9:4 Betrayal & Survival Miscellaneous sections

83/115
c

XXXXXO ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE ~~XLOYALTYX~~ "LOYALTY"

Five of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ young men who had renounced their citizenship or had been taken to Japan by their parents and ~~xxxx~~ subsequently returned to the United States, appear to have ~~xxxxxx xxxx~~ attempted to regain their status as "loyal Americans" by joing the armed forces.

Joseph Kikuchi, who was 11 years old at the time of evacuation, was taken to Japan by his parents and returned to the United States ~~A~~/, age 14, "on his own":

> The reason I think, 9for volunteering is that we were still tryihg to prove our ~~xxxxxxx~~ loyalty. . . When the Korean War came quite a few of us volunteered . . to continue to prove that we were loyal. My brothers also volunteered, and they were all in military intelligence, one was in Air Force Intelligence and the other was in the CIC, which is Counter Intelligence. And so our whole famiily, which was considered disloyal -- which is really ironic.
>
> So today when~~s~~ they say that we were put in camp because of disloyalty, it doesn't really hold water, because, as~~s~~ soon as the war's over we're considered the loyalest kids and given high military classification. It doesn't make sense.[1]

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1. See also Kurusi, pp. 3-4; Okamoto, pp. 2-3, Arthur Kikuchi, p. 8.

Life in the Camps

After they had been evacuated to the Relocation Centers, the Japanese Americans were obliged to live in a situation and environment in which they were continued to be treated as criminals or "dangerous people." The camps were surrounded by barbed wire or fences "manproof"/and the gates of these fences were guarded by the armed soldiers.[1]

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1. At Tule Lake after the November "uprising", two addtional fences were erected. One the fence divided the administrative area and "the colony". The other fenced off a part of the are where the Japanese lived.

An eloquent reactions to these fences was written by Joe Kurihara:

The feeling of rejection and unfair stigmatization ~~xxxxxx~~ continued because the centers were 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 the WRA staff to act as if the distinction did not exist, the basic fact was inescapable... 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." Some project directors also let it be known among the staff that they did not encourage personal relations with the evacuees (9).

A few staff members sidestepped these regulations and did their best to assist the children and the young people. Most of these were teachers in the center schools and many were devout Christians. In 1981-2

~~REPRESSED TRAUMATA~~

THE AGONY OF EXPATRIATION

During my stay at Tule Lake, almost all of my Issei and Kibeti respondents took it for granted that Japan ~~would win~~ was winning the war.

(quote Kurihara and Tokunaga)

The reports of American advances were interpreted as "the Japanese Army drawing the Americans into a trap." ~~Only one~~ ~~Only~~ ~~In 1981-2~~ ~~only one of my respondents referred to this aspect of camp life.~~

In 1981-82 none of my respondents spontaneously referred to this phenomenon, ~~and I did not think it would be seemly~~ and I did not think it seemly to ask them. On the other hand, some people did ~~refer specifically~~ speak of to the ~~Resegregation~~ "super-patriots" or "hard-heads". and one particularly frank man told me that the behavior of the "super-patriots" was, in large part, based on their unshakeable faith in an ultimate vistory for Japan. He added that whenever an American advace was announced in the press or radio, young zealots would speak in the messhalls or black meetings and present marvelously comples interpretations, demonstrating that the news item was false American propaganda or, an integral part of Jpanese military strategy. These speeches were very convincing, said my respondent. I was also told (in 1982) that some zealots insisted that the news of the atomic bomb was false and that even on the boat which was taking them to Japan, some people insisted that they would find Japan victorious.

~~This phenomena~~

In the epilogue to "Impounded People" (p. 296) Spicer tells us:

> There were persons -- a few hundred, with rare exceptions Issei - who persisted in believing that Japan was not defeated. They resettled and lived on in a dream world, waiting for the truth about how the war ended to be made known. A large proportion of those who requested repatriation from Tule Lake had similar ideas at the

time they left. Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

SECTION ON VARIETY OF VIEW ON REPEATRIATIONAND EXPAT.

Write introduction - on variety -

Fear of Japan - Thomas Kikuchi, age. 11

The thing that really started to get me scared was was the talk about my parents wanting to return to Japan. I could barely understand what my parents were saying, much less read and write the language. When I learned that we were going to leave Rower and go to Tule Lake and eventually to go to Japan, that was the lowest point in my life. I dreaded going to Tule Lake, knowing that evenutally I would have to accompany my parents to Japan.

WRA the opportunity to cut these crews drastically and so purge them of persons with antiadministration sentiments. The coal crew, for example, was to be cut from 300 to 90. The negotiating committee vigorously resisted these suggestions, and, after several abortive meetings between the committee and the army, it was decided to hold a mass meeting at which representatives of the army, the WRA, and the negotiating committee would speak and explain the situation to the people. But when the members of the negotiating committee relayed this decision to the *Daihyo Sha Kai,* there was much discontent. After a stormy session lasting far into the night it was decided to cancel the proposed mass meetings. The next morning, announcements to this effect were made in the Japanese mess halls. But no one, it seems, remembered or had the nerve to inform the army or the WRA that there was to be no meeting. A few minutes before 2 P.M. (the appointed time), the colonel and a WRA field director entered the center with a strong escort of armored cars and jeeps. Thirty soldiers surrounded the open-air stage and fixed bayonets; other soldiers in military vehicles patrolled the nearby areas. But not one Japanese was to be seen. Thereupon the colonel delivered his address, announcing to the empty firebreak that the center was under complete military control, that a curfew would be enforced between the hours of 7 P.M. and 6 A.M., and that no ingoing or outgoing telephone or telegraph messages could be made without the approval of the military.

The next day (14 November) the army began to arrest and confine the members of the negotiating committee and other men suspected of being leaders of the farm strike. These arrests and, perhaps, the formidable searches that accompanied them seem to have stiffened the resistance of even the less irate or aggressive segregants, for now many people asserted that they would not return to work until the apprehended men had been released. The army responded by arresting still more alleged leaders and agitators. (By January more than two hundred men had been apprehended, and a special stockade, complete with a new man-proof fence and watchtower was built to house them.)

Meanwhile, the army and the WRA personnel were becoming increasingly uncomfortable. The army wanted to get rid of the job of running the center, and the WRA wanted its job back. But before this could occur, the center would have to return to what the administrators called "normalcy." The army and the WRA thereupon

made advances to the only Japanese Americans in the center who were inclined to take a collaborating attitude—the officers of the Co-op, Old Tuleans who managed the highly successful and profitable general stores or canteens. With the help of these few men the army and the WRA arranged a popular 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 accorded a pass which they were obliged to present daily to the sentries guarding the gate 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—a group that now took the name of "coordinating committee"—were "a bunch of *inu.*" Hostility and distrust toward Caucasians and hatred of the *inu* were intense. The fear of becoming known as an *inu* was all-pervading. A Caucasian who entered the Japanese section of the camp without a legitimate reason was commonly thought to have only one motive—to spy; a Japanese who received a Caucasian in his barrack was at once labeled an *inu.* This was the state of affairs when I first visited the Tule Lake center in February of 1944.

When I made this first visit, I did not, of course, know whether I would be able to talk to people in a camp where martial law had just been withdrawn. But my spirits were high, and I was determined to make off with any information I could garner. I had written to my segregant friends, telling them I was coming. Moreover, when my friends in Gila heard I was going to visit Tule Lake, many asked me to call on their "disloyal" friends and relatives. So I went with a list of more than a dozen people to whom I had been warmly recommended.

The first things I saw were the bristling, barbed-wire-topped "man-proof" fence and the great watchtowers manned by armed soldiers and equipped with powerful searchlights. I walked past the sentries at the gate and entered a little building where I was given a visitor's pass by a soldier, who first telephoned his superior officer to verify my statement that the project director had invited me to visit the center. Then I walked about a quarter-mile farther to another little

Field notes at bottom of page.

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EVENTS AT TUL E LAKE, JULY ~~XXXX~~ 1944 TO MAY 1945

Aftermath ~~xxx~~ of Noma Murder

The ~~xxxxxxx~~ news of the murder produced a state of panic. The ~~xxxx~~ people rushed to the Co-op to buy food. ~~[illegible]~~ Many members of the Japanese American police force resigned. ~~and~~ By mid-June the staff had ~~xxx~~ dwindled from 117 to 73 men. The key officials of the Co-op resigned. ~~and~~ Some were taken from their barracks by members of the Caucasian Internal Security and lodged ~~xxx~~ in the administrative area. ~~[illegible]~~

On July 24 several staff members told me that there had been a number of attempts at rape in the colony. I asked my friend Mr. Wakida about this and was told: "They say a girl was attacked in Block 69. She ran away screaming. The girls can't go to school (Japanese night school). But now the boys (of the night school) are getting together and are leaving school with the girls." ~~Mr. Wakida also remarked:~~

~~About four weeks ago there was a rumor rife in camp that the exchange boat was coming. I get a letter from the Spanish Consul of July 12 saying that there wasn't the remotest possibility of an exchange boat. Why does the Administration start rumors like that?"~~

Many of the Nisei were also deeply disturbed by the news of the American advances in the Pacific. On June 19, Mrs. Wakida, who taught in one of the Japanese schools, told me:

> My students are asking me, "Sensei (teacher)", they say, "What would you think if I get leave clearance and get out of here?" They believe all they read in the papers. They say: "Saipan was taken, this place and that place was taken. Gee Whiz, what's going to happen to us?" I really don't blame them.

The pervasive sense of anxiety and insecurity were increased by events pertaining to the stockade. The Saiban-iin (Lawsuit Committee) had approached Ernest Besig, Director of the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of the imprisoned men. Mr. Besig arrived at Tule Lake on July 11, but he was not permitted to speak to the detainees except in the presence of a member of the WRA Internal Security. Nor was he allowed to

complete his interviews, for, on July 13, he was told to leave the ~~xxxxx~~ camp. A Caucasian informant told me:

> The project attorney and I went ~~xxx~~ into the colony the night of July 12. We met 48 people, . . almost all of them were related to the men in the stockade. Yoshino presided. He asked the project attorney to explain the "kicking out" of ~~xxx~~ Besig. The project attorney said he hadn't been kicked out but had been requested to leave. The Administration could not allow anyone to interfere with the murder investigation.[1]

---

1. Fieldnotes, July 14.

On July 19, the men in the stockade, most of whom had been imprisoned for more than eight months, ~~xxxx~~ went on another hunger strike. On July 25, a Nisei girl told me, "One of the boys fainted in there today, about 6:30 p. m. and was taken to the hospital. That evening, about 7:30 p. m. I myself passed by the stockade,

> One of the Caucasian police left the small station next to the stockade and walking to the gate shouted, "Mr. Kai, Mr. Kai, your wife is here to see you." After a while the door of one of the ~~xxxxxx~~ barracks opened and Mr. Kai staggered out the door being ~~xxxx~~ held open by another detainee. Kai walked slowly to the station where I saw his wife, ~~xxxxxxx~~ his little son, and a baby.[2]

Meanwhile the administration was deperately trying to recruit another police force. Finally they prevailed upon the block managers to ask the people in each block to elect two men who would serve as policemen in their block. Many blocks refused. ~~and~~ Some blocks remaind unpoliced for six months. On June 24, Mr. Wakida told me: ~~C/CCC~~ "People would like an Internal Security, but nobody wants to run. They don't want to be ~~CCC~~ an ~~IX~~ inu." One the same day, Mr. Itabashi, ~~xx~~ an Issei, told me:

2. Fieldnotes, July 25, 1944

"In this camp no really able man will show his face because so many narrow minded fanatics are in camp that you can't honestly cooperate with the fanatics. Even your safety cannot be guaranteed."

At the end of July the new policemen, who were now called "wardens" met with the administration to formulate new policies. They "adopted a series of changes designed to insure that they would not be involved in any affair which might incur the displeasure of the residents." ~~These "wardens" were universally regarded as meek and ineffectual men.~~ "Whenever any infringement of law occurred which might remotely be connected with politics, or might conceivably offend the residents if action were taken, the wardens refused to act."[1]

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1. Thomas and Nishimoto, "The Spoilage," p.281. For a detailed account of this situation, see "The Spoilage," pp. 277-81.

~~2. Idem.~~

The murderer or murderers of Mr. Noma were never apprehended.

~~3. Here put Kurihara's and Itabashi's statements when you find them.~~

Meanwhile, the men detained in the stockade continued their hunger strike. On July 28, the Spanish vice-Concul came to the center on a routine inspection tour. When he was told of the strike, he pleaded with Mr. Best to free the detainees, but to no avail. On July 30 Ernest Besig of the ACLU returned to the project. He was not allowed to see the detainees, but he told their relatives that the contemplated habeus corpus proceedings would almost certainly result in the release of the imprisoned men. Between August 12 and August 24, all of the confined men were released.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Immediately after the murder of Mr. Noma, some respondents expressed approval and satisfaction. ~~For example,~~

R# On September 12, ~~xkixkixammkmmmmmmahy~~ another Nisei girl, told me that she wished they would catch the murderer of Mr. Noma. She had felt so sorry for Mrs. Noma and the children.

Insert on p. 5

For example, on July 18, a young Nisei girl told me:

This might sound awfully heartless, but nobody has any sympathy for Noma. The whole camp feels that way. It had a lot to do with the Co-op and people felt he was really behind all the things going on with the administration and sending people to the stockade -- especially the more recent pickups.[1]

Fieldnotes, July 18, 1944

But on August 30, this girl told me:

I never understood why Mr. Noma had to be killed. My parents knew him and feel sorry for him. I can't feel one bit of this hate that made someone stab him. Nobody seems to know why he was killed. In camp there were so many rumors at that time. People believed what they heard was true. To prove its credibility they always said, "My friends say it." It makes almost everybody believe the story.

On July 28 I visited Mr. Yamashita, who was probably the most influential of the "behind the scenes" advisors to the Resegregationists. I asked him how the people felt about the death of Mr. Noma. In a profound tone Mr. Yamshita replied:

"I think as soon as the attacks which ended with the murder (here Mr. Yamashita interrupted himself and added, '*temporarily* ended for the time being') *the effect on the oppressed minds of the people was to a more or less optimistic viewpoint. Especially since the action was successful and the Administration was not able to find the attacker.*

Mrs. Yamashita interrupted him, saying, "It was a perfect crime." Mr. Yamashita continued, "People were made very hopeful." After a pause, he added:

→ # 5a.

"People were sorry for the victim, but the camp as a whole, if they did not rejoice for such a happening, when they thought that was the last resort or last step to be taken to let the public and the Administration know that wrong-doing cannot continue forever. Deep thinking people do not think the choosing of this barbarous action is wise and think that it would be more or less criticized by the American public when it is known outside by the paper or radio. But the conditions of this camp were such that they were forced to use such a method. It was more or less in the atmosphere of the camp that they were forced to use such a method.

NEW PAGE TITLE

Resegregation and Renunciation of Citizenship

During August, a ~~wave of~~ rumor of an imminent resegregation swept the camp. This rumor was no doubt initiated by the resegregationists, who had written ~~Dillon Myer~~ a letter to Dillon Myer in which they advocated the removal of ~~xx~~ themselves and other "disloyals" to another camp where they could wait for the exchange ship to Japan. There were many conflicting ~~xxx rumors~~ speculations about the probable destination of the "disloyal". On August 8, the cautious and conservative Mr. Kurusu told me: "~~A~~ For more than two weeks everybody is saying we might be segregated again. First they said we would be sent to Poston, then they said Alaska." His wife added:

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

~~A~~ On the same day and elderly Issei woman told me:

People heard it over the radio and the blocks were very upset. Children are crying. I have moved four times already and I don't want to move again. Jerome is bad, they say, too much rain.

An additional cause of anxiety and ambivalence was the issue of the renunciation of American citizenship. In July of 1944, Congress ~~and~~ passed the Denationalization Bill. On July 13, the Newell Star reported that:

> ~~The~~ 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. . .
>
> The ~~xxxx~~ new law provides that an American citizen may expatriate by "making in the United States a formal written renunciation of nationality in such form as may be prescribed by, and before such officer as may be designated by, the Attorney General, whenever the United States shall be in a state of war and the Attorney ~~General~~ General shall approve such renunciation ~~xxxx~~ as not contrary to the interests of national defense.[1]

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1. Cited from "The Spoilage," p. 310.

On July 28, when evacuee representatives met with the Spanish Vice-Consul, resegregationist leaders asked him many questions about the renunciation, but the Vice-Consel told them that he had not received official interpretation of the bill and therefore could not answer their questions.

Meanwhile, Mr. Yamashita, Mr. Kira, and other resegregationist leaders were delivering "eduational lectures" at small block meetings. They assured their listeners that Japan was winning the war and interpreted the reverses as a strategic trap into which the American forces were being drawn. They also informed their listeners that they were, with the assistance of the WRA, in the process of forming organizations which would provide the education and discipline needed by young people who intended to go or return to Japan. A young Buddhist priest, who was being used as a cat's-paw, approached the administration and received permission to use the high school auditorium for a series of lectures on Japanese history and culture. The first meeting was held on the evening of August 12. The priest and other speakers 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 Seinen -dan). The expressed aims of this organization were to prepare the members to be useful citizens of Japan after their expatriation through a series of classes on the Japanese language, history, and political idology. The formal aims were expressed in a written manifesto, distributed on August 12:

> Since the outbreak of war between Japan and America, citizens of Japanese ancestry have moved along two separate paths: (1) for the defense of their civil rights on legal principles, and (2) for the renunciation of their citizenship on moral principles. Each group has constantly expended its efforts for the fulfillment of its own aims.
>
> After we were segregated to this center, we have, on moral principles, stood for renunciation, and have awakened the consciousness of racial heritage. Fortunately, the government, whose national policies are based on democracy, humanity and liberty, has now proclaimed by legislation that it officially approves our inclination. We are, indeed, delighted with this recognition. With the three principles listed below, we hereby organize the *Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan* and resolve to devote ourselves for the achievement of our original aims.
>
> 1. To increase the appreciation of our racial heritage by a study of the incomparable culture of our mother country.
> 2. To abide by the project regulations and to refrain from any involvement in center politics. To be interested only in improving our moral life and in building our character.
> 3. To participate in physical exercises in order to keep ourselves in good health.

1. Thomas and Nishimoto, "The Spoilage," pp. 311-12.

When I discussed the newly organized Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan with my respondents, none of them referred to the group's "stand for renunciation of citizenship." Many appeared to be reassured by the assertion that the organization would "refrain from any involvement in center politics". My conservative and cautious friend, Mr. Kurusu, assured me:

> The Sokoku Kenkyu is not a pressure group. They just want to study Japanese culture. I know because I'm a member. That's why I joined. They're not going into politics. I guarantee they will not start any trouble in here. If I see any trouble I will resign. That three or four months trouble really gave us a good experience.[1]

1. Field notes, September 15, 1944. Mr. Kurushi was referring to the uprising and the period of Martial Law.

Morning outdoor exercises were initiated and these gradually became increasingly militaristic. Bugles,[2] grey sweat shirts, and headbands bearing the emblem of the rising sun were purchased. Each morning, before six o'clock, the young men would march through the firebreaks, shouting "Wash sho! Wash Sho!" (Hip! Hip!)

2. So far as I know, no one has ever been able to explain how the Resegregationists managed to get these bugles.

Boy Scout

Some people approved of the Sokoku because it gave the many otherwise unoccupied young men something to do. Others disapproved. For example, on September 14 I was chatting with some women friends. A young woman remarked: "I say this new Seinen-dan is far away from me. They're far away from me." An older Nisei woman differed. She said:

> But now they (the Sokoku men) have reasoned things out more. . They've worked out some good things. Like these zoot-suiters, for instance. They (the Sokoku leaders) say they're going to have a heck of a time when they go back to Japan.

They say "We must train them," and I think that's right.

Mr. Wakida, my shrewd Kibei friend , remarked:

They're not very well trained yet. If they get too much power and can't control it, they might do anything. A lot of people are against it, but they don't say anything.

When they have those exercises a lot of the people say, "Crimeny! If you have a little baby or a sick person, it wakes them up."

Also the secret way they do things makes people suspect.[1]

1. Field Notes, September 11, 1944

* * * * * * *

During the first part of September, the rumor of a coming resegregation continued to create anxiety.

On September 5, I had my hair washed at the Co-op "Beauty Parlor." When I returned to my room I made the following notes:

Mary Okita, who is from Topaz, cannot understand why "some people" want to be resegregated so much. After all, "We all came here because we wanted to go to Japan." She expects that these "people" will try to start some trouble if resegregation is denied them.

A young man, one of the barbers, then came into the beauty shop and began to gossip with the girls in Japanese. Even to my inexpert ear it was obvious that he was sneering at the news of American victories in the Pacific. Then he began to sing the Japanese National Anthem. The girls were very embarrassed. One said, "I wish he wouldn't do that." Then Miss Okita said, Well, Miss Hankey understands. He's always rude."

That evening, Mr. Currie, the new Caucasian head of the Co-op, told me that the day before, at a meeting of Japanese American supervisors, a man had closed the meeting by looking him in the eye and asking , "Is there going

to be any resegregation?" Currie said he did not know. The Board then explained that they were asking so that they could order more wisely in case a part of the population was removed from camp.

The next day, a Caucasian high school teacher told me that "she was being asked repeatedly by her students if there were any truth in the resegregation rumors." I thereupon proceded to visit Mr. Yamashita, the Resegregation Group "advisor", but he ~~and Mrs. Yamashita, but Mr. Yamashita preferred to tell me~~

He, however, made no mention of a resegregation. Instead, he spoke of the renunciation of citizenship:

> I don't know how far this will go. But certainly those who wish for immediate repatriation to Japan, and at the same time don't wish to be inducted into service or relocate , wish to renounce their citizenhips. We don't know how many will renounce their citizenship.

His wife then asked me if I knew if the renuciation of citizenship would apply to the other centers, I said I thought so.[1]

Fieldnotes, September 7, 1944

Four days later, my friend, Mr. Wakida, told me:

> People are still talking a lot about resegregation. We don't know what will happen to us the next day.

During the second and third weeks of September rumors of and anxiety about a coming resegregation, subsided. On September 14, two Nisei girls, who were covertly hoping to relocate, told me that the rumors were dying down. On September 15, my conservative block manager friend, Mr. Kurusu, told me happily, "Everything is quiet and peaceful now. . , . I'm very happy nowadays. I don't have to worry very much.. . Everybody was happy when the stockade boys were left out." ~~It was at this meeting that~~ He also again assured me that the Sokoku Kenkyu was not a pressure group. "That's why I joined."

Only two persons mentioned the renunciation of citizenship. One was Mr. Kurihara, an intelligent and concerned man in his late

forties. On September 8, he remarked: "I don't want to predict, but as long as things go on in this way. . and the Sokoku Kenkyu people do not get their wish, trouble will continue to brew." On September 19 he told me:"We are anxiously awaiting that questionnaire to decide our citizenship." On September 21, Mr. Kira, an underground Resegregationist leader, told me: The only thing the people are interested in now is the denunciation (sic.) of citizenship. Some people have sent a petition to Washington to request forms."

NEW PAGE TITLE →

The Second Resegregation Petition

After my talk with Mr. Kira I called on Mr. Yamashita, the most influential and respected the underground leaders. He appeared anxious and distracted. Instead of lecturing me or responding to my questions, he asked me questions so obtuse and complex that I was unable to answer them. Finally his wife, who was sitting quietly and knitting, spoke up sharply: "Why don't you tell her the truth? You know you can trust her." Mr. Yamashita looked nonplussed for a moment, but then a attitude said solemnly:

Please insert this page 11a.

Resegregation is going to be something eventually. The philosophy of the majority of the residents here and hereafter will be changed.....

This petition will tell the Administration exactly what we are, and what we should be under the circumstances. We are certain that the Administration and WRA cannot distinguish between the loyal and the disloyal people congregated in this camp. Even though it is for disloyals, it is different from other centers. This is the reason for so much restlessness and unfortunate disturbance in camp.

We residents, the wiser people, cannot wait further anymore for the Administration to have the camp like this. The time has come whereby the Japanese residents wish to formulate and determine their belief of themselves.

Mr. Tachibana then asked me for my honest opinion of the petition and whether I thought presenting it now would be followed by the apprehension and incarceration of those who sponsored it. This was a stumper. However, the petition was sensibly worded and in no way arrogant. It was, moreover, very clear. I read it twice carefully, and said that I saw nothing which could give offense to a just Administration. However, I added, Mr. Tachibana knew, as I did, that Mr. Best was easily terrified and that the action would threaten the calm condition of the camp for which he takes so much credit. If he became too excited about it, no one could predict what he would do. Mr. Tachibana seemed satisfied with my remarks and continued:

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 a secret. Now the time has come.

We are of the opinion that we cannot be loyal to two countries. As long as we are living here, why not make up our minds to be real Japanese or not? As long as this is fully impressed on the residents, this camp will become more peaceful than ever.

If the Administration recognizes this movement, we will have a good mutual understanding. Besides Mr. Myer sent us a letter and recognized this movement through Mr. Black.

If this proceeds successfully the time will come when the others (the fence-sitters) *will go out and proceed according to WRA policy. Therefore, the time will come when we can accomplish our resegregation purpose by such a procedure. It will not be direct resegregation* (but a process of resegregation by loyal persons leaving camp).

Those who refuse to sign this will have people asking them, "Are you loyal to Japan or not? If you are not loyal to Japan why don't you go out?" Naturally, those loyal to Japan will stay here until the war ends.

This way - the people will have to realize this - because as long as their appearance is Japanese, they will have to sign this. Being loyal to Japan is a very serious matter.

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. Why don't you go out?"

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.

On the night of September 24, the Resegregationists distributed an explanatory pamphlet entitled, "What is Resegregation and What Does It Mean." On the day following, Mrs. Wakida, a young Kibei,

I said nothing to anyone about the petition but I called on as mnay people as I could to see when and in what way they would refer to it. On the night of September 24, the Resegregationists distributed an entitled, "What Is Resegregation and What Does It Mean?" explanatory pamphlet. On September 25, Mrs. Wakida, a young Kibei, asked me what the administration was thinking about resegregation. I said that their attitude had not changed. Then she told me that on the night before a "document" had been handed around from barrack to barrack.

They give you what resegregation is about and why they want to be resegregated. There are four or five statements there that you have to do and obey. The people who will live up this this can be resegregated.

We haven't even heard what it's about. There are so many people here of different opinions. . . I really don't know myself.

Some people are very much for it, but I believe there are more against it than for it. What the outcome of this will be I don't know . On the whole, most of the people are very doubtful about it.

I really don't see why we should resegregate. We're already repatriates. We've already signed for repatriation. The WRA and the people as a whole know that we're loyal to Japn. And a lot of the people think as we do.

(I asked for details and was told that the people were not asked to sign the statement, it was passed from door to door, by the block people themselves with the understanding that they were to sign later.)

On September 26, Mrs. Tsuruda told me that she and her family had been "asked to read a paper."

It was written in such awful English. . I couldn't make head or tail out of it, I thought, "It couldn't be WRA. Not with that English. . . . You're just supposed to pass it on to somebody else. It's to

separate the people who are here from the "real Japanese". I read it but I don't know what it's all about.

I called on another Nisei woman, who told me that her father had not even bothered to read the pamplet, but had passed it along to the next apartment. Her friends, she ~~xxx~~ told me, were saying that you ~~xxxxxxxx~~ couldn't find ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ out the real truth about ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ it. "Everything you heard was ~~xxx~~ rumors and you could'nt get any real dope."

On the afternoon of the same day, September 26, I called on my Issei friend, Mr. Itabashi.

He obliquely referred to the petition by telling me:

I asked one man, "Why did you sign the paper? He said, "So-and-so said So-and-so and so I signed it." They do not have any judgement.

He openly disapproved of the Resegregationists' emphasis on the renunciation of citizenship.

My common sense opinion is this: from the Japanese part, the right of American citizenship is already denied. So it is not necessary for them to make formal declaration of it.

On September 27, an elderly Issei woman, an Old Tulean, visited me in my room in order to express her disapproval of the Resegregationists. The trouble in camp, she told me, was "all made by a few people. If the Old Tuleans say anything, the others say they are "ikujinashi" (spineless). So they don't say anything. They don't want trouble. The way these few trouble makers behave is not the Yamato damashii. The person who really acts according to Yamato damashii makes himself low and does not talk. . . .

"The people in Tule Lake think they will stay in Tule Lake and maybe go back to Japan after the war. Maybe they will stay in this country. But some of the people who came in, they want to go back right away. All they do is talk, talk, talk." I said: "Yes, and now they are starting this paper around from house to house." "Yes," said the lady, They want us to sign to go back to Japan, but very few people are signing. We don't want to pack up and move out of here. Too much trouble."[1]

1. Fieldnotes, September 27, 1944

On September 29, I visited Mr. Kurihara. He vehemently disapproved of the petition, and Mr. Kira, a Resegregationist "adviser" who, I had been told, was the covert leader of a group of "strong arm boys",

~~were sometimes called "The Black Tigers".~~

A pamphlet was left at each house. This block had more than enough.

With regard to signing the petition - it hasn't come around. In this block we haven't seen a thing. But we know just where to go to sign.

There's no name on it. "Who's trying to put this thing over?" That's the objection I've heard in many blocks.

We want to know who is responsible for it. We cannot be led like a bunch of sheep without knowing the leader.

I could say definitely that he (~~Wakayama~~ Kina) is the one who originated it. But who's carrying it through, I just know some of their names.

(I remarked on the poor English used.)

That English! I said, "For heaven's sake, why don't they try something better?"

Probably they don't realize, but by providing such a poorly written statement they lose the respect of the people.

The Threatened Expose:

(I told Mr. Kurihara about Mr. Tokunaga's remark about the man who intends to expose the machinations of the pressure group.)

I believe that's true. If it does come out and accuses the right person, I think he'd be doing a great thing for the people.

Between ourselves, I have always told them (the Wakayama bunch) *that if they go too far with it I'll expose them myself. Whether they call me an inu or not, it doesn't matter. If I came out with the facts, I think ~~I'll get most of the people to side with me.~~*

In many blocks I've heard this - the people are against it. They are saying, "They're a bunch of troublemakers." I think they are right.

One point I really oppose -- they threaten to use force - and if they use that force, I'm not going to stay quiet.

Many people today are wondering whether they should sign or not. They're afraid. They're being led into it.

~~September 29, 1944 - p. 5~~ ~~-73-~~

So far I didn't want to be an informer. I didn't want to be called a dog. But if anybody is seriously hurt or killed - why should I hesitate? My conscience tells me as long as I shield him (~~Wakayama~~ Kina) I'm responsible to the public. As long as he's at large he'll continue. But as long as he doesn't do it, I won't say a thing.

I've visited many people. The majority are considering. They're afraid something will happen. Those who have a mind of their own, they won't sign. ~~Only one man~~

FOOTNOTE, p. 14

1. Cited from a copy given me by Mr. Kurusu.

On September 27, an Assistant Project Director, Mr. Black, warned the block managers that the petition had no administrative sanction. On September 30, Black issued a memorandum emphasizing "that there will be no further segregation at Tule Lake or elsewhere, . . that resegregation is receiving no consideration from WRA either here or in Washington." He condemned the the activities of the leaders, which, he said, were detrimental to the residents and tended to "incite unrest, produce confusion, upset peace of mind, and contribute to tension and nervousness."[1]

On the afternoon of the day Black's memorandum was issued I visited Mr. and Mrs. Tsuchikawa, who were among the most active of the Resegregationist leaders. They had read the memorandum and were furious. Mr. Tsuchchikawa asked me indignantly, "How can you get authority for a petition like this. The next time we put out something I'm going to take the paper to the block manager beforehand. And he better not say anything!"

His wife said: "We are going on as we were, even if the people squawk."

The memorandum also had a significant effect on the general residents.

People who had been ambivalent felt they could safely refuse to

People who had been undecided felt that they could refuse to sign and still be "true Japanese". People who had been suspicious and critical became more open in their statements. When, on October 2, I called of Mr. Wakida, he burst out with the statement: "I say, 'Leave me alone and I'll leave you alone! If I feel like it, I'll sign. I haven't signed yet. I'm Japanese - no matter what they (Resegregationists) say. If we swear to be Japanese, we are Japanese!"

Mr. Wakida also told me that he had visited Reverend Aramaki, the nominal head of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen Dan and that they had argued for many hourse without coming to an agreement. He had then visited Reverend Abe and Mr. Kunitani (who had been the leaders of the Daihyo Sha Kai) "but we were both being so careful what we said, that I couldn't get any clear picture."

In some wards the Resegregationists set up morning exercises for the children and refused to let the children of non-resegregants paricipate, which, some people told me, made the children feel ashamed.

On October 6, the formidable Mrs. Tsuchikawa told me that her cousin had asked for for leave clearance and hoped to return to the Manzanar Center to care for her aged foster parents. ~~This young woman had spent much of her life in Japan.~~ Mrs. Tsuchikawa disapproved must strongly:

She feels more giri to her foster parents than she does to her country (Japan). I tell her that she was foolish and wrong and then she cries.

Rumor of Department of Justice Assuming Jurisdiction over Tule Lake

On September 25, Dr. Opler, the WRA Community Analyst, told me that there was a rumor in camp that Tule Lake was "to go under" the Department of Justice within six weeks. Several other respondents spoke to me about this rumor. Mr. Wakida remarked on October 2:

> If we go under Justice those who have money will be all right. But those who can't earn will sure start crabbing again. . . For my frank op ion I'd like to be an internee, but this is not a one person camp.

On October 4, Mr. Robertson told me that Mr. Best had met with the committee which was trying to bring about the return to Tule Lake of the Issei stockade detainees who had been sent to the Santa Fe Internment Camp.

> "Best told the group he had every reason to believe that the Justice Department would soon take over and that they might as well not kick up so much fuss."

Resegregationist leaders actively used this rumor to obtain signatures to their petition, pointing out when the Department of Justice assumed jurisdiction over Tule Lake, only aliens who were "true Japanese" and citizens who had renounced their citizenship would be permitted to remain.

Rumor of Opening the West Coast

16a.

~~During this period,~~

I was told that many of the WRA staff members ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ were ~~xx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ concerned and distressed when, ~~I was told~~ Mr. ~~Xxxxx~~ Black announced at a Community Management Meeting on September 27, that ~~Xxxx~~ the West Coast was soon to be opened to relocation and that ~~when that~~ ~~happened, xxx~~ Tule Lake would then be closed to relocation. A Caucasian friend who was present told me:

I said, "What concerns me is just how we can use this among the poeple if it is just a probability." Mr. Black said, "If you know

anybody intending to leave you can tell them this."

Then some teachers asked what to do about the sixteen year old kids. Mr. Hu y cke answered that after the servicemen return, maybe things aren't going to be so rosy. Maybe we ~~should~~ shouldn't pressure them.

Huycke

I tried to get back to the subject and ~~xxxdx~~ asked, "Why can't reasonable notice be given?" Then Mr. Gunderson and Mr. Black said simultaneously, "That's all Hearst would need!"

I said: "Are we running this camp fro Mr. Hearst or for the people?"

Threats and Violence

During the first week in October there were many reports that the Resegregationists, in soliciting signatures, were ~~kegixnixgnkoxuzaxgxn xxx~~ threatening or ~~striking~~ even attacking people who were not willing to sign. Dr. Opler, the Community Analyst reported:

> Feeling ran so high in ward VII, that vocal anti-resegregationists or residents of "tough" blocks who had refused to sign were definitely on the spot. In block 73, the block manager was forced by public opinion to move quietly out of his block and later resign; ~~xixxxx~~ his secretary did ~~xixxxxx~~e likewise. In block 74 adjoining in ward VII, we learned that one aged anti-resegregationist was hit over the back of the head and knocked unconscious (October 7)[1]

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[1] WRA, Community Analyst "Report on Center Trends (Oct.8-16)" (manuscript), October 16, 1944. (Cited from "The Spoilage," p. 318.)

On October ~~16~~ 6, I called an Mr. Kurihara. He had just returned from what he called a "spying-out" trip, that is, he had visited many people in order to learn what was going on. ~~What he told me was so dangerous that I did not keep a carbon copy and sent xxxx the mailed my/only copy to Dr. Thomas. Mr. Kurihara xxx~~ He told me that he was sure that Mr. Kira

and his "strong-arm" boys were responsible for much of the violence. ~~He also told me that Kira had incited the violence that occurred at the Manzanar Center during the so-called Manzanar riot.~~ That evening, Mr. Currie, the Caucasian Co-op head of the Co-op told me:

> "that he had written a letter thanking the Internal Security for their assistance in putting a stop to the vandalism and thieving" in the Co-ops. John Matsumura (manager of the Co-op), said Currie, "had seen the letter and had nearly had a stroke. 'We can't thank Internal Security for anything,' said he. 'Do you want us all to get our throats cut?'" Currie told me that he did not send the letter.

When I visited George Wakida on October 17, he said:

> I don't like the way the Sokoku threatens people. They say, 'If you don't sign, you're going to be drafted.' So a lot of dumb people signed. But I think those who signed were wise. I'm too stubborn to sign and that makes me enemies. It's better to be like the proverb: Nagai mono ni wa makarero; Okii mono ni wa nomareru.[1]
>
> If I were Project Director I would segregate them. I'd give each person a pink paper and a white paper and an envelope. Then those who wanted to be segregated could sign the pink paper and those who didn't could sign the white one. Then they could mail it to the WRA and nobody see it. No block manager, nobody to see. Then I'd like to see how many would sign![2]

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1. Let the long thing wind about you; let the great thing swallow you.
2. Fieldnotes, October 12, 1944.

As I walked back to the administrative section I noticed that a seagull flying overhead had a red circle painted on each of its wings and had thus become a flying Japanese flag. Previously I had seen children trying to catch them.

On October 10 I visited Mr. Itabashi, a gentle, soft-spoken Issei, who worked in the Social Welfare office. He was also a good friend of Mr. Kurihara. I was concerned and anxious about the frightening things Mr. Kurihara had told me about the Resegregationist leaders, and I opened the conversation by wondering aloud whether Mr. Kurihara was not putting himself in danger by trying to get information about the Resegregationist leaders. But Mr. Itabashi reassured me, saying, "I was going to tell Mr. Kurihara, 'Don't worry about it. It's not so serious as you think.'" He then told me that the majority of the people who had signed the petition had "signed under intimidation or ignorance." He added that "the majority of people are sick of all this trouble" and that he had been telling the Resegregationists "The Japanese government is not so narrow-minded as you. . . It wishes for the people in camp just to live in peace and keep their health."

He did not tell me that in September, he and several other elders of the Seichi-No-Ie[1] religious movement had addressed a meeting of their group and had exorted them to follow the higher ideals of Japan which, he said, were not compatible with agitation and violence.

> I said that this camp is no place for young men to make trouble. They should study. I said, "Young men, behave yourselves."[2]

1.

1. "Seicho-No-Ie is an internationally renowned humanity-enlightened movement or truth movement founded in Japan by Dr. Masaharu Taniguchi in 1930 through divine revelation, based on the sublime ideal of bringing genuine happiness to all mankind - an ideal of world of happiness, gratitude, and peace - not a mere visionary Utopia but the manifestation here on this earth of a home of infinite unfoldment brimming with abundant life and creation." (Contemporary Religions in Japan, IV, No. 3 (September 1963) pp. 212-229.)

Literally Seicho No Ie means "house of growth". Loosely it may be translated as "The Home of Infinite Wisdom and Abundance."

2. Fieldnotes, November 9, 1944

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 were brutally beaten.

> I was coming home from a religious meeting at block 52 - I heard noisy footsteps. One of my friends was at my side and the other was 15 feet ahead. I turned around and saw that big stick. I can still see the club like a frozen picture but I don't know anything after that.[1]
>
> The very first word I uttered right after the attack was "Baka." (Fool) I rather feel sorry for those who attacked me be cause they do not know what they were doing.[2]

1. Fieldnotes, November 9, 1944.
2. Letter from Mr. Itabashi, dated Oct. 28, 1944.

The Japanese American police refused to handle the case[3] and the men who had been assaulted refused to name or describe their assailants.

3. Fieldnotes, Oct. 17, 1944.

> Mr. Kurihara told me, "Mr. Itabashi requested me to let the thing dies out. They fear that neither they nor their families will be safe if I carry out my intentions.[4]

4. Ibid., Oct. 23, 1944.

On October 21, Mr. Kira spoke to the young men at a Sokoku meeting and told them that he would take care of them if they got into trouble. He quoted a Japanese proverb: Dai no mushi wo tasukeru niwa, shō no mushi wo korosanakereba naranu, which some people translated as, "To save the big shots we have to kill the small guys. (It may also be translated as, "To help the great cause we must destroy those who stand in its way.)

On ~~December~~ October 23, I visited Mr. Kira, who was now calling himself an "advisor" to the Resegregationists:

> I found him in a spacious office, the walls of which were covered with Japanese flags and scrolls in Japanese script. Two brawny and solemn-faced young men stood on either side of him and another young man stood at the door. . . He himself sat behind a handsome desk.[1]

He gave me a long account of how ~~his~~ he,"his boys",and "his residents" had had a confrontation with the Project Director about whether or not one of Mr. Kira's residents should be punished for illegally building ~~xxxxxxx~~ himself an ~~xxxxxx~~ extra room.

> At first Mr. Best threatened these people. "Do you want me to call the Army like last year and teach you folks a lesson?"
>
> They said: "Do you think you can teach the people a lesson or are <u>you</u> going to be put in an embarrassing position?"
>
> They said, "Go ahead and do it. We'd rather have the Army control the center than the WRA."
>
> As soon as they said that, Mr. Best changed his tone.

Mr. Kira then commented on the renunciation of citizenship:

> The people are anxiously waiting for the denouncement of it. When Mr. Best made the statement that within 60 days the camp would be under Justice, the people were delighted. We more or less expect it.

On October 30, Shinkichi Iwamoto, who was known as Mr. Kira's "hit-man", ~~attacked~~ knifed and seriously wounded a young man. Mr. ~~XXXXX~~ Itabashi told me that the young man's father had openly criticized Mr. Kira.

1. Fieldnotes, October 23, 1944.

Efflorescence of the Resegregationists

During late October and November the Resegregationts increased their actitivites and practiced them overtly. They were given a staff office in Block 54 and they proceded to cover the walls with Japanese paper flags and patriotic mottoes. Among these was a sign stating that anyone speaking English would be fined at the rate of one cent a word. They published a mimeographed weekly and a monthly newssheet. The predawn exercises for the young men now included drills, judo practice, and marches to the shout of "Wash-sho! Wash sho!"

"Group exercised of a more highly nationlistic character were initiated, including an early morning ceremony on the eigth of the month, at which prayers for Japanese victory were offered."[1]

1. "The Spoilage," p. 320.

More and more of the young men began wearing the grey sweat shirt and head band bearing the emblem of the rising sun. In mid-November, the young men began to shave their heads, in imitation, they said, of the Japanese Army. By mid-December, even elders, like Mr. Yamashita and Mr. Tsuchikawa had shaved their heads. ~~(People who disapproved of the Resegregationists covertly called them bald heads or hard heads.)~~ The adult Resegregationists formally adopted the name, Sokuji Kikoku Hōshi Dan (Organization to Return Immediately to the Homeland to Serve). The Sokoku or young mens group formally adopted the name Hōkoku Seinen Dan, that is, instead of devoting themselves to the study of the language and culture of the homeland, they would now devote themselves to the service of the homeland.

As Mr. Yamashita told me, the young men aree"preparing thmeselves physically and mentally" so that they could be utilized by the Japanese government "if they go on the exchange boat."

> By getting up early in the morning, by exercise and training after worshipping, and praying for victory and eternal life for our Japanese soldiers, the young people can be deeply impressed. . . If we were training in open daylight, it will not impress people much. . . But getting up early in the morning is to feel that we . . are not taking for granted that we can sleep long and at any time. We cannot live here luxuriously. We must do parallel to what our brothers in Japan are doing.[1]

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1. Fieldnotes, October 30, 1944

The Leaders of the November Strike ~~XXXXXX~~ Challenge the Resegregationists

student - see reprinted part

From the beginning of their underground activity in January of 1944, the Resegregationist leaders had striven to give the impression that they were on the best terms with the prestigious leaders of the November strike. Indeed, they announced that obtaining the release of the detained leaders was their prime objective.[1]

But when Abe, Kunitani, and Tada appealed to the American Civil Liberties Union, the Resegregationist leaders refused to help them.

And when the ACLU did bring about the release of the strike leaders, the relationship between them and the resegregationists remained polite but guarded. Though the Reverend Abe, George Kunitani ~~Kuratomi~~, and many of their friends were nominally members of the resegregationist organization ~~(the *Sokuji Kikoku*)~~, they did not participate actively and they declined the positions offered them.

In mid-November of 1944, with the imminence of the renunciation of citizenship and the "take-over" by the Department of Justice, the Resegregation group leaders decided to institute a membership purge. They posted statements in the latrines and laundry rooms which, in effect, said the following: True Japanese life was austere and full of sacrifice; people who could not do without American luxuries such as rich food, liquor, or cosmetics, and people who were addicted to degenerate vices such as gambling and *sake* drinking, had no place in postwar Japan or in the membership rolls of the Resegregation group. Having defined the "true Japanese" and the "not Japanese" in this manner, the leaders sent curt notices of expulsion to some of their more moderate charter members and to a number of the friends of Abe, ~~Kuratomi~~, and Tada. Kunitani

Though the expelled members had not approved of many of the policies and activities of the Resegregation group, they resented being cast off in this rude manner and being derogated as "not Japanese." Some also feared that their removal from the membership list might make them ineligible for repatriation. There now emerged the potential of a confrontation between the two groups, and, as usual, the warrior champions were the initiators. When a crowd of several hundred people had gathered on the evening of 19 November to bid

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1. "Doing Fieldwork," p. 163.

farewell to a number of families who were on their way to join interned members in the Department of Justice camp at Crystal City, Tetsuo Kodama, a noted *judo* champion and a close friend of Kuratomi and Tada, approached Mr. Yamada (also a *judo* champion and leader of the *Hōkoku*[1]) and accused Yamada of having called him an *inu*. This was a challenge to fight, which Yamada ignored.

This open and aggressive defiance thoroughly upset the resegregationists. Mrs. Tsuchikawa told me that young men of the *Hōkoku* were guarding the apartments of the resegregationist leaders night and day. On the other hand, many of the residents (those who disapproved of the resegregationists) were intrigued by the prospect of a feud between the superpatriots and the members of the Abe-Kuratomi-Tada faction. Mr. Kurihara voiced the hope that in the event of a violent fight or a gang war the administration would be forced to imprison the resegregationist leaders, "and then the people could get rid of the gambling group." (Many of the members expelled were young men who spent a great deal of their time playing cards. According to rumor, they also drank bootleg *sake* provided by the enterprising Mr. Tada. People called them "the gamblers," and it is my suspicion that they constituted a kind of young men's peer society.) As part of their new austerity program, all the male members of the resegregation group shaved their heads to an egg-like smoothness, in imitation, they said, of the Japanese army. Conversely, the friends of Kuratomi, Kodama, and Tada let their hair flourish luxuriously. People began to refer to the former as "shavedheads" or, more derogatorily, "baldheads," and to the latter as "longhairs."

On 15 December, the anticipated fight broke out. A certain Mr. Hamaguchi went to the resegregationist headquarters in block 54, discreetly accompanied or followed by fellow members of the long-haired faction. Hamaguchi accosted the head of the *Sokuji Kikoku Hoshi-dan*, demanding the reasons for his expulsion, and the *Sokuji* official gave him a rude reply. Hamaguchi then seized a long piece

1. As part of the new program the Sokuku changed its name to *Hokoku Seinen-dan* ("Young Men's Organization to Serve Our Mother Country"), that is, from a group that "studied" the culture of Japan to a group that "served" Japan. They now participated in military exercises every morning and they were commonly called the "the *Hokoku*."

of wood from a nearby woodpile, the official grabbed a mop, and the two men had at it in what must have been a strange parody of a *samurai* sword duel. Meanwhile, Mr. Kodama, the *judo* champion, and several other longhairs also armed themselves from the woodpile and guarded the combatants, to see, as they later put it, that there would be fair play. Many strong-arm boys of the *Hōkoku* and several hundred other spectators came running to the scene; but no one, apparently, dared to challenge the longhairs. After the fight, which lasted only a few minutes, Mr. Hamaguchi addressed the assembled crowd, denouncing the *Hokoku* for gangster tactics and for the degradation of the true spirit of Japan.

This attack put the resegregationists into a very awkward situation. If they ignored the attack they would lose face. If they responded with open violence they might be arrested, and all their elaborate plans for impressing the Department of Justice and achieving a resegregation and repatriation might go astray. So they drew up a legal complaint against Hamaguchi and ten other men and presented it to the project attorney. Forthwith, eleven longhairs were arrested by the Caucasian police and taken to the jail at Klamath Falls. Then the resegregationists plastered latrines and laundry rooms with mimeographed statements to the effect that their peaceful organization had been attacked by gangsters. To me they voiced vicious threats of what they would do if they were not given justice.

The trial, which took place four days later, was a peculiar event. Kuratomi and Tada had asked for and received permission to act as quasi attorneys for the defendants. The project attorney carried on the case for the plaintiffs. Mr. Yamashita attended every session and interrupted frequently. The eleven defendants were all neatly dressed in what appeared to be their best suits. Their hair was noticeably long, and they bore themselves with something of the air of college boys about to be reprimanded for a prank. The resegregationist plaintiffs and witnesses were dressed in the *Hokoku* uniform, a grey sweat shirt imprinted with the emblem of the rising sun. Their heads were newly shaved and they glared at the longhairs with baleful eyes. Whether of one side or the other, the witnesses seemed to suffer from some optical defect. When the man for whom they were testifying had been struck, they had seen it. But when he had struck someone, they had momentarily glanced away, gone to the latrine, or just not noticed.

Ten days later the verdict was announced: ~~Hamaguchi~~ Amachi was given a light sentence; two other defendants were given suspended sentences; the rest were acquitted.

The ~~r~~Resegregation group leaders were enraged. They denounced American justice and made terrible threats of reprisals. "Bombs and tanks won't stop our boys now if we give them the word," said Mrs. Yamashita.

The fight and its aftermath significantly weakened the position of the Resegregationists. Many of my respondents began to criticize them and some people ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ told me that they were resigning from the organization. On December 19, 1944, Mr. Kurusu ~~told me~~ said:

> They (*Sokoku*) stated in their regulations that their organizaion is not political. But gradually they stepped into politics. I ~~xxxxxx~~ didn't like it and the people ~~xxxx~~ don't like it either. After I see this incident I feel it's better to stay out. . . . 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 thiggs.

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

But it was at this time that the representatives of the Department of Justice, John Burling, arrived at the center, to open the hearings for renunciation of citizenship.

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1. "~~Doing Fieldwork~~," pp/ 163-166.
Ibid.

The Renunciation of Citizenship

Despite the Resegregationists' leaders' enthusiastic sponsorship of the renunciation of citizenship, only 107 valid applications were received by the Department of Justice during November of 1944. But when Burling arrived at Tule Lake on December 6 to begin hearings, the Resegregations intensified their demonstrative activities, holding their noisy predawn militaristic exercises as close to the fence as possible and blowing their bugles louder than ever. Clearly, they hoped to impress the representative of the Department of Justice with their true Japanese character and their passionate desire for an immediate renunciation of citizenship, resegregation, and expatriation. Burling was impressed, but in a way that neither the Resegregationist leaders nor the WRA administration had anticipated. He told the Resegregation group leaders and their followers (and also announced to all the residents) that such Japanese militaristic activities were subversive and that if they did not abandon them at once they would be interned in a Department of Justice camp for potentially dangerous enemy aliens. He also took a very critical attitude toward the WRA for permitting young men living under their charge to drill themselves for service in the Japanese army. [1]

By the middle of December the number of applications for renunciation of citizenship had risen to about 600.

The Resegregationists ignored Burling's warnings and drilled more ostentatiously than ever. On December 27, the Department of Justice interned seventy of the leaders and officers.

1. Ibid. Edwards, p. 166.

and continue their true Japanese activities.) This act of official recognition seemed to encourage the membership. They gave their leaders a spectacular demonstration of farewell, sang Japanese

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patriotic songs, and shouted "Banzai!" They also immediately elected a new slate of officers to replace those interned. Under this new leadership the activities of the resegregationists became fantastic. They stepped up their bugling, goose-stepping, morning drills, and *Wash-sho* chants. Elderly people and little children stood in rigid and motionless prayer in the bitter cold and sometimes marched with the boys so that, as a friend of mine put it, "even the old ladies are running around in slacks yelling "Wash-sho!" [1]

They taunted non-members as follows[2]:

"They 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 an internment camp" (R. Wax 1945: 3 Jan.).

1. Ibid. p. 167

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2. Statement by a mature Nisei woman, Fieldnotes, January 3, 1945

had their houses burned were quoted to me. As Bob Tsuruda's sister remarked. "What do they want us to do -- go back to California and get filled full of lead?"[1]

1. Fieldnotes, January 14, 1945

My field notes for January 1945 are filled with statements expressing anxiety, indecision, and desperation. On January 2, Mr, Kunitani, who had been a leader of the Daihyo Sha Kai, told me:

> I think that the Hōshi-dan undoubtedly has started the rumor that by renouncing citizenship, the people will be allowed to stay here in Tule... If they keep on making more pickups its going to excite the people.

On the same day, my Nisei secretary told me:

> 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, I called on an older Nisei woman friend and found her ~~very upset and distressed.~~ in a state of great distress.

> The people picked up say they're glad. They say we (people left in camp) are going to be kicked around while they will be safe and sound.
>
> I don't know what's going to happen to us! It's very confusing. I think everybody feels that. They don't know what's what yet. . .They can't say: 'Get out by a certain time. We'll give you twenty five dollars and car fare.' In the first place, why do they want to kick us out? It was their business we came here.
>
> To tell you frankly, I'm in such a confused mind. Everybody is like that. California is the last place I'd want to go back to, with all I've been reading. We all feel, if somebody is going to go back, let's watch and see what happens to them.

Can people be thrown out even if they renounce their citizenship? Could they put you in the Army then?

* * * * *

On 5 January, the WRA released and distributed to all the residents an official pamphlet in which Dillon Myer reaffirmed that it was the WRA's intention to close all of the relocation centers by returning all of the evacuees to "private life in normal communities." The WRA had announced this policy once before, in mid-December, but at that time most of the evacuees to whom I talked told me that they were sure that it did not apply to them. Now, however, many people who had been dubious about the wisdom of renouncing their citizenship—or urging their Nisei children to renounce—began to fear that if they or their children did not renounce they would shortly be expelled into hostile and, by now, very unfamiliar American communities. Newspaper reports in which relocated Japanese Americans or Nisei soldiers were threatened, attacked, shot at, or had their houses burned were quoted to me.[1] As Bob Tsuruda's sister remarked, "What do they want us to do -- go back to California and get filled full of lead?"[2]

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2 ~~1~~. Fieldnotes, January 14, 1945

On January 5, Mr. Itabashi told me:

> WRA's plan to close the centers will fail. ~~[illegible]~~ When we entered camp at the ~~[illegible]~~ beginning of the war I heard that the German people who were interned during the First World War were paid $1,000. each when they were allowed to leave ~~the~~ camp.
>
> They have nothing to depend on. A job can't be depended on. I feel the WRA plans for closing camp will be a total failure. . . I don't know one person who wants to go out. Of course, those ~~[illegible]~~ who do, say nothing about it.

On the same day, Mr. Kurihara told me:

> I have noticed that people are stiffening in their attitude. Last week some were saying, 'If they make us get out, we'll go.' Now they are determined not to leave.
>
> If they use force, undoubtedly they will succeed in kicking them out, but undoubtedly, there will be trouble too. It might be possible to get out at least 50% of the people

1. "Doing Fieldwork, P. 167.

if they would pay them a part of the damages they have suffered. But the majority of people I have talked to recently, say they're not going out.

On January 8, I spoke with Sam Niiyama, a Nisei, age 37, who had been Head of the Block Managers in November 1943. He had supported the Coordinating Committee and had been called an inu. He impressed me as a very intelligent and sensible man.

My impression is that the people are very much at a loss, due to the fact that they can't make a decision. The representatives of the government - they admit they're in the dark themselves. They don't know what to do or what it's all about. . . .

When they came out to ask us to make this decision, I told the Army colonel (at his hearing), 'If you set a deadline I will renounce my citizenship due to the fact that I have no place to go!' . .

I don't care who it is -- Nobody who can't see their way to their own living, nobody's going to start walking out in the dark. If they compel me - I'll stay here. At least by staying here I'll have a roof over my children and enough to eat, although I don't like the food. . .

The parents of people taken to Santa Fe are saying, 'My child became a Japanese today.'

If there was some one way that they were really trying to help me, I'll go out. But if they just show me, 'There's the gate - Go.' NO SIR!

After speaking with Mr. Niiyama, I went to the "beauty parlor" to get my hair washed.

My operator had nothing on her mind today except her worry about being forced out of camp. She asked me if they really would be forced out. She complained bitterly that her family had lost everything and they don't see how they are going to make out. She said everybody is saying they

wont go out.[1]

1. Fieldnotes, January 8, 1945.

On January 9 I called on Mr. Oseta, the evacuee aide in the Legal Department of the Project. He told me that resistance to the idea of going out of camp was growing but he was going to have no part in it. "What's the use?"

His carefully considered apathy was somehow more depressing than the hopeless stubbornness of the less educated people in camp. I left feeling very depressed.

He told me that in his opinion the compulsory closing of the camps would be taken by the people just as they had taken the evacuation. There would be passive resistence but it would be useless.

~~1. Fieldnotes, January 9, 1945~~

They've got you going and coming. It doesn't pay to raise hell. It's easy for a person without a family to raise hell, but with a wife and children it's another matter to think about.

Under the Geneva Conference, they can't kick the aliens out.

(I asked if fear of being forced out was the reason why so many people were renouncing their citizenship.) Sure, why not? If they were sincere about restoring our rights of citizenship, why didn't they call the women for hearings. They just want to get you in the Army. The trouble is, minority races suffer one way or another.

(Mr.Obata's carefully considered apathy was somehow more depressing than the hopeless stubborness of the less eduated people in camp. I left feeling very low in mind.)[1]

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1. Fieldnotes, January 9, 1945

On January 10 I called on Mr. Kunitani. He commented briefly:

I think it's a silly idea on the part of the WRA or the Army to get us out of here. . I think it's crazy. The Army can try, but the results will not be complimentary. . . Anything that will be forced on the Japanese people - they won't take it.

On January 11, I encountered John Burling and a concerened woman staff member having lunch in the mess hall.

Burling told us in confidence that as far as he has been able to determine, Tule Lake is not open. Civilian Restrictive Order No. 26 has never been rescinded. The WRA announcement that the people in Tule Lake are practically in the same status as those in the relocation centers in not so. . . He remarked that the longer he stays here the more he is impressed with the enormity of the confusion. Neither WRA, the Army, nor the Department of Justice seem to knwo what the other is doing, or even just what they themselves are doing.[2]

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2. Field Notes, January 11, 1935

On January 10 I had a talk with my conservative friend, Mr. Kurusu. He told me:

> People are really minded to stay in camp, where they think it's safe. . .There is so much to upset the people: the men picked up, the renunciation of citizenship, they all come at the same time. . . If this becomes a relocation center, they'll draft us. In that case, they say, we must get busy and send in our renunciation of citizenship.

On January 14, I called on the sisters of my friend, Bob Tsuruda. Tsuruda had relocated in September and I knew that his sisters also intended to relocate at some time in the future. Indeed, the elder sister's husband had been offered a job by his former employer in California. The sisters told me that they had been interviewed by the leave officer, who, they felt, had, had pressured them to leave immediately. Noriko, the younger sister said: "She sure wants us to go out. She says even those who renounce their citizenship will still get sent outside. Mrs. Sato, the elder sister said that she had told the leave officer:

> What do you want us to do, go back to California and get filled full of lead?

She then told me:

> I'm going to sit here and watch. How can a person make up their mind when they don't know anything? We can't depend on the WRA.

Noriko added:

> We want to get out. But we can't with $25. We have to buy a bed, blankets, and we've got to eat. It looks as if you eat you can't sleep.

She then told me how she had been in the canteen

The two women spoke scornfully of the "bald-heads". Noriko said she had been in the canteen with a boy friend who had not shaved his head. A Hōkoku friend came up to them and said: "I'm not going to have anything more to do with you if you keep looking like that. Are you a Japanese or aren't you?" "That's how they keep talking all the time," said Noriko.

On January 15, I visited Mr. Kurihara. He was depressed.

> People with large families are worrying themselves to death. After all the wrongs they have done to the Japanese, nothing they do now will do any good. . . Right now the Japanese are most most afraid of the hardships they are going to face. Also, a rumor is being circulated that five Japanese were killed in Fresno or Stockton.

On the renunciation of citizenship, he said:

> I've seen a lot of young boys very anxious to renounce it. They are talking a great deal about it now. They aren't talking much about relocation.

On the 15th I also visited Mrs. Kawai, an ardent Resegregationist. She asked me to get special application blanks for renunciation of citizenship for her two daughters. She asked me repeatedly if the Department of Justice was going to take over Tule Lake on January 21. I made the following comment in my fieldnotes:

> (There was a widespread rumor that the Department of Justice was going to take over Tule Lake on January 9. Now it's the 21st. Tule Lake is coming to resemble millenarian Europe as 1000 A.D. approached. The rumor about the Department of Justice has some of the appointed personnel worried also.)

On January 18 I called on my secretary, Mary Komura. For the first time in all of my visits, her father, a member of the Hōshi-dan, entered into conversation with me.

He remarked that in his opinion only 1% of the people in Tule Lake would relocate. The policy of the government in this relocation policy wasn't fooling anybody. The newspapers were showing that the war was going badly for the Allies and the U. S. attempt to increase man power by releasing the Japanese was well understood by the camp residents.

Mr. Komura also told me that he had just heard over the radio that a certain town in California had announced that they would resist the return of any Japanese. He and his daugher agreed that "Almost all of the people would like the camp under Justice. They'd feel much safer." [1]

On January 18 I called on Sally Wakida. Sally, who intended to expatriate with her husband, George, was relatively relaxed. She opened the conversation by telling me about the Hōshi-dan activities.

Since Mr. Burling is here, they blasted their bugles louder than ever. Even the old ladies are running around yelling, "Wash sho", with slacks on. I don't think that's very nice for old ladies 50 years old. The young women do it too.

She then told me about her husband's hearing on his application for renunciation of citizenship.

When George went for his interview, the lady asked him if he were a member of any organization. He said he was a member of the Seinen-dan.[2] She said, "The Hōkoku Seinen-dan?" George pulled his hair and said, "No, can't you see?"

She lauged and said she was sorry.

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2. Early in 1944 George had been active in establishing a centerwide athletic organization for young men.

Sally ~~She~~ then told me: "Most people would like the camp to go under Justice."

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1. Fieldnotes, January 18, 1945.

...The food is getting worse. We've had wieners day after day... I guess the only people having fun in camp now are the Hōshi-dan people. They have something to do every day and meetings every night.

On January 19 I visited Mr. Kunitani. He told me there was a widespread rumor that all persons who have not renounced their citizenship by January 20 would be "kicked out of camp." He implied that this rumor was being spread by the Hōshi-dan. "Some people are also being told to answer in a radical way so that their citizenship will not be taken away."[1]

1. These statements are incorrectly dated in "The Spoilage," pp. 342-342.

On January 19, Mr. Burling told me that the Department of Justice had received almost 6,000 applications for renunciation.[2] He also told me that he had asked Dillon Myer to make Tule Lake a refuge center from which no one would be forced to relocate for the duration of the war. Dillon Myer refused.

2. On January 26 he told me there had been a miscalcutaion. The more accurate estimate was close to 5,000.

On January 22, Mr. Kurihara told me:

> The majority of people in Tule Lake believe they don't have to go out. They will not change their minds. Why should we come here in the first place if we didn't want to renounce our citizenship? . . . The true motive behind the renunciation of citizenship is that they don't want to get out. They want to remain in camp for the remainder of the war. When WRA comes to realize their mistake, it will be too late.

On the same day, Miss Komura, my secretary, told me:

> Quite a few of my girl friends are renouncing. I guess it's because they're repatriates and had a purpose for coming here. Most of my friends I meet at Japanese school: we all have the