in camp who are at all interested in camp politics - this ^{fight} ~~beating~~ looms larger as a topic of conversation than the reopening of the coast. With young Nisei, however, the reverse is true. The Nisei don't follow the camp affairs so closely on the whole.

The "Big ~~Fight~~" Fight."

A boy came into my office on ~~Friday~~ Saturday afternoon and said there had been a big fight. I heard one fellow who went over there was kicked out of the Hoo-shi dan. I heard he went over to find out why. They started an argument. I heard two of them were hospitalized.

Hoo-shi dan ~~their~~ They stated in ~~their~~ regulations that their organization is not political but gradually they ~~stepped~~ stepped into politics. I didn't like it and the people don't like it either. After I see this incident I ~~feel~~ ^{think} it's better to stay out. They've been sticking their nose into education and into the hospital, etc. ^{stepped}

What they say and speak is opposite from what they do. I also heard that the man who started out to ask was not a gambler.

I believe most of the members are really disgusted about the way the organization is running. They just have one track minds (the leaders). They push the people. They don't think things over that they start correctly. Their idea is wrong. I don't like the idea. They are forcing all these things. ^{think}

From time to time I talk to my wife. I say, 'We must not like Japanese since we are here, but my opinions and the opinions of the rest of that bunch is a little different.'

After all, we all came here just for one object. ~~(This is the theme~~

~~of the moderates and anti-Hoo-shi dan people.)~~

Renunciation of Citizenship

(The people don't say very much. They don't talk about it very much.

DECEMBER 12, 1944, D. C.

26.

They all are doing it among themselves. I might apply for renunciation but I haven't done it yet.

Opening of the Coast

They heard about it yesterday. But when they think the reason why they were here, from that point of view they made up their minds to stay here. Personally, I feel it's too late - If they went outside they will find they should have gone before. That's the way I feel. I segregated and made up my mind to stay here for the duration.

I know they have started hearings. Four men were called ^{today} ~~today~~ by the army. They asked them questions like, "Do you want to go out or do you want to renounce your citizenship?"

I believe many people have applied for renunciation of citizenship.

After we came up here we must do this thing for girl anyway. I must go through with it. If I change my mind I'm not otokogi. If I change my mind people will think I'm weak minded and criticize me. (manly.)

A lot of people are doing it though, but I don't like to because I once made up my mind. Women change their minds all the time but if a man makes up his mind, whether good or not, he must carry it out. That's otokogi. Maybe I'm wrong. But I made up my mind at military registration and I'll carry it out to the end. Otokogi is closely related to bushido.

Hogshi den

The fight within the organization is pretty bad. Everybody is disgusted with them. Since then, I'm not going to any of their meetings. The leaders are just working for their own power and their reputation. If an Issai becomes a big man in this center, he'll probably be satisfied.

Everybody is criticizing the Sokuji now. This is a good time to jump off.

(Mr. ~~Gee~~ ^{Kurumi} had not heard any rumors of hostility between the Sokuji and the gamblers.)

I heard that the night after the 54 beating, there was another fight in ward VI. I heard it was in block 44.-44

Kurusu, Jan. 12, 1945

27.

[On December 27 the Department of Justice interned seventy members of the two Resegregationist organizations, 64 of whom were office. On January ^{the} 5 the WRA distributed to all residents an official ~~XXXXXX~~ pamphlet in which Dillon Myer reaffirmed that it was the WRA's intention to close all of the Relocation ~~XXXXXX~~ centers by returning all of the evacuees to "private life in normal communities." The WRA had announced this policy once ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ before, in mid-December, but at that time most of my respondents assumed that it did not apply to them. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Now, however, most of my friends, like Mr. Kurusu, became very anxious.]

TALK WITH MR. KURUSU

Leaving Camp

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kurusu Jan. 12, 1945

28 29.28.

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

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

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

"All the people are ~~wondering~~ ^{wondering} about the status of this ~~camp~~ ^{camp, whether}, it's going to be a relocation center or a segregation center. We read in the papers that it is to be a relocation center. In that case, we don't know why we came up here?

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

But we're divided into so many small groups/ WRA and the Army know our most weakest spot.

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

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

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

FEBRUARY 8, 1945

LETTER FROM MR. Kurusu

Kurum, ~~Feb. 8, 1945~~ Feb. 10, 1945 ~~29~~ 29.

Dear Miss Hankey,

In Block 41 I saw a bunch of young boys receive notice to go to Santa Fe. Later 6 boys from our Block received their notices to leave Saturday.

Considering the existing situation at the present moment and to avoid malicious rumors, I would like to postpone your visit of Tuesday.

Sincerely yours,

P. S. I was completely out of that Organization quite a long time ago.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

MEETING WITH MR. ~~ODA~~ Kurum

FEBRUARY 10, 1945

Encountered Mr. ~~ODA~~ ^{Kurum} in the administrative section today and he asked if he might come to see me tomorrow and bring me some letters ~~for~~ to give to Mr. ~~Noyes~~ ^{Goodman}. We made an appointment for 10:00 a.m. He told me that he had been approached by friends,

beseeching him to get them out of going to Santa Fe, since they were no longer ~~not~~ ^{also said} ~~Hokoku~~ members. Tadamatsu ~~He said~~ that the camp was full of the rumor that all those who renounced were to be sent to Santa Fe. He was very worried because he has just sent in his application for renunciation.

(he said)
In this broadcast pickup, many boys of high school age have been taken. ^{fifty-four buglers} ~~are~~ are being taken also, although some under-age buglers remain.

Kurusu, Feb. 10, 1945

30.

BRIEF MEETING WITH MR. CDA - TALK WITH NOYES

At 10:00 Mr. Oda arrived and gave me the letters from Kawada, president
of the Hakeky Hokoku, stating that the boys (friends of Oda) had resigned
from the organization. ~~Kawada suggested that~~
~~this afternoon~~ I immediately went to see Noyes,
asking Mr. Oda to wait. I tried to explain the situation to Noyes but
he said that the boys didn't have a chance in the world. He repeated that
renunciation in itself is an overt act of hostility against the U. S.
government. Then he told me that he himself had started the rumor that
all renunciess might be interned in Santa Fe. He had hoped that this would
stop the flood of renunciations or get people to cancel them. If these
boys would cancel their renunciations they would be taken off
the list immediately.

I returned to my barrack room and ~~given~~ ^{Kurusu} Kurusuda told Mr. ~~Eda~~ ^{Eda} what ~~Noyes~~ ^{ordman} had said. Since it was ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{Kurusu} lunchtime, we arranged to meet and talk again this afternoon. Mr. ~~Eda~~ ^{Kurusu} gave me the following letter:

Feb. 10, 1945

31.

Dear Miss Harkness,

Feb. 10, 1945

There are rumors going around that those who renounced their citizenship will be transferred to Santa Fe. Also the residents are talking about the next transfer--they expect it around the 24th and say including the members of HOCHI-DAN.

If you have time will you please write ^{answer} ~~answer~~ for me. Also I should like to know very much the policy of the Department of Justice.

I deeply appreciate whatever you can do for us. Thank you.

[I was ~~deeply~~ distressed by what was happening and added the ~~following~~ following comments.]

I did not think I had any chance of helping these boys but I went to see ^{Gordman} ~~Noyes~~ anyway. I find the situation hard to understand and I don't like it.

^{Gordman} ~~Noyes~~ stands behind the statement that the act of renunciation of citizenship in itself is an act hostile to the American government and therefore anyone who renounces is liable to internment with no reprieve. That is that. Against this there is very little one can say; I mean you cannot ^{ask} ~~expect~~ ~~any~~ ~~mercy~~ ~~for~~ ~~those~~ ~~individuals~~ ~~who~~ ~~are~~ ~~not~~ ~~anti-social~~ if the authorities proceed on this premise.

And at the end of our talk

Noyes told me that he himself had started the rumor that all renunciants might be taken to Santa Fe, in any attempt to stop ~~the~~ renunciations ~~or~~ to get people to cancel them.

23. R. HANKEY - Notes - July 1944
32
FEBRUARY 10, 1945, p. 20.

TALK WITH ~~Mr. Kurnen~~ ^{Mr. Kurnen}

Had a long talk with ~~Mr. Kurnen~~ ^{Mr. Kurnen} this afternoon at his house. He told me great many things which I hope I can remember. First of all he went to see the boys who do not wish to go to Santa Fe and told them that if they withdrew their applications for renunciation, they would probably not be sent. The boys said, that as ^{men}, it was impossible for them to do this, even though they did not wish to go to Santa Fe and be separated from ^{their} ~~their~~ families. According to ~~Mr. Kurnen~~ ^{Mr. Kurnen}, there are many boys being sent this time who do not wish to go.

The second big worry on ~~Mr. Kurnen's~~ ^{Mr. Kurnen's} mind is that the ~~very~~ widespread rumor that anyone who renounced their citizenship will be sent to Santa Fe. Undoubtedly, the camp is in an even more excited state that it was at the time of the January 27th pick-up. A large contingent of ~~Hokkaido~~ the Hoshi-den, the adult organization is expected to be picked up on the 24th.

We discussed the whole gloomy business at ~~length~~ ^{length}. ~~Mr. Kurnen~~ ^{Mr. Kurnen} said that the people are ~~blaming~~ ^{blaming} the WRA for it all, and still would like to have the camp go under the Dept. of Justice. Most of the boys being taken this time did not know that they had done anything wrong. I asked ~~Mr. Kurnen~~ ^{Mr. Kurnen} what he would have done had he been the head of the ~~Dept~~ ^{Dept} of Justice. He said he would have issued a notice first that these activities were against the law and then if the people disobeyed he would have interned them. Once the leaders had been picked up, he said, the other boys could no longer step in order to keep face. I asked ~~Mr. Kurnen~~ ^{Mr. Kurnen} several questions on how people had felt about the renunciation. (Unfortunately I was at the Salt Lake Conference when Burling first arrived at the camp and did not get these reactions.) I asked why I had heard so little about renunciation from the people during August through November 1944 and then everybody had sent in their applications at once. He said, in the first place, the people were ^{waiting} ~~waiting~~ until it was definitely announced that it had been made into a law. (This, as I remember, and I may be wrong, was announced

24. H. Nakagawa - Notes - June 1945
FEBRUARY 10, 1945, p. 3. 33.

in August 1944 but evidently, according to camp psychology, it didn't
"become a law" until Ennis gave permission to send in the applications.
Then - according to ^{Karnen} ~~Oda~~ - they felt that being a law, applying was no
crime against the United States Government. Moreover, at this time, said
^{Karnen} ~~Oda~~, a terrific rumor hit camp that there would be a time limit set on
the renunciations. "So everybody went around saying, 'You better renounce
right away.'" ^{Karnen said} Also, ~~Oda~~ ~~stated~~ many people renounced just because
they wished to stay in camp and because they wished to avoid the draft.
We discussed the possibility of any appreciable number of cancellations.
X ^{Karnen} ~~and Oda~~ believes this to be very unlikely (as does everybody in camp
including myself.) ^{He} ~~and~~ himself is quite worried because he was once a
member of the Hokoku. He would not like to go to Santa Fe but he said
he would not cancel his application for renunciation even if he were sent.
This attitude is significant because ^{Karnen} ~~Oda~~ is one of the mildest and most
law-abiding ~~people~~ individuals I know in Tule Lake or anywhere else for
that matter.

^{Karnen} ~~Oda~~ also informed me that the Japanese in camp are blaming
Saburo Kido of the JACL for the unhappiness that the renunciation of
citizenship is causing them and for the internments. Kido is supposed to
be advising the Dept. of Justice.

Don't
unbalance

Kurusu, Feb. 16, 1945

FEBRUARY 16, 1945

34

LETTER FROM MR. ~~Kuru~~ KURUSU

(note to typist) When you type this letter please ignore the underlinings and the - marks of Hekoku etc. because ~~ik~~ I put these in before I realized that I should leave the ~~ik~~ letter just as Mr. Kurusu wrote it.

February 14, 1945

Dear Miss Hankey,

I am very sorry that I failed to write result. I have a letter written but things kept me so busy since you left.

After the boys left the camp is very quiet but we feel sorrowful. There are rumors that former members and present members of the Hoshi-Dan will be pulled in and a few residents of this block who were former members are frankly worried. A former member would like to know if his name ~~has~~ really been crossed off with the administration when he first resigned through Hoshi-Dan or Hekoku-Dan and if not they would like to know the proper procedure. I was asked this ---- very confidential.

I sincerely thank you for your advice. Unfortunately I have no documentary proof with me now. It seems to me impossible to get one because yesterday Hekoku-Dan or Hoshi-Dan office located in block 64 rec-Hall was raided by the internal security. The huge safetybox that probably contained many documents was taken in for further investigation. So you see how situation is right now.

Also I heard a rumor, probably this will come true that the authorities have a plan or intentions to terminate all workers who are members of the Hekoku-Dan or Hoshi-Dan. It appears ~~me~~ to me that the center is facing a grave situation.

I really cause you trouble again this time, but I would appreciate it if you would write a paper for me stating that I resigned from Hekoku-Dan. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

~~Yutaka Oda~~ *Isamu Kurusu*

P. S. I don't think I signed anything since office changed name to Hekoku Dan from Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan.

INSERT AT A p. 383

I wrote this letter for Mr. ~~Isamu~~ *Kurusu*, who had told me ~~on November 7~~ that he had stopped going to Sokoku meetings.

Kurusu, Feb. 28, 1945

37.

FEBRUARY 28, 1945

LETTER FROM MR. KURUSU

Since ~~the~~ ^{Mr. Kurusu's} block is still ~~is~~ very tense after the big pick-up we have been corresponding.

February 27, 1945

Dear Miss Hankey,

The statement which was made in the star news certainly clarified many unsolved points that has been bothering the colonists for weeks. As you know, before issuing such official statement, wild threatening rumors, mostly regarding the transferring of the members and those who renounced U. S. citizenship had been spread over the center, degrading morale and confusing the critical situation.

This was reached to the climax right after the third group left for internment camp. However the information as to status of those who renounced, clarifying the many misunderstanding over result of the hearings and matters of the Hokoku surely relieved heavy worry from their shoulder, realizing the misleadership and misconduct of Hokoku or Hoshi-Dan—especially those who were former member of organization. Awakening of such mispolicy is the reason growing out great fear and threatening terribly their conscious as internal security took all records for investigation and future personal reference. As for consequence of conscience, many former members wrote to Attorney clarifying their status and stating reason of the resignation.

Since publication of the statement many malicious rumors have mysteriously disappeared, especially the rumor as to the drafting for military service in this center which had strongly been going on for weeks during that critical period. This confused many of them together with the status of renunciants because a number of the residents were removed to enemy alien internment camp who were not members of the Hokoku-Dan. Removed to internment camp, regardless of membership in Hokoku-Dan really astonished those who desired to renounce citizenship but do not wish to go to internment camp because their thoughts disagreed. But actually after seeing the intention of the transfers one big unsolvable problem remained which was why do they removed those who renounced previously. Wondering about this queer situation, renunciants are steadily increasing, however, personal behavior of renunciants permitted to remain until definite plan made is a very bright side. But I have doubts as to how this will affect those who wish to renounce their citizenship. It seems to me a great number of residents have made up their decision a long time ago. I do not know the reason of their renunciation but perhaps right now the hearing officers are able to find out by the ~~earlier hearing records~~ ^{past hearing records}.

I went to my hearing the other day and told the hearing officer I resigned last year. So I hope my card is clear now.

Kurusu, ~~Feb~~ March 13, 1945

38³⁶

MARCH 13, 1945

LETTER FROM MR. KURUSU

March 12, 1945

Thanking you for your letter. The colonists are very quiet about the pick-up that was made on Sunday. But the camp is still under tension, wondering what will happen and in what way this center will be turned out.

People are already talking about the next pick-up around the 20th. They seem to think all members (of Hoshi-dan) will be segregated. Also they think, perhaps in the future the center will be under control of the Dept. of Justice.

Sincerely . . .

MARCH 16, 1945, p. 5.

TALK WITH THE ~~ONE~~ Kurnus

The ~~ONE~~ and I discussed the forthcoming announcement that the activities of the Hokoku were illegal. ~~Mr. ONE~~ stated that it was a good thing that the people would see the statement before any arrests were made because then they would have adequate warning.

"Otherwise the people don't know. Most of the people don't know the regulations and rules. That's why they organized such a big organization." (Hokoku)

"So many of the men taken were left with families behind and now the families don't know what to do. I don't think this is justice. I think the authorities can't lose face now."

~~Mrs. ONE~~ "They don't give us any information."

~~Mr. ONE~~ "Did the Dept. of Justice warn the Hokoku?"

I told the ~~ONE~~ that the Hokoku had been warned to stop after the 650 men were picked up. ~~ONE~~ said:

"In that case I think they should understand."

We discussed the ~~one~~ prevalent rumor ~~that~~ ^{that} wholesale resegregation would be undertaken in another pick-up of 1000 people. I asked ~~ONE~~ whether he thought resegregation would be a good thing. He said:

"I don't know if it would be good because ^{cause} so many people change their minds. Some people are really anxious to get out, but for girl they have to stick. They don't want to be two-tongued. I've sort of lost my face here (by getting out) but I can't help it." (of the Hokoku)

Relocation

"Ever since the Exclusion Order has been lifted I've been studying the situation. I think unless they use force they won't go out."

Resegregation Rumor

"I really felt that because they were sending the others out they had a real plan to close the center. Until the Attorney General ~~was~~ sends the paper saying your renunciation is approved we're still citizens of the United States."

"I know WRA played a trick. They picked the top men and thought it would stop. But it's still going on. After that, they come out with regulations."

"Did the Department of Justice really take citizens and intern them?"

Gannen

40. R. Hankey - Notes - Tule Lake

MARCH 16, 1945, p. 6.

Gannen
Mr. ~~Q~~ told me that one of the most important points the Block Managers intended to bring to the Spanish Consul when he comes the end of next week was the question of the status of people in Tule Lake. Mrs. ~~Q~~ interjected:

"I heard they were going to pick up 1000 which would just about be the rest of the members."

(If this is a correct estimate, and I think it is, I was going pretty good when I ^{we} ~~passed~~ the combined strength of the really ^{serious} ~~plenty~~ ^{to} ~~as~~ 1,500 ~~to~~ 2,000.)

Gannen
Mrs. ~~Q~~ said:

"A young Nisei girl told me that when she had her citizenship hearing, they asked her if she had heard that the Americans were over Tokyo. But she answered, 'Yes, but I don't believe it.'"

~~Some people with the block~~
Mr. ~~Q~~ told me that in his opinion rumors had certainly affected the renunciations. The worst rumor was the rumor about the draft. He also ~~agreed~~ ^{said he thought} it was quite proper for the WRA to forbid assemblies if their purpose was against the national policy.

"Some of the Nisei are saying, 'If the WRA doesn't like bugle blowing, why do they let them in, why don't they stop them at the post-office?' (Why, indeed?) ^{than}

[To this day I wonder how the Hokuko were able to obtain so many bugles.]

Kurusu, March 16, 1945

40x?41.

~~MARCH 16, 1945~~
APRIL 20, 1945

TALK WITH MR. AND MR. S KURUSU

Hokoku Rumor

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

Speech of D. Myer before the Block Managers

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

1. WRA has planned to close all the centers except Tule Lake.

2. WRA is going to stop operations by next year.

Mr. Kurusu
Here ~~Mr. Kurusu~~ interrupted, "One thing I'd like to know is how the people are reacting to this in the relocation centers."

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

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

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

Confusion in Peoples' Minds about WRA and Army Policy

About three years ago the Army ordered us to evacuate the coast. Last year the Army lifted the evacuation order. Also the WRA has worked a long time to ~~attempt~~ try to relocate the people. The point is the relation

APRIL 20, 1945, p. 3.

between the Army and WRA is the big point among the residents. When we ask the WRA they say the problem is the Army's. When we go to the Army they say it's WRA. A lot of people are just wondering.

Hokoku and Army Rumor

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

Myer and Block Mangers

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

Hokoku

I don't think the exchange agreement with the Hokoku worked out. Because of the families here have their men interned and now they will maintain the status quo. (Evidently status ~~quo~~ ^{quo} has not come to mean the continuation of bugling.)

I heard a large group intended to quit the Hokoku.

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

People in other centers wish to come to Tule Lake

(This is a remark which I hear constantly.) I hear lots of people in the other centers wants to come up here.

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

The Fence

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