

9.6

Betrayal & Survival

Miscellaneous

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-4-

be known among the staff that they did not encourage personal relations with

evacuees.⁶

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major drop

270

sent it to his mother.²

A large proportion of the parental generation at Tule Lake were poor farmers who had never been able to acquire land in the United States or, because of the evacuation, had lost their possessions.³ These parents were entirely dependent on their children and could see no future for themselves in the United States. In consequence, Nisei who wished to relocate had to close their ears to their parents' pleas and "break" with their families.⁴ Loyal women, who accompanied their renunciate husbands to Japan were separated from their families for many years.⁵ Underage Nisei who accompanied their repatriating parents to Japan, eventually suffered a series of traumata that haunt them to this day. As one of them told me: "They never were able to regain a sense of family relationship or warm sense of security. It is similar to what an orphan must feel -- alone."

Social Segregation

In Impounded People, Spicer et al. give a detailed description of the status distinctions that were immediately established in the relocation centers.

"As the uprooted people came into the centers they suddenly found themselves in communities organized on the basis of two distinct classes of persons -- on the one hand 'evacuees' and on the other 'appointed personnel.' Despite individual efforts of WRA staff to act as if distinctions did not exist, the basic fact was inescapable. At point after point the earliest experiences in the center drove it home. . . The feeling of being prisoners permeated the centers from the first. . . Being an evacuee involved being in a subordinate position. At some centers the commanders of the military police announced that there was to be no fraternization with evacuees.⁶ Some project directors also let it

In 1944 and 1945 no respondent gave me a detailed account of the "incident" of November 5 and no one told me anything about the fight at the warehouse that took place on the night of November 4.¹ This may have been because I was rarely able to talk openly with young men in their late teens or early twenties. Many of my respondents, however, told me that they had attended the November 1 "demonstration", at which Dillon Myer had spoken, and that they had supported the Daihyo Sha Kai and the Negotiating Committee. The people who had come to Tule Lake from other centers repeatedly told me that the "Yes-Yes" and the "fence-sitters" (by which they meant many of the Old Tuleans) should be sent away from Tule Lake.

In August of 1944, ten months after the "November incident", an Old Tulean Issei, known for his pro-administrative views, told me how much he had disapproved of the strike and the Daihyo Sha Kai. When, however, I brought up the morning of November 5, he flew into a rage: "We got mad because the army came in with submachine guns and the tear gas. We were all willing to go to work but they wouldn't let us go. They took our civil rights away. That's what made us mad."⁶

¹ See Part II, pp. _____ for statements made in 1981 and 1982.

Part One Historical Background

When I learned that we were going to leave Rohwer and go to Tule Lake and eventually to Japan, that was the lowest point in my life. I dreaded going to Tule Lake, knowing that eventually I would have to accompany my parents to Japan. . .My father, I think, just wanted to go back to Japan where he owned land and would be able to live out his remaining years in relative tranquility. He knew he was too old to start over again in the U.S. He was in his sixties then.

His brother Arthur, age 15, told me:

We went to Tule Lake Center because, I think our parent were not what you call a die-hard, a pro-Japanese. They were caught in the situation of how to support a family starting from scratch, and they could not see their way financially. And I remember many a night when we discussed the possibility of relocating. But they would say, "Where? With such a large family?"⁶ . . .We had absolutely no resources. I would have like to relocate myself, but my mother just would not even entertain the idea. I thought of jumping the train (taking the family to Tule Lake).

George Okamoto, age 11, told me:

My oldest brother had a lot of influence in our family because he was around 18 or 19. And in Topaz he was very involved in the "Yes-Yes"/"No-No" activities. And my father was a very quiet kind of person. So my older brother took over the family in making decisions . . . I have a feeling that he also influenced my second oldest

⁶ There were eight children in the Kikuchi family.

After John Sawada (age 20) and I had been talking for about a half hour, I remarked, "There were a lot of things that happened at Tule Lake, there was the farm strike and" Mr. Sawada interrupted me and poured out the following account:

Yeah, tanks running through the camp one night. These are so vivid in my mind that I said I could hardly believe this. That night when the tanks came ^Rolling into camp I was in bed already at eight o'clock and I heard this man hollering for help. And so, like a fireman, I got dressed and walked outside and here I find this man that lives in the next block and he had a club about three feet long and running through the block and he says, 'I think we killed somebody.' I said, 'What do you mean, you killed somebody?'

'Well, these people were waiting at the warehouse, people from the other camp that was harvesting potatoes and things, they came after food from the ice box, and then we're waiting there and got into a big fight.' The club he had was about three feet long, and no sooner did he come through, than we hear all this roaring and everything. I think they're shooting blanks, but then they're shooting. And the whole camp was up and rushing toward the administration building. Right at that point, I had my younger brothers, and I said, 'Wait a minute, we just wait right here, we're not going to move.' It sort of subsided in about an hour or hour and a half and so I said, 'My gosh, what happened?' But then we never knew. Nobody knew, you know.

Rushworth M. Kidder, Feature Editor
The Christian Science Monitor
P. O. Box 125, ~~K&A Station~~ Astor Station
Boston, MA. 02123

Dear Sir:

In the Spring of 1942, ⁺ Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, some 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were taken from their homes on the West Coast and incarcerated by the U. S. Government. At the University of California, Berkeley, a group of social scientists obtained a grant to study and record the events and social ~~adjust~~ developments in these ~~so-called~~ Relocation Centers. In June of 1943 I became one of the research assistants employed by this study. For some eight months I lived and worked in the Gila Relocation Center in ~~Northwest~~ Arizona. In February of 1944 I was permitted to begin field research in the Tule Lake Center in Northern California, where the 18,000 Japanese who had been categorized as "disloyal to America" had been reconfined.

In 1980, several colleagues urged me to interview and obtain the so-called "disloyal" life histories of some of the ~~disloyal~~ Japanese Americans ~~in the~~ ~~at Tule Lake~~ who had experienced life at ^{the} Tule Lake Center. ~~While~~ While I was engaged in this task, I was astonished ~~to learn that~~ when many of my ^{Caucasian} friends and ~~colleagues~~ colleagues told me that they had never heard of the evacuation.

^{thereupon} account
I decided to write a concise/ of the the evacuation ~~experience~~ and the effects it had on ~~my~~ the Americans of Japanese descent who were willing to tell me about their experiences. I am submitting this account to you.

Sincerely,

Rosalie H. Wax, Professor Emerita, Anthropology/Sociology.

P. S. Since I am retired I am more easily reached at my home address:
7106 Westmoreland Drive
University City, MO. 63130

My home telephone is: 314-721-6848

(38) 32

example, Thomas Sawada said: "This so-called Hōshi-dan group started. . . They talked them into joining this organization. . . some innocent Niseis who didn't know what it was all about. . . So, anyway, they came over to our place to see if we would join them. I said, 'Don't bother us. We have our own ways of doing things. You do your way, I do my way.'"

Joseph Kikuchi, age 14 at the time, told me that his father had not permitted him to go to the Japanese language school organized by the Resegregationists.

That was radical. . . My father kind of thought that it was militaristic. . . They shaved off their heads, they had the rising sun on their sweat shirts, all of them was completely to Japan.

My father didn't like any kind of fighting, so he just said, "That's not the way I'm going to do." We went to the regular Japanese school, where they just taught us the language, it wasn't any brain-washing.

In talking about

a respondent who was age 14 described how disturbed the people at the camp were
That period really disturbed the people of the camp

The Trauma of Rejection

67.

In 1981 and 1982, ~~several Japanese university students~~ ~~who were interested in~~ ~~the evacuation.~~ I talked with several Japanese university students who were interested in the evacuation. They told me that ~~they understood~~ ~~that~~ ~~a "Japanese" born in America~~ ~~is always considered an "outsider" in Japan and will never be accepted as~~ ~~a "true Japanese".~~ At the same time I found that Curtis B. Munson, in a report dated 1946, had made a similar sounding statement, "I

(9)

the people on the outside. Just when I thought everybody out there hated us, I get this present, and it restored my faith in mankind again.

The War Relocation Authority now began to develop a plan by which the Japanese Americans

MEMORIES OF LIFE BEFORE THE EVACUATION

One of my male respondents told me that he had been in the United States Army at the time of Pearl Harbor. "Actually, I was in the Army for one year... so they discharged me. It's really sad, but it's pretty hard to express."

Another told me, "I had hard time... I was supposed to go into the Army

Don't quite

On basis of recent contact with
internees - The actual events which
took place at Tule has unfolded -
Give statistics -
i.e. how many
able to contact.

how many
cooperated &
The surprising
thing was the
vivid memories
of even the
children...

[Signature]

anybody who won't come to register would be put into isolation camp. . . That sort of angered me. It was under a threat. . . to have to answer something like that without even trying to clarify the question. So that angered me. And in fact quite a few just absolutely refused to answer the question and were taken into isolation camp. . . But I waited till the last minute, so to speak, just held out. I didn't want to go to isolation camp, of course. So I guess out of resentment I said, "No-No." I thought that was the only answer I could give at the time. Just to let them know how I felt. So that's how I became a No-No.

Korshiro Furakawa, also confined at Tule Lake, said:

Our loyalty was questioned and this is what I resented and this is the cause of my trouble at Tule Lake. Because I didn't comply with the registration order, and I was placed there and kept there and labeled a disloyal citizen of America. And I've had to live with that for all these years. . . The fact is that we were very loyal; we were extremely loyal. . . they questioned us and that is the thing that really hurts, because we were taught, we were brought up to be Americans, and then, suddenly to be betrayed like that.

Women respondents gave shorter and less emotional responses. Mrs. Kurusu, a young Issei, said:

You know the questionnaire the government sent out? I thought that putting the Nisei into camp and then asking them questions like that. I thought it was stupid.

Mrs. Kunitani, age 19, told me:

I certainly didn't want to answer it. I wanted to ignore it. I figured I was safe because I was a citizen (laughs). I figured that it didn't pertain to me at all. But it did. I refused to answer.

The on point it was angry
When, in 1981-2, I asked my respondents, "Was there anything in the reloca-
3 rep.
tion camps that made you feel especially angry?" Most of the men said, "the
military registration" or "the no-no business." Then they proceeded to give
me detailed accounts of their experiences.

Mr. Oda, who was 20 years old at the time he was confined in the Tule
Lake Relocation Center, said:

*Shed tears in
own words.*
...I felt angered. In the beginning, I didn't think much of it,
actually they said you only have to register, so I thought, 'No
angry not denied
big deal.' And then we started hearing about this so-called
loyalty questions. . .even that. . .I didn't give much thought to
because I was a kid and you know, you didn't think about those
things anyway. But more and more when the question started to come
up, people started to ask, "What does this actually mean? Do these
questions have a double meaning?. . .And then the director was
asked to clarify the meaning. He just flatly refused and (said)

⁵The Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 had denied them the right to
apply for American citizenship.

While most of the Nisei argued passionately that the only sensible policy was to express loyalty to the United States, others pointed out that the intent of the questionnaire was "to draft us from behind the barbed wire." Some held that it would be dishonorable to say "yes" unless the United States gave some indication that it was willing to make amends. The Issei (first generation) were in a quandary, because if they renounced their allegiance to the emperor, they would be people without a country. (The Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 had denied them the right to apply for ~~citizenship~~ American citizenship.)

Some Issei, who had lost all their other possessions, were determined to keep their families together and begged their sons to say "no." Many were terrified by the prospect of another evacuation to an "outside world" that they had every reason to believe would treat them with hostility.

Vom Himmel HOCH DA KOMM
ICH HER,
ICH BRING' EUCH GUTE NEUE MÄR
DER GUTEN MÄR BRING ICH
SO VIEL,
DAVON ICH SING'N UND SAGEN
WILL.

EUCH IST EIN KINDELEIN HEUT
GEBOR'N
VON EINER JUNGFRAU AUERKOR'N
EIN KINDELEIN, SO ZART UND FEIN,
DAS SOLL EUR' FREUND' UND
WONNE SEIN.

ACH MEIN HERZLIEBES JESULEIN,
MACH' DIR EIN REIN, SANFT
BETTELEIN,
ZU RUHEN IN MEIN'S
HERZES SCHREIN,
DASS ICH NIMMER VERGESSE DEIN!

LUTHER - 1483 - 1546

Early in 1942 a group of social scientists at the University of California at Berkeley received a grant to study, record, and analyse the changes in behavior and the patterns of social adjustment and interaction of the incarcerated Japanese Americans. I, a graduate student in Anthropology, became one of the research assistants employed by the study and I lived "behind the barbed wire" from mid-June of 1943 to June of 1945, ~~talking to~~ ~~people~~ ~~talking~~ talking to "the evacuees" and taking voluminous notes. *Xatm/hrs*

When I arrived at the Gila Center in July of 1943, I was told that I would

should decide whether or not their stories should be told.

When I approached Japanese Americans whom I had known at Tule Lake, I found that my initial apprehensions were well founded. While nine of the people I had known at Tule were willing to be interviewed, some ~~of them~~ were extremely circumspect in what they said. Others refused.

It was a Japanese American who suggested that I should interview any person who had been confined at Tule Lake who was willing to talk to me. "You ought to talk to Mr. Kikuchi," he said, "He was at Tule Lake." ^{When did} I ~~called~~ Mr. Kikuchi, ^{he} ~~who~~, after asking many questions about my project, proceeded to give ~~me~~ an honest, detailed, and moving account of his experiences. He also gave ~~me~~ the names of other Japanese Americans who had been at Tule Lake but warned ~~me~~ that they might not wish to be interviewed. With the assistance of Mr. Kikuchi and other Japanese Americans I ^{then} was able to obtain seventeen additional interviews.

The men and women who helped me, explained that many "Tule Lakers" try to conceal the fact that they had once been stigmatized as "the disloyals." An older man said that on the West Coast the people who were at Tule Lake do not generally participate in the activities of other Japanese Americans. "They keep to themselves." One respondent who had been segregated told me: "They are still afraid because they still do not trust the fact that the United States citizenship confers no immunity and no legal justice, and so this is the fear that is put into them. And so to this day, you will find very few people reluctant to even grant an interview."

Since many of the Japanese Americans who talked with me in 1981-82 consciously or unconsciously reveal ^{ed} that they ^{were} ~~are~~ still anxious, angry, and insecure, I think we may safely conclude that the persons who refused to be interviewed are even more so.

On the other hand, the fact that I interviewed persons whom I did not know at Tule Lake significantly extended the age range of my respondents. When I was

at Tule Lake, my most fluent respondents were persons of my age (32-33) or older.

Because of my gender, age, and status as a "scholar," I was rarely able to talk with young men and only occasionally with young women. In consequence, the verbatim statements in my ¹⁹⁴³⁻¹⁹⁴⁵ fieldnotes are, for the most part, those of relatively mature people.

In 1981-82, most of my respondents were in their teens or early twenties when they were confined at Tule Lake and four were children. Their statements provide many distinct and instructive facets of the experience of evacuation and segregation. While the picture of life at Tule Lake never will be complete, I believe it has been significantly enriched by what my respondents told me.

Problem of Presentation

Much of what the Japanese Americans chose to say in 1981 and 1982 may be fully understood or appreciated only if one is familiar with what actually happened at the Assembly Centers and the Relocation Centers, and finally at Tule Lake. Some of the significant attitudes and events about which people spoke very freely in 1943, 1944, and 1945 were not referred to in 1981 and 1982. In consequence, I decided to provide the reader with a relatively brief historical account of what happened to Japanese Americans -- and to the segregants of Tule Lake -- during World War II. This historical account will include many verbatim statements that have not as yet appeared in print. Then, as a separate ^{so} action, I will present in chronological sequence the verbatim responses made to my questions in 1981 and 1982. I shall include numerous cross references, so that the reader may easily make comparisons.

The litigation initiated by Wayne Collins on behalf of the renunciants dragged on for many years. Detailed accounts are presented by tenBroek and by Michi Weglyn. Weglyn concluded⁵ her account with the following statement:

March 6, 1968. It was twenty-three years after he had brought the illegal, racially abetted deportation of the Nisei and Kibei to a screeching halt that Collins was finally able to write in the concluding renunciation proceedings (Abo v. [Ramsay A.] Clark) with an air of justifiable triumph:

A majority of those who had been forcibly removed to Japan were restored to their home in this country. The fundamental rights, liberties, privileges and immunities of these citizens are now honored. The discrimination practiced against them by the government has ceased. The episode which constituted an infamous chapter in our history has come to a close.³

CLASS DISTINCTION AND "NO FRATERNIZATION"

In Impounded People, Spicer, et al. give a detailed description of the status distinctions that were immediately established in the relocation centers.

As the uprooted people came into the centers they suddenly found themselves in communities organized on the basis of two distinct classes of people--on the one hand "evacuees" and on the other "appointed personnel." Despite individual efforts of WRA staff to act as if distinctions did not exist, the basic fact was inescapable. At point after point the earliest experiences in the center drove it home. . . The feeling of being prisoners permeated the centers from the first. . . Being an evacuee involved being in a subordinate position. At some centers the commanders of the

³Weglyn, Years of Infamy, p. 265, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1976.

military police announced that there was to be "no fraternization with evacuees." Some project directors also let it be known among the staff that they did not encourage personal relations with evacuees.¹

When I arrived at the Gila Center in July of 1943, I was told that I would not be permitted to interview evacuees in my room in the women's barrack. On one occasion, when harvesters could not be found for the cotton crop, the administration at Gila planned a cotton picking "picnic" in which both staff members and evacuees were to participate. I was the only Caucasian who rode to the cotton field in an Army truck with some Japanese friends. I had never seen them in such good spirits and, at the time, I did not understand why they were so happy. The next day I was informed by a staff member that the project director strongly disapproved of my "fraternization."

When I visited Tule Lake, in February of 1944, I was told that staff members or visitors like myself were not permitted to enter "the colony" unless they were accompanied by an armed soldier. With the assistance of Mr. Robertson, I was able to by-pass this regulation; I was escorted by a cooperative member of the Internal Security, who remained outside in his car while I made my visits. I was surprised and moved at how pleased my Japanese American friends were to see me; poor as they were, some of them served food during our visit. At the time, however, I did not fully appreciate the meaning of these social gestures.

During my visit of mid-March, I was able to talk with a number of the "appointed personnel." Some of them were very sympathetic to the Japanese Americans, who were now called "residents" or "colonists."

¹Impounded People, pp. 83-84. An excellent and detailed description of evacuee subordination is given in Impounded People, pp. 83-102.

At the end of that day I wrote in my notes:

During my three day stay I have found at least a half dozen staff members who are surreptitiously sympathetic to the evacuees. My neighbor, the laboratory technician, is secretive about her sympathetic attitude. Says she, "If they find out how you feel, they'll start the war of nerves and torture you till you quit."

Another staff member told me that she would very much like to go in and look around "the colony," but "that was not considered the thing to do here."²

During the entire year of 1944, virtually no Caucasian staff member with the exception of Mr. Robertson, (an assistant project director much respected by the Japanese) some Christian pastors, and myself, engaged in anything that could be called social intercourse with the Japanese Americans.

I was not consciously aware of the devastating effect of this policy of "non-fraternization" until, in 1981 and 1982, I talked to some of the Japanese Americans who, as children or young people, had been helped by the occasional teacher or pastor who refused to conform to the administrative or military regulations.

When I asked Joseph Kikuchi, who was nine years old when he was confined in the Rower Relocation Center, what he remembered about the school, he replied:

I thought it was real good. . . They didn't have any facilities except homemade desks and a couple of books. I still remember the teachers were really dedicated type. I think quite a few were Quakers or Christians. The type of encouragement and everything that they gave us was really good, I think.

²Field Notes, March 1944.

Because during World War II, when the popular thing is to hate the Japanese, those people committed themselves and helped us.

When I asked Robert Oda (then 21), "Looking back, what was the most helpful thing you learned about your fellow human being?", he responded:

There were some people who came from outside, non-Japanese, you know, Americans, some were teachers, some were with the Administration, that genuinely wanted to help us. . . I think that I realized that not all people hated us. . . I thought not everybody hated us and also I started to take in Christianity in camp. And I started to realize that God loves us, regardless of who we are. That, I think, helped me a great deal. . . It was then when I became a Christian.

very good

When I asked Arthur Kikuchi (then 16) what incidents at Tule Lake came especially to his mind, he said:

The beloved missionaries were there. I don't know if you ever got to know Hazel McCartney. Mr. McCartney was our high school physiology teacher who later went to Japan as a missionary teacher, came back and then went through the seminary; to this day we keep up correspondence.

Mrs. Kataoka was 37 years old at the time of the evacuation. She was sent to Tule Lake as an isolated individual because all of her relatives had repatriated to Japan in June of 1942. She told me that she had survived this experience by becoming a Christian. When I asked her: "Is there any experience that you still carry with you--that you can never forget?" she responded:

The people's kindness in the camp. I never forget. Because being well, I used to go to church so, . . . administration people . . . high school teacher, grammar school teacher, they all get

together and they used to invited not only me, but all the Christian people that wanted to go and have a chat with the people there.

Military Service After Tule Lake —→

Three of my respondents told me that after their confinement at Tule Lake they had served in the United States Army. Joseph Kikuchi had been taken to Japan by his parents. "I spent one year in Japan and then I came back on my own. I was fourteen or so. And I made my way since then by myself."

Robert Oda, age 19, told me:

What happened was that there was a constant rumor going on that the white staff members of relocation authority was stealing the food out of the warehouse, and was selling it to the black market. I guess it was because the food at that time was very bad; there was hardly any meat at all; for weeks. So, apparently some people were kind of patrolling that area at night and they found somebody taking food out of the warehouse--a couple of Caucasians--and there was a truck. Whether they were actually stealing or not, I don't know, but anyway it was suspected, and then I guess some arguments happened, and then these two Caucasians just ran into the administration building, apparently, and then the director called up the Army. Of course the Army came in and just knocked down everybody's head that looked Japanese.

I was in complete shock, and most of the people that were beaten up were the night crew members of the motor pool, which was in the administration area. They had no idea of what was going on. They were rifle butted and they were slugged, they were hit over the head, and so. . .and then a tank came right in to the portion that the evacuees lived. They were shooting machine guns and all that. I think they were shooting in the air, but they were yelling at everybody to get back into the barrack. Of course some people were just going to the bathroom and all that, and they couldn't go to the bathroom.

The only rioting was actually the soldiers. . .not the evacuees. The papers kind of turned the thing around. Actually all the violence was done by the soldiers.

In the morning, we all started to go to work, and I guess the

⁴Fieldnotes, 1944:21, September.

⁵Fieldnotes, 1944: 12, October.

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V ^{that} and the list was to be presented to "both the American and the Japanese governments." On September 21, Mr. Yamashita, an underground leader, had explained the purpose of the petition to me:

Those who refuse to sign this will have people asking them, "Are you loyal to Japan or not? If you are not loyal why don't you go out (relocate)?"

Put in our words
They will have to sign this. . . . If they don't sign this they will be known to be not loyal to Japan and will be told in public, "You are not Japanese." Of course, many people who don't want to go back to Japan will sign this, but then they will go in a corner and keep quiet.

You know that the people behind this have been working underground for a long time. Anyone who would have come out openly would have been put in the stockade. We have been working on this since April, awaiting the moment, but we had to keep it secret. Now the time has come.⁴

↓
Some took refuge in the belief that these new regulations simply did not apply to them. Mr. Kurusu assured me: "It's too late for WRA to change its policies regarding Tule Lake. I was segregated and I made up my mind to stay here for the duration." A Nisei girl told me: "I and my family aren't really worrying, because we consider ourselves genuine segregants and are sure that we will be among those who will be left at Tule Lake." ~~Others expressed their anxiety more openly and more angrily: "Does this mean that they (the American government) have just been kidding around, that repatriation and segregation. . . which we were told to take seriously, is just a big joke?"~~¹

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→ The reasons for their alarm were complex. Before the evacuation most of the older people had been poor farmers or farm workers. In the process of

¹WRA, Community Analysis, "Center Trend Report (Dec. 8-12)" manuscript, December 26, 1944

block. "Oh, everybody prayed for me," he said and laughed.

Joseph Kikuchi, age 9, told me that Mr. Noma and his father had been close friends.

He (Mr. Noma) was very logical in explaining what's happening. . . I don't know for sure, but I think he might of stood up in the block meeting and he might of expressed his point of view and it didn't go over.

Because if you stood up and said something, then they would beat you up. . . I remember my father saying he (Noma) stood up at a block meeting and expressed his point of view and I think it kind of embarrassed the fanatics. And I think to a certain degree they lost their face and I think that's how they got after him.

Mrs. Kataoka was 37 years old at the time of the evacuation. She lived alone at Tule Lake because all of her relatives had been repatriated to Japan in June of 1942. She told me that she had survived by becoming a Christian. But since she was the Christian in her block, her neighbors, "who were all Buddhists" called her inu, and would bark at her when she "went to church on Sunday morning."

THE RISE OF THE RESEGREGATIONISTS

Rumors about the inu subsided by the beginning of August. First covertly, then overtly many people began to express dissatisfaction with the unending tension. With increasing frequency they wished that there might be some "peace and order." A few older men told me that "the troublemakers" (the Resegregationists) were disgracing the Japanese and were "acting contrary to the desires of the Japanese government."¹ No one, however dared to suggest that anyone ought to co-operate with or assist the administration.

¹DOING FIELDWORK, p. 143.

Meanwhile, the Resegregationist leaders were delivering "educational lectures" at small block meetings. They assured their listeners that Japan was winning the war and they interpreted the various reverses as strategic traps into which the American forces were being drawn. They further emphasized that, "for those who desire to return to Japan, the discipline and education of our children adapted to the system of wartime Mother ^{land} are absolutely necessary" and that, with the consent of the WRA, they were in the process of forming an organization which would provide such discipline and education. On August 12, a young Buddhist priest received permission from the administration to use the high school auditorium for a lecture on Japanese history and culture. About 500 young men attended the lecture. The priest and other speakers then announced that the purpose of the meeting was to form a centerwide Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country (the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinendan). This association, they said, would prepare its members to be useful citizens of Japan after their expatriation through a series of lectures and classes on the Japanese language, history and political ideology. The speakers also distributed a manifesto which stated that the organization would favor "the renunciation of American citizenship on moral principles,"² and that it would "refrain from any involvement in center politics."

Within a few weeks about 500 young men had joined the Sokuko, as it was now called.

Morning outdoor exercises were initiated and participation was made compulsory for the members. These exercises gradually became more and more exhibitionalistically militaristic. Bugles

²On July 13, the project newspaper had reported that "a new law dealing with the relinquishment of their citizenship by American citizens has been passed by the Congress of the United States and signed by the President." No one, however, spoke to me of this matter at this time.

and uniforms were purchased and the young men, wearing grey sweat shirts and headbands, stamped with the emblem of the rising sun, marched out to the firebreaks, goose-stepping, and shouting "Wash-sho! Wash-sho!" (Hip! Hip!), and drilled to the accompaniment of patriotic bugling. These exercises took place before six o'clock each morning and, week by week, additional Japanese militaristic features were added to the routine.³

Some of my respondents approved of the Sokoku and some joined it. A Nisei woman told me that, "the Sokoku men have worked out some good things. Take those zoot-suiters, for instance, they're going to have a heck of a time when they go to Japan."

Another conservative friend assured me, "The Sokoku is not a pressure group; they are not going into politics. They are for the study of Japanese culture. That's why I joined them."

But more knowledgeable people were suspicious. An older Nisei said: "I don't know the true motive behind it. I don't care to have any part in it." An intelligent and shrewd young man told me: "If they get too much power and can't control themselves, they might cause some trouble. A lot of people are against it, but they are afraid to say anything."

The one spirit-lifting event of August 1944 was the release of all the men still confined in the stockade. They had obtained their release with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union.

On September 24 the Resegregationists circulated another petition requesting the signatures of all people who wished to return to Japan at the first opportunity. In an explanatory pamphlet they stated that their group was preparing a final list of proposed repatriates and expatriates,

³Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 313.

V ^{that} and the list was to be presented to "both the American and the Japanese governments." On September 21, Mr. Yamashita, an underground leader, had explained the purpose of the petition to me:

Those who refuse to sign this will have people asking them, "Are you loyal to Japan or not? If you are not loyal why don't you go out (relocate)?"

They will have to sign this. . . If they don't sign this they will be known to be not loyal to Japan and will be told in public, "You are not Japanese." Of course, many people who don't want to go back to Japan will sign this, but then they will go in a corner and keep quiet.

You know that the people behind this have been working underground for a long time. Anyone who would have come out openly would have been put in the stockade. We have been working on this since April, awaiting the moment, but we had to keep it secret. Now the time has come.⁴

Many people reacted to this second petition with irritation and exasperation. Some told me that they wished the agitators and the superpatriots would leave them alone. Some told me that people who did not sign the petition were being threatened. One young man who subsequently did expatriate to Japan told me, "I'm Japanese no matter what they say. . . We don't show that we're Japanese by signing the petition!" He added, "When they circulated the petition, they said, 'If you sign this paper, you won't be drafted into the Army, and you'll be the first to get on the exchange boat. So everybody signed it.'⁵

⁴Fieldnotes, 1944:21, September.

⁵Fieldnotes, 1944: 12, October.

The Resegregationists claimed some 10,000 signatures, but the majority of names were those of minors or infants.⁶ And, as Mr. Itabashi, an elderly Issei friend, told me, "The majority of the people signed the petition under intimidation or ignorance."

Early in October an aged anti-resegregationist was hit over the head and knocked unconscious.⁷ Many cases of vandalism, party crashing, thefts, and fist fights were reported. On October 10, my benevolent Issei friend, Mr. Itabashi, told me that he had spoken at a church meeting and had exorted the young men to follow ^{the} higher ideals of Japan which, he said, were not compatible with agitation or violence. "I said this camp is no place for young men to make trouble. They should study. I said, 'Young men, behave yourselves!'" He also told me that he was telling the Resegregationist leaders "The Japanese government is not so narrow-minded as you."

Five days later, on the night of October 15, Mr. Itabashi and two other elderly men returning from a church meeting were attacked by a gang of young men and brutally beaten. Since the victims refused to name their assailants or give any description of them, the Caucasian Internal Security was able to accomplish nothing, and the evacuee police, following precedent, refused to handle the case. On October 30, the son of a man who had openly criticized the Resegregationists was knifed.

In mid-November, this terrorism was abruptly halted when the men who had served as the people's representatives in October and November of 1943

⁶THE SPOILAGE, p. 317.

⁷WRA Community Analysis "Report on: Center Trends (Oct. 8-16)" manuscript, October 16, 1944

✓ ^{openly} began to oppose the Resegregationists.⁸ They could afford to do this not only because they were widely respected, but because they too had a following of ✓ ^{of} stalwart young men who could serve as bodyguards. As the feud continued, people began to resign from the Resegregation Group's organizations. On December 19, a friend told me:

They (the Resegregationists) stated in their regulations that their organization was not political. But gradually they stepped into politics. I didn't like it and the people don't like it either. . . .I believe most of the members are really disgusted about the way the organization is running. They push people. Their idea is wrong. They are forcing all these things. Everybody is criticizing them now. This is a good time to jump off.

THE RENUNCIATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

The Resegregationists were now threatened from another source. On December 6, John Burling, representing the Department of Justice arrived at Tule Lake to open hearings for persons who had applied for renunciation of citizenship. Thereupon the Resegregationists intensified their activities, holding their noisy predawn militaristic exercises as close to the fence as possible and blowing their bugles louder than ever. Burling, however, proceeded to investigate the group and interview the leaders. He told them, and announced to the other residents that their activities were subversive and, if continued, would lead to internment in a Department of Justice camp for potentially dangerous enemy aliens.

⁸Many of these leaders of the Daihyo Sha Kai had been confined in the stockade until the end of August, 1944. Although some of them were nominal members of the Resegregation Group, they refused to participate in the Resegregationists' activities. For a detailed account of this situation see, DOING FIELDWORK, pp. 163-6 or THE SPOILAGE, p. 329-32.

However, two administrative decisions, one by the Army and the other by the War Relocation Authority, transformed the general distrust of the Resegregationists' program into a wholehearted support of their major aim--the renunciation of American citizenship. On December 19, the project newspaper announced that "the new system will permit the great majority of persons of Japanese ancestry to move freely anywhere in the U.S. that they wish to go." On the same day, a mimeographed statement by Dillon Myer was distributed to all the residents, to the effect that "all relocation centers will be closed within a period of six months to one year after the revocation of the exclusion orders." On the same day, Project Director Best announced: "The Tule Lake Center will be considered both a relocation center and a segregation center for some time to come. Those whom the Army authorities designate as free to leave here will be in the same status as residents of a relocation center."

These announcements amazed, bewildered, and frightened the segregants. Some took refuge in the belief that these new regulations simply did not apply to them. Mr. Kurusu assured me: "It's too late for WRA to change its policies regarding Tule Lake. I was segregated and I made up my mind to stay here for the duration." A Nisei girl told me: "I and my family aren't really worrying, because we consider ourselves genuine segregants and are sure that we will be among those who will be left at Tule Lake." Others expressed their anxiety more openly and more angrily: "Does this mean that they (the American government) have just been kidding around, that repatriation and segregation. . .which we were told to take seriously, is just a big joke?"¹

The reasons for their alarm were complex. Before the evacuation most of the older people had been poor farmers or farm workers. In the process of

¹WRA, Community Analysis, "Center Trend Report (Dec. 8-12)" manuscript, December 26, 1944

evacuation, they had lost everything. If they now left Tule Lake, their sons would be drafted and they would be left alone and penniless in an alien and hostile country. Most of the younger people did not wish to abandon their parents and siblings, and even when they wished to leave Tule Lake, they were agonized by their parents' pleas that they not be left alone. And while some people I knew genuinely wished to "get out of Tule Lake" they had second thoughts when they read or heard of statement like these:

"The people of California are overwhelmingly opposed to the return of any Japanese during the war. . . to allow the Japanese to return during the war is inadvisable because it would cause riots, turmoil, bloodshed, and endanger the war effort. . . Return of the Japanese Americans to the west coast is apt to result in "wholesale bloodshed and violence," Representative Engle, Democrat, of California, said today."²

On December 19, an Army team of some twenty officers arrived at Tule Lake and began to hold hearings at the rate of 400 to 500 a day. Only males were given hearings, it being assumed that females would remain with the males of the family. Reports quickly spread that regardless of the answers given to the soldiers, almost everybody called for a hearing was given an "exclusion order", which meant that he would be expected to leave Tule Lake and take up residence outside the zones of exclusion. On December 24, a Nisei girl told me: "A friend of my brother told the soldier that he was a repatriate and loyal to Japan, but he was still handed a permit to leave camp provided he does not go to certain excluded areas." On the same day another young woman told me: "I am worried by the results of the hearings of some of the young men I know. In spite of their pro-Japan statements, they were not told that they would be detained."

²SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICAL, December 13, 1944

V In their desperation many ^{young} people concluded that their only path to security and refuge in Tule Lake was to renounce their American citizenship. On December 19, Mr. Kurusu, a very reliable informant, told me: "Four men whom I know were called today by the Army. They asked them questions like 'Do you want to go out or do you want to renounce citizenship?'" By December 27, Mrs. Wakida was asking me anxiously, "They can't force us out if we have signed for renunciation, can they?" And on December 24, a Caucasian Social Worker told me: "The majority of people who talked to me are convinced that renunciation of citizenship will keep them in Tule Lake."

This growing conviction that security could be gained only by the renunciation of citizenship revived the power and influence of the Resegregationists. And when, on December 27, the Department of Justice removed seventy prominent members of the group to the detention camp at Santa Fe, the Resegregationist ideology once again came to dominate the camp. For months, the Resegregationists had been urging people to renounce their citizenship. Now, they boasted, their leaders, by being interned, had been placed in a secure refuge and no longer needed to fear resettlement or military induction.

On December 29, a Nisei girl told me: "I heard the rumor that all those who renounce their citizenship will be taken to Santa Fe."

On January 2, a Nisei girl said: "We wouldn't mind going back to San Francisco if we had everything as when we left. We'd jump right out. But we've lost everything."

On January 3, a Nisei woman told me: "They (the Resegregationists) say they are glad to be picked up. They say we, who are left behind in camp, are going to be kicked around, while they will be safe and sound in internment camp."

On the same day, another anxious Nisei girl said: "I don't know what's going to happen to us! It's very confusing. I think everybody feels that. . . ."

Why do they want to kick us out? It was their fault we came here. They can't say, 'We'll give you 25 dollars and coach fare. Get out by such and such a day.' Since people have been in camp three years, their funds are exhausted."

On January 5, a young man told me, "We have nothing now to depend on. We aren't sure of getting jobs. I feel the WRA plans for closing the camp will be a total failure, unless it increases financial assistance. I don't know one person who wants to go out."

This intense anxiety and sense of helplessness were greatly increased when, on January 5, Dillon Myer reaffirmed his earlier statement that the WRA's prime objective. . . "is to restore the people residing in the relocation centers to private life in normal communities." An official pamphlet stating that families who left the center would receive a maximum of assistance of coach fare and a total of \$25.00 was distributed throughout the camp.³¹

The Resegregationists now literally went berserk, performing their militaristic Japanese exercises with ever increasing noise and exaltation. As Mrs. Wakida told me "Even the old ladies are running around in slacks, yelling 'Wash sho!'" The parents of the young men who had been interned proudly told their neighbors, "My child has now become a true Japanese!" My hitherto cautious and moderate friend, Mr. Kurusu, told me, "If this place becomes a relocation center, they'll draft us. In that case we must get busy and renounce our citizenship." George Kunitani said, "There is a widespread rumor that those who have not renounced are going to be kicked out of camp." Several people asked me if the rumor that the Department of Justice was "going to take over the camp" was true. Newspaper reports of how Japanese Americans or Nisei soldiers had been threatened, attacked, shot at, or had their homes

^{1x} Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 343, (*Italics theirs*).

burned, were quoted to me.¹ In Idaho, a mob attacked a group of Nisei soldiers and in California, shots were fired at the home of some relocating Japanese Americans.

As applications for renunciation continued to pour in, Burling, the Department of Justice Representative, tried to stem the flood by asking the WRA to declare Tule Lake a "refugee center" from which no one would be forced to relocate for the duration of the war. WRA, however, refused to yield on the matter of forced resettlement and the only concession made--on January 29--was an announcement that "those who do not wish to leave Tule Lake center at this time are not required to do so and may continue to live here or at some similar center until January 1946."

During January, 3,400 young persons (40% of the citizen population) applied for denationalization. On February 12, Mr. Kunitani, a concerned friend, wrote me a letter telling me of a current rumor that if young men did not join the Resegregationist Group, "they will be subject to draft by March of this year." He continued, "I am of the opinion that some kind of statement should be forthcoming from the Justice Department. . . The result, if left unabated, will not only be tragic but dreadful. I don't know what you are able to do, but for justice's sake, please take some action."

In all, 70% of those eligible renounced their citizenship. On March 16, the WRA belatedly announced that all resegregationist activities were unlawful.

MEMORIES OF THE RESEGREGATIONISTS AND THE RENUNCIATION OF CITIZENSHIP

In 1981-82 only 12 of my 27 respondents chose to speak about the activities of the Resegregation Group, and most of these preferred to tell me how they avoided or resisted the proselyting activities of the "super patriots." For

¹See, for example the SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, Jan. 5, 1945; SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Jan. 18, 1945; PACIFIC CITIZEN, Jan. 13, 1945; ROCKY SHIMPO, Jan. 17, Jan. 24, 1945; COLORADO TIMES, Jan. 24, 1945.

example, Thomas Sawada said: "This so-called Hōshi-dan group started. . .They talked them into joining this organization. . .some innocent Niseis who didn't know what it was all about. . .So, anyway, they came over to our place to see if we would join them. I said, 'Don't bother us. We have our own ways of doing things. You do your way, I do my way.'"

Joseph Kikuchi, age 14 at the time, told me that his father had not permitted him to go to the Japanese language school organized by the Resegregationists.

That was radical. . .My father kind of thought that it was militaristic. . .They shaved off their heads, they had the rising sun on their sweat shirts, all of them was completely to Japan.

My father didn't like any kind of fighting, so he just said, "That's not the way I'm going to do." We went to the regular Japanese school, where they just taught us the language, it wasn't any brain-washing.

That period really disturbed the people of the camp. Up to that point the people obeyed what the administration told us to do. And the line of communication in the block and all the way down to the residents was very strong. But when this force came, it really destroyed the whole administration and the line of communication, because it split the camp in two. The one was: you had to be a super-patriot to Japan. And the other was: you were just an internee, because you wrote No-No on your loyalty questionnaire. They really split the camp apart.

I asked, "Did you, as a boy, have any experiences with these people?" He responded: "Well, we were kind of fortunate, because in our block we had only two or three families (of Resegregationists). But if you were in a block where the majority were that type, then they could really make your life miserable."

I said, "Yes, I have it in my notes. They forced people to sign." He responded, "Right. And they beat you up. I still remember that we boys went

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in groups wherever we went. Because, if you weren't on their side, you know, they would try to pick a fight."

Taro Tokunaga, a Hawaiian-born Japanese American in his early forties, told me that he admonished some young Resegregationists and that "some people" had threatened to kill him.

✓ *Husi* While a number of my respondents ~~had~~ renounced their citizenship, only two of them were willing to talk about this experience.

~~on KURAKAWA raid;~~

facilities to treat her. .apparently they tied her down to a messhall table and I could hear her screaming all through the night and that really bothered me. . .she was separated from her family and she was about my age, . . .We were crowded together like flies. I remember thinking, I can't stand it. . .

In contrast, Mr. Morimoto, a 36 year old Issei, responded to this question by telling me that the toilets in the assembly center were bad and that his wife was unable to go to the toilet for three days. He laughed heartily and I asked him what had finally happened. He responded: "She couldn't go, but after a while. .you gotta go!"

was about to be transferred to the Jerome ~~See~~ Center. I asked him about this and he told me that he was not going to Jerome, but that his "friendliness and mixing with ~~xx~~ evacuees" was responsible for the rumors.

✓ On May 24, ^{the}~~this~~ atmosphere of relative relaxation and good spirits was shattered by a tragic event. A Japanese American, returning to the project from his assignment outside the area, had an argument with an armed sentry and the sentry shot him in the abdomen. He died the next day. My Japanese American friends were not only shocked and angry, but terribly afraid--afraid that there might be another uprising and that they too would be shot.

"~~The people are angry about it.~~"

"~~Every time the Japanese see a soldier in camp, it makes their blood boil.~~"

And when ^{the} WRA issued a statement that the shooting was the responsibility of the Army and not the WRA, ^{I, But the attitude of my respondents was} some people asked me anxiously, "If the WRA isn't responsible for the safety of the people, who is responsible?"

On June 8, two weeks after the shooting, several of my respondents spontaneously and almost impulsively began to talk about the inu (informers). A young man told me that a certain ~~Mr. Anzai~~, a police warden, was being called an inu. ^{one} Another ^{another} young man told me that he had refused a job offer from Dr. Opler, the Community Analyst. "He's a good guy, but the fellows working for him are inu." On the same day, ~~Mr. Kurihara~~, a middle-aged man who had been born in Hawaii told me that some people were calling him inu because I visited him occasionally. He added, "Having inu around keeps everybody on edge. Everybody suspects everybody else. . . It keeps the people in a constant state of tension."

On the night of June 12, the brother of a particularly notorious accomodator, ~~Takeo Noma~~, was assaulted and beaten so severely that he had concussion of the brain. The next night, ~~Mr. Anzai~~, the accomodating police warden was beaten. ~~I was told that his skull had been fractured.~~ On the night of June 17, a gang of young men invaded the project high school, tore

of the Cooperative Enterprises who managed the highly successful general stores or canteens. Many of these were Old Tuleans, that is, presegregation residents of Tule Lake. Some may have been technically "loyal," since several hundred "loyal" families had simply refused to leave Tule Lake when the segregation took place.

With the cooperation of these men the Army and the WRA arranged a referendum (on 11 January) in which the residents voted whether they would maintain the strike or return to work. By the barest majority--a plurality of 473 out of 8,713--the residents voted to abandon the strike.

Many people now returned to work after first having been "cleared" and given a pass which they were obliged to present daily to the sentries guarding the gates to the administrative quarters. On the other hand, almost half of the residents had voted to continue the strike, and these persisted in asserting that their still-confined representatives had been betrayed and that those who had negotiated the truce and referendum were "a bunch of inu"--that is, "dogs" or informers.

In February of 1944, many of my respondents told me that they wanted peace. Others assured me that the center would not really settle down until the men confined in the stockade were released. Others told me that "we have to get rid of the inu." By mid-March, however, most people had become less anxious. When they spoke of "the inu" it was with contempt, rather than fear or anger.

their
 In February of 1944 ~~the~~ underground group had sent ~~the~~ petition to Attorney General Biddle and the Spanish Embassy asking for permission to circulate it. This letter passed from the Attorney General to the Secretary of the Interior, thence to Dillon Myer, the national director of the WRA, and then to Mr. Best, the project director at Tule Lake. Best passed the letter to Mr. Black, an assistant project director, who decided that he would allow not a petition but a survey. He added to the survey, "It is further understood that the survey will be made without commitments on the part of the administration." The underground leaders ignored Mr. Black's suggestions and circulated their original petition. See ~~Thomas~~ and Nishimoto, pp. 230-5

double quote
 section of the center. ⁹¹ The petition

down all the moveable fixtures and flushed them down the toilet. On June 21, a metally deranged Issei attacked his roommate with a hammer, almost killing him. Several people told me that "The old man had found out that his friend was an inu." On June 24 I called on two of my best friends, ^{a couple} ~~Mr. and Mrs. Tsuruda~~. I had met ~~the Tsurudas~~ ^{a couple} at the Gile Center, and since then they had been among my most helpful respondents. ^{The wife} ~~Mrs. Tsuruda~~ was looking so anxious and upset that I asked her if anything was wrong. Looking from right to left she whispered, "I think everybody is nervous in here. This place gives me the willies." ~~Mr. Tsuruda~~ ^{Her husband} astonished me by denouncing the "radicals" and the "pressure gang" and telling me that he was considering relocation. "The trouble is they expect you to act like a damn radical and go out and kill every hakujin (Caucasian) on the other side of the fence. And when you don't act like that you are an inu." (Forty years later his sister told me that he was being threatened

^{early April} and called a dog because I visited him frequently and because he was working closely with his Caucasian supervisor in an attempt to improve the quality of the food served in the mess halls.) Other respondents were also nervous and ill at ease. One man said desperately: "If the agitators and spies would get out of here we'll be united. But it wouldn't matter if we didn't have unity, so long as we have peace!"

On June 28, nineteen Issei were sent from Tule Lake to the Santa Fe Internment Camp operated by the Department of Justice. Fifteen were taken from the stockade and four from the evacuee area. On June 30 another man was assaulted.

By this time I had had all I could take. Although the head of our research group had told me that I was never, under any circumstances, to talk to any members of the administration, I disobeyed her and, on July 2, I called an administrator of high rank, who, I knew, had often gone out of

his way to help the evacuees. I told him that ~~I had a premonition of disaster~~ ~~that the~~ the situation in the camp was pathological and that I had a premonition of disaster. He indicated that he ~~agreed with me~~ was aware of this but there was nothing he could do. Then

he lowered his voice and told that on the night before some Resegregationist³ had told him that the removal of the Issei to the Santa Fe detention center was "the last straw." They no longer could or would restrain their "strong arm boys." Future attacks might not be restricted to beatings. They might result in murder. That same evening the General Manager of the Co-op, Mr Noma, who had been stigmatized as a "Number One Inu," was found lying on his brother's doorstep with a knife pushed through his larynx to the base of his brain.

The immediate reaction to the murder was a general state of panic. All members of the evacuee police force resigned. People rushed to the Co-op to stock up on food supplies. ↵

Some collaborators, who feared they might be "next on the list" were taken from the center and housed in the administrative area.

The murderers were never apprehended and the Japanese American police force was never properly reconstituted. And though some of the tension diminished, everyone remained aware that resistance to or criticism of the "strong-arm boys" would result in assault or assassination and that any attempt to obtain the protection of the authorities would only increase the danger.

21.
Rumors about the inu subsided by the beginning of August. First covertly, then overtly many people began to express dissatisfaction with the unending tension. With increasing frequency they wished that there might be some "peace and order." A few older men told me that "the troublemakers" (the Resegregationists) were disgracing the Japanese and were "acting contrary to the desires of the Japanese government." No one, however dared to suggest that anyone ought to co-operate with or assist the administration.

Meanwhile, the Resegregationist leaders were delivering "educational lectures" at small block meetings. They assured their listeners that Japan was winning the war and they interpreted the various reverses as strategic traps into which the American forces were being drawn. They further emphasized that, "for those who desire to return to Japan, the discipline and education of our children adapted to the system of wartime Mother ^{land} are absolutely necessary" and that, with the consent of the WRA, they were in the process of forming an organization which would provide such discipline and education. On August 12, a young Buddhist priest received permission from the administration to use the high school auditorium for a lecture on Japanese history and culture. About 500 young men attended the lecture. The priest and other speakers then announced that the purpose of the meeting was to form a centerwide Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country (the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinendan). This association, they said, would prepare its members to be useful citizens of Japan after their expatriation through a series of lectures and classes on the Japanese language, history and political ideology. The speakers also distributed a manifesto which stated that the organization would favor "the renunciation of American citizenship on moral principles,"¹ and that it would "refrain from any involvement in center politics."

Within a few weeks about 500 young men had joined the Sokoku, as it was now called. ^{Sokoku}

in last Morning outdoor exercises were initiated and participation was made compulsory for the members. These exercises gradually became more and more exhibitionalistically militaristic. Bugles

¹ On July 13, the project newspaper had reported that "a new law dealing with the relinquishment of their citizenship by American citizens has been passed by the Congress of the United States and signed by the President." No one, however, spoke to me of this matter at this time.

and uniforms were purchased and the young men, wearing grey sweat shirts and headbands, stamped with the emblem of the rising sun, marched out to the firebreaks, goose-stepping, and shouting "Wash-sho! Wash-sho!" (Hip! Hip!), and drilled to the accompaniment of patriotic bugling. These exercises took place before six o'clock each morning and, week by week, additional Japanese militaristic features were added to the routine.

Some of my respondents approved of the Sokoku and some joined it. A Nisei woman told me that, "the Sokoku men have worked out some good things. Take those zoot-suiters, for instance, they're going to have a heck of a time when they go to Japan." Other respondents told me that many

Another conservative friend assured me, "The Sokoku is not a pressure group; they are not going into politics. They are for the study of Japanese culture. That's why I joined them."

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The one spirit-lifting event of August 1944 was the release of all the men still confined in the stockade. They had obtained their release with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union.

On September 24 the Resegregationists circulated another petition requesting the signatures of all people who wished to return to Japan at the first opportunity. In an explanatory pamphlet they stated that their group was preparing a final list of proposed repatriates and expatriates,

¹⁰ Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 313.

On September 21 I paid a casual ~~call~~^{call} on one of the most influential of the Resegregationist leaders. He seemed very distraught and asked me questions so obtuse and involved that I was unable to understand him. Finally, his wife, who had been sitting quietly and knitting, asked him, "Why don't you tell her the truth? You know you can trust her." He thereupon showed me a draft of another petition requesting the signatures of all ~~people~~^{all} people who wished to return to Japan at the first opportunity. The ~~petition~~ petition was accompanied by an explanatory pamphlet which stated that the Resegregationists were preparing a ~~list~~ final list of repatriates and expatriates and that this list was to be ~~presented~~^{pres}ented to both ~~the American and the Japanese governments.~~ He ~~then~~^{then} asked me if the presentation of this petition would be followed by the arrest of its sponsors. I replied that I did not think ~~so~~ so, but, on the other hand, it was difficult to predict how the administration would act. He then told me that he and his supporters "had been working underground since April" but now, they felt, "the time has come." "The people will have to sign," he added, or they

would be taunted in public and told, "You are not Japanese." He admitted that many people who did not wish to return to Japan would sign, "but then they will go in a corner and keep quiet."¹

OACSEPCs,

Three days later the Resegregations circulated ~~this~~ the second petition.

~~requesting~~ However, this time, many people reacted with irritation and exasperation. next page

R. Wax, Fieldnotes, September 21, 1944.

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The Resegregationists claimed some 10,000 signatures, but the majority of names were those of minors or infants. Many ~~and~~ people, I was told, had signed the petition under intimidation or ~~sign~~ or ignorance. During October ~~six men who had~~ ~~openly opposed the petition~~ were four older men who had openly opposed the petition were brutally beaten. The son of another ^{critic} ~~and~~ ~~opponent~~ was knifed. ^{But} The victims refused to name or describe their assailants.

In mid-November, this terrorism was abruptly halted when the men who had served as the people's representatives in October and November of 1943

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^{openly}
began to oppose the Resegregationists.³⁸ They could afford to do this not only because they were widely respected, but because they too had a following of stalwart young men who could serve as bodyguards. As the feud continued, people began to resign from the Resegregation Group's organizations. On December 19, a friend told me:

They (the Resegregationists) stated in their regulations that their organization was not political. But gradually they stepped into politics. I didn't like it and the people don't like it either. . . . I believe most of the members are really disgusted about the way the organization is running. They push people. Their idea is wrong. They are forcing all these things. Everybody is criticizing them now. This is a good time to jump off.

THE RENUNCIATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

The Resegregationists were now threatened from another source. On December 6, John Burling, representing the Department of Justice, arrived at Tule Lake to open hearings for persons who had applied for renunciation of citizenship. Thereupon the Resegregationists intensified their activities, holding their noisy predawn militaristic exercises as close to the fence as possible and blowing their bugles louder than ever. Burling, however, proceeded to investigate the group and interview the leaders. He told them, and announced to the other residents that their activities were subversive and, if continued, would lead to internment in a Department of Justice camp for potentially dangerous enemy aliens.

¹⁸ Many of these leaders of the Daihyo Sha Kai had been confined in the stockade until the end of August, 1944. Although some of them were nominal members of the Resegregation Group, they refused to participate in the Resegregationists' activities. For a detailed account of this situation see, DOING FIELDWORK, pp. 163-6 or THE SPOILAGE, p. 329-32.

However, two administrative decisions, one by the Army and the other by the War Relocation Authority, transformed the general distrust of the Resegregationists' program into a wholehearted support of their major aim--the renunciation of American citizenship. On December 19, the project newspaper announced that "the new system will permit the great majority of persons of Japanese ancestry to move freely anywhere in the U.S. that they wish to go." On the same day, a mimeographed statement by Dillon Myer was distributed to all the residents, to the effect that "all relocation centers will be closed within a period of six months to one year after the revocation of the exclusion orders." On the same day, Project Director Best announced: "The Tule Lake Center will be considered both a relocation center and a segregation center for some time to come. Those whom the Army authorities designate as free to leave here will be in the same status as residents of a relocation center."

These announcements amazed, bewildered, and frightened ~~the~~ the segregants.

Before the evacuation most of the older people had been ~~xx~~ poor farmers or farm workers. In the process of

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2 SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICAL, December 13, 1944

In their desperation many ^{young} people concluded that their only path to security and refuge in Tule Lake was to renounce their American citizenship. On December 19, Mr. Kurusu, a very reliable informant, told me: "Four men whom I know were called today by the Army. They asked them questions like 'Do you want to go out or do you want to renounce citizenship?'" By December 27, ^{a young woman asked me} Mrs. Wakida ~~was asking me~~ anxiously, "They can't force us out if we have signed for renunciation, can they?" And on December 24, a Caucasian Social Worker told me: "The majority of people who talked to me are convinced that renunciation of citizenship will keep them in Tule Lake."

This growing conviction that security could be gained only by the renunciation of citizenship revived the power and influence of the Resegregationists. And when, on December 27, the Department of Justice removed seventy prominent members of the group to the detention camp at Santa Fe, the Resegregationist ideology once again came to dominate the camp. For months, the Resegregationists had been urging people to renounce their ^{utterly depreciated} citizenship. Now, they boasted, their leaders, by being interned, had been placed in a secure refuge and no longer needed to fear resettlement or military induction.

On December 29, a Nisei girl told me: "I heard the rumor that all those who renounce their citizenship will be taken to Santa Fe." A few days later a number of young people assured me that they would ~~XXXXXX not mind~~ not mind relocating "if we had everything as when we left. But we've lost everything." In addition, some pointed out, they had no assurance of ~~XXXXXX getting~~ finding employment.

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~~This~~ intense anxiety and sense of helplessness were greatly increased

when, on January 5, Dillon Myer reaffirmed his earlier statement that the WRA's prime objective. . ."is to restore the people residing in the relocation centers to private life in normal communities." An official pamphlet stating that families who left the center would receive a maximum of assistance of coach fare and a total of \$25.00 was distributed throughout the camp.³¹

The Resegregationists now literally went berserk, performing their militaristic Japanese exercises with ever increasing noise and exaltation. ~~For~~ Even older women, now participated in the ~~morning~~ exercises, wearing slacks and yelling "Wash sho!" The parents of the young men who had been interned proudly told their neighbors, "My child has now become a true Japanese!" There was a widespread rumor that those who had not renounced were going to be kicked out of camp. Newspaper reports of how Japanese Americans or Nisei soldiers had been threatened, attacked, shot at, or had their homes

1. Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 343, (Italics theirs.)

burned, were quoted to me.¹ In Idaho, a mob attacked a group of Nisei soldiers and in California, shots were fired at the home of some relocating Japanese Americans.

As applications for renunciation continued to pour in, Burling, the Department of Justice Representative, tried to stem the flood by asking the WRA to declare Tule Lake a "refugee center" from which no one would be forced to relocate for the duration of the war. WRA, however, refused to yield on the matter of forced resettlement and the only concession made--on January 29--was an announcement that "those who do not wish to leave Tule Lake center at this time are not required to do so and may continue to live here or at some similar center until January 1946."

During January, 3,400 young persons (40% of the citizen population) applied for denationalization. On February 12, Mr. Kunitani, a concerned friend, wrote me a letter telling me of a current rumor that if young men did not join the Resegregationist Group, "they will be subject to draft by March of this year." He continued, "I am of the opinion that some kind of statement should be forthcoming from the Justice Department. . . The result, if left unabated, will not only be tragic but dreadful. I don't know what you are able to do, but for justice's sake, please take some action."

In all, 70% of those eligible renounced their citizenship. On March 16, the WRA belatedly announced that all resegregationist activities were unlawful.

~~MEMORIES OF THE RESEGREGATIONISTS AND THE RENUNCIATION OF CITIZENSHIP~~

In 1981-82 only 12 of my 27 respondents chose to speak about the activities of the Resegregation Group, and most of these preferred to tell me how they avoided or resisted the proselyting activities of the "super patriots." ~~For~~

list

In talking about that period a respondent, then age 14, ~~described~~ emphasized how disturbed the people in the camp were. Up to that

point the people obeyed what the administration told us to do. And the line of communication in the block and all the way down to the residents was very strong. But when this force came, it really destroyed the whole administration and the line of communication, because it split the camp in two. The one was: you had to be a super-patriot to Japan. And the other was: you were just an internee, because you wrote No-No on your loyalty questionnaire. They really split the camp apart.

I said, "Yes, people were forced to sign." He responded: "Right, And they beat you up." ~~I still remember how we were walking in groups~~ you up." He then told me that he and his friends never ~~walked~~ ^{about} walked through the damp alone but always went in groups. "Because, if you weren't on their side, they would pick a fight."

While a number of my respondents had renounced their citizenship, only two were willing to talk about this experience. One man told me:

And that was another stupid thing that we got caught doing. Partly

it was our stupidity, but it was also forced on us by the Congress

Italics

and the people in power. . . . After so many years in camp, one becomes a different person. . . I know that psychologically we were not normal, and whenever we were up against some kind of problem, the environment affected the way we made decisions and we reacted.

Another said:

I went through the renunciation process too. And that was mainly a reaction again. I was very depressed during that period.

In fact, I thought I was coming down with a mental breakdown at that point. . . I was getting all those dizzy spells and ringing in my head and all that sort of thing. I couldn't concentrate or remember anything. I was in pretty bad shape for a while. It was a very very difficult trying time.

POSTWAR TRAUMATA OF THE RENUNCIANTS

During the summer of 1945, many renunciants wrote to the Department of Justice and asked for permission to withdraw their renunciations. The number of applications increased sharply after the surrender of Japan. The Department of Justice, however, was preparing to send all of the renunciants to Japan. On September 26, regulations governing their deportation were published and on October 8, the department began the "registration of the renunciants" who were fingerprinted and photographed. They were told that they

were now classed as "native American aliens." Thereupon, a group of renunciants obtained the support of Wayne Collins, a San Francisco Attorney. On November 5, Collins entered two suits in federal courts "asking that certain named renunciants be set at liberty, that deportation orders be cancelled, that the applications for renunciations be declared void, and the plaintiffs be declared nationals of the United States."¹ During the following weeks the number of plaintiffs rose to 4,322. On December 10, 1945, Department of Justice officials at Tule Lake announced that "mitigation" hearings would be held for all renunciants and also for those aliens who did not wish to return to Japan.

During this period--September 1945 to January 1946--thousands of people left Tule Lake and resettled in other areas of the United States. On August 1, the population was 17,341. On January 31, it was 5,045, all of whom were detainees of their families. On February 12, 1946 the Department of Justice announced the names of 406 renunciants who had not passed the hearings and who were to be deported.

During the fall of 1945 and the early months of 1946 over a thousand renunciants and many Japanese aliens sailed for Japan. Through February 23, 1946, a total of 4,406 residents of Tule Lake had also left. Of these 1,116 were renunciants who did not apply for a mitigation hearing, 1,523 were aliens, and 1,767 were American citizens, all but 49 were the minor children of aliens or renunciants. . . All in all, some eight thousand persons of Japanese descent left for Japan between V-J day and mid-1946.²

¹Prejudice, War, and the Constitution. Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970.

²Ibid. pp. 180-1.

The litigation initiated by Wayne Collins on behalf of the renunciants dragged on for many years. Detailed accounts are presented by tenBroek and by Michi Weglyn. Weglyn concluded⁵ her account with the following statement:

March 6, 1968. It was twenty-three years after he had brought the illegal, racially abetted deportation of the Nisei and Kibei to a screeching halt that Collins was finally able to write in the concluding renunciation proceedings (Abo v. [Ramsay A.] Clark) with an air of justifiable triumph:

A majority of those who had been forcibly removed to Japan were restored to their home in this country. The fundamental rights, liberties, privileges and immunities of these citizens are now honored. The discrimination practiced against them by the government has ceased. The episode which constituted an infamous chapter in our history has come to a close.

CLASS DISTINCTION AND "NO FRATERNIZATION"

In Impounded People, Spicer, et al. give a detailed description of the status distinctions that were immediately established in the relocation centers.

As the uprooted people came into the centers they suddenly found themselves in communities organized on the basis of two distinct classes of people--on the one hand "evacuees" and on the other "appointed personnel." Despite individual efforts of WRA staff to act as if distinctions did not exist, the basic fact was inescapable. At point after point the earliest experiences in the center drove it home. . . . The feeling of being prisoners permeated the centers from the first. . . . Being an evacuee involved being in a subordinate position. At some centers the commanders of the

Most respondents were willing to talk about their postwar experiences and ^{some} ~~many~~ gave me detailed accounts. One young man told me that ~~the authorities~~ ^{he} at Tule Lake ~~refused to allow him to be released~~ / he ~~had~~ developed a friendship with a missionary teacher ^{who} ~~had advised him~~ advised him not to go to ~~Japan~~ Japan with his parents and seven ~~siblings~~ ^{siblings}. But "after my family repatriated I was put on the deportation list. That was unthinkable because I expected to be released any day." But then "I joined the Tule Lake Defense Committee and Wayne Collings came to our rescue. . . His intervention prevented additional deportations. " After ~~a deportation hearing~~ ^{the} ~~hearing~~, in which he was asked whether he would bear arms for the United States and whether he was loyal to the Emperor of Japan he was released, ~~only to be~~ ^{He was} ~~drafted~~ ^{and} he served in the Army for 15 months. After ~~his release~~ ^{then} he went to San ~~Francisco~~ ^{San Francisco} , ~~and~~ ^{but was unable to find work} although ~~he~~ ^{he} was a qualified x-ray technician and jobs were available in ~~my~~ ^{his} category, ~~they would not~~ ^{no one} give ~~me~~ ^{him} a job. " And so I washed dishes and cleaned windows and put myself ~~through~~ ^{him} college. " Finally, with the assistance of ~~a sympathetic~~ ^{sympathetic} Jewish ~~doctor~~ ^{doctor} he was accepted as a ~~student~~ ^{student} by the Stanford ~~Medical~~ ^{Medical} School. At the end of our talk I asked him, "Looking back today, what part of your experience is still the hardest to bear?" He responded:

I think the incarceration without a hearing. I still wake up in a pool of ~~sweat~~ ^{sweat} and I'm still in camp writing letter to the Justice Department and getting no replies. . . To this day I'm still in camp. ~~It's~~ ^{It's} a recurring nightmare.

He then told me that he ^{had} ~~was~~ testified at the hearings conducted by the Commission ~~on~~ ^{on} Wartime ~~Relocation and Internment of~~ ^{Relocation and Internment of} Civilians but that most ~~of~~ ^{of} the Nisei he knew were afraid to testify . "They still do not believe that their citizenship ~~entitles~~ ^{entitles} them to ~~legal~~ ^{legal} justice."

the people I talked to ^{37.} in 1981 and 1982

Most of ~~my respondents~~ who were permitted to relocate without being subjected to deportation ~~hearings~~ ^{But all of them} experienced difficulties in finding employment. Several ~~were~~ were promised jobs on the East Coast, or the Midwest, but when they arrived they were told that the jobs were not ~~available~~ available. ~~One woman told me that she and her husband had stayed at a Philadelphia hostel for six months, "visiting employment offices every day" until her husband finally was given a job as a farm manager. Several teenagers described how they worked their way through high school and college as domestic servants or dishwashers in restaurants. One young woman whose parents had repatriated to Japan had a severe nervous breakdown.~~

One young man who, at age 15 ~~was taken to Japan by his~~ accompanied alone his ~~parents~~ repatriating parents to Japan returned to the United States at age 17 and worked his way through high school ^{and college. He} and eventually became a physician. He told me, "Having survived that, I think I can survive anything. But I learned that with patience and determination you can overcome anything and succeed."

37a.

Japanese Americans who have read some of the interviews have emphasized that some of the people who were interned "have never been able to cope with their experiences" and that these experiences "have affected them in their whole life." They have also emphasized that "many were able to rise above their unpleasant experiences and rejoin the mainstream of society, although it took them longer to make it back." ~~In fact some~~

BA - In fact they have become personnel directors, architects, insurance salesmen, expert electricians, designers, professors, doctors, and, in at least one case, dedicated and appreciated leaders in their communities.

Many spoke with deep appreciation

376.

of the ~~xx xxxix~~ assistance given them by Jewish and Christian ~~Organizations~~
groups who ~~took them in and~~ took them in and ~~xx~~ helped them find employment.

One young man said, "I ^{learned} that not all people hated us. ~~And that God loves us~~

~~xx in spite of what we are.~~ Another said: "I learned that God loves us
in spite of what we are." ~~They~~

In describing her recovery, the young woman who had a nervous breakdown told
me: "No matter what happens, God loves me without any strings attached!"

About half of my Nisei ~~respondents~~ respondents have become Christians and
active participants in church groups.

Three of my respondents told me that during the Korean war
they had volunteered for service in the United States Army. ~~xx~~
~~xx~~ ^{three} All of them were placed in
Military Intelligence. ¹⁹⁸² In 1981 and ~~1982~~ 1982 they emphasized the fact that
they had been given a "high military classification" only a few years
after they had been stigmatized as "disloyal".

Children and young teen-agers who were taken to Japan by their repatriating parents probably suffered the most agonizing of the experiences created by the evacuation. In the desolation of ~~war~~ postwar Japan ~~there~~ ~~wasn't~~ ~~the~~ ~~choice~~ ~~of~~ they were obliged to sleep in train stations or makeshift cardboard shelters and to beg for food. One boy, age twelve, told me that his family had cooked and eaten weeds to stay alive. ~~Another~~ His brother told me that he had fainted on the street/ and that the experience had left him with a terrible sense of insecurity and a ~~permanently~~ ~~lasting~~ ~~and~~ pervasive fear of ~~being~~ being poor and hungry. The ultimate trauma was the fact that they were rejected by the native born Japanese. ~~One young woman~~ ~~mentioned~~ Several young women told me that they were treated as ~~outsiders~~ despised "outsiders" and were told, "~~Hey~~" "You're not Japanese! You're American! Why did you come here?" Another said that she and her fellow expatriates could never feel at home ~~in~~ in Japan. Older ~~respondents~~ respondents did not ~~wish~~ wish to talk of this aspect of their life in Japan.

Subsequently I asked several Japanese born university students about this phenomenon. They told me that "a Japanese born in America¹ is always considered an outsider in Japan and will never be accepted as a true Japanese." I also noted that Charles B. Munson had said, "The American educated Japanese is a boor in Japan and is treated like a foreigner."¹

¹Charles B. Munson, "Report on Japanese on the West Coast of the United States," in HEARINGS, 79th Congress, 1st session, Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1946. (Cited from Weglyn, YEARS OF INFAMY, pp. 41-2.)

On June 6, ~~1981~~ 1981 I asked the woman who, with her baby had been pushed away from the stockade ~~xxx~~ fence by one of the military police, "Was there anything that happened to you that helped you to become a wiser or better person?" She thought for a long time and then said, "The experience definitely made you wiser. There will not be a second time. Definitely!"

kai (year-end party) which, as Araki and Horii note, is a party held "to promote goodwill and to patch up past misunderstandings." For a contemporary overview of this sort of party in the Gila center, see Y. Okuno, "The Bonenkai" (December 1942), 3 pp., JERS, F K8.18.

58. As Robert Spencer, in "Pressure Groups and After," 41, put it: "In view of Williamson's drastic attitude with regard to liquor on the project, the Tani faction must have felt that they gained a definite moral victory." In this same report, 60, Spencer surmises that the liquor (as well as the food) for the Tani dinner was paid for out of Rocky Nippon funds, and in a later document, "Pressure Groups and After," 12, he suspicions that the liquor was obtained by Tani from a man named Seika, who headed all of the gambling syndicates in Canal and conducted a liquor business on the side. On Williamson's antiliquor crusade, see the Gila News-Courier, 7 November 1942. While liquor did freely circulate around the camp as a result of it being sold to the internees by Caucasian and Negro construction workers as well as from soldiers in the adjacent military police compound, it is somewhat ironic that it was a cousin of E. R. Fryer, WRA Regional Director and, for a short while during the fall of 1942, the acting director of the Gila camp, who posed perhaps the biggest problem. According to Robert Spencer, this individual "formed an agency of his own in conjunction with certain people who were active in gambling rings. For several weeks he brought in cases of alcohol which he sold [for six dollars a pint]. At length he was apprehended by the Internal Security Department held on charges of bringing liquor to Indian land and . . . sentenced to a year in a Federal penitentiary." See, "Notes on Administration," 16.

59. Spencer, "Pressure Groups and After," 5.

That things had gone as far as they could go was something which the Canal administration realized only too well. Surely it was a point grasped intuitively by the

new project director, Leroy Bennett. Although Bennett had advised the members of his staff not to attend the Tani dinner, some had apparently interpreted their appearance there as a command performance. Immediately thereafter, however, Bennett, aided by Chief Williamson, proceeded with plans to gather up the ringleaders of Canal groups like the Kenkyu-Kai, the Engeibu, the Sumo Club, and the Kibei Club, and have them, and their counterparts in Butte, removed from the Gila center at the next sign of dissent. That time came a little over a month later when the Army and the WRA began a registration of the interned populations in all of the centers for the joint purpose of determining their suitability for service in the armed forces and their fitness for leave clearance out of the camps and resettlement into the mainstream of American society. This registration policy met with surprisingly swift resistance in a number of the centers, including Gila. Once again the Kenkyu-Kai mushroomed into prominence in Canal to assume the leadership of the resistance movement there, while an even more intense demonstration of resistance, spearheaded by the Gila Young People's Association, was enacted in the Butte camp. This time the administration was prepared to take action without asking questions. After four days (February 8 to February 12), the negative answers to the key "loyalty" questions posed in the registration questionnaire were recorded in such a large ratio to the totals that Bennett decided to postpone the process for three days. This lull in the proceedings was utilized by the administration to compile the names of the twenty-eight internees in Canal and Butte they believed to be the principal "troublemakers" responsible for mounting the resistance shown by the registrants. Although the evidence supporting the culpability of the alleged recalcitrant leaders was scanty, nonetheless Bennett, along with Williamson and Project Attorney James Terry, contacted the FBI and the United States Attorney in Phoenix and requested presidential warrants to be issued for their arrest. WRA national director, Dillon Myer, approved this plan by telephone and, without

announcement, on February 16-17, FBI agents apprehended fifteen aliens and Internal Security staff members arrested thirteen citizens. Of the eighteen seized from the Butte camp, twelve were Kibei, mostly officers in the Gila Young People's Association, including a man who was also the Sumo Club president; the remaining six nabbed were Issei, one of whom was the leader of the Kyowa-Kai. According to Robert Spencer, "The Canal round-up was completed in about twenty minutes. Nine Issei were taken and one Kibei. The Issei were . . . as follows: Hirokane, who figured so prominently in the Tada beating; Tani, the apparent head of the Kenkyu-kai and agent for the Rocky Nippon newspaper who had emerged as a leader at the time of the Tada beating; Fujimoto, the Issei advisor to the Kibei Club and head of the Sumo Club; Okamoto and Katagawa, Judo leaders; one woman by the name of Mrs. Matsuda who had been most active at the time of the hearing of Hirokane in that she supported actively the justification for Tada's assault; and three others who are not known to me. The one Kibei who was taken was a man named Akimoto [Minoru Okamoto], who is president of the Kibei Club." See Robert Spencer to Dorothy Thomas, 18 February 1943 (as cited in fn. 5 above). On the registration and round-up at Gila, see also the following: Spencer to Thomas, 12 and 15 February 1942; "Army Registration Summary: Gila River" (n.d.), 11 pp., JERS, F K5.12B; William Huso, "The Army Registration," 21-35, FRGRR, RWRA, RG 210, NA; United States Naval Intelligence Service, Eleventh Naval District, "Counter Intelligence Topical Study Memorandum B-7-0: Registration of Japanese at Relocation Centers within the Eleventh Naval District" (May 10, 1943), 7 pp., JERS, F K7.00; and John Edgar Hoover to D. S. Myer, 17 February 1943, JERS, F K7.00.

Although the sweep of suspects at Gila and their removal from the center for the time tipped the balance of power back to the government-appointed WRA authorities, the entire set of developments extending from the Tada beating through the registration amounted to a process wherein the temporarily anomic and powerless

Gila population rediscovered their cultural identity and wielded it as an instrument for achieving self-determination and community empowerment. Clarke A. Chambers, in "The 'New' Social History, Local History, and Community Empowerment," Minnesota History (Spring 1984), 17, has recently remarked that one of the strengths of the new social history that has burgeoned during the past twenty years in American historical scholarship is that "[it has] reflected existential concerns. It [has] recognized, on the one hand, the weight of social power in setting limits to the range of choices open to oppressed groups and classes; on the other hand, it [has] stressed the diverse strategies through which such groups were able to achieve larger measures of control over their daily lives and actively to shape customs, traditions, and institutions that enlarged the sphere within which individuals and groups could move toward self-determination. The new social history [has] affirmed the significance of struggle, of decisions made, consequences accepted. The 'powerless,' the dispossessed, it has been seen, were not entirely passive objects or the victims of circumstances imposed upon them; especially when group consciousness ran strong, they could exert countermeasures of resistance and could, responsibly, create instruments through which countercultural values and systems might prevail, even under extreme conditions of coercion, domination, and denial." [Emphasis mine.] It is in the spirit of this ~~new~~ existential new social history, then, that the present microstudy on Japanese American wartime resistance is offered and it is in that same spirit that I am preparing for publication a companion essay focused on the registration and its aftermath at the Gila center.

VIC

1.
AFTER LEAVING TULE LAKE

~~XXXXX XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXX~~

The accounts that my respondents gave me of their experiences and feelings after leaving Tule Lake are so various ~~xx~~ that I think it would be best to present them as longitudinal entities. I will begin with the statements of those respondents who were taken to Japan by their parents. One of the ~~most~~ ^{impressive} ~~most~~ of these is the ~~xx~~ written statement by Thomas Kikuchi, who was fifteen years old when his parents repatriated.

Thomas Kikuchi

AFTER LEAVING TULE LAKE

I would say the four or five years after leaving Tule Lake were the hardest time of my life. Having survived that, I knew I could survive anything.

the first
When we arrived in Japan in 1946, the country was in utter chaos. There were people coming back from China, Manchuria, the Phillipines, Taiwan, Korea, and wherever else they might have been. It seemed as though half of Japan was bombed out. People were sleeping in train stations, in makeshift cardboard houses; people looking for scraps of food, begging for food. I remember once passing out on the street, and when I woke up I was in a hospital. They told me I was suffering from malnutrition. I hadn't eaten in weeks. Eventually I was hired as an interpreter for the U.S. military occupation forces. As an American citizen, I was allowed to live in a foreign national dormitory and to eat my meals there. Fortunately, one of my brothers was on occupation duty, and he lent me the money to return to the United States.

I was 17 years old when I returned here. I had \$20 in

R. Kikuchi
2011-20-21-23

21.
my pocket. I worked in a restaurant washing dishes from 6:00 a.m. until 8:00 p.m., 6-1/2 days a week. My pay was \$160 per month. After a year and a half, I decided there was no future in that, so I enrolled in high school. I worked in a private home for room and board while attending school. Now that I think of it, they had a bargain. For \$25 a month, they had me do all the things they would have had to pay a full time servant ten times as much.

Stigma {
For a long time I was even ashamed to tell people I had been interned in camps during the war. It was almost like I had committed a crime and was incarcerated for it. Now that it is in the open, I feel that a tremendous load has been lifted off my shoulders. I am gradually getting to the point of talking about it without getting too emotional.

EFFECTS OF THE CAMPS

Family
When we were herded into the camps, for all intents and purposes that was the end of our family as a unit. I don't feel the closeness I once had. In fact, I sometimes feel very uncomfortable when we get together and talk about old times. I would just as soon forget about those unhappy days.

I feel I was cheated because I really never had an adolescent life. I started high school at 18 years of age, never had a social life because I was working my way through, never experienced the things that teenagers do. I don't have a class reunion to attend because I graduated under a special program they had for veterans at the City College of San Francisco. I dread holidays because of all my experiences in having to work on those days to pay for tuition, having no family to share my thoughts with or to be with during those days. I put on a front at parties and get-togethers, but my wife sees right through the facade.

After military service, I supported my wife and daughter while attending school under the G.I. Bill and working odd jobs. After finishing school, I couldn't get a job in San Francisco. Many of the firms told me they could really use my services but their clients might not approve. So I moved away from San Francisco and have been living in this city now for 23 years. For almost 22 years I have been an official court reporter for the Superior Courts of this county. I am proud of the fact in all those years I haven't failed to file my trial transcripts on time, often working seven days a week, 15-hours a day.

Security
My camp experiences left me with a terrible sense of insecurity. I have this fear about being poor and hungry again. I am constantly striving for more security, even though I could retire now and probably live on my pension and the investments I have made. I attribute a lot of that on my camp and post-camp experiences.

3.

I earnestly feel we were interned because of pressures put on the government by people who are racists and who stood to gain financially by our evacuation. My biggest disappointment is the Supreme Court of the United States. If this matter were brought before it now, there would be no question but that they would rule against the evacuation. They just didn't have the guts to interpret the law as it should have been.

However, even with all the imperfections and the frailties inherent in our system, this is still the greatest country to live in. I feel I have become a better American because of what happened to me.

begin new page
~~Statement by Mitchiko Tsuda~~ →

The most agonizing account of life after leaving Tule Lake was given by Mitchiko Tsuda, who was ^{eight} ~~nine~~ years old when her mother ~~and~~ took her and her two sisters to Japan.

The atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in August, 1945. That was horrifying news for my parents and many of their friends in camp who had relatives in Hiroshima. Many people came to our barrack and listened to the radio and cried. My parents were frantic when they heard the broadcast. They had four children in Hiroshima. They had not had any communication with them since the Pacific war started. We had no way of knowing if they had survived the bombing and if so where they could be or who was taking care of them.

My parents decided at this time that my mother and the three children (another sister was born in Tule Lake) should go to Japan and my father would stay in California. My father's assets were still frozen, so he wanted to stay and try to recover his funds. My mother had to go to Japan to see if her children and in-laws were still alive. Since independent civilian travel to Japan was impossible, the only way my mother could quickly get to Japan was to renounce her American citizenship and get on the expatriation ship. It was an agonizing decision but my mother renounced her citizenship.

After Christmas 1945, we were finally allowed to leave Tule Lake. My father left first. Then my mother, sisters, and I were put on a train for Astoria, Oregon to catch our ship to Japan. It was during the night and raining outside when our train slowed down at the Klamath Falls station. The window shades were closed, but someone told us to peek out. I looked out and there I saw my father standing in the rain, all alone, waving to us. I was not to see him again for nearly ten years.

We were only allowed to take things that we could carry by ourselves. My sister and I had huge knapsacks on our backs filled to the brim. My mother also had a knapsack plus a suitcase and a free hand to hold on to my little sister.

The ship we took to Japan was the General Gordon. We were in steerage where we were packed like sardines. There were rows upon rows of bunks, and just about everyone got seasick.

There was no privacy. The ocean was very rough and I was drenched every time I went on deck. It took us approximately ten days to get to Uraga, Japan.

We were once again herded into barracks in Uraga and kept there for approximately two weeks. The food in the American concentration camps was bad but the food in Uraga was worse. One of the things we were given was a hard biscuit called "katapan". The dog biscuits advertised on television remind me of them. Uraga in January was very cold but there was no heat in the building.

After what seemed like a long time, we were put on trains to be taken to our destination. The train was so crowded that one could not get up to even use the bathroom. And every time the train made a stop at a station, there were Japanese soldiers pounding on the windows with their shoe to let them in. These soldiers had no way of getting home since the Japanese railway system was not in operation at that time. Our train was run by the occupation forces and we were told to keep the windows closed. My sister used to have horrible nightmares about this experience.

My mother sent a telegram to my grandparents as soon as she found out when we would get to Hiroshima. But when we got to Hiroshima, no one was there to meet us. My mother knew where my grandparents lived so she decided we should walk there since there were no buses or taxis.

There is a large river that runs through Hiroshima. There

were some damaged and partly burned houses standing on the side of the river where we walked. But on the other side of the river, all I could see for miles and miles was charred, black, flat land with hardly a structure standing.

When we got to my grandparents' house, we were glad to find my grandparents and brother and three sisters safe. Their home was far enough away from the bombed area to escape any major damage. But we were not welcome in Japan. We were scornfully asked, "Why did you come here?" Food was scarce and life was very difficult. I broke out with boils all over the palms of both my hands. The doctor said it was malnutrition and I needed penicillin. Penicillin was very scarce and my mother was only able to get it through the black market.

I attended a school that was damaged but still standing. There were no glass in the windows. The winters were cold with no heating and my hands were frost bitten every winter. They turned purple and swelled till the skin could not stretch any more and burst.

My mother did not like Japan when she first went there in 1926 as a teenager. She liked it even less this time. She wanted to return to the United States as soon as she knew her family was safe. My grandparents were quite old so the burden of doing most of the hard labor on the farm fell on my mother's shoulders. There were no animals or machinery to help her lessen the burden.

Occupation forces were just arriving in Japan when we got there. My mother used to stop anybody in a United States army uniform with an Asian face to beg them to help her to get back to the United States. Someone told her that there is a Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) office in Hiroshima. She went there on numerous occasions to ask for help in returning to the United States. A man purporting to represent the JACL told her to bribe certain Japanese government officials with specific amounts of money or sugar or other American goods that my father sent her. She paid the bribes to no avail (no doubt the professed "JACL representative" was a fraud). My mother was an easy target for any con artist who gave her any hope of getting back to the United States. She knew she was being victimized but she persisted in her efforts to leave Japan at almost any cost.

By 1949, my father had re-established himself in Monterey, California and asked my brother and oldest sister to return to the United States. My mother wrote to her brother in Hawaii to ask if he would take two of her children. She felt that anything would be better for the children than staying in Japan. So in April, 1949, my brother, two sisters and I left Japan. My brother and oldest sister went on to California while my second sister and I stopped in Hawaii to live with my uncle and aunt. Now our family was split in three ways, Japan, Hawaii, and California. I cried when I left Japan. I thought I would never see either of my parents again. I suffered a terrible

stomach upset on the day of my departure and I was to suffer with this ailment often while in Hawaii. The doctors were never able to diagnose the cause of this pain. The mysterious stomach aches disappeared when I came back to California and rejoined my family.

I walked with a limp when I got to Hawaii. The Shriner's Hospital doctors found that one of my legs was an inch shorter than the other and diagnosed it to be caused by malnutrition. After several years of care and proper diet the doctors were amazed to see my legs even out. I lived in Hawaii for six and a half years. Life in Hawaii was much easier than in Japan but I missed my parents very much.

I was twelve years old when I got to Hawaii. I did not speak a word of English. I sat in a first grade classroom for three months. I did not graduate from high school until I was twenty years old.

In 1952, the racial restrictions for naturalization was eliminated and my father was able to become an American citizen, but my mother was still struggling to get back to the United States. Her numerous applications to the American consulate went unanswered. She says there were many times when she wanted to end her life in frustration. By 1954, my brother was in the United States army stationed in Japan, and he was trying without much success to get my mother repatriated to the United States. My father then by chance told someone in Carmel, California about the

plight of his wife and the difficulty she was having in getting back to this country. This person evidently knew Senator William Knowland and related the story to him. Senator Knowland kindly sent a letter on behalf of my mother to the American Embassy in Japan saying he had a special interest in her case. Magically, the doors opened and my mother and two remaining sisters were authorized to take the next ship headed for the United States. Even at the last minute, some unscrupulous person sent a false telegram telling her not to come to the port because there was no space on the ship (possibly for an impostor to take her place), but my mother was so determined to leave that nothing could stop her from boarding the ship.

My mother says she cried with joy when the ship left Japan. Her long exile was over and she was finally on her way home. She says she cannot express in words the elation she felt when she first saw the coast of California once again. Eventually, my mother's American citizenship was restored due to the efforts of attorney Wayne Collins. My parents were reunited after almost nine years of separation. My own ordeal was to continue for another year. I was finally reunited with my family in August, 1955. I had not seen my mother for six and a half years and my father for nine and a half years. I left the United States for Japan when I was eight years old and went to Hawaii when I was twelve. I was eighteen years old by the time I was reunited with my family.