

mike masaoka
Aug. 6, 1988
Meany Towers Hotel
back of bar

admits he wouldn't write letters in same way today
442 was a preliminary step towards reclaiming citizenship
says its vets who are pushing him to reject jacl apology and
reconcilliation.

emotional high point: telling man who helped scatter people face
to face i wished i hadn't been born in Cleveland. and wish i had
grown up in so-called ghetto.

I needed to do that, that helps free me, next time I talk we can
go into timing of test cases.

TAPE ONE, SIDE ONE

000 (I never understood before the nature of volunteering. what
I get from book is loyalty, a response to racism or ingrained?)

029 little of both, family loyal to each other. mother preached
to us we had to be loyal to each other since dad died. whatever
we did reflected on other ja's. urging group to buy war bonds.
all kinds of things to demo loyalty. 043 what have you people
done? irish had gone to fight for country. we were never asked
to. from that came feeling that only real test of loyalty as seen
by most americans that they can't refute was to shed blood on
battlefield to show its same with us as any other group.

052 people ask we didn't protest more. they don't know what we
did. jacl resolutions say we shd have protested more. 1-do you
know what we tried? 2-what alternative did we have?

059 very disapp. in reaction of christian churches, BEFORE evac.
1st cousin leading minister in Methodist Church. (P.98) contact
yr natl hdqs. get every min to speak from pulpit. did they do
that, no? ((begs question, why didn't YOU protest? prob. felt no
use coming from japs))

076 england had indiv. hearings. give us that. turned down.
finally in desperation proposed a suicide battalion and leave
parents as hostages. 1-u.s. not believe in hostages, 2-not bel. in
segregated units exc. for blacks. 3-cd not tell Nisei from enemy.
govt later did all 3. 1-we were hostages in camp. ((mm taps table
on each beat))

don't know what more we cd do?

097 (you didn't say "under duress") we may not have expressed
it at that time but all way through we've done it. what gets me
in all of this..is we were protesting all along, to Biddle after
war, in touch constantly, with DeWitt. did all protesting we cd
do. called on all groups. * 105 we had great big org. big staff
, just me. now what do they expect? ((what they expect is to
stand up with dignity/ go to shosuke)) but most importantly, we
decided.....

we were respon. not for selves as indiv. but for survival of our
group. now some of delib broke curfew laws. police simply pick us
up and take back hotel. cd have avoid respon to comm. tried do
it as a test. when yr resp, and hear what army has in mind. you're
going to say, you can't risk lives of lot of people. we were at
war. people in ivory towers, educators. they say we shd have
protested more. what do they mean? how far do you go?

128 ((shosuke)) I know Shosuke. ((says founding fathers didn't

bow to tyranny, and be loyal not only to people in govt to the consti)) that's right, we believed in the constitution. Shosuke on sidelines, didn't know what's going on in discuss. govt says do something, you appeal to newspapers, you get no support. we were thinking larger story too, mccloy's staff. Bainbridge Isl. we protested, they move in troops what's gonna happen, you think we'd have redress today, or naturalization for our parents, or even decent peace treaty with japan, if in time of greatest crisis in amer hist. when amer losing war, if we had forced army to come in and remove us, that we'd have any kind of future in this country. Don Edwards, FBI agent ...throws out DE credentials. he doesn't think if govt forced to use troops vs. us. that we wd have received treatment we did afterwards. 163 army. we never talked about detention....

166 (that's all hypothetical, today). today is diff. ((he seizes on debating distinction bet. acceptance today vs. postwar))

no civil rights marches then, blacks didn't get civil rights until after we went camps and they cd use our exp. today w/ tv never happ. if we put out little children and old people and say are these people dangerous? guys like me w/ some sense of dramam we cda used that. we didn't have these tools. only one paper SF Chron spoke up for us. * only one mayor who spk up for us was Harry Cain of Tacoma.

185 be easy enuff go off to camp. (that's what you did) *188 we didn't put a gun on any of their heads, Shosuke or any of them. now afterwards, they say why didn't we do so. why didn't they?

190 ((Shos. was alien. what escaped: people did register protests. SF league, others? track down)) (they felt goose was cooked, you say ja looked to jacl for leadership) no no we never, we got leadership by default, we never asked for it, we didn't want it. ((But once you got it, you threw self into it with relish, outcolonizing the colonizer)) fbi picked up issei leadership, closed newsp, jacl mimeo sheets, never had money for it, it's default thats all

201 lots of things done by local jacl not condoned by natl but they did it

204 they called us inu I know that, they said we fingered people as disloyal, we didn't. I came from Salt Lake city didn't know anybody, how cd i finger anybody, fbi agents were buddies from college. this part of story kept secret: army was trying to develop some way of penetrating the jpn military codes and so on. we had been in war w/ europe, knew germn order of battle. later dev into G-2. int. in getting people. Kibei knew more jpn than we did. FBI agents talked about diff epople who might be able to help break down jpn codes. for this we're called inu. we were asked specific q; we just ans q. i cdn't even vol. names.

230 (but Togo and Sakamoto) that's what I heard (Jimmy formed intelligence unit) yeah I know Jimmy did. (this is jacl) they did it w/o approval. we never woked out sysmtem like that from natil hdqs. but then we didn't have comm like have today ((like a telephone?)) other chaps, some may have done it. but if govt comes and asks you abt a certain indiv.

245 (active intellig. gathering) this is what they tell me abt jimmy. 251 let me put it this way. after watergate, they're willing to acc that from amer, but not willing to acc that from us. many of our docu taken by dies comte, never recovered. so busy, doing diff things trying to help out sit, didn't have time to write these thgings.

I wd be only ja in roomful of colonels, and they say now look masaoka. in WW1 we had alien prop custodians. if army had guarded our caravans, if they had pr'ed us as loyal ameri, and evac only for protect of West Coast, and help us find jobs. all this cd hv been avoided.

this is a lot of hindsight on their part. they agreed with us to extent they had no alt, so they went along with it. we had no mass support for this thing we were trying to do. some ja prop

more drastic action.

285 (when you spoke to congress you seemed proud of being sole ja spks) they had to have some spks, they selected us bec. no one else. issei gone, church no help. once you decide on an action you go after that and we decided on trying to prove our loyalty. then you can't stop and say we don't want this, we don't like this, you got to be practical abt this. this was war. and being a little gi myself I know what the army can do. in Vietnam. you give these guys an order. what's gonna happen. Hitler 1/8th blood, Bendetsen, 1/16th blood.

311 sure its easy enough to say why didn't you do this, Why didn't more do the other?

314 (they felt they were sold out) sold out?

(they said they were betrayed) how? (by a leadership they did not elect) that's right we didn't ask them as members either. 321 (at one point you wanted make all ja mbrs of jacl) simply as a safeguard. if we had more money to propangadize, but we couldn't buy ad space in newspapers.

330 (you're a good communicator) no i was just a youngster. (you're trained speech instructor, but not reach others like shos with yr message of what doing) bec. never able comm with them, holed up in SF, travel restrictions, curfew restric, where get idea we cd comm.

344 (you understand abt impr of symbols and sending messages) comm has changed so much, a lot of families didn't have telephones in those days.

350 TEST CASES

(message you sent was jacl unalterably opposed)

355 Min admits we had a great misunderstading. when we're telling govt we're gonna urge this course of action, and in return you treat us better, you can't get off and say go ahead and attack govt another way. but fact of matter is: while i was urging coop, sab kido talking to Jim Purcell. they started mitsue Endo case. a habeau corpus case. 372 others were crimal cases. govt smart enough to select their cases. Min work for jpn consul, gordon bec. didn't believe in going into service. Fred, he tried to alter his features. Peter Irons pointed out govt manip. cases knwoing they might lose Endo case, that's why endo case heard last. Yasui 9-0 agianst us, Koremat 6-3 against us. Endo case 9-0 aginst govt. 393 if these others had not taken this course of action, and had only Endo, what wd have been result. Sab selected Endo, bro in army. we tried to make this the focus case. but we couldn't bec. army and us govt cd control the dockets of the courts. that's our case we tried that, look at dates in there. you'll see we were there from beginning.

masaoka

TAPE ONE, SIDE 2

413

we were against cases, publicly we were but this so-called exchange of letters. now publicly we said certain things, doing it delib., our way demon we're living up to our commitments so we wanted govt to do what they said they'd do, which they didn't.

421 he wrote letter which I never received, but on basis of public statements i wrote my memo generally to the courts. look at facts. our natl pres talking to an attorney.

430 (sent wrong msg, at this time?) we believed in test cases, went in as amicus on all cases at sup ct. at that time we had this endo case. Habeas Corpus case. we don't want other cases so govt can only go habeas corpus route. 440 (why not say that?) how can we say that? 2 prob. trying to convince amer people one thing, had to take our group wd have faith in what we were trying to do. we cdn't put in a bulletin that the govt and others did.

we're teling govt they have all the cards in their favor. work with you, in return be humane as possible. now at same time we go in back and send bulletins to chapes, --even today don't know how many members are working for FBI and CIA, most times even had more -- * govt had paid informers, some of whom were jacl members, whether Jimmy Sakamoto or Togo were paid I don't know, and don't even know they were informers. . * I was playing for larger american public, if they were going to evac us, I wanted it done quickly and with their help so we cd come back early. Christian churches, student relocation, cd vouch for loyalty of Christians but not Buddhists. I got up there and said what kind of christians are you then.

461 (so you were caught in middle mike) sure, I cda written more clearly maybe I shd hve looking back today. Those times we were trying to put out a certain face, to the govt.

465 (you told me in 81 it was shibai) well it was kind of a shibai, I shoudln't say it publicly but it was. we were trying to / we were pretty desperate. a few of us, govt never told many others what they told us. when you're respon for lot of people. i was only kid, 26, heavy respon., I never expected when I took job I wd be caught in this kind of sit, but once you decide on a game plan you've got to work that game plan out. otherwise even greater chaos if we had changed our course in middle of stream.

478 (resol. says maybe game plan started off with was in erros) I don't think so bec under circum of those times dont think cda done that. easy enuff to say maybe this that, but we were faced with the fact, that given choi8ce what army might do, with tanks and guns. against helpless people, what gonna do if human being.

487 (mike that's hyperbolic, res not say blood in streets or 60s style protest, but simply comply under protest) well we did, we protested, how else cd we, we were misled in a number of ways, one of greatest being, tolan committee coming out to decide then report bck to congress. we were never told even before come out decision made on 9066, everybody gives faith and credit to what govt said publiclly.

But they don't us the same faith and credit to our own group.

497 (sigh) I know its hard to understand these things but more I go to washington and talk to people and all that the more I realize that if we had done anything else we woudn't have gotten things out of congress that we did, never had 442, 100th batt,

nisei in pacific.

502 (didn't want blood on your hands) How far do you go?

505 (by same token, are camps also on yr hands?) sure it is, I've been accused of trying to get suicide battalions, do you think i'd want my own brothers go out and get killed. no lotta things happened. how wd you like to go camp and have people defecate on yr name. i cdn't get married in camp bec. they're afraid ... if i wanted to get out of this very easy, cda stayed in salt lake city, even when form 442 I cda taken a commisison, and I didn't.

518 not a generalship, just a comm, tried to play it down bec. this book is more for hakujin. jpn transl might be a little different.

521it wasn't that heroic I was first to vol, we were there aid told mccly pres signed order, what cd I say, well I volunteer. col scobey says well I guess you want commission and sit in pentagon. I said no. and I was one of few who had some political pull in wash. I cd have gotten out of all of it very easily. It's no fun being respon for lot of people even today. I have this diff bet vets and non-vets. even as recently as last week, lillian baker on CNN, 18-thous ja renounced and fought against american army well, B.s. , no ships take them back to japan. these are things I'm still fighting. and these fellows who are criticizing us don't do any of this fighting because they're not called up to defend these actions.

542 (is legacy of camps on yr hands?) certainly I feel very heavily abt it. (how does it feel?) you try to think in terms of yr favor on this thing. * and the only way I can live with myself is to say that out of all this came a lot of good. bec. we got more oppts in this country than we ever dreamed of before, we got state of hawaii, mbrs of congress, and we got for the jpn govt what all of its army and navy cdn't get we got citizenship for Issei. and not only that got open doors to asian immigration. you think we'd gotten any of these?

556 (possibly) at that.. all right, even that, it wd take much longer.

556 (it's a hypothetical question, just like what wd happen if tanks came in) that's right, that's the whole point, but you ask most congressmen ((Edwards)) officially, congressional record, and that saying it wdn't happen that other way.

563 (formation of 442 descrip vivid, but good publicity, was very important...) yes to our cause. and that's why delib i took on this job as pr guy.

568 (excuse me, was good publicity more imp...was 442 answer to constitution issues raised by camps?) it was an answer in this way, it's an indirect answer. that we were now in a position to challenge the military and others. demonstrated that, even acting under their orders. most people don't understand magnitude of this thing,

** we were asking own govt to let the Army that had kicked us out of here, take us in in combat, not just for any menial job but actual combat we fig this was the only way we cd get our consti rights recognized at all.

580 (a prelim step?) I've always thot that from beginning, that's another reason why we believed in what you call collaoboration, whatnot, bec. somehow maybe I'm wrong, but I grew up in a non JA group, Salt Lake. and I always had the feeling that if amer people as such, mrbs of congress, knew all the facts, that they wd give us our just due.

593 in my case hakujin. a mormon who later became cheif justice, he was the only one who picked up my dad. then came and told us my dad was killed by hit/run driver. this was a white person, a caucasian. he did this in name of christianity. that's why my first protest was to go to churches, and say why can't you do this. just imagine what impact that wd have done.

602 (ever occur to you it was judge who hit yr father?) (inhales

quickly) no. (and he picked up bec. felt so guilty about it) well if that were case px on examining car wd have found it, don't you think? well I must confess that thought never occurred to me. something I supp. i shd think abt but I didn't then, and I never thot of it. you're the first one to raise that poss to me. others say why cdn't trace.

it's interesting you thought of that, i never have,

** maybe i'm too trusting. maybe that's part of problem I may have trusted the govt too much, that may be one fault, I may trusted the u.s. govt too much in that they said to us.

625 (did you ever get the feeling they used you?) yes, but just like in jacl, people tell me that certain people including me in beginning were doing this to advance ourselves. My answer to them is simply, if they're trying to advance themselves and in so doing they help the jacl cause, I have nothing against that, bec., peopl have diff motives. I don't know what I cd been used for that wd advance me, bec. either way i was gonna be screwed.

636 one of first things came out publicly over radio, i was one of few --americans claim i was jpn and jpn said I was amer. Yamashita said I was first they wd shoot when they got to white house.

644 people say I'm name dropper, others say not enuff names, don't have diff incidents. you just can't win.

masaoka

TAPE TWO, SIDE 1

000 (no no boys as principled as volunteers?) 004 See this is a real question. I've mellowed enough over the years to say I understand what they did and have no cause to blame them or criticize them. ** But I do have cause at those who jeer us and say we were the suckers. We didn't have to go into army, we could stay in camp or just go out to work, make helluva lot more money.

011 (not fair to be jeered) well they do that. I've been accused of working out idea of 442 to get rid of jpn-americans. they call 442 a suicide unit. you think i want my brothers to get killed. my big gripe at these people.. i can und. now or even then i und a little bit why for const purposes they say we won't join until our const rights are restored and our people returned to camp. that I can und. and if I could have gotten away with it, maybe I would have tried that myself. but I'd gone other route and I'd gone too far (in that direction)

023 what I object to now with these guys is that some of these people that were actually troublemakers. cause very difficult. but we won't name names. I couldn't even go into camp to get married bec. so afraid of what's going to happen to me. 029 well truman pardoned most of them, jacl was along with them. sab kido with selective service. If we wanted to stop these guys from getting their pardons it would've been easiest thing to do, in fact we applauded it.

032 (now feel you went too far in criticizing draft resisters at that time?) under those circum, at that time I didn't think so. bec I was working under same stress as they were only they were looking at it differently. i was respon for large group and the ques of their survival and treatment.

040 it would have been easier for me to go to jail as a test case than to do what I did. I turned down a commission/ I coulda gotten out of this.

043 both sab kido and I in SF several times viol travel restrictions and curfew. you had to work later than that. kido had to go x bridge to oakland. beyond curfew level. viol almost every day, people knew this. we even went down to px hdqs and said look we're in violation, what are ya gonna do about it.

050 (gap between book and documents that come up, like prop. to brand jpn, to send out to labor concentration camp to harvest sugar beets) no... we proposed since they were going to use them, that they use that means of getting people out of camp. I may have worded it badly, but i never wanted that. gov. olsen of calif put prop to use as a group and we said no.

062 (hand him fbi memo) well here we have again here. (reads) no I would never say put em in forced labor, cheap labor. One of reason I took job was Sen. Thomas chair of labor comte in Senate, told me of deplorable cond. of jpn migrant workers and so on. there again you're using govt document, look at it war dept. over top there. war dept attributes that to me.

072 (hmm looks like intelli report) well that's right so haven't we learned from watergate what these intell reports are. look, if we wanted to get cheap labor I coulda made a better deal than that earlier I'm sure. I wish people would give me benefit of the doubt sometime. like this one here. first time i've seen it that way, i may have forgotten it but i certainly would never say cheap labor. I do remember say give them prevailing wage and decent housing. that's why scott tsuchiya sent out from hdqrs. entirely

inconsistent with report they have there.

085 (thought it was xerox of emerg meeting) wd I in front of other JA dare to say something like that? I just can't understand that. (that's why I asked you abt it)

096 (GOOD PUBLICITY OVER GOOD LAW--seems like 442 was a publicity stunt in a way, create an image send a message that we were loyal, and this was measure to which we'd go to be loyal, but it didn't ans consti quest of citizenship) well you don't do that in news release to local paper, that boy that you people kicked out, went to camp. ... well q. of citizenship. state of calif, registrar tried to take away our citizenship, we went to court. and court said if you're born in u.s. you're citizen. first thing we fought for was cit. rights, after outbreak of war.

and at that time jacl was only group on other side. all calif groups wanted to strip us of our citzienship. you ask most nisei they don't know such a case.

louisiana cong bill to sterilize young men.

and yet in all this i was only guy there trying to fight some of this stuff, yknow and so I said some things I shdn'da said then but overall I think we took the only way possible. they say why didn't we protest, well how far do you protest?..

124 (resol calls for jacl to have registered a protest) well we did all these other ways, maybe we didn't do it by big proclamation at that time. by that time we thought we'd exhausted these things and we thought it was pretty well accepted.

127 (unfortunately rest of comm didn't get it) but rest of comm came along though.

130 (was it necc to recommend to Milton Eisenhower ways camps shd be run: no jpn, downplay char, don't relish idea of lil tokynos, was it necessary to go that far mike?) did you people ever think that we were asked to write these things and told to write 'em? don't you think after hearing what happened at watergate or iran contra-gate, don't you think sometimes we had to write things we didn't always want to write and so on, as part of price to get better treatment and so on. They keep saying that i was against jpn culture. look as I write in book, even before evac was completed, i was only JA who went to pres and others through other sources and said don't bomb cultural treasures of Japan. I knew army had rule against bombing sacred places of Christendom.

148 (no q you recog value of jpn culture, so why did you write that memo?) did it ever occur to you people that some of things we did we didn't want to do? (that's a rhetorical ques, why don't you tell me I just didn't want to write that.) Frank, let me say this, its on the record that i wrote that, did it ever occur to you folks that I can't certain things. if i'd done this much earlier, it'd been better but so many people have repeated the damn thing. so all I can say is just that.

160 (from what you say I conclude you didn't want to write that letter but you felt compelled to) that's a proper conclusion most people wd make if they knew me or heard me

161 (glad to have oppt to get to know you) not trying to evade everything. but there's certain things for the record that I have to, you got certain laws of perjury and so on that aren't relevant at time. a lot of things we did in war like in army didn't want see last brother go to front.

168 (why do you feel you have to stand behind things you wrote then)people like dillon myer, John McCloy, milton eisonhower did hell of a lot more than people realize. Michi W. suggests some of them in her book, but there are lot of others.

174 (so what does that have to do with having to write a letter to milt eisenhower) well lets see what was date on that one? (april 6th) 42. well this was about the time we were trying to get into army too yknow.

178 (did you feel it was necessary to elmin jpn culture in camps in order to win right to serve) not in specific context. but i've

always had this idea we had to prove our loyalty in battle.

that and WRA had lot of sociologists that are sup to know more than we did abut how to conduct ourselves in public. I may have been taken in by some of that.

191 I look back now and gee don't tell me i ever said that we shd be more than 3 in a group. that's antithesis to what jacl always believed in, we wanted members and so on. ((hands flopping on table)) lot of these things kinda ((don't)) make too much sense now, and we didn't dream up these ideas either yknow.

199 (it makes sense if one accepts conclusion that jacl and MM didn't like being japanese and wanted to elim those things that set them apart from other whites) look I've been proud of being JA all way through. why wd so early try to save their sacred places in jpn.

209 (it makes just as much sense to me for MM to say we'll coop, pls be human, but we wd like to keep comm intact) if we had thought it through, and thought that far ahead we might have done that, looking back now, assuming we had a choice, I wda added, but I just didn't think abt it

217 (but this shows you thought you had to stamp out these things) in terms of amer mores at that time, assim was great thing. we were charged with being not able to assim, and we were trying to demonstrate we cd assimiliate. now maybe we cda descr in better terms than that, but today I don't think there's a better champion of ethnic pluralism than I am.

226 (unfortunately we're dealing with legacy of people who were taught inside the camps to hate themsevles for being jpn, bec. that was assoc. w being bad) may have sounded like that but I certainly didn't intend that.

233 why wd we then want a seg. unit? what peole don't realize I cda walked away from all this. I was one of few ameri jpn who cda gone somewhere else and none of this shit, yknow? but eventhen I was under tremendous pressure, jeered at, defecated on, hell I took that, it means something I think.

masaoka

MORE TAPE 2, side 1

246 wife says why not take commission and come out a general.

250 (what you wrote then you didn't really mean) some of it i didn't, but I honestly believe overall the prin of demonstrating we were loyal and therefore entitled to all these consti rights enabled that to happen. It's another generation, I was raised diff from other JA

264 (you were projecting yr own exp. making all JA into replicas of yourself) If you had lived under assimilated process, i always had faith that in end we wd get our just dues. why stuck w/ low jacl wages. I really believe in this system. if it fails, you may struck at part of it, I course wrote out of own exp and that's why willing to take sugg from others, but don't think it's poss I didn't write as my own complete volition. and timing of diff memoos wd indicate something to me. but even in my mind, things moving so fast, can't be certain of dates, what partic pressures on me at that partic time.

295 (wd send message that you wrote it under duress) that partic memo? not trying be evasive, but degrees of duress. don't recall exact pressures we were trying to get. don't recall too badly at all, oh this one, 42 that's a long time ago. ((shuffles though first pages)) 312 much of this sure I wrote I believed it. probs of alien enemies and citizens. I remem generally. never wanted to write book bec. heart attacks. everyone else Kido, INagaki, fr, fam said i owed it to them. If I wanted to write I wd have written much earlier

((knocks mike over but quickly catches it with good reactions)) ((reads)) um hm lot stronger than I wd say it today. 342 (but wd you say same thing?) is a prob of ghettoizing.

346 (toshio mori said these were wonderful Yokohama californias, our homes. as a young person I mourn loss of those comm mike, wish I had oppt to grow up in comm of my own people, with rich heritage, jpn at home, proud of being who I was) well again, come down to fact when afer won immig rights still had national origins code. Kennedy bros. and ag first consider rewriting of immig code, not give asiatics any break. ((that's not an answer))

368 (I was born in cleveland ,regret being born there, rather be born in SJ. but father at heart mtn, much of JAcl WRA policy was to scatter us afetwards so we cd better assim) that was official pos of us govt and we in turn trying to appease if you want to use that word or at least gain recognition wanted to conform to what they believed. 382 (you were proud work inside sys, isn't there time to step outside the system to truly preserve a cultural integrity, to really stand for yr people?) jpn peace treaty, morganthau plan, strip jpn of everything. i think I was only JA and Jacl didn't authorize it. I went out of my way to fight deculturize of japan.

401 (what about ja) this is my salt lake exp i supp that we shd'nt have the ghettos that we had, that's something some people may prefer that I don't know.

406 (I did. not having known it, I perhaps romanticize) i didn't know it as well as other people, but I knew certain things that most ja didn't know . How migrant labor group among issei. treated so miserably, as human being i resented fact used this way.

415 (Etsu interrupts, with musical tones) my father lives on

mission, few blocks from mineta insurance.

I'm kind of enjoying this bec you've raised some questions I haven't thought for a long long time and may be some I haven't thought of before.

433 FLIP SIDE TWO

(best way to end with resolutions for admissions of error, yr book about reconcilliation, wdn't it be reconcile gesture, well if govt can admit it was wrong, maybe we can admit you were wrong) well I don't think we were, as I said from very beginning. we were respon for group and only way group survived and we got what we did now is course that we did. now maybe kowtowing to whites, whatever you want to call it, but nevertheless we saw that as only means and I think we succeeded in that means.

Now as to indiv. I felt recently that those who really constiut believed in certain things, they're entitled to credit in that, and I have nothing against that. but I do still resent that there are a number who say that I personally led a lot of people to their deaths delib. , that I wanted to get rid of the young men deliberately. you haven't heard some of things I've been accused of. you talk to lot of veterans that's why some of them feel as strongly as they do about this. a lot of them feel much more strongly about these people. many things attrib to me I don't even recall, that's neither here nor there, that's part of the life I have to lead.